St Helena Letters from England 1754-1777

Introduction: This is the eighth volume in the series *St Helena Letters from England*. It includes outgoing official correspondence from the Governor and Council of St Helena to the East India Company in London reporting on the administration of the island, including matters such as government decisions, defence, military preparedness, trade and shipping, supply shortages, personnel issues, and judicial proceedings. They often included explanations of difficulties faced by the island and defences against criticisms from London of past actions or policies. The letters were usually copied or abstracted into the island records.

Alost exact copies of every letter printed in the seventh volume in this series, *St Helena Letters from England 1754-1761*, also appear in the first section of this eighth volume. Although the main difference between them seems to be the number of pages used, dictated by the tightness of the handwriting, a decision was made to re-transcribe them because a small number of differences were observed between the two versions. Unlike the earlier volume, these letters are complete and have no missing pages.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-3-9.

Text Transcription 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.

Dates: The letters in this volume are usually dated at their conclusion. The earliest correspondence is from 18 December 1760 and the latest is 1 December 1777.

These letters were sent to England during the administrations of Charles Hutchinson (1747-1764) and John Skottowe (1764-1782).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

This account consolidates the general letters of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor and Council of St Helena, from 5 November 1755 to material of December 1777. The record is one-sided, preserving the Court's outward instructions; the island is heard only through the matters London answered. [Film No. 5-15, Film No. 355]

St Helena held no trade of its own and produced no cargo for Europe. Its worth lay in its position on the sea road between England and the eastern factories, where ships watered, refreshed their crews and took on provisions. The Court pressed the utmost economy while calling the settlement a heavy annual charge, a tension between strategic use and expense that runs throughout. [Film No. 54, Film No. 204]

The period opens and closes in war. Undeclared hostilities gave way to open war with France on 18 May 1756; the Seven Years War dominates the correspondence to the Treaty of Paris of 1763, after which a settled peace brought a great fortification programme and a heavy traffic in slaves. The later years brought the Regulating Act of 1773 and the American war, which reached the island through embargoes, munitions licences and contraband tea. [Film No. 34, Film No. 355-356]

Governance and Administration

The island was governed by a Governor and Council under the Court of Directors, above which sat the Secret Committee, empowered over war, diplomacy and dealings with the Crown. A letter of 5 November 1755 named Roger Drake, Richard Chauncy, William Mabbot and James Raymond; by 3 December 1755 it was Drake, Peter Godfrey, Christopher Burrow, John Payne and James Raymond, any three a quorum, and in 1757 Mabbot had left the direction. The committee was reconstituted each year, later members including Thomas Rous and John Dorrien in December 1762, Sir George Colebrooke in 1770 and Edward Wheler in 1773. [Film No. 6, Film No. 20, Film No. 47, Film No. 161, Film No. 318, Film No. 351]

London delegated assessment of local office to the men on the spot and reserved confirmation to itself, confirming £40 a year for Richard Beale as judge advocate on 17 November 1756. This hardened into a rule that vacancies be filled only provisionally: the Court rebuked the council on 22 November 1765 for giving the artillery command to Captain Mitchell without orders, and in the 1773 season for the absolute appointment of Robert Leech as writer, ordering that future vacancies be filled only by recommendation. [Film No. 41, Film No. 235, Film No. 346]

The Governor's disciplinary powers were hardened as the war pressed. After the adjutant Mowatt was suspended, a letter of 17 November 1756 licensed the island to send home any person disobeying its orders. A letter closing on 19 January 1768/9 allowed the Governor and Council to take away an officer's commission without a court martial. The Regulating Act later curtailed this, a letter of about 1776 noting it had deprived the Company of power to restore Lieutenant Robert Gillson without the consent of the general court of proprietors, and directing suspension rather than dismissal in future. [Film No. 41, Film No. 297, Film No. 375]

The Court urged a letter by every departing ship, since ships in convoy seldom arrived together, and complained on 17 November 1756 that a ship carrying the island's packets came in after those on which they had been sent. Duplication bred error: a letter of 23 January 1758/9 noted the original and duplicate of the island's letter of 16 July 1758 came by different ships, arrived out of order and disagreed, one omitting a paragraph. The Court expressed high displeasure on 2 January 1770/1 that no word was sent though the Dutch ship *Westfriesland* had lain in the road for days. [Film No. 35, Film No. 86, Film No. 329-330]

Officers' quarrels repeatedly threatened the chain of command. A letter of 8 February 1758 warned the Lieutenant Governor for making the Governor uneasy, and one of 23 January 1758/9 dismissed the Lieutenant Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick and the draughtsman William Richards, sending them home for Adamson's conduct and for procuring a plan for the attack of the town

and castle. The board, long only three persons, was strengthened by adding Matthew Curling from the civil list and listed in fixed precedence, the Governor holding the casting vote. The dispute between Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick and the lieutenant governor Corneille, examined on 14 December 1768, ended in Kirkpatrick's dismissal for a false charge and Corneille's vindication, his salary continued, his slaves restored and a command granted. [Film No. 65, Film No. 84-88, Film No. 285-289]

Crown commitments cut across appointments. A letter of 23 January 1758/9 appointed Nicholas Dunbar Lieutenant Governor, second in Council and overseer of the plantations, at £250 salary and £100 diet money, with the valley house, the Longwood rooms and the use of some of the Court's slaves; a letter of 13 February 1758/9 revoked it because Dunbar held a King's commission he could not lay down, naming John Skottowe on the same terms. Skottowe became Governor on the resignation of Charles Hutchinson in about 1764. Hutchinson's own retirement, pressed on him in a letter of 16 November 1763 as his health failed, was softened with £300 a year for life. A letter closing on 12 January 1767/8 struck Philip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, off the military roll, a civil officer not to stand as a soldier. [Film No. 88, Film No. 90-91, Film No. 199-200, Film No. 217, Film No. 270]

Servants were bound by covenant and bonded sureties scaled to office, a writer under £500 and a factor under £1,000, sureties resident in England or on the island. Charles Steward found two persons in £500 as writer on 3 December 1755; the Court reached back to enforce the guarantee when Matthew Bazett took his Council seat without security, and declined in about 1764 to appoint Richard Powell a writer as too young. [Film No. 12, Film No. 84, Film No. 219, Film No. 352]

St Helena was managed as a landed estate. A letter of 17 December 1762 flagged unpaid rent-roll arrears, and one of 14 December 1768 committed a dispute over waste land at Sandy Bay to the council's equity. The Court later directed the Governor to record who occupied each Company house at what rent and building cost, and resolved that each councillor and senior servant hold a house only while serving and in repair, with no new building without licence. On 31 December 1760 the directors reported the death of King George the Second on 25 October 1760, ordering King George the Third proclaimed at St Helena on the instruction of Secretary Pitt. [Film No. 134, Film No. 175, Film No. 283, Film No. 376, Film No. 390]

Military Affairs and Defence

A letter of 5 November 1755 reported a squadron under Charles Watson, Rear Admiral of the Blue, sent to the Coast of Coromandel, comprising the *Kent*, *Cumberland*, *Tyger*, *Salisbury* and *Bridgewater* with the sloop *Kingfisher*. The King granted Colonel John Adlercron's regiment of foot, 815 men including officers, with 78 of the Royal Regiment of Artillery; the Court employed the *Kent*, *London* and *Britannia* as transports, and set aside the *Peter* to carry timber for barracks and a hospital. [Film No. 6, Film No. 7, Film No. 8]

Naval salutes were pared back as powder grew scarce. Admiral Watson's ships were to be saluted with 15 guns returned gun for gun, a commodore with 13; a letter of 23 January 1758/9 limited salutes and required cheers on other occasions, and one of 17 December 1762 directed a boat be sent to learn whether a salute was expected before any King's ship entered the road. A letter of about 1777 directed the Governor General of Bengal be saluted with two guns more than a presidency governor. [Film No. 7, Film No. 78, Film No. 168, Film No. 391]

A letter of 3 December 1755 directed the island to complete its fortifications, build additional batteries and arm the planters, singling out the battery at Banks's. A graded defence scheme of 23 December 1757 mobilised paid soldiers, a propertied militia and the slaves, from whom the least was expected. Violent rains repeatedly undid the works; an extraordinary shower on 28 July 1756 stopped all other work, the whole strength turned to the fortifications with the soldiers and the Court's slaves. A letter of 16 November 1763 reckoned the island's escape from the earthquake of 21 May most providential, while the floods of June destroyed some plantations and harmed the fortifications. [Film No. 12, Film No. 25, Film No. 26, Film No. 43, Film No. 58, Film No. 198-199]

Recruits came annually, always fewer than hoped: the *Griffin* carried about 40 in 1755, about 80 got with difficulty in 1757, 30 in 1759, 60 wanting in 1762, only 10 by the *Osterly* in about 1774 and no more than

30 in about 1777. The Court later accepted growing lads below standard and returned India veterans, and leaned on retaining time-served men by bounty. [Film No. 26, Film No. 41, Film No. 58, Film No. 105, Film No. 153, Film No. 357, Film No. 379, Film No. 395]

Magazines were built bombproof at Rupert's and the Fort, with strict surveys of works and powder. In about 1764 the Court appointed Archibald Mitchell, a lieutenant of the King's artillery, engineer with captain's rank, to survey the island, no costly work to begin without a prior estimate and sanction. A letter of 22 November 1765 approved his proposals and ordered that until the fortifications were finished no other work be set about nor workmen and slaves diverted save to raise provisions. An attempt to hollow a magazine into the rock at Munden's Point failed when the front collapsed, forcing a masonry magazine. [Film No. 113, Film No. 129, Film No. 214-215, Film No. 237, Film No. 310]

The garrison was both soldiery and workforce. A letter closing on 19 December 1766 insisted the soldier-labourers still be exercised, and one of 14 December 1768 approved relieving them by halves, one half each quarter. Mitchell was permitted to return to England about July 1769, the works far enough forward, Lieutenant Thomas Bazett appointed in his place having superintended the works upwards of two years. [Film No. 257, Film No. 268, Film No. 292]

Desertion by sea drained the garrison. Every charter bound owners to a penalty for sailing at night without leave, and commanders failing to lay to when a deserter was signalled were charged the cost of recruits; Captain John Griffin of the *Admiral Stevens* was charged £72 on 19 December 1766. A letter of the 1770 season noted the desertion of seven soldiers on 26 July in a Company long boat with stores, read as a prepared conspiracy for which the Court would impute blame to the Governor and lieutenant governor. [Film No. 256-257, Film No. 325]

A letter closing on 12 January 1767/8 contracted for 21 six-pounders for the saluting curtain and nine 24-pounders for defence, with two brass mortars for exercise and a new battery at Munden's Point; a letter of about 1766 refused ten brass guns, iron guns painted or tarred lasting many years. By 1769 the Court resolved to raise each company from 70 privates to 100. [Film No. 247, Film No. 264-265, Film No. 295]

Courts martial rested on statute. An act before 5 November 1755 empowered the Company to hold them in the East Indies and at St Helena; a separate letter of that date carried out the printed act, the commission and forms, the act passing so late the ship sailed before the royal assent. The island was to read the articles of war before the mustered force and record each man's assent by name. A letter of 17 November 1756 confirmed the men completely enlisted since the articles were read every two months and the pay received. The whole was renewed under the present King's warrant after the late King's death, and proceedings sent home for inspection. [Film No. 13, Film No. 16-17, Film No. 27, Film No. 42, Film No. 202]

A letter of the 1773 season alarmed at a general relaxation of discipline in infantry and artillery, blaming the officers; the letter of 19 November 1773 fixed a monthly field day with the artillery firing at a target, each entered in the consultations. Tracing garrison disorder to drink, a letter closing on 19 January 1768/9 appointed Lieutenant Charles Ross Stewart adjutant, splitting the office to mend the drilling. The same letter required new second lieutenants, all former King's officers, to assent to a paper before the oath of fidelity, binding them subject to the Governor and Council, a condition applied to every commission thereafter. [Film No. 296-298, Film No. 354, Film No. 355]

Judiciary and Military Justice

Power to convene courts martial rested with the Governor and Council, keeping military justice in civil hands. Civil justice first appears in the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, examined 5 November 1755: claims of £254 15s 4½d against £141 10s 11½d due from the Company, the smaller sum divided among creditors in proportion. The estate of John Burgan turned on a broadly worded bequest his executors conceded arose from a drafting error. [Film No. 13-14, Film No. 105]

Criminal law was built case by case. A letter of 23 December 1757 answered a suspected murder by ordering a search of records for precedent, and one of 23 January 1758/9 gave leave to send home prisoners too unsafe to keep. On the island's complaint the Court forbade transporting malefactors from India to St

Helena, extending the ban across all settlements. A letter of about 1762 took to counsel whether the island held ample powers to punish, and one of 17 December 1762 insisted criminals be tried at the island, since the courts at home received only personal evidence; John Huffman, sent home on a murder charge and reported disordered, was found sane on arrival and discharged. The Court judged the court business too slight for a paid legal officer. [Film No. 56, Film No. 83, Film No. 151, Film No. 174]

A letter of 14 December 1768 resolved that one justice might adjourn sessions in illness, two justices of oyer and terminer might form a court, and a warrant of execution might issue without the Governor if signed by the trying justices, but that Mr Purling could not judge a cause where he was a party. The council could not take cognisance of offences at sea. A letter of 25 March 1772 overturned two death sentences from the sessions of 10 July 1771, since breaking a storehouse was not burglary unless part of a dwelling, benefit of clergy saving both men; the Court, finding the statute of 10 and 11 William 3 anomalous, sought a fresh act making stealing by force capital. A free pardon obtained in England for Stephen Swaracking overrode his sentence. A letter of about 1761 raised Fort Marlborough to a presidency with its own governor, council and a royal charter constituting courts of justice with a court of requests. [Film No. 130, Film No. 255, Film No. 287-288, Film No. 337, Film No. 341-342]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

The island drew bonded labour from the eastern settlements and later from West Africa. A letter of 5 November 1755 ordered Fort St George to supply about 30 coffee slaves from Madras, but one of 17 November 1756 reported it could not, being pressed by the war on the Coromandel Coast. The Company ran its own Indian Ocean voyages, the sloops *Diligent* and *Prince Henry* to Madagascar in about 1760, and fitted out the *Mercury* and *Fly* for Madagascar on 16 November 1763, many of the Company's slaves being worn out and unserviceable. Slaving articles were listed among beef, flour and tiles, and commanders warned to watch against the treachery of the natives. [Film No. 23, Film No. 39, Film No. 118, Film No. 195-196]

The Atlantic traffic ran on piece rewards. A letter of about 1764 fitted the *Royal George* for Guinea and Angola to buy 250 slaves, with 15s a head to the commander and 5s to the mate for all shipped, a further sum for each landed alive, and 10s a head to the surgeon for every slave landed alive; the island served as a recovery station, the slaves refreshed there before the ship went on to Fort Marlborough, whose 150 were to be entire while St Helena's own hundred bore any shortfall. The *Royal George* reached the island from Angola with 236 slaves, one dying on the passage; the Court reproached the council for keeping her five weeks and for reporting numbers but nothing of the slaves' health or employment, demanding the voyage diary in duplicate. The slaves from Africa were lamented as spiritless and weakly. Casks of peas, coarse jackets, breeches, shirts, blankets and two yawls to catch fish were sent from England, the island producing no cloth. [Film No. 208, Film No. 210, Film No. 223, Film No. 225-226, Film No. 231, Film No. 233, Film No. 250]

The enslaved were tracked, recovered, valued and exchanged. A letter of about 1759/60 ordered an enquiry into the carrying off of the Company slave Sfoux on the *Bombay Castle*; one of about 1762 returned the runaway Spencer, bred a mason and likely useful; some skilled in rough stone were wished over to Fort Marlborough; and a letter of 17 January 1769/70 permitted exchanging a male slave named Walpole, sent from Bencoolen 15 years earlier, for one equally good. Waterside guards, permits and musters were set against escape, shipowners charged when a private slave stowed away, as with Dolphin recovered from the *Tilbury*. A letter of about 1761 floated confinement on scanty diet as less disgusting to humanity except for flagrant crimes; when the mercy shown the runaway Brewer failed, the Court resolved to place no reliance on the gratitude of these people. A soldier and another coffree hidden aboard the King's ship *Yarmouth* were taken to a warship at the Nore, the Company's claim ineffectual. A letter of 1762 recorded the directors doubting their own power to ship slaves in irons or imprison them. [Film No. 57, Film No. 113, Film No. 128, Film No. 131-132, Film No. 153, Film No. 310, Film No. 321]

Slave labour was a perquisite of high office, granted and withdrawn with the post, and Corneille's slaves were restored with his pay and house. A letter of 23 December 1757 considered the suicides of five men sent from Anjengo after the killing of the King of Travancore, ascribing them to the maxims of their country. A letter of about 1774 assigned a Company slave boy to attend Captain Tippet. The Court declined

on trial to bar slaves from the punch houses, the council able to punish abuse. Noquedah Johallum, a Malay ship's captain, was transported from Fort Marlborough by order of its Deputy Governor and Council, Noquedah being a title. John Fortune, a slave taken by deserters in a long boat in 1770 and carried to Brazil and thence to England, surrendered himself and was sent back on the *Lord Camden* with a recommendation of mercy. [Film No. 43, Film No. 57, Film No. 58, Film No. 295, Film No. 300, Film No. 337-338, Film No. 362]

Supply and Provisioning

Victualling the fleet against the island's stock was constant. A letter of 5 November 1755 noted Captain Oliver's store ship had required 61 head of cattle weighing 10,229 pounds, left to the island's discretion. As war neared, a letter of 3 December 1755 warned against supplying foreign ships, the French ship called the *East India Company* having carried off 25 head of cattle, and the Court sent more flour, beef and pork than requisitioned for a reserve. A clause of 17 November 1756 directed commanders to lay in firewood and provisions in India, wood being the island's most persistent want; the Court inquired sharply in about 1766 into the crew of the *London* felling timber. The island was cautioned not to depend on one vessel for sugar but to keep requisitions open on Bengal, China and Fort Marlborough. [Film No. 11, Film No. 21-22, Film No. 40, Film No. 44, Film No. 238]

A year's sailing imposed a constant lag. For want of a current requisition the Court supplied from the previous estimate, and a letter of 23 January 1758/9 directed requisitions for no more than one year with the account of remains kept to hand. The island over-ordered in about 1762 by omitting newly arrived stores, and a crisis in about 1766 exposed the constraint of a settlement supplied twice a year, distress reaching London only in the later letters. A letter of about 1773 complained the indent did not arrive until the *Speaker* came in September. Salt provisions were judged by keeping quality, the Irish cure less mild and used first; the Court trialled Irish meat in 1773 but sent all English in about 1774. Suspect flour was reweighed cask by cask before the purser. [Film No. 71, Film No. 72, Film No. 80-81, Film No. 149, Film No. 232, Film No. 345, Film No. 356, Film No. 357]

The homeward fleet served as a floating reserve. When stock ran low the island had recourse to homeward captains for near 3,000 pieces of beef and pork and four tons of rice, and applied in writing to arriving commanders for spare salt provisions. The Court forbade the presidencies to send salt meat after Bengal beef proved bad and dear. The Cape supplied cattle and sheep, two to 12 per cent saved by bills on London over silver, and Ascension supplied turtle whenever the island could not victual ships without breaking its stock; once the island recovered, Cape purchases were tightened, and in about 1774 ships were forbidden to call at Ascension at all. [Film No. 169, Film No. 181, Film No. 263, Film No. 266, Film No. 363]

Imported grain made the island hostage to British harvests. A wheat export ban was lifted for the settlements only on security of treble value and landing certificates, running through many seasons. In about 1774 the Company, barred from shipping more than 500 quarters of flour a year and needing the whole for St Helena, provisioned its farther posts from the Cape; the American embargo was lifted for the eastern settlements under restrictions; five tons of Carolina rice went on the *Hampshire* in about 1775. [Film No. 255-256, Film No. 364, Film No. 367, Film No. 385]

The island's herds grew important. A letter of 17 January 1769/70 noted increased black cattle let the garrison have fresh meat once a month, the fleet having first claim, and sent yearling bulls and heifers in calf, with later Staffordshire cattle despite heavy voyage losses. A drought in the 1772 season reduced the stock, met by imported animals and Cape supply. Broken tiles and slates were to be counted and certified to charge the owners. [Film No. 309, Film No. 329, Film No. 335, Film No. 361]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

A letter of 5 November 1755 regretted the damage rats and mice did to young trees at Longwood and sent help to destroy them; fruit trees were shipped yearly, the surplus for planters with gardens, as a defence against scurvy. By 1757 the husbandry had improved, the shipping well supplied and the stock, pasture and plantations thriving. [Film No. 10, Film No. 27, Film No. 52]

A cattle distemper was the gravest affliction. The Court tested in about 1760 whether the grass called Canary poisoned the cattle, sending a harmless variety from the Isle of Thanet, and a letter of 17 December 1762 prescribed a powder of Spanish angelica and purified saltpetre after bleeding. The disease, probably rinderpest, ended to the directors' relief by 16 November 1763, though the disorder recurred, keeping the island dependent on Cape livestock. The botanist Philip Miller of the Chelsea Physic Garden supplied his dictionary and advice on angelica and lucerne, a hundredweight of lucerne seed sent with the example of a Hackney gentleman keeping ten cart horses on a small acreage. Seed carried badly, a letter of about 1764 tracing the failure to the length of the passage. Gardeners were engaged at the Company's charge, James Black at £40 a year on 22 November 1765 and James Carmichael on like terms in 1769/70. Local by-laws in about 1760 checked liquor, horse-grazing on waste land, cattle trespass and stolen goods. [Film No. 127, Film No. 151-152, Film No. 172, Film No. 198, Film No. 213, Film No. 236, Film No. 309]

Trade and Shipping

Each season's fleet was spread across the Company's commerce: Coast and Bay for the textiles of Coromandel and Bengal, Bencoolen for pepper, China for tea, Mocha for coffee. The weight shifted to China, whole blocks bound for Canton, and only two or three ships were routed by St Helena. [Film No. 5-6, Film No. 305, Film No. 319]

The tonnage 499 recurs, owners registering vessels a ton below 500 to avoid heavier regulation, larger complements and the requirement of a chaplain. The device was abandoned late, a letter of the 1773 season listing ships of 575 to 864 tons. [Film No. 5, Film No. 190, Film No. 261, Film No. 351]

Unloading within charter-party time was pressed against demurrage. A letter of 5 November 1755 pressed the *Exeter*, and the Court armed the Governor to protest against slow commanders. Wartime rates rose to 40s a ton freight and a penny a day per ton demurrage, from ninepence a ton, falling again with peace, the ten days of the charter party the standing measure. A dispute over the phrase ship damage, read narrowly by the owners, was lost, the island charged to record every loss in detail. Recovery from owners depended on exact documentation. [Film No. 8, Film No. 21, Film No. 120, Film No. 121, Film No. 274, Film No. 356]

Captain Hinde of the *Onslow* was allowed 40 tons of flint to sell in China, both saleable ballast and profit. The island's store issued anchors, cables, canvas and topmasts at invoice price with 30 per cent added, the reserve made good. Each China ship was to lodge a summary of its transactions for the next outward ship, and a resident council of supercargoes came to manage the tea trade through the year. Fort Marlborough sugar was preferred to Bengal's. Longboats were bought from returning commanders; the *Fly* cutter was ordered broken up in about 1766 for fear the slaves might seize her. Advice vessels were built for despatch, the *Lapwing* snow of 130 tons and a purpose-built vessel of about 200 tons in 1773. A letter of the 1773 season sent the *Eagle* with stores to a new settlement at Balambangan off Borneo, and the ship *Pitt* was freighted to improve a new passage to China. [Film No. 9, Film No. 22, Film No. 38, Film No. 45, Film No. 188, Film No. 230, Film No. 232, Film No. 262-264, Film No. 306, Film No. 350]

The Wider War and the State

Undeclared war saw British warships seize French vessels while French ports let British merchantmen pass, neither crown having issued letters of marque. A letter of 17 November 1756 enclosed the declarations, the King proclaiming war against France on 18 May. The islanders were formed into parties and exercised, and the Court bought the fast packet *Prince Henry* under Captain John Mumford to carry orders east; a Dutch ship trying to enter the road at night was turned away, and ships were held to sail under convoy. [Film No. 25, Film No. 30, Film No. 34, Film No. 37-38]

By 1759 the war reached the island's waters. The *Triton* letter reported three French ships, the *Achilles* of 64 guns, the *Syren* of 32 and the *Zephyr* of 30, cruising to windward from 5 March to 25 May 1759; a warning longboat under Richard Bodey was itself taken on 16 April. Six Indiamen pursued into the Bay of All Saints on the Brazilian coast were blockaded, and George Best, fourth mate of the *Prince Henry*, was sent with five hands in an open longboat across the South Atlantic to bring home intelligence. The enemy planned an invasion of the King's kingdoms, drawing off men and protection; Sir Edward Hawke's defeat of the French fleet ended it. [Film No. 95-97, Film No. 112]

The South Atlantic served as a listening post. Intelligence from Ilha Grande fixed a French fleet at 12 ships from a letter written at Rio de Janeiro; the Court read the silence about land forces as ground to hope few soldiers were aboard, since captured ships carried only crews. The commanders d'Aché and Lally were named. A letter of 1761 reported the surrender of Pondicherry on 30 September 1760, thanks conveyed to Admiral Stevens and Cornish and colonels Coote and Monson; a roll of prizes taken about the Isles of France, Bourbon and Mauritius included the *Bristol* with 24,000 dollars, the French islands in great distress. The French abandoned the settlements on the west coast of Sumatra, ordered re-established. [Film No. 68, Film No. 78-79, Film No. 98, Film No. 138-141]

War with Spain widened the conflict. A letter of 3 February 1761/2 enclosed the declaration and reported three homeward French East India ships taken with coffee, pepper and ebony, and about 800 recruits embarked on Company Indiamen for Fort St George. A superior French force threatened the *Albion* and seven ships under the *Superb* in May 1762, repelled by Captain Rowley. Preliminary articles were signed at Fontainebleau on 3 November 1761 and a cessation declared on 26 November; the Treaty of Paris was signed on 10 February 1763 by the Duke of Bedford, restoration of captures beyond the equinoctial line fixed at six months from ratification. The eleventh article restored the Indian settlements to their state at the beginning of 1749, barred French troops and fortifications in Bengal and acknowledged Mahomet Ally Khan as Nabob of the Carnatic. The *Mercury* snow was pinned at the Cape by French warships for near three months after the treaty. [Film No. 156, Film No. 159, Film No. 162, Film No. 165-166, Film No. 183-184, Film No. 192]

Peace lent the Company's shipping to Crown diplomacy: six Russian officers were carried to India at the Empress of Russia's request, and the dispute with the Dutch over Bengal in 1759 went to memorials and commissaries, the island charged to preserve records and take depositions. The Count d'Estaing was arrested for breaking his parole given on the Coromandel Coast. A letter of 8 January 1771/2 reported great naval preparations at home and a critical state of affairs, an extra ship taken to stock the island against surprise; two Spanish frigates succoured at St Helena in breach of Spain's treaties prompted an order that Spanish ships get no more than necessity required. The American war brought a Privy Council order to export 1,500 tons of gunpowder on bond to the Crown, and an order allowing provisions to the eastern settlements despite the embargo. The *Ripon* of 64 guns and the *Cormorant* sailed for the East Indies under Sir Edward Vernon. The Regulating Act of 1773 restrained the Company from accepting bills beyond a set annual amount, and a letter of about 1777 forwarded an act against the secret unshipping of goods at sea, with orders against ships straying off course. [Film No. 140, Film No. 160-161, Film No. 189, Film No. 329-330, Film No. 357, Film No. 358-359, Film No. 372, Film No. 375, Film No. 385-386, Film No. 394]

Tea smuggling was the dominant anxiety of the closing years. A register of goods landed was ordered, but a letter of 23 December 1774 found the commander of the *Earl of Lincoln* had brought home less tea than registered at Canton, admitting 20 chests sold at St Helena against three catties recorded. The Court suspected American fishing vessels of taking off tea though none appeared in the consultations, pointing to the island's own connivance, and made the register keeper's post a real duty by requiring the registers before the council weekly, on oath if needed. [Film No. 364-366, Film No. 389]

Finance, Currency and Accounting

Silver was steered to the point of greatest use. A letter of 5 November 1755 consigned 20 chests to Fort Marlborough but judged the island's cash sufficient; the settled rule was to forward treasure beyond the island's wants to the supercargoes at Canton, bullion buying tea while island needs were met by bills on London. No treasure was sent in 1769/70, the balances sufficing. [Film No. 9, Film No. 170, Film No. 307]

Bills of exchange were policed closely. A letter of 5 November 1755 described the care over Lieutenant James Scott's missing bills, drawn 15 October 1750 for £30 to his wife Martha Scott, paid only against security. A letter of 23 December 1757 forbade drawing bills at less than 90 days sight, and one of 23 January 1758/9 caught discrepancies of £20 and £50 across the island's duplicate records, traced to the secretary. Bills cleared sums between the Company and the Navy and Victualling Boards, and moved value home in paper, a deceased captain's estate paid into the Company's cash and answered by bills. [Film No. 12, Film No. 28, Film No. 60, Film No. 86-87, Film No. 177, Film No. 272]

Each settlement bore its own charges: a letter of 17 November 1756 charged the transport of the Malay Johallum from Fort Marlborough to St Helena to that settlement. A letter of 23 December 1757 found charges and losses exceeding profits for the year ending 12 October 1756 by £583 14s 10d, tied to enlarging the garrison, the Court seeing no way to raise the money without oppression. Chests of small money were marked with the word Estimates cut into them. A letter of 16 November 1763 commended reducing the pistareen on 25 July from 15d to 1s, lest it drive out the dollar. Fort William's Madeira, invoiced at 30 per cent advance, was ordered marked up once only. [Film No. 43, Film No. 54, Film No. 61, Film No. 197, Film No. 329]

The Company lent to establish servants and recovered from pay, lending Captain Mitchell £150 on bond in about 1764, his tools remaining the Company's. It required repairs, fortifications and each trade carried to distinct heads of account, and wrote off small deficiencies where scrutiny satisfied it. A balance ending 30 June 1768 showed the island could meet the next year's expenses without money from England, the surplus forwarded to Fort Marlborough. A general pay rise by 1769 added £100 to the Governor's emoluments with graded additions down the establishment. A letter of the 1773 season divided the arrack profits into sixteenths among the Council, chaplain and senior servants, excluding the Governor and lieutenant governor. The Court expressed its highest displeasure in about 1776 at a proposed 5 per cent duty on money paid into the treasury to be divided among the Board. [Film No. 197, Film No. 221, Film No. 251-252, Film No. 272, Film No. 297, Film No. 301, Film No. 353, Film No. 357, Film No. 387]

Religion, Education and Science

A letter closing on 19 December 1766 appointed the Reverend William Deancross chaplain in place of the Reverend Thackeray, raising the salary from £100 to £160 with £60 for diet and an apartment, and lent him £100. The Court held later chaplains' pay to precedent, refusing the Reverend Bearcroft an increase as already drawing £60 more than any predecessor. A letter of 16 November 1763 set apart £500 for a new church. A letter closing on 5 February 1767/8 sent a library of about £200 for the principal servants and £50 in devotional tracts for the garrison. Richard Peale, judge advocate and schoolmaster, was raised to £80 a year in about 1766 for teaching the youth, and the chaplain ordered in 1772 to register births, christenings, marriages and burials. [Film No. 198, Film No. 234, Film No. 257-258, Film No. 273, Film No. 335, Film No. 337]

The island was enlisted for the transits of Venus. A letter of about 1760 recorded the Royal Society engaging Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon for the transit of 6 June 1761 from Fort Marlborough, and the Reverend Nevil Maskelyne, later Astronomer Royal, and Robert Waddington taking passage to St Helena, housed and funded at the Company's charge on advances the society repaid. It was enlisted again for the transit of 3 June 1769, furnished with instruments and the earlier directions. [Film No. 132-133, Film No. 277]

Social Order and Control

The community was governed by surveillance and removal. A letter of 5 November 1755 ordered a watch on Benjamin Maxure, reprimanded for a false account of cattle, with permission to remain held out as a reward, as for Thomas Greentree; a letter of 3 December 1755 met thefts by young fellows associating with the blacks by expelling the incorrigible; discharged soldiers who would not work were sent home. [Film No. 10, Film No. 24, Film No. 221]

The drink trade was regulated throughout. A letter of 5 November 1755 complained of secret retailing to the harm of blacks and whites; the council fined unlicensed sellers who debauched the military and slaves. A letter of 14 December 1768 cut the punch houses to those necessary; when a blanket ban on servants dealing in spirits failed, a letter of 19 January 1768/9 laid 3d a gallon on imported arrack, confined its purchase to a joint stock of senior officers, fixed the chain to retail and barred the Governor and Lieutenant Governor from any share. The Court softened the ban's hardship in compassion for the widows Beale and Kennedy, allowing £20 each. John Drawwater, late cook, was dismissed in 1772 for false gauges of arrack. [Film No. 11, Film No. 128, Film No. 269-270, Film No. 284, Film No. 293-295, Film No. 341]

Commanders carrying off servants drew displeasure, Captain Ullwright marked over a carpenter's mate escaping aboard the *London*. Foreigners were barred from viewing the country or fortifications, though officers who had served the Company with credit were exempt. The island's isolation made it a secure prison: a letter of 17 January 1769/70 refused to send back the Malays Ryquedale Peccalum and Mass Panjee, no place so suitable in point of security. French ships were supplied but none allowed to land, mirroring the *Speke*'s treatment at Mauritius. A letter of 3 December 1755 recorded the island receiving British subjects from a French ship and an exchange of man for man before war was declared. [Film No. 22, Film No. 53, Film No. 83, Film No. 307, Film No. 310, Film No. 323]

Personalities

Certain servants were rewarded for long service: Lieutenant Thomas Easthope, a life pension of 2s 6d a day on discharge on 3 December 1755; Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick, dismissed over drawings but found blameless, reinstated in about 1760 with pay backdated and £100 for passage. Richard Beale rose from judge advocate on £40 to a lieutenant's commission in 1756, appearing in the 1773 season as a captain whose case the island reported, to be cared for while his military-fund testimonials were sent. [Film No. 31, Film No. 41, Film No. 107, Film No. 354]

Unfit officers were removed. The surgeon Ingle was to leave, resentment against him making his skill useless, and Robert Barclay of the ship *Warren* established principal surgeon in his place. Mark Hawkins the mason was dismissed for idleness and drink, and Lieutenant Bridgewater broken by court martial in about 1766 for defrauding the soldiers at Sandy Bay of arrack; the surveyor Charles Gessing was ordered home in 1762 as unfit and given to liquor. [Film No. 41-42, Film No. 154, Film No. 252]

The master masons recur. John Bland was dismissed for assaulting the surgeon Barclay and Captain Clark and reinstated in 1762, dismissed again in about 1764 and readmitted in about 1766, then fell into clandestine trade and turned his complaint into formal accusations against the government, charging Mitchell, before dying about 1768, his charges branded the malice of an infamous man. William Colebrook was engaged in about 1764 at £120 a year with family passage, and Edward Danielle in the 1772 season at £120 with passage and a £30 gratuity, against the retention of the unskilful William Holbrook until a competent man could be shipped. [Film No. 175, Film No. 217, Film No. 254, Film No. 311, Film No. 328]

Captain Archibald Mitchell, engineer from about 1764, dominates the middle years, released home on 19 January 1768/9 with his works approved. John Adamson, the first internal quarrel's central figure, was dismissed and pursued for embezzling Company property and keeping official papers, the affair closing when his widow gave them up. Captain O'Brien of the *Colchester* was commended for delivering a troublesome Malay; Captain James Quallett was dismissed from the *Delaware* on 23 March 1758/9 for unlicensed private trade. Richard Bendy, entrusted with a warning longboat, was captured and released on parole. The lieutenant governor Corneille was censured in 1772 for taking offence at orders sent through the engineer Captain Tippet, who recurs as a source of discord marked for rebuke. [Film No. 57, Film No. 93, Film No. 106, Film No. 110, Film No. 214, Film No. 292, Film No. 340, Film No. 369]

The Company's machinery reached its humblest servants. At Lord Sandys's request, John Webbley, a matross, was empowered to appoint a friend to manage his English houses; Bryan Smith, a supposed corporal, could not be found in the muster rolls; William Jenkins, carried off aboard the *Duke of Cumberland*, was returned at Company expense. Arthur Webster, a private of good family, was marked for advancement, at the opposite pole from the slave boy granted to Captain Tippet. [Film No. 272, Film No. 358, Film No. 362, Film No. 369, Film No. 395]

Provision for dependants hardened from favour into system. The widow of John Goodwin had £50 a year charged on the Company's cash, and Corporal Austin an allowance for lost sight though the Company held no fund for such relief. A voluntary subscription among servants in about 1766 became Lord Clive's fund by the 1770 season, for invalids, the superannuated and widows, no certificate granted without the surgeon's proof of incapacity and a soldier's place of birth, age, stature and marks. [Film No. 113, Film No. 131, Film No. 243, Film No. 323-324]

The named enslaved appear only by value and flight: Sfoux, Spencer, Brewer, Dolphin and Walpole as runaways or property exchanged. John Fortune, returned from England with a recommendation of mercy, and the unnamed boy granted to Captain Tippet mark the record's rare admissions of a human presence, as do the 236 slaves brought from Angola on the *Royal George*, counted, refreshed and moved on. [Film No. 231, Film No. 337, Film No. 362]

Conclusion

Across more than two decades the letters carry the settlement through war into peace and under the reach of the state: from provisions, plantations and the drink trade in the 1750s, to fortifying and convoy in 1756, to running down the garrison after 1763, to the great fortification programme and slave traffic of the later 1760s, and to the Regulating Act and tea smuggling of the 1770s. [Film No. 5, Film No. 34, Film No. 237, Film No. 355]

The record is one-sided. The Governor's letters survive only as answered, the planters appear as objects of regulation, and the slaves on whom the island's labour and defence rested are named only in the mass, their despair glimpsed in the Anjengo suicides and the flight of John Fortune, the enslaved described as worn out and unserviceable and slaving articles shipped among the stores. [Film No. 57, Film No. 194, Film No. 338]

The island earned no trade and was a heavy charge, yet its position made it indispensable, and by the later years it met its own expenses and relieved another station, propped by the homeward fleet, the Cape and Ascension against the failure of its herds. The Court's insistence on economy, pressed while granting the island's demands, marks a possession valued for its use and resented for its cost. [Film No. 204, Film No. 272, Film No. 347]

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1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena-Letters from England 1754-1777 Photographer Aidan Plato Date photographed 21th June 2022 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		WARNING. A poisonous solution containing Mercuric chloride has been used in the repair and binding of this volume.	
4		Blank page	
5	1	Our Governor & Council at St Helena. 1 Our Letter to you last Season went by the Ship Grantham under Date of the 28th of November 1754 we have the satisfaction to find it came safe to your hands and that the Ship, after having Delivered the Consignments intended for the Service of the Island, was forwarded to her Destined Port, Fort Marlborough. 2 She several Letters received from you this year, are of the 5 of Decr last, the 15 Janry the 21 of Febry the 20, 24 & 26 and 31 of March the 7 of April the 7 of May, and the 23 of the same Month, the 15 & 2 of July. 3 We have the pleasure of acquainting you, that all the Ships expected this Season, are safely arrived, except the Drakon from Fort Marlborough which we hope, to hear news of every Hour, from the times of	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the year's correspondence and shipping. 1: The Court's letter of the previous season had gone out by the *Grantham* on 28 November 1754, and the Court was glad to learn that it reached St Helena safely and that the ship, after delivering the supplies meant for the service of the island, went on to her destination at Fort Marlborough. 2: The several letters received from St Helena over the past year arrived in good order, dated 5 December, 15 January, 21 February, 20, 24 and 31 March, 7 April, 7 May and 23 May, and 15 and 26 July. 3: Every ship expected that season had come in safely, apart from the *Drayton* from Fort Marlborough, whose news the Court hoped to hear at any hour, and the Court referred the island to the accompanying list for the dates of each arrival and of each departure. 4: The ships taken into service that season, with their tonnage, commanders and destinations, were as follows. *Drake*, 499 tons, Benjamin Sicket, for China directly *Earl of Holderness*, 499 tons, Matthew Court, for China directly *Prince George*, 499 tons, Philip Godfell, Bencoolen and China *Bombay Castle*, 499 tons, Thomas Brown, Coast and China

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		their respective Arrivals as well as the times when our several Ships Sailed, We refer you to the accompanying Lists 4 The Names and Stations of the Ships we have taken into our Service this Season are as follows [...] Ships Ton Commanders Consignments Drake 499 Benjamin Sichel Earl of Holderness 499 Matthew Court } for China directly Prince George 499 Philip Godsell Bencoolen & China Bombay Castle 499 Thomas Brown Rhoda 499 John M[c]namara } Coast & China Prince of Wales 499 William Peck Exeter 499 William Fernell St Helena & Bencoolen **Margin Notes:** Letters received Ships taken up	The *Rhoda*, 499 tons, was commanded by John McNamara and bound for the Coast and China. *Prince of Wales*, 499 tons, William Peck, Coast and China *Exeter*, 499 tons, William Fernell, St Helena and Bencoolen **Interpretations** Fort Marlborough was the East India Company's pepper settlement at Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra, and the direction to forward a ship there after her call at St Helena shows the island's function as a mid-ocean supply and relay point on the outward route between England and the Company's eastern factories. The heading Coast in the ship destinations meant the Coromandel Coast of south-east India, the Company's main trading front for cotton textiles. The tonnage figure of 499 recurs against every vessel because ships of 500 tons and above carried a heavier burden of Company regulation and a larger obligatory complement of officers and guns, so owners routinely registered vessels at 499 to fall just below the threshold, and the uniformity of the column reflects that commercial device rather than any real identity of size.
6	2	Hardwicke 499 John Samson Madeira Coast & Bay Eastcourt 499 Arthur Evans Duke of Dorset 499 Bernard Forrester } Coast & Bay Edgcote 499 John Pearse Streatham 499 Charles Mason } Bombay Houghton 499 Richard Walpole 5 Such Orders as shall be given by Roger Drake Richard Chauncy, William Mabbot and James Raymond Esqrs who are our present Secret Committee, are to be duly attended to and observed by the Governor, or whoever else they may concern. 6 Since the Departure of the Grantham, with our beforementioned Letter, His Majesty has been most graciously pleased to order a Squadron of his Ships, with a Body of Land Forces on board, to proceed to the Coast of Choromandel, to protect the Company in their Commerce, and their just Rights and Privileges, the said Squadron consists of the undernamed Ships commanded by Charles Watson Esqr Rear Admiral of the Blue vizt Ships Comanders Guns Kent Henry Speke Sixty four Cumberland George Pocock Sixty Six Tyger Thomas Latham Sixty Salisbury Thomas Knowles Sixty Bridgwater William Martin Twenty four Sloop King Fisher Best Michell 7 The Body of Land Forces His Majesty was most graciously pleased to grant to us, as before mentioned consisted of Colonel John Adlercrons Regiment of Foot of Eight hundred and fifteen men Officers included, and a Detachment from the Royal **Margin Notes:** Secret Committee Squadron of the King's Ships under the command of Rear Adml Watson Land Forces	*Hardwicke*, 499 tons, John Sampson, Madeira, Coast and Bay *Eastcourt*, 499 tons, Arthur Evans, Coast and Bay *Duke of Dorset*, 499 tons, Bernard Forrester, Coast and Bay *Edgecote*, 499 tons, John Pearse, Coast and Bay *Streatham*, 499 tons, Charles Mason, Bombay *Houghton*, 499 tons, Richard Walpole, Bombay 5: Any orders given by Roger Drake, Richard Chauncy, William Mabbot and James Raymond, the Court's present Secret Committee, were to be carefully followed by the Governor, and by anyone else they might touch. 6: Since the *Grantham* sailed with the earlier letter, the King had ordered a squadron of his ships, carrying a body of land forces, to sail to the Coast of Coromandel to protect the Company in its trade and to defend its lawful rights and privileges, and the squadron was made up of the vessels named below, under the command of Charles Watson, Rear Admiral of the Blue. *Kent*, Henry Speke, 64 guns *Cumberland*, George Pocock, 66 guns *Tyger*, Thomas Latham, 60 guns *Salisbury*, Thomas Knowles, 60 guns *Bridgewater*, William Martin, 24 guns The sloop *Kingfisher* was commanded by Best Mitchell. 7: The body of land forces the King granted consisted of Colonel John Adlercron's regiment of foot, 815 men including officers, together with a detachment from the Royal [...]. **Interpretations** The dispatch of a royal squadron under Charles Watson, together with a regular infantry regiment, marked a shift from the East India Company defending its Indian trade by its own means to direct intervention by the Crown's navy and army, a change that reflected the growing conflict with France on the Coromandel Coast in the mid-1750s. Coast and Bay in the destinations meant the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal, the two principal fields of Company trade in eastern India. The Secret Committee named in the fifth paragraph was a small inner group of Company directors empowered to conduct sensitive business, chiefly matters of war, diplomacy and dealings with the Crown, without disclosure to the wider Court of Directors, and orders issued under its authority carried the same binding force on the Governor as those of the full Court.

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7	3	Royal Regiment of Artillery of Seventy eight Men, likewise Officers included 8 As the Men of War could not carry that whole Body of Troops, we were under the necessity of employing three of our own Ships as Transports Vizt the Kent, London, and Britannia. 9 In our last Letter you were acquainted those three Ships were Destined for Bombay, we are now to inform you that we took up and sent to Bombay in lieu of them the Ships Ship Tons Men Guns Commanders Prince Henry 499 99 26 Thomas Best Warwick 499 99 26 Nicholas Webb Shaftsbury 499 99 26 William Bookey 10 We likewise freighted the old Hardwick, for the run to Bombay Commanded by Capt Samuel Hough which Ship not being intended to return Back to Europe, was to be disposed of in India 11 Three of the Men of War and our Three Transport Ships sailed from Ireland the end of March, but his Majestys Ships the Cumberland and Tyger did not Sail from Plymouth untill the 9 of May, owing to the Bristol and Eagle having been Disabled in bad Weather on the Coast of Ireland, which two Ships were originally part of the Squadron, and on occasion of this Accident were replaced by the Cumberland and Tyger 12 As it is probable the said Men of War may touch at St Helena when they return Home you are upon the Arrival of Admiral Watson to Salute him with Fifteen Guns, which he will return Gun for Gun, and in Case the Commodore who wears a distinguishing Pennant shall arrive with the Admiral, he is to be Saluted with Thirteen Guns who will likewise return Gun for Gun, and you are to pay to the Admiral **Margin Notes:** Three of our Ships employed as Transports Ships sent to Bombay Hardwick freighted for Bombay Men of War & Transports when sailed Directions about Saluting the Admiral & Commodore	The land forces also took in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, 78 men, officers included. 8: As the warships could not carry that whole body of troops, the Court was obliged to employ three of its own ships as transports, namely the *Kent*, the *London* and the *Britannia*. 9: The Court's earlier letter had told the island that these three ships were bound for Bombay, but it now reported that in their place it had taken up and sent to Bombay the ships named below. *Prince Henry*, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Thomas Best *Warwick*, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, Nicholas Webb *Shaftesbury*, 499 tons, 99 men, 26 guns, William Bookey 10: The Court had also freighted the old *Hardwicke* for the run to Bombay under Captain Samuel Hough, and since that ship was not meant to return to Europe, she was to be sold off in India. 11: Three of the warships and the three transports sailed from Ireland at the end of March, but the King's ships *Cumberland* and *Tyger* did not leave Plymouth until 7 May, because the *Bristol* and *Eagle*, originally part of the squadron, had been disabled by bad weather off the coast of Ireland, and the *Cumberland* and *Tyger* were sent in their place. 12: The warships would probably call at St Helena on their voyage home, and on Admiral Watson's arrival the island was to salute him with 15 guns, which he would return gun for gun, and if the commodore bearing a distinguishing pennant arrived with the admiral, he was to be saluted with 13 guns, likewise returned gun for gun, and the island was to pay [...]. **Interpretations** The distinction drawn in the twelfth paragraph between the 15-gun salute to the admiral and the 13 guns for a commodore reflected the strict gradations of naval honours, in which the number of guns fired marked an officer's exact rank, and the requirement that each salute be returned gun for gun signalled that the Company's island was according the Royal Navy the formal courtesies due between equals rather than a subordinate's tribute. The decision to sell the old *Hardwicke* in India rather than sail her home rested on her age and the cost of a return voyage in ballast, since a worn vessel with no homeward cargo earned nothing on the passage back and could be turned to account by disposal in an Indian port where shipping was in demand.
8	4	Admiral all the Honors Due to his Rank, and behave to him with Great regard and Friendship, you are likewise to behave with all Due Civility and Respect, to the several Commanders belong to his Majestys Squadron, and you are to give them as well as the Admiral all necessary Help and Assistance. 13 In order the more effectually to comply with your Inden[...] this year, and to send you the Timbers, and as many of the material[...]	The island was to show the admiral every honour due to his rank and treat him with warm regard and friendship, and it was likewise to behave with all proper courtesy and respect towards the several commanders of the King's squadron, giving them, as well as the admiral, all the help and assistance they needed. 13: To meet the island's requisition more fully that year, and to send as much of the material for building the barracks and hospital as could be managed, the Court had set aside the *Peter* entirely for the purpose and loaded her with those goods, as shown in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading, and the rest of the material would follow the next year.

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		for Building the Barracks and Hospital, as possible, we have entirely appropriated the Peter for those purposes and have accordingly filled her with them, agreeable to the enclosed Invoice and Bill of Lading, The remaining materials will be sent you the next year 14 The said Ship Exeter is to proceed to Fort Marlborough on the West Coast of Sumatra, as soon as she has Delivered her Cargo to you which you must be particularly carefull to see performed within the Charterparty time, & then give the Commander Orders to make the best of his Way to Fort Marlborough aforesaid, agreeable to the Instructions we have given for that purpose 15 As we have filled this Ship as beforementioned with Stores for you, We have laden on the Prince George one of the Ships bound to China, the several Consignments necessary for our Settlements on the West Coast. 16 We must do you the Justice to acknowledge, that you have carefully attended to our Directions for collecting Intelligence upon the arrival of Shipping, & communicating the same to us, as you have hitherto Done it to our satisfaction, & we make no Doubt of a continuance of your care **Margin Notes:** Peter appropriated for carrying the Timber & materials for the Barracks & Hospital Exeter to dispatch the Exeter to the West Coast after she has Delivered her Cargo Consignments for the West Coast laden on the Prince George Collecting Intelligence on the arrival of Shipping to be continued	14: The *Exeter* was to sail for Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra as soon as she had delivered the cargo consigned to the island, which the Governor was to see done carefully within the time allowed by her charter party, and he was then to order her commander to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough in line with the instructions already given. 15: Since that ship had been filled with the island's stores, the Court had loaded aboard the *Prince George*, one of the ships bound for China, the various supplies needed for the settlements on the west coast. 16: The Court owed the island the credit of acknowledging that it had carefully followed the directions for gathering intelligence on the arrival of shipping and passing it on, had done so to the Court's satisfaction and had no doubt the practice would continue. **Interpretations** The requisition for barracks and a hospital, together with the timber and materials shipped out to build them, reflected the arrival of the King's regular troops on the establishment, since regular soldiers required permanent quarters and medical provision of a scale the Company's own small garrison had never needed, and the promise to send the balance the following year shows the building programme was too large for a single season's shipping. The charter party governing the *Exeter* fixed the number of days the Company had hired her for, and the Governor's duty to unload her within that time was a direct financial matter, because any delay beyond the agreed period exposed the Company to demurrage, a daily penalty payable to the ship's owners for detaining the vessel past her contracted term.
2	5	17 As we have, as is beforementioned, appropriated this Ship to carry the several Good Stores & Materials, for the Service of our Island St Helena it has given us the opportunity of every fully complying with your Indents, as will appear upon a Reference to the Invoice & Bill of Lading But we must here acquaint you, that you are not to expect a continuation of this method, it being our Intention that one Ship Only, as usual shall Serve next Season to carry the Consignments intended for our Settlements on the West Coast of Sumatra, as well as those to St Helena 18 By this Conveyance, you will receive Six thirty two pounders Cannon, with Seventy rounds of Shott, to replace those you sent us by the Walpole as we sess, which compleats your Indent for that Article, You will also receive four Iron Carriages made compleat for them, & Two wooden ones	17: Having set this ship aside to carry the various goods, stores and materials for the service of the island of St Helena, the Court had been able to meet the island's requisition in full, as the invoice and bill of lading would show, but it warned the island not to expect the arrangement to continue, since it meant only one ship, as usual, to serve the next season in carrying the supplies for both the settlements on the west coast of Sumatra and St Helena. 18: By this ship the island would receive six 32-pounder cannon, with 70 rounds of shot, to replace those sent home by the *Walpole*, which completed the island's requisition for that article, and it would also receive four iron carriages made ready for them, together with two wooden ones fitted with iron trucks of the kind used for the government's service. 19: Proper attention had been given to a suitable assortment of fish hooks, in line with the island's requisition and the samples sent home in its packet by the *Boscawen*. 20: The Court had consigned to the Deputy Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough by this ship 20 chests of treasure, and judging from the state of the island's cash it supposed the island would need none of it, so the whole was to stay aboard unless matters turned out otherwise than expected, in which case, if there was a real necessity, the island might

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		with Iron Trucks, such as are made use of for Service of the Government. 19 Due regard has been had to a proper Sortment of Fish Hooks agreeable to your Indent, & the Samples sent us in your Packet by the Boscawen 20 We have consigned to the Deputy Governor & Council at Fort Marlborough by this Ship, Twenty Chest of Treasure, & as by our Observation of the state of your Cash we imagine you will have occasion for no part of it, it must all be continued on board accordingly unless, contrary to our expectations it may happen otherways, & then if you are under a real necessity you may detain one Chest, or so much thereof, as may be wanted, forwarding the rest to Fort Marlborough with Due notice of what you shall so Detain 21 You must continue to write to our several Settlements in India for the Sortements of Goods & Stores you shall want, from each of them respectively, & in particular as you prefer the Fort Marlborough Sugar to the Bengall, being both better & cheaper, you must Indent **Margin Notes:** Compleat complying with the Indents on the Peter & advises that one Ship only will supply this Island Cannon Shott &ca Fish Hooks Chests of Treasure to be continued on board Continuing to write to the several Settlements for Stores &ca in India	keep one chest, or as much of it as was wanted, forwarding the rest to Fort Marlborough with proper notice of whatever was retained. 21: The island was to keep writing to the Court's several settlements in India for the goods and stores it needed from each of them, and in particular, since it preferred Fort Marlborough sugar to that of Bengal, both being better and cheaper, it was to requisition [...]. **Interpretations** The instruction to hold the 20 chests of treasure aboard unless real necessity arose reflected the Company's practice of moving silver bullion by sea to whichever settlement most needed working capital, since the settlements had little coin of their own, and the discretion granted to the island to detain one chest shows the Court trusting the man on the spot to judge a cash shortage that London could not foresee at six months' distance. The two wooden gun carriages fitted with iron trucks contrasted with the four all-iron carriages sent for the cannon, the trucks being the small solid wheels on which a carriage ran, and the mix reflected the practical supply of a remote fortification, where iron carriages were more durable in the salt air but wooden ones with iron fittings were cheaper and could be maintained locally.
10	6	Indent for the Quantity wanted from the former Place, and discontinue your Indents for that Article to Bengall. 22 We have given Directions to the Supracargoes of the Ships Drake & Warren & the Prince George & Rhoda to provide & Lade on board these Four Ships the whole Quantity of China Goods you have Indented for, you will therefore receive nothing from the other Ships from China. 23 We now send you a parcel of Fruit Trees & shall continue to do so, from year to year, when our Plantations are sufficiently Stocked with them, we would have you Distribute the rest among such of the Planters, as have Gardens of their own, to the Intent, that our homeward bound Shipping may be the more plentifully supplied with the produce of them 24 It is a pleasure to us to observe that the Regulations made for supplying the Shipping & Market with Provisions have been very properly carried into Execution & seem to operate entirely to	The island was to requisition the quantity wanted from Fort Marlborough and stop requisitioning that article from Bengal. 22: The Court had directed the supercargoes of the *Drake*, *Warwick*, *Prince George* and *Rhoda* to procure and load aboard those four ships the whole quantity of China goods the island had requisitioned, so it would receive nothing from the other ships coming from China. 23: The Court now sent a parcel of fruit trees and would keep doing so year by year, and once the plantations were well enough stocked with them, it wished the rest distributed among such planters as had gardens of their own, so that the homeward-bound shipping might be more plentifully supplied with their produce. 24: The Court was glad to see that the regulations made for supplying the shipping and the market with provisions had been properly carried out and seemed to work entirely to its satisfaction. 25: The Court noted that Thomas Greentree had expressed his sense of its favour in allowing him to stay on the island and had promised to be very careful in his conduct in future, and it observed further that in the island's consultation of 20 February Benjamin Maxure, a planter, had rightly been reprimanded for trying to pass off a false account of cattle for slaughter, and since he was represented as a troublemaker who seemed ready to stir up fresh discontent among the planters, the island was to keep a constant watch on his behaviour and report on it, so

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		our Satisfaction 25 We observe Thomas Greentree expressed his sence of our Favour, in permitting him to remain on the Island, & Promised to be very circumspect on his behaviour for the future. We must observe further, that in your Consultation of the 20 of February last Benjamin Maxine Planter was properly reprimanded for his endeavouring to impose upon your False Account of Cattle for Slaughter, & as he is there represented to be of a Factious Disposition & seemed ready to revive Discontent among the Planters, you must have a Constant Eye upon his behaviour, & give us an account thereof, that we may give such Orders with regard to him, as may be for the Common Benefit. **Margin Notes:** China Goods laden on Four Ships Fruit Trees Regulations for supplying the Shipping & Market with Provisions Thomas Greentree Benjamin Maxine	that the Court might give such orders about him as would serve the common good. **Interpretations** The Court's plan to ship out fruit trees year by year and have planters with gardens raise them was aimed squarely at victualling the homeward fleet, since St Helena's chief value lay in provisioning ships for the long haul back to England, and fresh fruit was a defence against scurvy on a passage where the disease could cripple a crew, so the horticultural instruction was a matter of maritime supply rather than of settlement agriculture for its own sake. The order to keep a constant watch on Benjamin Maxure and report on his conduct shows how the Company governed a small and isolated planter community through surveillance and the threat of removal, since a single man judged factious was thought capable of stirring discontent across the settlement, and Thomas Greentree's case in the same paragraph, allowed to remain only after expressing submission, marks the same instrument of control, permission to stay on the island held out as a reward for good behaviour and withdrawable at the Court's pleasure.
11	7	26 As you have Writ off in your Books to Account Current London the sum of One hundred, & twenty two Pounds, thirteen Shilling & three farthings which was paid into our Cash by Mr Thomas French for the Claim made by Mr James Du Bois for a Share of his late Fathers Personal Estate in right of his Child, who is a Grand Daughter of the late Mr French we have accordingly paid the same 27 We observe what you say with regard to Capt Oliver of the Grantham, the last year's Store Ship requiring so large a Number of Cattle as Ninety one amounting in weight, to Ten thousand two hundred and twenty nine pounds as you represent it to be a Quantity, the Island cannot afford every year to one Ship, without running the risque of some of our latter Ships wanting, & your falling short at the Market, We leave it to your Discretion, to regulate the quantity of Cattle every Ship is to have for the future, in such a manner as shall best answer our general Intention of supplying the Market, & that every Ship which calls at the Island, may have a reasonable proportion 28 We are informed that a very bad use has been made of the liberty we have given to the Inhabitants to purchase what Liquors they please out of our Ships, by retailing them in a Clandestine Manner, in many parts of the Island to the great Prejudice of both Blacks & Whites, as the Vice of Drunkenness is apparently & greatly encreased thereby of late, Our only intention in granting the said Liberty to the Inhabitants was that they might be furnished with Liquors from time to time for the use of themselves &	26: The island had written off in its books to the Court's account current in London the sum of £122 13s 3d, which Thomas French had paid into the Court's cash for the claim made by James Du Bois on behalf of his child, a granddaughter of the late Mr French, for a share of her late father's personal estate, and the Court had accordingly paid the same. 27: The Court noted what the island said about Captain Oliver of the *Grantham*, whose store ship the previous year had required so large a number of cattle, 61 in all, weighing 10,229 pounds, and since this was a quantity the island could not afford every year to a single ship without risking that some of its later ships went short or the market fell into deficiency, the Court left it to the island's discretion to regulate how much cattle every ship was to have in future, in whatever way best answered its general aim of supplying the market and gave every ship calling at the island a reasonable share. 28: The Court had learned that a very bad use had been made of the liberty it gave the inhabitants to buy what liquors they pleased out of its ships, since they retailed the liquor secretly in many parts of the island, to the great harm of both blacks and whites, the vice of drunkenness having plainly and greatly increased of late, whereas the Court had meant the liberty only so that the inhabitants might supply liquor from time to time for the use of themselves and their families, and it therefore empowered and directed the island to take whatever measures it thought fit to stop the retailing of spirituous liquors, and even at the licensed houses the island was to take particular care that drinking to excess was discouraged and prevented, and it further empowered the island to impose such penalties on offenders as it thought reasonable. **Interpretations** The variation in the cattle drawn by Captain Oliver's store ship, 61 head at 10,229 pounds, against the general run of vessels reflected the special burden a store ship placed on the island, since she carried provisions for a settlement rather than passengers and crew alone, and the Court's response, devolving the rationing of cattle to the men on the spot, shows London recognising that only local knowledge of the harvest and the shipping in the road could balance one ship's demand against the market's capacity, a matter

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		their Families only, & therefore we do Impower & Direct you to take such Measures as you shall think proper to prevent the retailing of Spirituous Liquors, excepting at the Licensed Houses, & even at those Houses, you must take particular care, that Drinking to Excess be Discouraged & Prevented, & we further empower you to lay such Penalties on offenders as you shall think reasonable **Margin Notes:** Grantham Store Ship in respect to the Number of Cattle the Island can supply to one Ship Regulating the quantity of Cattle to be Delivered to each Ship Preventing the Inhabitants Drinking to Excess in the retailing of Liquors Regulating the retailing of Liquors on the Island	the Company could not regulate from six months' distance. The distinction the Court drew between private consumption and clandestine retailing marks the point at which a domestic liberty became a fiscal and social problem, since unlicensed resale escaped the control of the licensed houses through which the Company both taxed drink and contained its effects, and the direction to impose penalties shows the settlement's drink trade being brought under a regulatory and revenue regime rather than left to private dealing.
12	8	29 We observe several Parts of the Fortifications & Works have suffered considerably from the great Torrents of Water pouring upon them occasioned by Violent Rains, we observe likewise, that you immediately ordered them to be repaired & for the greater Expedition employed many of the Soldiery thereon, with an Additional Pay for their Assistance we entirely approve of the same, & we recommend it to you to take the utmost care that all the Fortifications on the Island be kept in the most respectable Condition, this recommendation is more particularly necessary at this time, that you may be prepared to Baffle any Attempts upon the Island, if the present Differences between the English & French should unhappily terminate in a Rupture between the Two Nations. 30 And here we think, it necessary as a further Security to the Island & the Shipping that may be riding in the road to Positively Direct, that from this time forward you observe it as a Standing Order, that no Ship whatsoever, either English or Foreign be suffered to pass Mundens Point, & come into the Road in the Night time 31 As Mr Thomas Frenchs Resignation of our Service makes it necessary to appoint another Covenant Servant, & as you have recommended Charles Steward for that purpose as being well Instructed in Accounts & Writing, & deserving of our Favour, We have accordingly chosen him a Writer for the term of five years to commence from the time you first employed him, You must acquaint him, that he must get Two Persons to give Security for him here in England in the sum of five hundred Pounds & you are to cause him to Execute the Covenants, which done, you are to return them to us by the next conveyance.	29: The Court saw that several parts of the fortifications and works had suffered badly from the great torrents of water pouring over them after violent rains, and it noted too that the island had at once ordered them repaired and, to speed the work, had put many of the soldiers to it with extra pay for their help, all of which the Court fully approved, and it urged the island to take the greatest care that every fortification on the island was kept in the most respectable condition, a charge the more necessary at that time so that the island might be ready to beat off any attempt upon it, should the present differences between the English and French unhappily end in a rupture between the two nations. 30: As a further safeguard to the island and to the shipping riding in the road, the Court positively directed that from then on the island was to treat it as a standing order that no ship whatever, English or foreign, was allowed to pass Munden's Point and come into the road during the night. 31: Since Thomas French's resignation from the Court's service made it necessary to appoint another covenant servant, and the island had recommended Charles Steward as well grounded in accounts and writing and deserving of the Court's favour, the Court had accordingly chosen him a writer for a term of five years, to run from the time the island first employed him, and the island was to tell him that he must find two persons to give security for him in England in the sum of £500, and it was to have him execute the covenants and return them to the Court by the next ship. **Interpretations** The standing order barring any ship from passing Munden's Point into the road at night was a defensive measure keyed to the threat of war with France, since a vessel entering the anchorage under cover of darkness could not be identified or challenged until she was already among the shipping, and by forcing every arrival to wait for daylight the Company ensured that a hostile ship could not slip in disguised as a friend, Munden's Point marking the northern approach to the roadstead off James Valley. The requirement that Charles Steward find two sureties bound in £500 before taking up his writership shows how the Company secured the honesty of its junior servants, since a writer handled accounts and cash far beyond his own means to repay, and the bond made two men in England answerable for his conduct, giving the Company a domestic remedy against loss that it could enforce at home even when the servant himself was thousands of miles away.

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		Margin Notes: Fortifications & Works suffered by the great Torrents of Water & to be kept in the best Condition No Ship to pass Mundens Point & come into the Road in the Night time Mr Thomas Frenchs Resignation Charles Steward appointed a Writer	
13	9	32 You are not to suffer our late Surgeon Mr Falconer to continue any longer on the Island, than is absolutely necessary for the Adjusting his Accounts with the Inhabitants 33 We have sent you by this Ship, Ten Recruits for your Garrison, whose names are mentioned in the enclosed List 34 This Ship likewise carries about Fifty Soldiers who are intended for our Service on the West Coast, you are therefore upon no Account whatsoever to Detain any of them at St Helena 35 An Act having passed in the last Sessions of Parliament, for empowering the Company to hold Courts Martial in the East Indies & at St Helena, which being after the Departure of the Grantham last Season, we therefore now send you a Separate Packet, containing the necessary Powers & Instructions, together with a Letter of Attorney dated this Day for carrying the same in Execution, to all which you are particularly referred 36 You have, in your Letter of the 15 of July last, given us a full and satisfactory Account, of the several Claims & Demands upon the Estate of the late Governor Goodwin together with your opinion upon every one of them by your said Letter, we find the Claims to be as follows vizt Captain Hunter Forty four pounds three Shilling & three pence Richard Geerling thirty two pounds three Shillings & nine pence half penny, Matthew Curling ten pounds fifteen Shillings & eight pence Francis Wrangham one hundred & thirteen pounds eleven Shillings & five pence half penny Richard Beale two Pounds twelve shillings & Six pence John Doveton six pounds seventeen shilling & a half penny James Richardson two pounds nineteen shilling & six pence & the Heirs of Eleanor Worrall Forty one pounds, twelve Shillings, & two pence, amounting together to the Sum of Two hundred **Margin Notes:** Mr Falconer late Surgeon Recruits sent Soldiers for the West Coast not to be Detained An Act passed for holding Courts Martial in the East Indies & at St Helena Concerning the several Claims & Demands upon the Estate of the late Governor Goodwin	32: The island was not to let the Court's late surgeon Mr Falconer stay any longer than was strictly needed to settle his accounts with the inhabitants. 33: The Court had sent by this ship ten recruits for the island's garrison, whose names appeared in the enclosed list. 34: This ship also carried about 50 soldiers meant for the Court's service on the west coast, so the island was on no account whatever to keep any of them at St Helena. 35: An act had passed in the last sitting of Parliament empowering the Company to hold courts martial in the East Indies and at St Helena, and since this came after the *Grantham* sailed the previous season, the Court now sent a separate packet containing the necessary powers and instructions, together with a letter from the Court dated that day for carrying the act into effect, to all of which the island was particularly referred. 36: The island had, in its letter of 15 July, given a full and satisfactory account of the various claims and demands upon the estate of the late Governor Goodwin, with its opinion on every one of them, and the Court found the claims to be as follows. Captain Hunter, £44 3s 3d Richard Geerling, £32 3s 9½d Matthew Curling, £10 15s 8d Francis Wrangham, £113 11s 5½d Richard Beale, £2 12s 6d John Doveton, £6 17s 6½d James Richardson, £2 19s 6d the heirs of Eleanor Worrall, £41 12s 2d These amounted together to the sum of two hundred [...]. **Interpretations** The act empowering the Company to hold courts martial at St Helena and in the East Indies gave the settlements a formal military jurisdiction they had previously lacked, and its timing matters, since the arrival of regular royal troops and the prospect of open war with France meant the Company now needed lawful authority to try and punish soldiers under military discipline rather than relying on the ordinary civil powers of a trading garrison. The settlement of the claims against Governor Goodwin's estate shows the Company acting as the forum through which a dead servant's debts to the island community were adjudicated and paid, since a governor who died in office left obligations to captains, planters and tradesmen that only the Court in London could authorise against the estate, and the careful listing of each creditor with a precise figure reflects the Company's role in bringing order to the private financial affairs of its officers across the distance between London and the island.

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14	10	hundred & fifty four pounds, fifteen Shillings & four pence half penny, all which after a due examination you admit as just Debts on the said Estate, & as there appears, by your last General Books ending the 11 of October 1753 to be a Ballance of One hundred & forty one pounds ten shillings & eleven pence half penny due from the Company to the said Governor Goodwins Estate, we are come to a Resolution to divide among the several Claimants beforementioned, the said sum of one hundred & forty one pounds ten shillings and eleven pence half penny in proportion to their said respective Claims you are therefore hereby Directed to pay accordingly to all the several Claimants or their Representatives at St Helena their proper proportions excepting only the proportion of the late Captain Hunters Demand, which we intend to pay to his Representative now in England, You must take Discharges in full of all Demands from the several Claimants, upon your paying them, & you are to carry the several Sums to the Credit of Governor Goodwins Estate. 37 On the application of William More late a Serjeant in our Forces at St Helena, we have given him liberty to return in the Exeter and remain there, untill he has adjusted his depending Concerns, on the finishing of which **Margin Notes:** Concerning the late Governor Goodwins Estate William More permitted to return to England	The claims came to £254 15s 4½d in all, which the Court, after due examination, admitted as just debts on the estate, and since the island's last general books ending 11 October 1753 showed a balance of £141 10s 11½d due from the Company to Governor Goodwin's estate, the Court had resolved to divide that £141 10s 11½d among the several claimants in proportion to their respective claims. The island was therefore directed to pay each claimant at St Helena, or their representatives, their proper share, except only the share of the late Captain Hunter's demand, which the Court meant to pay to his representative then in England. The island was to take discharges in full of all demands from each claimant upon paying them, and to carry the several sums to the credit of Governor Goodwin's estate. 37: On the application of William More, late a sergeant in the Court's forces at St Helena, the Court had given him leave to return in the *Exeter* and remain there until he had settled his outstanding affairs, on the finishing of which [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's method of settling Goodwin's estate reveals the mechanics of an insolvent account, since the admitted debts of £254 15s 4½d exceeded the £141 10s 11½d the Company owed the estate, so the creditors could not be paid in full and instead received a proportional dividend on their claims, the standard remedy where an estate's liabilities outran its assets, with each claimant taking a fraction of what was owed rather than the whole. The Court's decision to settle Captain Hunter's share directly with his representative in England, apart from the others paid at St Helena, turned on the practical geography of the estate, since Hunter's heir had left the island while the rest of the creditors remained there, and paying each party where they stood spared the Company the trouble and risk of remitting money across the ocean to a claimant it could reach at home.
15	11	he is to repair back again to England. We are Your Loving Friends Signed R. Drake Rich Chauncy M. Mabbott P. Godfrey John Payne W Watts Stephen Law Cha: Gough Nich Linwood Hen Crabb Boulton W Wilberforce Senr Cha: Cutts Rob Jones Willm Burrell London 7 November 1755	On finishing those affairs he was to return to England. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 5 November 1755, and signed by R. Drake, Richard Chauncy, W. Mabbot, R. Godfrey, John Payne, W. Webb, Stephen Law, Charles Gough, Nicholas Linwood, H. Frankland Boulton, W. Wilberforce, Charles Cutts, Robert Jones and William Burwell.
16	12	Our Governor & Council at St Helena 1 As we are obliged to keep a Military Force at the Companys Settlements in the East Indies, and at the Island of St Helena, and as it is necessary, that such forces should be kept under proper order and Discipline, and there being some Doubt as to the Companys power to exercise Martial Law in time of Peace, We have obtained an Act of Parliament, for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and other	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the powers for holding courts martial. 1: Since the Company was obliged to keep a military force at its settlements in the East Indies and at the island of St Helena, and it was necessary that such forces be kept under proper order and discipline, and there was some doubt about the Company's power to exercise martial law in time of peace, the Court had obtained an act of Parliament for punishing mutiny, desertion and other offences committed by the troops in its pay at St Helena, and the King, in

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		offences committed by the Troops, in our Pay at St Helena, and His Majesty, in consequence of the Act, has established certain Articles of War. 2 The Act passed so late in the last Sessions that our Ship was dispatched for St Helena, before it had received the Royal Assent. 3 We now send you The printed Act of Parliament with the Articles of War The Court of Directors Commission authorizing you to appoint Courts Martial. The form of appointing a Person to officiate as Judge Advocate. Instructions for the proceedings of the Judge Advocate Form of proceeding at a Court Martial. 4 As the Act takes place from the Time of the Publication you are, with the first convenient opportunity **Margin Notes:** Necessity of keeping a Military Force under proper order at the Companys Settlements in the East Indies & St Helena Acts &ca sent Instructions sent	consequence of the act, had established certain articles of war. 2: The act passed so late in the last sitting that the Court's ship was dispatched for St Helena before it had received the royal assent. 3: The Court now sent the following. 1: The printed act of Parliament with the articles of war. 2: The Court of Directors commission authorising the island to appoint courts martial. 3: The form of appointing a person to act as judge advocate. 4: Instructions for the proceedings of the judge advocate. 5: The form of proceeding at a court martial. 4: Since the act took effect from the time of its publication, the island was, at the first convenient opportunity [...]. **Interpretations** The act marked a constitutional turning point in the Company's authority over its garrisons, since a trading corporation had no inherent power to impose military discipline in peacetime, that being a prerogative of the Crown, and by securing statutory authority to punish mutiny and desertion the Company obtained a lawful footing for the standing military establishment that the arrival of regular troops and the threat of war with France had made permanent. The careful separation of the enclosed documents into commission, judge advocate's appointment, instructions and forms of proceeding shows the Company transplanting the whole apparatus of English military justice to a remote settlement in a single packet, since a court martial required not only the power to convene it but a trained prosecuting officer and fixed procedural forms, and the island possessed none of these until London supplied them in writing.
17	13	opportunity after the receipt of it, To cause it to be published, and for that purpose, and to make it as notorious as possible, Our Governor and Council should assemble themselves together, with our whole Military Force under Arms, or so many as can be spared from Duty, And the Act of Parliament and Articles of War should be publickly read before them. 5 After the Act and Articles are published, you must as soon as you conveniently can, cause the Forces in our pay to be mustered and the Articles of War to be read over to them, and they must severally be asked, if they are willing to continue in the Companys Service, subject to the Articles of War, for the remainder of the time, they have contracted for, such as do not must be dismissed the Service, and an Entry must be made of the Names of such, as shall be willing to continue, and of those that desire to be Discharged. 6 If any of those who take their discharge shall afterwards incline to inlist again, the Articles of War must be read to such person, and his consent and submission to them had, and an Entry made thereof and the same method must be observed with respect to such Recruits or other forces, as we do now, or may hereafter send you. 7 The appointment of Courts Martial is in our Governor and Council or major part of them, who, as often as there shall be occasion, are to signify their pleasure to the Judge Advocate, either in writing or by word of mouth to summons a Court	After receiving the act the island was to have it published at the first opportunity, and to make it as widely known as possible the Governor and Council were to assemble together with the whole military force under arms, or as many as could be spared from duty, and the act of Parliament and articles of war were to be read publicly before them. 5: Once the act and articles were published, the island was, as soon as it conveniently could, to have the forces in the Court's pay mustered and the articles of war read out to them, and each man was to be asked whether he was willing to continue in the Company's service, subject to the articles of war, for the remainder of the time he had contracted for, and any who would not were to be dismissed the service, and an entry was to be made of the names of those willing to continue and of those wishing to be discharged. 6: If any who took their discharge later chose to enlist again, the articles of war were to be read to that person, his consent and submission to them obtained, and an entry made of it, and the same method was to be followed with any recruits or other forces the Court then sent or might send afterwards. 7: The appointment of courts martial rested with the Governor and Council, or the greater part of them, who, as often as there was occasion, were to signify their pleasure to the judge advocate, either in writing or by word of mouth, to summon a court martial to meet at whatever time and place was thought proper. **Interpretations** The requirement that every soldier be individually asked whether he would continue in service under the articles of war, with his consent entered by name, treated the articles as a fresh condition imposed on men who had enlisted under the old regime, and this careful recording of each man's assent or refusal shows the Company guarding against a later challenge

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		Martial, to meet at such time and place, as shall be thought proper. **Margin Notes:** Articles &ca to be published as possible Articles of War to be read to the Military & those who are not willing to continue to be dismissed The same method to be observed with respect to Recruits &ca which you shall be sent to them and also to all Recruits hereafter to be sent Concerning the appointment of Courts Martial	to the legality of any punishment, since a soldier tried under a code he had never accepted might dispute the court's authority over him. The vesting of the power to convene courts martial in the Governor and Council rather than in any military officer kept ultimate control of military justice in civil hands, since at St Helena the Company's civil government stood above its garrison, and by reserving to itself the decision to summon a court the Council ensured that the machinery of military discipline could not be turned by the soldiery to its own ends or used without the sanction of the island's governing body.
18	14	8 These Instructions together with the Act of Parliament and Articles of War we now Send you we hope will be sufficient, to enable you to put the Act in Execution, and we particularly recommend it to you always to take care that you strictly and exactly keep to the Act of Parliament and Articles of War, and by no means to exceed the power thereby given. 9 And we direct you to transmit Copies of the Proceedings of all Courts Martial and of all other your Transactions, in consequence of this Act of Parliament and Articles of War, and of these our Instructions. We are Your loving Friends. Signed R. Drake Rich Chauncey M. Mabbott P. Godfrey John Payne W Watts Stephen Law Cha Gough Nich Linwood H Crabb Boulton W Wilberforce Junr Cha Cutts Rob Jones Will Barwell London 7 November 1754 **Margin Notes:** These Instructions with the Act &ca sent Copies of the Proceedings of the Courts Martial &ca to be transmitted	8: The Court now sent these instructions together with the act of Parliament and articles of war, which it hoped would be enough to enable the island to put the act into effect, and it particularly urged the island always to keep strictly and exactly to the act and articles and on no account to exceed the power they gave. 9: The Court further directed the island to send home copies of the proceedings of all courts martial and of all its other transactions arising under the act, the articles of war and these instructions. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 5 November 1755, and signed by R. Drake, Richard Chauncy, W. Mabbot, R. Godfrey, John Payne, W. Webb, Stephen Law, Charles Gough, Nicholas Linwood, H. Frankland Boulton, W. Wilberforce junior, Charles Cutts, Robert Jones and William Burwell.
19	15	Our Governor & Council of St Helena. 1 Since the Departure of the Peter last Year, with our General Letter of the 27 of November 1754, and a Separate Letter of the said Date, containing Directions for carrying into Execution the Act of Parliament, for empowering the Company to hold Courts Martial in the East Indies & at St Helena We have received your several Letters of the 1 December 1754, of the 7, 18, 19, 23 and 28 of March 1755, the 2, 14, 18, 20 and 29 of April, the 5, 10 and 23 of June, the 27 of July, & the 3 of August following 2 We have been extremely happy this Season in the safe Arrival of the number of Ships from the several parts of	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the year's correspondence and shipping. 1: Since the *Peter* sailed the previous year with the Court's general letter of 27 November 1754 and a separate letter of the same date carrying directions for putting into effect the act of Parliament empowering the Company to hold courts martial in the East Indies and at St Helena, the Court had received the island's general letters of 1 December 1754, of 7, 18, 19, 22 and 28 March 1755, of 2, 14, 18, 20 and 29 April, of 5, 10 and 23 June, of 27 July and of 3 August following. 2: The Court was very glad of the safe arrival that season of the number of ships from the various parts of the East Indies named in the accompanying list. 3: Besides the ships mentioned in the Court's letter by the *Exeter* as taken up for the Company's service that season, the Court had freighted the *Codrington*, James Samson commander, for the Coast and Bay, to stay in India, and had also fitted out its own ship the *Drayton*, Michael Morgan commander, consigned for Bombay, where she was to be sold unless the President and Council thought it more for the Company's service to keep her for any

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		the East Indies, which are mentioned in the accompanying List 3 Besides the Ships mentioned in our Letter by the Exeter, as taken up for the Companys Service that Season We freighted the Todington James Samson Commander for the Coast & Bay, and to stay in India We likewise fitted out Our own Ship the Dragon Michael Morgan Commander & Consigned for to Bombay, where she is to be disposed of unless the President & Council may think it more for the Companys Service to make use of her on any extraordinary occasion, in which case, considering the present Situation of Affairs, it is not unlikely, but that she may return again to England 4 The Times of the Departure of our several Ships last Season are inserted in the beforementioned List 5 The Ships taken up for the Companys Service this Season are as follows vizt Ships **Margin Notes:** Acknowledging the receipt of Letters Safe arrival of the Ships from the East Indies Draggon Dragon taken up for the Coast & Bombay Departure of the Ships Ships taken up	extraordinary occasion, in which case, given the present state of affairs, she might well return again to England. 4: The dates on which the several ships sailed the previous season were set down in the list already mentioned. 5: The ships taken up for the Company's service that season were as follows. **Interpretations** The discretion left to the President and Council at Bombay over whether to sell the *Drayton* or hold her against an extraordinary occasion reflected the uncertainty of the moment, since the phrase pointing to the present state of affairs signalled the approaching war with France, and a ship that would ordinarily be disposed of at the end of her voyage acquired a new value as a hull that might be needed for transport or defence if hostilities broke out in Indian waters.
20	16	Ships Ton Commanders Consignment Harcourt 499 Wm Webber for China directly Griffin 499 Ro Dethick St Helena & Limpec in China Carnarvon 499 Norton Hutchinson Stormont 499 Josiah Hindman Suffolk 499 Wm Wilson } Fort St George Godolphin 499 Wm Hutchinson and China Oxford 499 Thos Stevens St Helena & Bencoolen Chesterfield 499 Edwin Carter Walpole 499 Francis Fowler } Coast & Bay Delaware 499 Thos Winter Marlbrough 499 Alexander McCleod Madeira Hector 499 John Williams China & Bombay Clinton 499 John Nanfan Royal Duke 499 George Cuming } Bombay Portfield 499 Carteret Leguyt 6 Such Orders, Directions & Instructions as shall be given by the Secret Committee for the time being, must be strictly attended to & Executed by the Governor, or whoever else they are directed to, The Gentlemen who compose that Committee this present Season, are Roger Drake, Peter Godfrey, Christopher Burrow, John Payne, & James Raymond Esqrs 7 Being desirous to forward all, or as large a Sort of the Materials for Building the Hospital & Barracks as possible, & likewise to comply with your Indents, particularly that for Ammunition & all kinds of Military Stores We have laden the several Store Ship fixed upon the Griffen one of our China Ships to proceed first to St Helena, with as considerable a Share of the said Materials, Stores & other useful Articles, as she can take in the particulars of all which will appear by the	*Harcourt*, 499 tons, William Webber, for China directly *Griffin*, 499 tons, Richard Dethick, St Helena and Canton in China *Carnarvon*, 499 tons, Norton Hutchinson, Fort St George and China *Stormont*, 499 tons, Josiah Hindman, Fort St George and China *Suffolk*, 499 tons, William Wilson, Fort St George and China *Godolphin*, 499 tons, William Hutchinson, Fort St George and China *Oxford*, 499 tons, Thomas Reddens, St Helena and Bencoolen *Chesterfield*, 499 tons, Edwin Carter, Coast and Bay *Walpole*, 499 tons, Francis Fowler, Coast and Bay *Delaware*, 499 tons, Thomas Winter, Coast and Bay *Marlborough*, 499 tons, Alexander McCleod, Madeira *Hector*, 499 tons, John Williams, China and Bombay *Clinton*, 499 tons, John Nanfan, Bombay *Royal Duke*, 499 tons, George Cuming, Bombay *Portfield*, 499 tons, Carteret Leigh, Bombay 6: Any orders, directions and instructions given by the Secret Committee for the time being were to be strictly followed and carried out by the Governor or whoever else they were directed to, and the gentlemen composing that committee for the present season were Roger Drake, Peter Godfrey, Christopher Burrow, John Payne and James Raymond. 7: Wishing to forward all, or as large a part as possible, of the materials for building the hospital and barracks, and likewise to meet the island's requisition, particularly for ammunition and all kinds of military stores, the Court had fixed on the *Griffin*, one of its China ships, as the store ship to sail first to St Helena with as considerable a share of the materials, stores and other useful articles as she could take in, the particulars of all which would appear by the [...]. **Interpretations**

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		Margin Notes: Ships taken up Secret Committee Griffen Store Ship user<uploaded_files> <file_path>/mnt/user-data/uploads/1788001621151_image.png</file_path> </uploaded_files>The image referenced in your message isn't present in the uploads folder — the most recent file there is the one I already transcribed (the ships list ending "the"). Please re-upload the next page and I'll continue the transcription.	The concentration of that season's outward ships on Fort St George rather than the broader spread of Coast and Bay destinations of the previous year reflected the shifting weight of the Company's Indian trade towards Madras, and the choice to route several vessels there together suggests a deliberate massing of shipping at the presidency most exposed to the French on the Coromandel Coast as the two nations drifted towards open war. The renewed effort to send out the hospital and barracks materials, carried over from the previous season's letter, shows how a large building programme outran the capacity of a single ship, since the Court had promised the balance the year before and was still forwarding it, and the decision to load the store ship *Griffin* first and fullest for St Helena reveals the island's fortification being given priority over the ordinary China lading she would otherwise have carried.
21	17	the enclosed Invoice & Bill of Lading, The remainder will be sent in the Oxford, or as much thereof as can be laden, consistent with the room necessary to be reserved for the Consignments to the West Coast. 8 As the Griffen proceeds to China upon a particular Scheme, which may be defeated if she does not arrive there, as early as the Season will permit, You must therefore use the utmost diligence in unloading her, that she may proceed on her Voyage without loss of Time & if possible within the Charterparty Time You must give the Commander Orders to make the best of his way to China, agreeable to the Instructions he has received from Us & from the Secret Committee 9 Should you find the Commander Dilatory or not sufficiently expeditious in getting out to Sea, you are to Protest against him, & the Owners of the Ship, for the Damage and Detriment such Delay may be the occasion of to the Company 10 We intend to dispatch the Oxford the beginning of December, & as, after the Consignments to you are delivered, she is to proceed to the West Coast, We give you this previous notice, that you may have every thing in readiness to forward her Despatch accordingly within the usual Charterparty, how 11 We cannot take upon us to say what Quantity of Fresh Provisions any of his Majestys returning Ships may stand in need of, but in order that they as well as our own Ships may have as plentiful a Supply, as the Stock upon the Island can allow of, you must not suffer any Foreign Ship to be Supplied with more than shall appear to be absolutely, necessary, & here we cannot but observe, that the French Ship called the East India Company carried off no less than Twenty five Head of Cattle and **Margin Notes:**	These particulars would appear in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading, and the rest of the materials would be sent in the *Oxford*, or as much as could be loaded consistent with the room to be kept for the consignments to the west coast. 8: Since the *Griffin* was proceeding to China on a particular scheme that might be defeated if she did not arrive there as early as the season would allow, the island was to use the greatest diligence in unloading her, so that she might continue her voyage without loss of time and, if possible, within her charter party time, and the island was to order her commander to make the best of his way to China in line with the instructions he had received from the Court and from the Secret Committee. 9: If the island found the commander slow or not expeditious enough in getting out to sea, it was to protest against him and the ship's owners for the damage and loss such delay might cause the Company. 10: The Court intended to dispatch the *Oxford* at the beginning of December, and since she was to proceed to the west coast after the consignments to the island were delivered, it gave the island this early notice so that everything might be ready to forward her dispatch within the usual charter party time. 11: The Court could not undertake to say what quantity of fresh provisions the King's returning ships might need, but so that they and its own ships might have as plentiful a supply as the island's stock would allow, the island was not to let any foreign ship be supplied with more than plainly appeared to be absolutely necessary, and here it could not but remark that the French ship called the East India Company had carried off no fewer than 25 head of cattle [...]. **Interpretations** The instruction to protest formally against a dilatory commander and the ship's owners was a legal step with real financial consequences, since a recorded protest preserved the Company's right to recover from the owners the losses caused by delay, the charter party having bound them to a timely voyage, and the direction shows the Company arming its Governor with the documentary means to enforce a shipping contract at the far end of the world. The warning against over-supplying foreign ships, driven home by the example of a French vessel that had taken 25 head of cattle, reveals the strategic dimension of the island's victualling as war approached, since every bullock given to a French ship both drained a limited stock needed for the Company's own homeward fleet and helped sustain a potential enemy's shipping, so the market at St Helena became a matter of national advantage rather than ordinary commerce.

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		Evidence to dispatch the Griffen immediately for the prosecution of the Scheme to China &ca To Protest against the Commander if not sufficiently expeditious in getting out to Sea & the Owners for the delay Oxford to be dispatched as usual after the Consignments to you unloading her at Bencoolen Cannot ascertain the quantity of Fresh Provisions the returning Ships may want Supposing that a French Ship should have as many Bullocks	
22	18	and if we are rightly, informed a proportionable Quantity of other Live Stock, when at the Same Time it appears no one Ship of the Season belonging to Us, the Exeter excepted had near that Quantity. 12 You did right in demanding & receiving from the beforementioned French Ship such of his Majestys British Subjects, whom you were informed were on board, & at the same Time it was but Justice to comply with the Commanders Requisition, to have an Exchange of Man for Man out of the French, discovered on board our Ships there in the Road. 13 It is but reasonable that the Commanders of our Ships who, for want of proper Boats of their own, make use of Our Long Boats for Watering & other heavy Work, should if they have time give an effectual Repair for the Damage they suffer at least but if that cannot be done, you must charge their Accounts with such a Sum as you shall judge reasonable, as well for the use of Our Boats, as the Wear & Tear of them, We have frequently given you liberty to buy proper Boats of the Commanders of the returning Ships, we do all accordingly, have you buy them, whenever they are wanted, as it is difficult to supply you from hence. 14 As we find you have a considerable Ballance of Cash in your hands, you will not for the present at least, want a Supply, You are therefore not, to take any Treasure out of these Ships, the Griffen You are none out of the Oxford, on her Arrival than shall be absolutely necessary 15 By this Ship & the Oxford you will find your Indent for Stores & other Articles, as fully complied with as the Stowage in the said Ships will admit of, & as the Demands for Flower, Beef & Pork must be, in the present Conjuncture, very considerable We therefore send you larger Proportions than you write for 16 **Margin Notes:** Approving of your demanding such of his Majestys Subjects that were on board the French Ship & to comply with the Commanders Requisition for an Exchange of Man for Man	The French ship had also, if the Court was rightly informed, carried off a like quantity of livestock, whereas none of the season's own ships, the *Exeter* excepted, had taken near that amount. 12: The island had done right in demanding and receiving from that French ship such of the King's British subjects as it was informed were aboard, and it was only just to meet the commander's request for an exchange of man for man out of the French found aboard the Court's ships then in the road. 13: It was only reasonable that the commanders of the Court's ships, who for want of proper boats of their own made use of the Company's longboats for watering and other heavy work, should, if they had time, give an effective repair for the damage the boats suffered, but if that could not be done, the island was to charge their accounts with whatever sum it judged reasonable for the use of the boats and the wear and tear of them, and the Court had often given the island leave to buy proper boats from the commanders of the returning ships, so it might accordingly buy them whenever they were wanted, since it was difficult to supply them from home. 14: Since the Court found the island had a considerable balance of cash in hand and would not, for the present at least, want a supply, the island was not to take any treasure out of the ships, the *Griffin* any more than the *Oxford*, on their arrival than was absolutely necessary. 15: By this ship and the *Oxford* the island would find its requisition for stores and other articles met as fully as their stowage allowed, and as the demands for flour, beef and pork were bound to be very considerable in the present state of affairs, the Court therefore sent larger quantities than the island had asked for. **Interpretations** The exchange of prisoners man for man out of the ships in the road shows a formal convention of war being observed even before the two nations were openly at war, since British subjects found aboard the French ship were traded for Frenchmen taken on the Company's vessels, an orderly reciprocity that treated the crews as combatants to be exchanged by rule rather than as captives held at will. The Court's decision to send more flour, beef and pork than the island requisitioned marked a departure from the usual practice of shipping to the requisition, and the reason lay in the coming war, since a settlement that might face a French squadron or a longer wait between fleets needed a deeper reserve of salt provisions than its own estimate allowed, so London deliberately overrode the island's figures to build a stock against the disruption of hostilities.

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		Concerning the use of the Long Boats & to give an effectual Repair for the Damage they suffer, & to buy proper Boats of the Commanders of the returning Ships Not to take any Treasure out of these Ships than shall be absolutely necessary Indent for Stores &ca complied with	
23	19	16 Your Military Indents will likewise be fully complied with, in proper Proportions by each Ship, & all, or so many of the Timbers, Deals & other Materials, for Building the Barracks & Hospital, will be laden on the Two Ships, as they can Stow 17 We shall give the necessary directions to the Supra Cargoes of the China Ships, to comply with your Indent for Tea, Chinaware and the ther Articles desired from Canton 18 We would have you renew your Indent for Sugar from the West Coast, & we shall send particular Directions to our Servants there, to comply therewith, in any Quantitys you shall yearly write for 19 The President & Council of Fort St George have been directed to supply you with Coffree Slaves, & in their Letter of the 16 of November last, they have promised a punctual compliance therewith, but as you have not yet received them you must, in your next Application, remind them of the necessity you are under for about thirty Slaves, & we will enforce our former Orders for their supplying you, by the first opportunity 20 You must likewise apply to the President & Council of Fort St George for the Diaper Table Cloths & Napkins you Indent for, as you may be supplyed by them with those Articles upon more reasonable Terms than from hence. 21 The Twenty five Musquets, which you call Pattern Arms, were inserted in the Oxeter Invoice by mistake they being intended only for Exercising the Soldiers aboard & consequently, should have been forwarded for that purpose to the West Coast, as the greater part of the Soldiers on that Ship, proceeded thither 22 As you intimate the said 25 Musquets were too long for your Soldiery, it has been a sufficient hint for our ordering the 250 you Indent for to be made four Inches Shorter **Margin Notes:** Military Indents to be complied with & the Timbers &ca for Building the Barracks & Hospital to be laden on the two Ships Directions to be given to the China Ships to comply with your Indent for Tea &ca Renewing the Indent for Sugar Coffree Slaves to be supplyed from Fort St George Diaper Table Cloths &ca Mistake of the Musquets called Pattern Arms in the Exeters Invoice	16: The island's military requisition would likewise be fully met in proper proportions by each ship, and all, or as many as possible, of the timber, deals and other materials for building the barracks and hospital would be loaded on the two ships as they could stow them. 17: The Court would give the necessary directions to the supercargoes of the China ships to meet the island's requisition for tea, chinaware and the other articles wanted from Canton. 18: The Court wished the island to renew its requisition for sugar from the west coast, and it would send particular directions to its servants there to comply with it in whatever quantities the island asked for each year. 19: The President and Council of Fort St George had been ordered to supply the island with coffee slaves, and in their letter of 16 November they had promised prompt compliance, but since the island had not yet received them, it was, in its next application, to remind them of the necessity it was under for about 30 slaves, and the Court would enforce its earlier orders for supplying them by the first opportunity. 20: The island was likewise to apply to the President and Council of Fort St George for the diaper tablecloths and napkins it had requisitioned, as it might be supplied by them with those articles on more reasonable terms than from home. 21: The 25 muskets the island called pattern arms had been entered in the *Oxford* invoice by mistake, being meant only for drilling the soldiers aboard, and so should have been forwarded for that purpose to the Coast, as the greater part of the soldiers on that ship went there. 22: Since the island indicated that the 25 muskets were too long for its soldiery, this was a sufficient hint for the Court to order that the 250 the island had requisitioned be made four inches shorter [...]. **Interpretations** The coffee slaves the island sought from Fort St George were enslaved labourers to be shipped from Madras for work in coffee cultivation, and the arrangement shows the Company moving slaves between its settlements as a managed internal supply, with St Helena drawing its bonded workforce from the Indian presidencies rather than from the Atlantic trade, and the Court undertaking to enforce delivery against a subordinate settlement that had promised but not performed. The decision to procure the diaper tablecloths, napkins and sugar from within the Company's eastern settlements rather than ship them from England rested on plain economy, since the Indian and Sumatran sources lay far closer to St Helena and offered these goods on cheaper terms, and the routing of the island's requisition through Fort St George and the west coast shows London using its own trading network to victual and furnish the island at less cost than home supply.

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		The Musquets now Ordered to be shorter	
24	20	Shorter, & as we are fully satisfied Wooden Rammers are better than Iron, we have ordered them to be fitted up accordingly. 23 All your useless small Arms & unserviceable Cannon must be sent to England, instead of forwarding them to India to be disposed of at Batavia, as proposed by you, but previously to your sending them on board any of our Ships you must procure a Promise from the Commanders to bring them Freight Free 24 We have directed the Materials to be provided for Building a New Crane, according to your Plan & Indent by the Winchelsea, in order to send as many of them by the Oxford as can be procured by the time of the departure, & she can take in You were to Blame, in not advising us sooner of so necessary a Work, that We might have had time to prevent the disappointment you will certainly, meet with in not receiving the whole this Season. 25 We are much concerned at what you write with regard to the Frequent Mischiefs & Thefts committed in many parts of the Island by a Sett of young Fellows who associate with the Blacks, but we do not, (at present at least,) think proper to apply for Power for inflicting severer Punishment on Offenders than you are at present authorized to do, but if any of the said young Fellows prove irreclaimable take the first opportunity of sending them off the Island 26 We have inspected the List you refer to for the Manner in which each Person has supplyed the Market, our own & Foreign Ships with Cattle, it in general meets with our Approbation, & the same method & care must be steadily pursued, but you must observe what we have said in the beginning of this Letter, not to suffer any Foreign Ships to have a larger Supply than shall be absolutely necessary. 27 upon **Margin Notes:** Useless small Arms & unserviceable Cannon to be sent to England Materials for a New Crane sent by the Winchelsea & Oxford Concerning the frequent Mischiefs & Thefts committed in many parts of the Island & to send such young Fellows off the Island as prove irreclaimable Approving of the Method pursued in supplying the Market &ca with Cattle Not to suffer any Foreign Ships to have too large a Supply	The muskets were to be made shorter, and since the Court was fully satisfied that wooden rammers were better than iron, it had ordered them fitted up accordingly. 23: All the island's useless small arms and unserviceable cannon were to be sent to England instead of being forwarded to India to be sold at Batavia as the island had proposed, but before sending them aboard any of the Court's ships the island was to get a promise from the commanders to bring them home freight free. 24: The Court had directed the materials for building a new crane to be provided according to the island's plan and requisition and sent by the *Winchelsea*, so that as many of them as could be procured by the time of departure might go by the *Oxford* as she could take in, and the island was to blame for not advising sooner of so necessary a work, since had it done so the Court might have had time to prevent the disappointment the island would certainly meet in not receiving the whole that season. 25: The Court was much concerned at what the island wrote about the frequent mischiefs and thefts committed in many parts of the island by a set of young fellows who associated with the blacks, but it did not, for the present at least, think proper to apply for power to inflict severer punishment on offenders than the island was authorised to give, though if any of these young fellows proved beyond reform the island was to take the first opportunity of sending them off the island. 26: The Court had examined the list the island referred to for the manner in which each person had supplied the market, its own and foreign ships, with cattle, and it generally met with the Court's approval, and the same method was to be steadily followed, but the island was to observe what the Court had said at the beginning of the letter and not let any foreign ship have a larger supply than was absolutely necessary. **Interpretations** The order to ship worn-out arms and cannon home to England rather than sell them at Batavia, the Dutch entrepot in Java, reversed the island's more profitable proposal for a plain reason of control, since serviceable metal and even broken ordnance sold in a foreign port could find its way into other hands as war approached, and the Court preferred to forgo the proceeds and recover the material at home, insisting only that it travel freight free so the recovery cost nothing. The Court's refusal to seek harsher powers against the young fellows who consorted with the slaves, choosing instead to expel the incorrigible, reveals a settled preference for removal over severity in governing a small island, since exile permanently rid the settlement of a troublemaker without the inflammation that heavier corporal punishment might provoke among a mixed population of slaves and poor whites, and banishment from a place with no way off was a heavy sanction in itself.
25	21	27 Upon inspecting the State of the Military Stores remaining, received by the Dragon we could not help being surprized	27: On examining the state of the military stores remaining after those received by the *Drayton*, the Court could not help being surprised that the island had not told it earlier what was wanting, especially

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		that you had not before apprized us of what were wanting, especially considering, the Critical Situation of Affairs between the British & French Nations for a considerable Time past, the great Importance of preserving the Island from an Invasion by a Surprize, & as you knew our constant Intention of having, it always kept in a defensible Condition, our Principal design therefore in sending, you two Ships & one of them thus early, is as we have before informed you to supply, you with all the necessary Military Stores & Twenty Recruits for the Garrison Forty of which proceed in the Griffen, as p the enclosed List & likewise to inform you, that Hostilities are commenced between the Two Nations in America, that a great number of French Ships have been already, & are continued to be taken in Europe by our Men of War, but none of them have been condemned, nor have Commissions been issued for Privateers or any Letters of Mart yet granted here, there is no account that the French have as yet issued Letters of Mart or Reprizals, nor have they taken any British Ships that we know of, except the Blandford Man of War of 20 Guns, which has been since restored, by order of the Court of France, as yet there has been no Declaration of War made by either Nation, under this Situation of Affairs therefore, It is of the utmost Consequence, to set about & compleat whatever may be wanting, in all the Fortifications upon the Island, to Erect Additional Batteries wherever you shall judge they may be usefull, & in general to put the Island in the best posture of Defence, which you are hereby advised to set about immediately, & as you will be in want of hands we empower you to give the Soldiers such Encouragements to **Margin Notes:** Surprized that you did not apprize us before of the wanting of Military Stores Design of sending the two Ships & one of them thus early to supply you with Military Stores & Recruits Hostilities commenced between the Two Nations in America & French Ships taken in Europe For Erecting Additional Batteries & putting the Island in the best posture of Defence To give the Soldiers such Encouragements	given the critical state of affairs between the British and French nations for a considerable time, the great importance of keeping the island safe from a surprise invasion and the Court's constant intention, as the island knew, of having it kept in a defensible condition, so its chief aim in sending the island two ships, one of them so early, was, as it had said before, to supply the island with all the necessary military stores and 20 recruits for the garrison, 40 of whom came in the *Griffin*, as the enclosed list showed. The Court likewise informed the island that hostilities had begun between the two nations in America, that a great number of French ships had already been and continued to be taken in Europe by the King's warships, but none of them had been condemned nor had commissions been issued for privateers or any letters of marque yet granted, and there was no account that the French had yet issued letters of marque or reprisal, nor had they taken any British ships the Court knew of, except the *Blandford*, a warship of 20 guns, which had since been restored by order of the Court of France, and as yet neither nation had made any declaration of war. Given this state of affairs, it was of the utmost consequence to set about completing whatever might be wanting in all the fortifications upon the island, to build additional batteries wherever the island judged they might be useful and generally to put the island in the best posture of defence, which the island was directed to begin at once, and since it would be short of hands, the Court empowered it to give the soldiers such encouragement [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's careful account of what had and had not yet happened between the two powers reveals a settlement poised in the narrow interval between hostilities and formal war, since ships were already being taken at sea while no declaration of war had been made and no letters of marque issued, a legal limbo in which captures could not yet be condemned as lawful prizes, and the restoration of the *Blandford* by order of the French court shows both sides still observing the forms of peace even as they seized one another's vessels. The Court's sharp surprise that the island had failed to report its shortages of military stores, set against the known danger from France, exposes the central difficulty of governing at six months' distance, since London could only supply what the island told it was wanting, and a settlement that stayed silent about its deficiencies left itself exposed through a whole sailing season, the fault lying with the island's failure to advise rather than with any reluctance of the Court to provide.
26	22	to assist in carrying on the Works, not only the Fortifications that these necessary ones likewise the Barracks, as you shall judge reasonable, either by an addition to their usual Pay, or an Allowance of Provisions out of our Stores, And here we must recommend to your particular Attention the	The island might give the soldiers such encouragement to help carry on the works, both the necessary fortifications and the barracks, as it judged reasonable, either by adding to their usual pay or by an allowance of provisions out of the Court's stores, and here the Court had to recommend to the island's particular attention the battery at Banks's, which it reported to be much out of repair.

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		Battery at Bankss which you represent to be much out of Repair. 28 You must likewise keep up the exactest Discipline among the Soldiery, that they may be expert in their Exercises & ready upon any Alarm to repair to, & do their Duty wherever they shall be wanted; The Planters must likewise be armed & in constant readiness, to Protect & defend their own, & our Propertys against any Attack of the French. 29 Our intention in sending you Directions, last year, not to suffer any Ships either our own or Foreign Ships to pass Mundens Point in the night time, was clearly to prevent the Danger of being surprized by Ships getting into the Road at that Time, but as you think it will be more effectual not to suffer any to pass Bankss We acquiese therewith, as you on the Spot must be the best Judges, our meaning in general being, that all proper measures should be pursued, which tend to the Security of the Island. 30 We send you by this Ship the Griffin about 40 Recruits for our Garrison, & intend to send you about 30 more by the Oxford. 31 We are very well pleased, that the generality of the Military agreed to continue in our Service, subject to the Articles of War, made in consequence of the Act of Parliament for Punishing, Mutiny & Desertion & other Offences committed by our Troops, We are satisfyed of the great Utility **Margin Notes:** To assist in carrying on the Works & the Battery at Bankss to be repaired The exactest Discipline to be kept up among the Soldiery & the Planters to be armed for their Defence The Directions concerning no Ships passing Mundens Point in the night time & to be as you think most effectual not to pass Bankss Recruits sent Concerning the Military continuing in our Service subject to the Articles of War	28: The island was likewise to keep up the strictest discipline among the soldiery, so that they might be expert in their exercises and ready on any alarm to repair to and do their duty wherever they were wanted, and the planters were also to be armed and in constant readiness to protect and defend their own property and the Court's against any attack by the French. 29: The Court's intention in sending directions the previous year not to let any ship, its own or foreign, pass Munden's Point at night was plainly to prevent the danger of a ship getting into the road under cover of darkness, but since the island thought it more effective not to let any pass Banks's, and the men on the spot must be the best judges, the Court agreed, its general meaning being that all proper measures should be taken for the security of the island. 30: The Court sent by this ship the *Griffin* about 40 recruits for the garrison and intended to send about 30 more by the *Oxford*. 31: The Court was very well pleased that the soldiery generally agreed to continue in its service, subject to the articles of war made under the act of Parliament for punishing mutiny, desertion and other offences committed by the troops, and it was satisfied of the great usefulness [...]. **Interpretations** The choice to shift the night watch from Munden's Point to Banks's reveals the Court deferring to local knowledge over its own standing order, since the two headlands commanded different approaches to the anchorage and only men on the ground could judge which position better closed the road to a ship entering after dark, and the Court's readiness to yield its earlier instruction marks a practical recognition that a defensive line drawn in London might be redrawn to better effect at St Helena. The offer to reward the soldiers for labouring on the fortifications with extra pay or provisions from the stores shows the Company blurring the line between soldier and workman under the pressure of war, since the garrison was too small to both build and defend, and by paying the troops to raise the very batteries they would later man the Court turned its military establishment into a construction force, the battery at Banks's singled out as the most urgent call on that labour.
27	23	Utility of the said Act, if properly carried into Execution, & with as much Lenity, as the nature of the Service will admit of, You must therefore continue to forward to us from Time to Time the Proceedings of your several Courts Martial for our Inspection, in the same manner as those received by the Coulchester and Prince Henry. 32 You may add an Additional Drummer to each Company if you think it necessary 33 We approve of your sending Muster Rolls of the Military apart from the Lists of our Civil Servants, in the manner it is done by the Prince Henry, this method must therefore	The Court was satisfied of the great usefulness of the act, if properly carried into effect and with as much lenity as the nature of the service would allow, so the island was to keep sending home the proceedings of its several courts martial for the Court's inspection, in the same manner as those received by the *Colchester* and *Prince Henry*. 32: The island might add an extra drummer to each company if it thought it necessary. 33: The Court approved the island's sending muster rolls of the soldiery apart from the lists of its civil servants, as was done by the *Prince Henry*, and this method was therefore to be continued in future. 34: The Court was willing that Richard Beale, whom the island had appointed judge advocate, should have an allowance suited to his trouble in that post, but since it could not judge of this itself, it left the island to make him a reasonable allowance and to state in its next advices what that allowance was, for the Court's confirmation.

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		be continued for the future. 34 We are willing that Mr Richard Beale, whom you have appointed Judge Advocate should have an Allowance adequate to his trouble in that Post, but as we cannot be Judges thereof, We shall leave it to you, to make him a reasonable allowance, acquainting us in your next advices, what that allowance is for our Confirmation 35 We are sorry to observe the great damage the young Trees Suffer in the Longwood, from the great number of Rats & Mice if you can point out any Assistance that we can give you from hence to destroy them, we shall readily comply therewith. 36 You have returned to us the Covenants executed by Messrs Wrangham & Charles Steward Writers, but no Persons have yet appeared as Securitys for them, They must therefore write again to their Friends, to give the usual Security, without further Delay. 37 We have inspected the rectifyed Account of the distribution of the late Governor Goodwins money amounting to £141. 10. 11/2, as mentioned in your Letter of the 5 of June last, & find it right, & distributed agreeable to our Orders, We have **Margin Notes:** Continuing to send the Proceedings of the Courts Martial An Additional Drummer to each Company Muster Rolls of the Military apart from the List of Civil Servants to be continued Concerning the Allowance to Mr Richard Beale Judge Advocate Damage the young Trees suffer in the Longwood Wrangham & Steward Writers to give Security Concerning the distribution of the late Governor Goodwins Estate	35: The Court was sorry to see the great damage the young trees suffered in the Longwood from the great number of rats and mice, and if the island could point out any help the Court could give from home to destroy them, it would readily comply. 36: The island had returned the covenants executed by Wrangham and Charles Steward, writers, but no persons had yet appeared as securities for them, so they were to write again to their friends to give the usual security without further delay. 37: The Court had examined the corrected account of the distribution of the late Governor Goodwin's estate, amounting to £141 10s 11½d, as mentioned in the island's letter of 5 June, and found it right and distributed in line with the Court's orders, and it had [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's insistence that the act be carried out with as much lenity as the service would allow, set beside its demand to inspect every court martial's proceedings, reveals a deliberate check on the new military justice, since a distant garrison armed with the power to punish mutiny and desertion might apply it too harshly, and by requiring the records to be sent home the Court kept a reviewing hand over how severely its officers used the authority Parliament had granted. The damage rats and mice inflicted on the young trees at Longwood was more than a local nuisance, since the tree-planting was part of the island's effort to establish timber and shade on ground long stripped by goats and neglect, and the Court's readiness to send help from home to destroy the vermin shows how a small ecological battle bore on the larger and difficult work of making a barren island productive.
28	24	have paid to Mrs Rebecca Hunter Executrix of Captain David Hunter deceased the Sum of £24. 16. 0. being the Proportion of the Deceaseds Claim on Governor Goodwins Estate, You have done right therefore in directing it to be wrote off to Account Current London 38 Lieutenant James Scott not being able to produce either of the two Bills of Exchange drawn by you on the 15 October 1750 for thirty Pounds in favour of his Wife Mrs Martha Scott, We have upon his earnest application notwithstanding, paid him the said Sum of Thirty Pounds, on his giving Security for Delivering, of the said Bills or one of them properly endorsed and for indemnifying the Company in the mean Time, and it appearing, that the Third Bill is still in your Hands, you are to cause Mrs Scott, to whose Order the Bill is Payable, to endorse, the Same to be paid to her Husband and then you are to transmit it so endorsed to us however	The Court had paid Rebecca Hunter, executrix of the late Captain David Hunter, the sum of £44 3s 3d, being the proportion of the deceased's claim on Governor Goodwin's estate, so the island had done right in directing it to be written off to the Court's account current in London. 38: Since Lieutenant James Scott could not produce either of the two bills of exchange the island had drawn on 15 October 1750 for £30 0s 0d in favour of his wife Martha Scott, the Court had nevertheless, on her earnest application, paid him the £30 0s 0d on his giving security for delivering the bills, or one of them, properly endorsed, and for indemnifying the Company in the meantime, and since it appeared the third bill was still in the island's hands, the island was to have Mrs Scott, to whose order the bill was payable, endorse it to be paid to her husband, and then transmit it so endorsed to the Court, keeping an authentic copy of the bill and endorsement for future satisfaction should there be occasion. 39: After shipping 150 barrels of gunpowder aboard the *Griffin* towards the island's military requisition, the Court was told by Captain Dethick that there was not room for the ship's powder by 30 barrels, which obliged it to consent that he might have 30 of the Court's, and since his owners had paid for

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		you are to keep an authentick Copy of the Bill and Endorsement thereon, for future satisfaction, if there should be occasion. 39 After having Shipped one hundred and fifty Barrels of Gun Powder on board the Griffin in part of your Military Indent We were acquainted by Captain Dethick, that there was not room for the Ships Powder by thirty Barrels, which put us under the necessity of consenting that he might have Thirty of Our, and as his Owners have paid us for the Same here; You are accordingly to let him retain Thirty Barrells out of the one **Margin Notes:** Concerning the Claim of Captain David Hunter deceased on Governor Goodwins Estate Concerning the paying Lieutenant James Scott the Amount of a Bill of Exchange & to cause Mrs Scott to endorse the Third Bill Concerning the thirty Barrels of Gun Powder	the same in England, the island was accordingly to let him retain 30 barrels out of the one [...]. **Interpretations** The elaborate care taken over Lieutenant Scott's missing bills of exchange reveals how the Company protected itself against paying the same debt twice, since a bill of exchange was a negotiable instrument that anyone holding it properly endorsed could present for payment, so by paying Scott only against security and an indemnity, and by insisting the surviving bill be endorsed and returned, the Court closed off the risk that a lost bill might later surface in another hand and be paid a second time. The arrangement letting Captain Dethick keep 30 barrels of the Company's gunpowder, because his owners had already paid for the equivalent in England, shows the practical settling of a stowage conflict through a paper transfer rather than a physical one, since it was pointless to land powder the ship needed only to reship its own, so the island simply credited the exchange, the Company's barrels staying aboard against the owners' payment made at home.
29	25	one hundred and fifty now Invoiced, which we will replace by the Oxford. We are Your Loving Friends. Signed R. Drake P. Godfrey John Payne Nath Newnham Junr Henry Plant Whichcott Turner John Boyd S Sulivan Rob Jones John Dorrien Henry Savage Charles Chambers Timothy Tullie Maximn Westerne London 6 October 1755	The 30 barrels were to come out of the 150 now invoiced, which the Court would replace by the *Oxford*. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 6 October 1755, and signed by R. Drake, P. Godfrey, John Payne, Nathaniel Newnham junior, Henry Plant, Wheatley Sumer, John Boyd, S. Sulivan, Robert Jones, John Dorrien, Henry Savage, Charles Chambers, Timothy Tullie and Maximilian Westerne.
30	26	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 We writ to you very fully by the Griffin under date of the 10 October, a Duplicate of which Letter you will now receive by the Oxford 2 The Griffin, in company with the Delaware, sailed from Spithead on the last Day of October, having been retarded so long by contrary Winds, waiting for Convoy and other unavoidable Incidents, however We hope she will have discharged her Consignments to you and proceeded on her Voyage to China, long before this reaches you 3 By this Ship the Oxford you will receive as many of the remaining Stores provided for the Service of our Island as she could possibly take in for the particulars and Amount whereof We refer you to the accompanying Invoice and Bill of Lading 4 We have reason to believe you will have no occasion to make use of any of the Treasure consigned to Fort Marlborough, but if you really are in want of any, you may detain so much as shall be necessary, not exceeding one Chest, taking care to advise our Servants	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the year's stores and shipping. 1: The Court had written very fully by the *Griffin* under date of 10 October, a duplicate of which letter the island would now receive by the *Oxford*. 2: The *Griffin*, in company with the *Delaware*, sailed from Spithead on the last day of October, having been held back so long by contrary winds, waiting for convoy and other unavoidable delays, but the Court hoped she would have delivered her consignments to the island and gone on her voyage to China long before the letter arrived. 3: By this ship the *Oxford* the island would receive as many of the remaining stores provided for the service of the island as she could possibly take in, and for the particulars and amount the Court referred it to the accompanying invoice and bill of lading. 4: The Court had reason to believe the island would have no need to use any of the treasure consigned to Fort Marlborough, but if it really was in want of any, it might keep no more than one chest, taking care to advise the Court's servants on the west coast of the exact quantity retained. 5: Since the Court had given the island early notice of the time it meant to dispatch the *Oxford*, it had no doubt the island would [...]. **Interpretations** The delay of the *Griffin* and *Delaware* at Spithead while they waited for convoy marks the change that the coming war had already worked on the Company's

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		upon the West Coast of the exact Quantity you shall so detain. 5 As we gave you previous notice of the Time we intended to dispatch the Oxford, We make no doubt you will **Margin Notes:** Duplicate 1 Sailing of the Griffin & Delaware Stores by the Oxford Treasure not to be detained except in want of any, not exceeding one Chest	shipping, since in peacetime a well-found Indiaman sailed alone on her own account, but with French warships and privateers at sea the Court now held its ships back to sail under naval escort, accepting the loss of a whole season's early departure as the price of safety. The Court's repeated care to keep the Fort Marlborough treasure aboard and cap any detention at a single chest reveals the discipline of moving bullion between settlements to where working capital was scarcest, since the island's healthy cash balance meant its need was slight, and by requiring exact notice of anything retained the Court kept its accounts between the settlements straight across the distance that separated them.
31	27	will be so ready to receive her Cargo ashore, that she may prosecute her Voyage without losing Time, this we earnestly recommend to your Care and Attention, as her early Arrival upon the West Coast will be of great importance to the Company, The Commander must have Orders as soon as the Cargo is delivered to make the best of his way to his consigned Port agreeable to Our Instructions, and those of the Secret Committee 6 The Stone Work for your intended new Crane is all shipped on the Oxford, but We much doubt whether she will be able to take in the Wood Work part of it, if therefore you do not find all or any part of it included in the Invoice, you will know the reason, and must not expect it untill next Season 7 In consideration of the long and faithful Services of Lieutenant Thomas Easthope, We do agree to allow him Two Shillings & six pence a Day for his Life, to commence from the Day you discharge him from his Post of first Lieutenant of one of our Companys which you are hereby directed to do, as soon after the Receipt of this as you think fit, And as this discharge will occasion a Vacancy, you are further directed to give a Commission to Mr John Bazett, to be Second Lieutenant in one of the Companys, who is well recommended by you for that Station 8 The Right Honble the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, will order a Convoy for the Homeward bound Shipping at St Helena the ensuing Season, of which the **Margin Notes:** Cargo to be soon prepared to be received to enable the Oxford to prosecute her Voyage & the Commander to make the best of his way to his consigned Port Stone Work for the new Crane Concerning the Allowance to Lieutenant Thomas Easthope & a Commission to Mr John Bazett as second Lieutenant A Convoy to be ordered for the Homeward bound Shipping	The island would be so ready to receive her cargo ashore that she might continue her voyage without losing time, which the Court earnestly recommended to the island's care and attention, since her early arrival on the west coast would be of great importance to the Company, and the commander was to be ordered, as soon as the cargo was delivered, to make the best of his way to his consigned port in line with the Court's instructions and those of the Secret Committee. 6: The stonework for the island's intended new crane was all shipped in the *Oxford*, but the Court much doubted whether she would be able to take in the woodwork part of it, so if the island did not find all or any part of it in the invoice, it would know the reason and must not expect it until the next season. 7: In consideration of the long and faithful service of Lieutenant Thomas Easthope, the Court agreed to allow him 2s 6d a day for his life, to begin from the day the island discharged him from his post of first lieutenant of one of its companies, which the island was directed to do as soon after receiving the letter as it thought fit, and since this discharge would create a vacancy, the island was further directed to give a commission to John Bazett as second lieutenant in one of the companies, being well recommended by the island for that post. 8: The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty would order a convoy for the homeward-bound shipping at St Helena the coming season, of which [...]. **Interpretations** The life pension of 2s 6d a day granted to Lieutenant Easthope on his discharge shows the Company assuming a continuing obligation to a long-serving officer beyond the term of his active duty, a form of provision that bound the servant's loyalty over a career and eased the removal of a man grown old in a post, the vacancy his retirement created being filled at once by an officer the island itself had recommended. The Admiralty's undertaking to provide a convoy for the homeward fleet at St Helena confirms the island's altered footing in wartime, since the returning Indiamen laden with eastern goods were now prizes worth a French squadron's attention, and the naval escort gathering the ships at St Helena for the last leg to England shows the Crown's fleet drawn into protecting a commerce the Company could no longer trust to sail home unguarded.
32	28	the Secret Committee will particularly apprize the Governor and give him the necessary directions. 9 You will receive by this Ship a Chest of Fruit Trees, to be disposed of in the manner directed in our	The Secret Committee would particularly inform the Governor and give him the necessary directions. 9: The island would receive by this ship a chest of fruit trees, to be disposed of in the manner directed in the Court's advices the previous season.

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		Advices last Season 10 In our Letter by the Griffin, We gave you a General View of the Situation of Affairs, between the British and French Nations, We have only to add thereto, that Hostilitys are carried on, with Vigour, in America, That our Men of War in Europe take all the French Ships they meet with, of which Great numbers now lay in the several Ports of his Majestys Dominions, but none are yet condemned, No Declaration of War is made by either Nation, No Commissions for Privateers, or Letters of Marque have been granted or issued here, and so far from any being issued by the French Court, all British Merchant Ships are suffered to go in and out of their Ports without molestation, However the French continue to exert themselves in encreasing, with the utmost diligence, both their Land and Sea armaments and have drawn down a great number of their Forces to their Coasts, and it is generally beleeved are meditating some Grand Effort, on the other hand, the most vigourous measures are taken in England to be prepared against all manner of Attempts, and it is with great pleasure the whole Nation sees the Parliament **Margin Notes:** Fruit Trees Grand View of the National Affairs in respect to the English & French	10: The Court's letter by the *Griffin* had given the island a general view of the state of affairs between the British and French nations, and it had only to add that hostilities were carried on with vigour in America, that the King's warships in Europe took all the French ships they met, a great number of which now lay in the several ports of the King's dominions, but none were yet condemned, and no declaration of war had been made by either nation. No commissions for privateers or letters of marque had been granted or issued in England, and so far were the French from issuing any that all British merchant ships were allowed to go in and out of the French ports without interference. The French nevertheless continued to exert themselves with the utmost diligence in increasing both their land and sea armaments, had drawn a great number of their forces down to their coasts and were generally believed to be planning some grand effort, while on the other hand the most vigorous measures were being taken in England to be ready against every kind of attempt, and the whole nation saw with great pleasure the [...]. **Interpretations** The strange asymmetry the Court described, in which British warships seized French vessels while French ports still let British merchantmen come and go freely, captures the peculiar character of an undeclared war, since neither crown had yet issued the letters of marque that would formally licence private captures, so the two nations hung in a state of hostilities without war, seizing ships at sea while the ordinary forms of peacetime trade continued at the quaysides. The Court's report that the French were massing forces on their coasts and probably meditating some grand effort explains the urgency running through the whole letter, since a settlement at St Helena reading of a great blow being prepared in Europe could not know where it might fall, and the intelligence justified to the island the heavy emphasis on fortification, stores and convoy that the Company would otherwise have had no cause to press so hard.
33	29	Parliament most heartily concurs therein with his Majesty; This being the present Situation, you must carefully observe the Directions, we gave in our beforementioned Letter by the Griffin, to be in a proper Posture to Defend the Island, in case the French shall make any attempts against it We are Your Loving Friends Signed R. Drake P: Godfrey John Payne Nath Newnham Junr R Bootle Charles Chambers Wm Chipps Thos Rous H Crabb Boulton Henry Plant Rob Jones Henry Savage Timothy Tullie John Manship Char Gough John Dorrien Lawy Sulivan Maximn Western Cheast Burrow London 3 December 1755	Parliament most heartily agreed in this with the King, and such being the present state of affairs, the island was to observe carefully the directions the Court had given in its earlier letter by the *Griffin*, to be in a proper posture to defend the island in case the French made any attempt against it. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 3 December 1755, and signed by R. Drake, P. Godfrey, John Payne, Nathaniel Newnham junior, R. Bootle, Charles Chambers, Thomas Phipps, Thomas Rous, H. Crabb Boulton, Henry Plant, Robert Jones, Henry Savage, Timothy Tullie, John Manship, Charles Gough, John Dorrien, Lacy Sulivan, Maximilian Westerne and Christopher Burrow.

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34	30	Our Governor and Council of St Helena. 1 Our General Letters to you last Season went by the Griffin & Oxford, that by the first named Ship, was dated the 10 October 1755, & by the other the 3 of December following, & we have the satisfaction of being informd that the said Ships arrived in safety although the Oxford was very late. 2 We have received this Season your General Letters of the 11 of March, the 10 & 15 of April the 8 & 23 of May the 15 & 24 of June, & the 21 August last. 3 In our advices beforementioned you were in general apprised of the Situation of Affairs between the British & French Nations, which was such as in all probability would draw on or hasten an open War, the Event has proved so, as you will observe by the accompanying Declarations, His Majesty having proclaimed War against France on the 18 of May last, which was likewise done soon after by the French King against his Majesty 4 On this important Event we most earnestly recommend it to you, to exert yourselves, in putting the Island in the best Posture of defence, as well as with regard to the Fortifications the exact Discipline of the Garrison, the forming the Planters into proper Partys & keeping them in constant Exercise, to be ready whenever there may be occasion for them, but also in general doing whatever you shall judge necessary, for the Security of the Island & the Shipping which are at any time in the Road in case of being Attackt by the Enemy. 5 And **Margin Notes:** Letters sent Receipt of Letters Declaration of War against the French Earnestly recommending to put the Island in the best posture of defence &ca Directions to be given for putting the Island in the best posture of Defence	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the year's correspondence and the outbreak of war. 1: The Court's general letters of the previous season had gone by the *Griffin* and *Oxford*, that by the first ship dated 10 October 1755 and that by the other 3 December following, and the Court was glad to learn that both ships arrived safely, though the *Oxford* was very late. 2: The Court had received that season the island's general letters of 11 March, of 10 and 15 April, of 8 and 23 May, of 15 and 24 June and of 21 August. 3: The Court's earlier advices had given the island a general view of the state of affairs between the British and French nations, which was such as would in all probability draw on an open war, and so it had proved, as the island would see by the accompanying declarations, the King having proclaimed war against France on 18 May, which was likewise done soon after by the French King against the King. 4: On this important event the Court most earnestly urged the island to exert itself in putting the island in the best posture of defence, both as to the fortifications and the exact discipline of the garrison, forming the islanders into proper parties and keeping them in constant exercise to be ready whenever there was occasion for them, and in general doing whatever it judged necessary for the security of the island and the shipping at any time in the road in case of attack by the enemy. **Interpretations** The formal proclamations of war on 18 May 1756 by the British Crown, answered soon after by France, converted the long twilight of undeclared hostilities into open war and transformed the island's position at a stroke, since the seizures and preparations described in earlier letters had proceeded without legal sanction, whereas now captures could be condemned as lawful prizes and St Helena stood exposed as a declared enemy's possession on the sea road the French might strike. The Court's direction to form the islanders into parties and keep them in constant exercise shows the settlement's whole population being drawn into its defence, since the regular garrison alone could not hold the island against a determined squadron, and the mustering and drilling of planters and inhabitants turned a trading community into a militia, the civil society of St Helena reorganised for war by the same authority that governed its commerce.
35	31	5 And as in the present dangerous conjuncture the Committee of Secrecy for the time being will send the necessary Instructions to the Governor, or whoever else they shall think proper, the Orders & directions therein are to have the same regard paid to them as if they were signed by the Court of Directors, The Gentlemen who compose that Committee the present Season are Peter Godfrey, John Payne, Christopher Burrow, Roger Drake, William Mabbott & James Raymond Esquires any three of whom are a Quorum 6	5: In the present dangerous state of affairs the Secret Committee for the time being would send the necessary instructions to the Governor, or whoever else it thought proper, and the orders and directions in them were to carry the same weight as if signed by the Court of Directors, the gentlemen composing that committee for the present season being Peter Godfrey, John Payne, Christopher Burrow, Roger Drake, William Mabbot and James Raymond, any three of whom made a quorum. 6: The island had generally given a good account of the intelligence gathered on the arrival of returning shipping, which was always useful but much more so at that juncture, so the Court expected the practice to be carefully continued, and the island was to let no ship leave without sending a letter by her, even though she sailed in company with others, to prevent the

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		You have in general given us a good Account of the Intelligence collected upon the arrival of returning Shipping, it is at all times material, but much more so at this Juncture, We shall therefore expect a careful continuance of this Practise, and you must let no Ship come from the Island without sending us a Letter notwithstanding she proceed in Company with other to prevent the disappointments which we have experienced in two or three Instances this Season, occasioned by some Ships arriving before those on which you sent your Packets, your Letters are generally short & therefore this will not be found a difficult Task, We must likewise recommend it to you to be more explicit in your abstracts of the Cargoes of our returning Shipping especially, of those from the Coast & Bay by being particular in describing the several Species of Goods, which you will easily Collect from the Copys of the Bills of Lading, to be produced to you by the Commanders 7 You must give directions to the Commanders of each Ship to send up your Packets, under the care of a trusty Person to the East India House from the first Port he shall arrive at in great Britain or Ireland, & you are to give the like directions for his **Margin Notes:** Orders of the Secret Committee to be duly attended to Approving of the Intelligence collected & to expect the same to be continued To write by every Ship that leaves the Island Directions about your Packets under the care of trusty Persons to be sent to the East India House	disappointment the Court had suffered in two or three cases that season when a ship carrying the island's packets arrived before those on which they had been sent, and since the island's letters were generally short this would be no difficult task. The Court likewise urged the island to be fuller in its accounts of the cargoes of the returning shipping, especially those from the Coast and Bay, describing the several kinds of goods, which it could easily gather from the copies of the bills of lading that the commanders would produce to it. 7: The island was to direct the commanders of each ship to send the packets, under the care of a trusty person, to the East India House from the first port they reached in Great Britain or Ireland, and it was to give the like directions for [...]. **Interpretations** The instruction to send a letter by every departing ship, even one sailing in a convoy, arose from a hard lesson in the unreliability of sea communication, since ships that set out together seldom arrived together, and a packet entrusted to a single vessel might reach London weeks after a faster consort had made port, so the Court's remedy was redundancy, duplicating its correspondence across every hull to ensure that news reached home by whichever ship came first. The heightened demand for detailed accounts of the returning cargoes, especially from the Coast and Bay, reflected the Company's need to track its eastern trade closely as war disrupted the sea lanes, since the value and nature of the goods flowing home bore directly on its commercial position, and by drawing these particulars from the bills of lading the commanders carried, the island could furnish London with an early and independent check on what its homeward fleet was actually bringing back.
36	32	his sending up all the Indian Packets those large ones only excepted which contain the Books of our Settlements, the want of which Packets this Season have laid us under many difficulties. 8 We have been very fortunate hitherto in the Arrival of our Shipping this Season, although in general very late, We enclose a List of them in which are mentioned the different Ports they arrived at, previous to their Arrival in the Downs, We likewise now send you a List containing the times of the Departure of the several Ships of last Season, since the date of that you received last from us. 9 We have taken into our Service this Season sixteen Ships whose Names & Destinations are as follows vizt Ships Tons Commanders Consignments Onslow 499 Thos Hinde St Helena & China Triton 499 Francis Harris Sandwich 499 John Curling } China directly Boscawen 499 Benjn Braund	The commanders were likewise to send up all the Indian packets, those large ones only excepted that contained the settlements books, the want of which packets that season had put the Court to many difficulties. 8: The Court had been very fortunate so far in the arrival of its shipping that season, though generally very late, and it enclosed a list of the ships showing the different ports they reached before coming into the Downs, and it now sent as well a list giving the dates on which the several ships of the previous season sailed, since the date of the island's last letter. 9: The Court had taken into its service that season 16 ships, whose names and destinations were as follows. *Onslow*, 499 tons, Thomas Hinde, St Helena and China *Triton*, 499 tons, Francis Harris, China directly *Sandwich*, 499 tons, John Curling, China directly *Boscawen*, 499 tons, Benjamin Braund, China directly *Tavistock*, 499 tons, Benjamin Jenkins, Fort St George and China *Norfolk*, 499 tons, Pinson Bonham, Fort St George and China *Princess Augusta*, 499 tons, Thomas Braddison, Fort St George and China *Falmouth*, 499 tons, James Dale, St Helena and Bencoolen

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		Tavistoch 499 Benjn Jenkins Norfolk 499 Pinson Bonham Princess Augusta 499 Thos Braddison } Fort St George & China Falmouth 499 James Dale St Helena & Bencoolen Warwick 499 Nicholas Webb Madera & Coast & Bay Ilchester 499 John Sead Grantham 499 John Oliver Fox 499 Her Hume } Coast & Bay Worcester 499 Edward Siddeman Princes Edward **Margin Notes:** Duplicate 2 Fortunate Arrival of the Ships this Season & sending a List of them & a List of the Departure of the Ships last Season Ships taken up	*Warwick*, 499 tons, Nicholas Webb, Madeira and Coast and Bay *Ilchester*, 499 tons, John Sedd, Coast and Bay *Grantham*, 499 tons, John Oliver, Coast and Bay *Fox*, 499 tons, Alexander Hume, Coast and Bay *Worcester*, 499 tons, Edward Siddeman, Coast and Bay The *Princess Edward* [...]. **Interpretations** The exception made for the large packets holding the settlements books, kept back while all other Indian packets were sent ahead, reveals the different weight the Company placed on its two kinds of correspondence, since the current advices carried the news that governed decisions and had to travel by the fastest ship, whereas the bulky account books recorded a settlement's finished business and could safely follow at leisure, the previous season's want of the ordinary packets having taught the Court how costly a gap in current intelligence could be. The clustering of that season's ships on Fort St George and the Coast and Bay confirms where the war pressed hardest on the Company's trade, since the Coromandel Coast was the front line against the French in India, and the weight of shipping directed there reflected both the commercial importance of the region and the need to sustain a presidency that stood in the path of the enemy's operations in the East.
37	33	Prince Edward 499 James Haldane Persia & Bombay Hawke 499 Richd Drake John Foot } Bombay 10 Upon the Wars being declared against France, We immediately purchased a Vessel to carry the necessary Orders thereupon to our Settlements in the East Indies, she is called the Prince Henry Packet is Commanded by Captain John Mumford & Sailed from the Downs on the 5 of August, should she touch at St Helena in her return from India You must send by her all necessary Intelligence, the Governor must do the same with regard to what may be of a Secret Nature, in an Address to the Secret Committee for the time being 11 We last Season consigned two Ships to St Helena, in order to send the Materials for Building your Hospital & Barracks, & a sufficient supply of Stores & necessarys, & it being of great importance to comply as fully as possible with your Indents this Year, & to Recruit your Garrison with as many Men as can be conveniently Transported, We intend this Season likewise to send you two Ships viz The Onslow by which you will receive this Letter, & the Falmouth which will be Dispatched about the middle of December, This Ship the Onslow will bring all the Recruits, together with as large a part of the Stores & necessarys as she has room for, the particulars of which will appear in the accompanying Invoice & Bill of Lading, the remainder will be laden on the Falmouth. 12 The Onslow is, as soon as she has delivered her Cargo designed for	The *Prince Edward*, 499 tons, was commanded by James Haldane and bound for Persia and Bombay. *Hawke*, 499 tons, Richard Drake, Bombay *Hawke*, 499 tons, John Foot, Bombay 10: On war being declared against France, the Court had at once bought a vessel to carry the necessary orders to its settlements in the East Indies, called the *Prince Henry* packet, commanded by Captain John Mumford, which sailed from the Downs on 5 August, and should she call at St Helena on her return from India the island was to send by her all necessary intelligence, the Governor doing the same as to anything of a secret nature in an address to the Secret Committee for the time being. 11: The Court had the previous season consigned two ships to St Helena to send the materials for building the island's hospital and barracks and a sufficient supply of stores and necessaries, and since it was of great importance to meet the island's requisition as fully as possible that year and to recruit the garrison with as many men as could conveniently be transported, it likewise intended that season to send two ships, the *Onslow*, by which the island would receive this letter, and the *Falmouth*, which would be dispatched about the middle of December, and the *Onslow* would bring all the recruits together with as large a part of the stores and necessaries as she had room for, the particulars appearing in the accompanying invoice and bill of lading, and the rest would be loaded on the *Falmouth*. 12: The *Onslow* was, as soon as she had delivered her cargo meant for St Helena, to proceed to Batavia and from there to Canton in China, to prosecute a scheme the Court had much at heart, namely the establishing of a trade at that place, and since her early arrival was of the greatest consequence, the Court most earnestly recommended it to the island not only to give her the utmost assistance [...]. **Interpretations** The Company's purchase of a dedicated packet vessel the moment war was declared shows how communication itself became a strategic instrument once hostilities opened, since ordinary trading ships sailed on their own commercial schedules under convoy delays, whereas a fast packet carrying nothing but orders could reach the eastern settlements with the news of war and the Company's directions far ahead

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		St Helena to proceed to Batavia & from thence to Lingo in China to prosecute a Scheme we have much at Heart, we mean the establishing a Trade in that place & as her early arrival is of the greatest consequence We must earnestly recommend it to you not only to give them utmost Assistance **Margin Notes:** Prince Henry Packet purchased as an Advice Vessel Indents complied with The Onslow to proceed to Batavia & from thence to Lingo to prosecute a Scheme we have much at Heart	of the fleet, the difference in speed measured in the survival or loss of a factory caught unprepared. The scheme to establish a trade at Canton that the Court held much at heart, driving the instruction to speed the *Onslow* on from St Helena to China by way of Batavia, reveals the Company pursuing commercial expansion even under the pressure of war, since the wartime disruption that threatened its Indian trade also opened opportunities in the eastern seas, and the island was pressed to subordinate its own unloading to the larger design of opening a new branch of the China commerce.
38	34	Assistance in your Power to unload her in the Charterparty time, but to see likewise that the Commander uses the greatest diligence to the same purpose, in failure whereof you are to protest against him & his Owners for all Losses which may accrue to the Company from his delay, We must here acquaint you that in order to obviate the loss of time which frequently happens by Ships taking in ballast at St Helena, We have permitted Capt Hinde to carry out about forty Tons of Flint to be disposed of in China, this is intimated that you may make the proper use of the information, if you find the Commander makes any Stay longer than is absolutely necessary under a pretence of wanting more Dead Weight 13 As the Falmouths Departure from hence will be later than We could have wished, & being to proceed to the West Coast of Sumatra with the Annual Supplies for our Settlements there You must take care to be prepared to give her likewise the Quickest Dispatch. 14 The Commanders of both the said Ships must have their Dispatches within the Charterparty time, as We make no doubt of their being then entirely delivered, & they are each of them to be directed therein to make the best of their way on their respective Voyages agreeable to our Orders & the Instructions they receive from the Secret Committee. 15 We approve of your Conduct in preventing the Dutch Ship mentioned in your Letter of the 8 of May, coming into the Road in the night, contrary to the notice the Governor signifyed to the Commander of her, & your Vigilance in this Instance was extremely right & we make no doubt of a continuance of it, especially in the present Circumstance of a French War. 16 Whenever you want a Boat or Boats you have had & shall continue to have our permission for buying them upon the best terms you can of any of the Commanders of our Shipping, who can spare **Margin Notes:**	The island was to give the *Onslow* every assistance in its power to unload her within the charter party time, but likewise to see that the commander used the greatest diligence to the same end, and failing that it was to protest against him and his owners for all losses the delay might cause the Company. The Court had to tell the island that, to avoid the loss of time that often happened through ships taking in ballast at St Helena, it had allowed Captain Hinde to carry out about 40 tons of flint to be sold in China, and this was mentioned so that the island might make proper use of the information if it found the commander stayed longer than was absolutely necessary on the excuse of wanting more dead weight. 13: Since the *Falmouth* would sail from home later than the Court could have wished, and was to proceed to the west coast of Sumatra with the annual supplies for the settlements there, the island was to be ready to give her likewise the quickest dispatch. 14: The commanders of both ships were to have their dispatches within the charter party time, which the Court had no doubt would then be entirely delivered, and each was to be directed to make the best of his way on his respective voyage in line with the Court's orders and the instructions received from the Secret Committee. 15: The Court approved the island's conduct in preventing the Dutch ship mentioned in its letter of 8 May from coming into the road at night, contrary to the notice the Governor had given her commander, and the island's vigilance in this instance was extremely right, of the continuance of which the Court had no doubt, especially in the present circumstance of a French war. 16: Whenever the island wanted a boat or boats it had had, and would continue to have, the Court's permission to buy them on the best terms it could from any of the commanders of its shipping, who could spare [...]. **Interpretations** The 40 tons of flint allowed out in the *Onslow* to be sold in China served a double purpose that the letter exposes with unusual candour, since a ship sailing without enough cargo had to take in stone ballast to keep her stable, and a commander could linger at St Helena on the plea of needing more such dead weight, so by loading saleable flint as ballast the Company both removed that excuse for delay and turned an otherwise dead necessity into a small trading profit at Canton. The Court's warm approval of the Governor for turning away a Dutch ship that tried to enter the road at night reveals how the wartime rule against night entry was enforced against neutrals as much as against the declared enemy, since a vessel of any flag arriving under cover of darkness could not be identified until she was among the shipping, and the Dutch, though not at war with Britain, were held to the same discipline that the danger from France had made absolute.

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		The Capt permitted to carry out about forty Tons of Flint to be disposed of in China Falmouth to be dispatched to the West Coast with the Annual Supplies Dispatches of both the said Ships to be delivered within the Charterparty time & the Commanders to make the best of their way on their respective Voyages Approving of preventing the Dutch Ship coming into the Road in the night Whenever you want Boats to be bought of the Commanders of our Shipping	
39	35	spare them for the season we approve of your purchasing Capt Glover's Long Boat. 17 Whatever relates to the Convoy of our returning Ships the next Season & their security in general will be communicated to the Governor by our Secret Committee 18 Upon comparing the Invoice of this Ship & that which you will receive by the Falmouth, with your Indents you will find we have very fully complied with them 19 We have likewise given the necessary directions to the Supracargos of the China Ships going out this Season to provide all the Articles you Indent for from thence, which will be Laden in proportions on the several Ships 20 The sending you a Pipe of Madeira Wine every other year by the Ship that touches at that Island is impracticable but in order to comply with your Request you will receive, half a Pipe by this Ship & the other half by the Falmouth, both Bottled off & Packed in Chests. 21 Agreeable to your request we now send you the several Books mentioned in the List transmitted to us in the Packet by the Bombay Castle 22 We are sorry to acquaint you, that the President & Council of Fort St George, inform us they cannot supply you with the 30 Coffree Men Slaves we have given them directions to send to St Helena, We are sensible this will be a disappointment & in some degree retard the carrying on the Works the only method to supply the want of Slaves is to continue to employ the Military on the Fortifications & Works, until they are in all respects put in a proper condition for an effectual defence against any Attack, & in order thereto We shall leave it to your discretion to give them all fitting encouragement, by additional Pay or in any other Shape **Margin Notes:** Relating to the Convoy of our returning Ships to be communicated by the Secret Committee Indents complied with Indents to the China Ships ordered to be complied with Wine sent	Where the commanders could spare boats that season, the Court approved the island's purchase of Captain Glover's longboat. 17: Whatever related to the convoy of the Court's returning ships the coming season, and to their security in general, would be communicated to the Governor by the Secret Committee. 18: On comparing the invoice of this ship and that which the island would receive by the *Falmouth* with its requisition, the island would find the Court had very fully met them. 19: The Court had likewise given the necessary directions to the supercargoes of the China ships going out that season to provide all the articles the island had requisitioned from there, which would be loaded in proportions on the several ships. 20: Sending the island a pipe of Madeira wine every other year by the ship that called at that island was impracticable, but to meet the island's request it would receive half a pipe by this ship and the other half by the *Falmouth*, both bottled off and packed in chests. 21: In line with the island's request the Court now sent the several books mentioned in the list transmitted to it in the packet by the *Bombay Castle*. 22: The Court was sorry to tell the island that the President and Council of Fort St George reported they could not supply the 30 coffee slaves the Court had directed them to send to St Helena, and though sensible this would be a disappointment and would in some degree hinder the carrying on of the works, the only way to meet the want of slaves was to keep employing the soldiery on the fortifications and works until they were in every respect in a proper condition for an effective defence against any attack, and to that end the Court left it to the island's discretion to give them all fitting encouragement, by additional pay or in any other [...]. **Interpretations** The failure of Fort St George to supply the 30 coffee slaves exposes the fragility of the Company's plan to move bonded labour between its settlements, since Madras, itself hard pressed by the war on the Coromandel Coast, could not spare the workers it had been ordered to send, and the shortfall threw the whole burden of the island's fortification back onto the garrison, so that the want of slaves at St Helena was in effect a direct consequence of the military pressure on the presidency that was to have supplied them. The pipe of Madeira split across two ships and bottled off before shipment shows the practical adaptation of a small luxury to the hazards of wartime carriage, since a whole pipe entrusted to a single vessel might be lost with her, and by dividing the wine between the *Onslow* and the *Falmouth* and bottling it into chests the Company both spread the risk of capture and protected the wine from the spoilage that a broached cask would suffer on a long and uncertain passage.

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		Books sent Coffree Slaves wanted from Fort St George not sent	
40	36	Shape you shall think will make them go to Work with Alacrity & Chearfulness. 23 We hope the Deputy Govr & Council at Fort Marlborough will every Year be able to supply you with a good quantity of Sugar, You must therefore every Season make the necessary Indents, but we must caution you at the same Time not entirely to rely upon a single Ship the arrival of which from common accidents & the Chance of War may be precarious therefore it will be prudent to continue your Indents for proportions of the Article from Bengall & China, the latter of which we shall give directions for agreeable to the Indent you transmit to us 24 You are not upon any Account whatever to take any of the Treasure out of the Onslow, but if upon the Arrival of the Falmouth you shall want a supply you are to detain out of that Ship what may be necessary not exceeding one Chest, in the Whole, of which you are to give due Notice to the Deputy Governor & Council of Fort Marlborough as the whole quantity will be consigned to them 25 We send no Bouge Barrels this Season as it appears by the Account of Remains that there were 65 in the Stores. 26 The Intent of having Account of Remains of Goods & Stores transmitted to us, is to give an exact view of what may be really necessary to send you, together with their Sortments Sizes Natures &c but as your Accounts are in several Instances deficient herein, we recommend to you to give the necessary directions that they may for the future be drawn up with more precision, We shall only mention a few to shew you what we mean viz, There are inserted in your last Accounts 448 Yards of Broad Cloth, 18 Yards of Cambles & 8 yards of Shalloon but the Colour not taken notice off, 135 Gun Carriages are inserted as compleat but the nature of them is not described, or whether any **Margin Notes:** Sugar will be sent from Fort Marlborough but not entirely to rely on a single Ship for that Supply Treasure not to be taken out of the Onslow but out of the Falmouth then not exceeding one Chest Bouge Barrels Concerning your Account of Remains &ca to be drawn up with more precision	The island might give the soldiery encouragement in whatever form it thought would make them go to work with alacrity and cheerfulness. 23: The Court hoped the Deputy Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough would be able to supply the island with a good quantity of sugar every year, so the island was to make the necessary requisition each season, but the Court cautioned it at the same time not to rely entirely on a single ship, whose arrival, given common accidents and the chance of war, might be uncertain, so it would be prudent to keep requisitioning proportions of the article from Bengal and China, the Court undertaking to give directions for the China supply in line with the island's requisition. 24: The island was on no account whatever to take any of the treasure out of the *Onslow*, but if on the arrival of the *Falmouth* it wanted a supply, it was to detain out of that ship whatever was necessary, not exceeding one chest in the whole, of which it was to give due notice to the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough, since the whole quantity was consigned to them. 25: The Court sent no beugh barrels that season, as it appeared from the account of remains that there were 65 in the stores. 26: The purpose of having accounts of the remains of goods and stores sent home was to give an exact view of what might really be needed to send the island, together with their assortments, sizes, natures and so on, but since the island's accounts were in several instances deficient in this, the Court recommended it give the necessary directions that they be drawn up in future with more precision, and it would mention only a few instances to show what it meant. There were entered in the island's last accounts 448 yards of broadcloth, 18 yards of camlet and 8 yards of shalloon, but the colour was not noticed, and 135 gun carriages were entered as complete, but the nature of them was not described, nor whether any [...]. **Interpretations** The caution against relying on a single ship for the island's sugar, with its explicit reference to the chance of war, distilled the central logistical lesson of the whole correspondence, that a settlement dependent on one vessel for any necessary was hostage to that ship's fortune, and by keeping parallel requisitions open on Bengal, China and Fort Marlborough the island spread its dependence across several sources so that the loss or delay of any one would not leave it wanting. The Court's insistence on colours, sizes and the exact nature of goods in the remains accounts reveals why precise stock records mattered to a supplier ten thousand miles away, since London could only replace what it could identify, and an entry of so many yards of cloth without its colour or so many gun carriages without their pattern left the Court unable to send matching goods, so the demand for precision was a demand that the island's paperwork be exact enough to be acted upon at a distance. Camlet was a fine cloth, originally of Eastern origin and made from a mixture of wool and other fibres such as silk or goat hair, valued for its close weave and used for outer garments and hangings. Shalloon was a lightweight twilled woollen cloth, chiefly used for the linings of coats and other garments, taking its name from Chalons in France where it was first made.
41	37	& what Number are Mounted, 274 Rammer Heads, 104 Cartridge Cases &	The account failed to state what number of the gun carriages were mounted, and there were entered

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		some Gunners Ladls, their Natures are not described & the sizes of these formers are omitted. 27 Our Intention is to send you by this Ship 60 Recruits for your Garrison but whether we shall be able to raise so many is doubtful We must therefore refer you to the accompanying List, both for the Number & their Names. 28 The Directions we gave last Year, & that is mentioned in the begining of this Letter will be sufficient for your compleating the Fortification & Works with the utmost diligence; & We have the satisfaction of being strongly assured in your late Letters that we may depend upon your best endeavours for the Security of the Island in every respect. 29 As you have given it as your Opinion that £40 a Year is a reasonable allowance to be given to Mr Rich Beale for doing the Duty of Judge Advocate, We confirm that Allowance. 30 We have no objection to your confirming Solomon Jacobs in the Post of Adjutant, upon the Suspension & coming away of Mr Mowatt if you are satisfyed of his Abilitys & fitness for that Post. 31 Mr Mowatts behavior was such, according to your representation as we think justly drew on him a suspension as he could be of no further Service to us upon the Island, you did right in permitting him to return to England, & indeed if he had signifyed an intention to have continued, it would not have been proper to have suffered it, And for the future We give you leave to send to England if you think fit any Person or Persons who shall in such manner disobey your Orders 32 It was highly improper that your Surgeon Ingle should continue any longer upon the Island, for whatever skill he might have **Margin Notes:** Recruits referred you Fortifications & Works to be compleated with the utmost diligence Mr Beale Salary Solomon Jacobs Adjutant Mr Mowatt suspended Governor & Council have leave to send home such who shall disobey their Orders	274 rammer heads, 104 cartridge cases and some gunners ladles whose natures were not described and whose sizes were left out. 27: The Court intended to send by this ship 60 recruits for the island's garrison, but whether it would be able to raise so many was doubtful, so it referred the island to the accompanying list, both for the number and their names. 28: The directions the Court gave the previous year and those mentioned at the beginning of the letter would be enough for the island to complete the fortifications and works with the utmost diligence, and the Court was glad to be strongly assured in the island's late letters that it might depend on its best endeavours for the security of the island in every respect. 29: Since the island had given its opinion that £40 a year was a reasonable allowance for Richard Beale for doing the duty of judge advocate, the Court confirmed that allowance. 30: The Court had no objection to the island confirming Solomon Jacobs in the post of adjutant, on the suspension and departure of Mr Mowatt, if it was satisfied of his ability and fitness for the post. 31: Mr Mowatt's behaviour, by the island's account, was such as justly drew on him a suspension that left him fit for no further service to the Court on the island, so the island had done right in allowing him to return to England, and indeed had he signified an intention of staying it would not have been proper to allow it, and for the future the Court gave the island leave to send to England any person who disobeyed its orders in such a manner. 32: It was highly improper that the island's surgeon Ingle should stay any longer on the island, for whatever skill he might have [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's grant of a standing authority to send home anyone who disobeyed orders in the manner Mowatt had shows a settlement hardening its disciplinary powers under wartime strain, since the ordinary machinery for dealing with a refractory officer was slow and uncertain at such a distance, and by giving the Governor a general licence to expel offenders the Company armed him with a swift and final remedy that dispensed with reference home in each case. The confirmation of Richard Beale's £40 a year for the judge advocate's duty, fixed on the island's own recommendation and ratified from London, illustrates how the Company set the value of a new office through a dialogue across the ocean, since the Court could not judge from England what the trouble of the post was worth, so it delegated the assessment to the men on the spot and reserved to itself only the formal power of confirmation, a division of judgement that recurs throughout the settlement's administration.
42	38	have in his profession, the general resentment against him for his late behavior would have rendered it of little use, upon his coming away therefore & likewise his Mate Mr Evans, You inform us that Mr Robert Barclay Surgeon of the Ship Warren at your request consented to stay in the room of Mr Ingles, if he could be certain of being confirmd & recommending him as a sober Diligent Man	Whatever skill Ingle had in his profession, the general resentment against him for his late behaviour would have made it of little use once he came away, and the same held for his mate Mr Evans. The island had reported that Robert Barclay, surgeon of the ship *Warren*, had at its request agreed to stay in Ingle's place if he could be sure of being confirmed, and it recommended him as a sober, diligent man perfectly well qualified in every respect to discharge every part of the duty, so the Court accordingly agreed and directed that Barclay be established principal surgeon of the island at the usual salary and allowance.

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		& perfectly well Qualifyed in all respects to discharge every part of the Duty, We do accordingly agree & direct that Mr Barclay be established principal Surgeon of our Island at the usual Salary & allowance 33 We give you liberty to fix upon a proper Person for a Surgeons Mate out of any of our returning Ships, & if you approve of him & he is willing to serve in that Capacity, to settle on him the usual Salary & allanances 34 In answer to the 31 Paragraph of your Letter dated the 10 of last April, The Act of Parliament takes effect from the publication of it in this Island, & the 15 Sect: of the Articles of War ordains that they shall be read & published once in every two Months, & as the directions of this Act & Articles of War have been exactly pursued & the Soldiers have continued to receive their Pay, We think they are compleatly Listed & in case of misbehavior are liable to be proceeded against & punished in such manner as is prescribed by the Act and Articles 35 Agreeable to your recommendations We have permitted Mrs Deborah Leving to proceed to her Husband Geo Leving the Companys Carpenter, at St Helena & she will accordingly take her Passage on the Onslow. 36 Since **Margin Notes:** Mr Barclay continued Surgeon in the room of Mr Ingles A Surgeons Mate to be appointed Act of Parliament concerning the Soldiers Mrs Deborah Leving	33: The Court gave the island leave to fix on a proper person for a surgeon's mate out of any of its returning ships, and if it approved of him and he was willing to serve in that capacity, to settle on him the usual salary and allowances. 34: In answer to the thirty-first paragraph of the island's letter of 10 April, the act of Parliament took effect from its publication in the island, and the fifteenth of the articles of war ordained that they were to be read and published once every two months, and since the directions of the act and articles had been exactly followed and the soldiers had continued to receive their pay, the Court held them to be completely enlisted and, in case of misbehaviour, liable to be proceeded against and punished in the manner prescribed by the act and articles. 35: In line with the island's recommendations the Court had allowed Deborah Levinz to proceed to her husband George Levinz, the Company's carpenter at St Helena, and she would accordingly take her passage on the *Onslow*. **Interpretations** The Court's reasoning that Ingle's skill was worthless once the settlement had turned against him reveals how far a small isolated community depended on the personal standing of its officers, since a surgeon distrusted by those he was to treat could not function whatever his competence, and the general resentment against him became itself the decisive ground for his removal, professional ability counting for nothing without the confidence of the people he served. The Court's careful ruling that the soldiers were completely enlisted and so liable to military punishment closed the legal loophole that had troubled the new discipline, since the whole force of the articles of war depended on the men being lawfully bound by them, and by resting that binding on the twin facts of the articles being regularly read and the pay being continuously received, the Court established the two conditions that made the garrison answerable to military justice beyond any later challenge.
43	39	36 Since Writing the beforegoing your General Letter of the 21 of August last by his Majestys Ship the Hampshire came to hand, some parts whereof we shall now take notice off, & shall reply to the rest by the Falmouth, first informing you that the Hampshire with the Ships Duke of Dorset, St George, Delham, Stretham & Exeter under her Convoy got safely to the River Shannon near Limerick on the 27 of last Month, the occasion of their putting in there was an Account of the St Georges springing a Leak & being in danger of loosing her Rudder. 37 We shall endeavour to send you on the Falmouth a Mason in the room of Mark Hawkins who you have dismissed as being from his Idleness Negligence & drinking unfit for further Service. 38 We send you by this Ship as many Recruits for your Garrison as we can	36: Since writing the foregoing, the island's general letter of 21 August had come to hand by the King's ship *Hampshire*, some parts of which the Court would now notice and reply to the rest by the *Falmouth*, first telling the island that the *Hampshire*, with the ships *Duke of Dorset*, *St George*, *Durham*, *Streatham* and *Exeter* under her convoy, got safely to the River Shannon near Limerick on 27 last month, the occasion of their putting in there being an account of the *St George* springing a leak and being in danger of losing her rudder. 37: The Court would try to send on the *Falmouth* a mason in the room of Mark Hawkins, whom the island had dismissed as being, through his idleness, negligence and drinking, unfit for further service. 38: The Court sent by this ship as many recruits for the island's garrison as it could possibly raise, and the island's request for adding a lieutenant more to each company would be considered and directions sent by the *Falmouth*. 39: The island might charge on its books to the settlement of Fort Marlborough all expenses it might be at on account of Noquedah Johallum the Malay, transported from there to St Helena by order of the Deputy Governor and Council.

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		possibly raise, Your Request for adding a Lieutenant more to each Company it will be considered, & our directions thereupon sent by the Falmouth. 39 You may Debt upon your Books the settlement of Fort Marlborough for all expences you may be at upon account of Noqueadah Pohallum the Mallay Man Transported from thence to St Helena by order of the Deputy Governor & Council. 40 We observe that the Damages arising from an extraordinary Shower of Rain on the 28 of July had prevented you carrying on any other Work than repairing the Fortifications, it was right to turn your whole Strength to that very material Object by employing the Soldiers therein, with as many of our Slaves as could be spared 41 We shall endeavour to find out in what Ship your Carpenters Mate Thomas Eastwood made his Escape, & if we find it was done with the Consent or connivance of the Capt or Officers a due resentment shall be shewn in order to prevent such desertions in future 42 In **Margin Notes:** Acknowledging the receipt of another General Letter by the Hampshire A Mason will be sent in the room of Mark Hawkins Recruits sent, & adding a Lieutenant to each Company to be considered Fort Marlborough Settlement to be Debited for the Expence of Noqueadah Pohallum the Mallay Man Damages arising from an extraordinary Shower of Rain Concerning Thomas Eastwood Carpenters Mate who made his Escape	40: The Court saw that the damage from the extraordinary shower of rain on 28 July had prevented the island carrying on any work other than repairing the fortifications, and it was right to turn the whole strength to that very material object by employing the soldiers on it, with as many of the Court's slaves as could be spared. 41: The Court would try to find out in what ship the island's carpenter's mate Thomas Eastwood made his escape, and if it found it was done with the consent or connivance of the captain or officers, a due resentment would be shown to prevent such desertions in future. **Interpretations** The charging of the Malay Johallum's transport costs back to Fort Marlborough shows the Company operating a careful internal accounting between its settlements, since the man had been removed from Sumatra to St Helena by order of the Deputy Governor there, and the principle that the settlement ordering an action bore its cost kept the books between the scattered factories in balance, each place answerable for the expenses its own decisions generated. The Court's threat to show a due resentment against any captain who connived at the escape of the carpenter's mate reveals the difficulty of holding skilled men to a remote posting, since a tradesman who wished to leave could bargain passage with a ship's officer against the settlement's will, and the only check the Company had was to make its displeasure felt on the commanders themselves, whose future employment depended on the Court's favour, so the discipline of the crews became the instrument for retaining the servants ashore. Noquedah was a title rather than a name, denoting the master or owner of a native trading vessel in the eastern seas, so the man was a Malay ship's captain removed from Fort Marlborough to St Helena by order of the settlement there.
44	40	42 In answer to your request to have a Surgeons Mate sent you from England, you will observe we have given you liberty in the 33 Par to entertain one out of any of the returning Ships & this method we are still of Opinion is the best, & therefore shall not send one from hence 43 To prevent as much as possible the Demands of our Shipping for Fewel which you say, if continued will exhaust the Island of Wood so as not to have a sufficient Quantity for the Consumption of the Inhabitants We have this Season inserted a Clause in every Commanders Instructions & shall continue it in future to direct that they supply themselves before their Departure from India with as much Fewel as will serve for their homeward bound Voyage allowing for an extraordinary Stay at St Helena or elsewhere, We have given the same Instructions with regard to their laying in a sufficient Stock of live Provisions to prevent their distressing you likewise in this particular. 44	42: In answer to the island's request to have a surgeon's mate sent from England, the Court had given it leave in the thirty-third paragraph to take one out of any of the returning ships, a method it was fully of opinion was the best, and so it would not send one from home. 43: To prevent as far as possible the demands of the shipping for firewood, which the island said, if continued, would strip the island of wood so that there was not enough left for the inhabitants consumption, the Court had that season inserted a clause in every commander's instructions, and would keep doing so in future, directing that they supply themselves before leaving India with as much firewood as would serve for the homeward voyage, allowing for an extraordinary stay at St Helena or elsewhere, and it had given the same instructions about their laying in a sufficient stock of live provisions, to prevent their distressing the island likewise in that particular. 44: The Court would pay due regard to the island's additional requisition, and in particular for the salt provisions, which it was sensible would be much wanted, and on referring to the invoices of this ship and that intended by the *Falmouth* the island would see how far the Court had been able, or how little, to supply it. 45: The Court would not be able to send the oak timber requisitioned for the King's ship *Hampshire*, so the island was to make use of the timber, plank and so on sent by this ship and the *Falmouth* for the repairs of

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		We shall pay a due regard to your Additional Indent & in particular for the Salt Provisions, which latter we are sensible will be much wanted, upon reference to the Invoices of this Ship & that intended by the Falmouth, you will observe how far we have or shall be able to supply you 45 We shall not be able to send the Cutt Timber indented for of His Majestys Ship Hampshire, you are therefore to make use of the Timbers Plank &ca sent by this Ship & the Falmouth, for the Repairs of the Fortifications, till we can supply you by the next Years Ship with Materials for the other Buildings. 46 You took a very proper measure to obviate the bad effects which might have been the consequence of a Report on board his Majestys Ship the Hampshire, that there was plenty of Cattle upon the Island for Slaughter if you would permit them to be sold, And we could have wished you had found out the Person who you say belonged to the Island & was the Author **Margin Notes:** Surgeons Mate Concerning Fewel &ca Ships to be supplied with Fewel in India for preventing the like We shall pay a due regard to your Additional Indent for the Salt Provisions Cut Timber indented for of His Majestys Ship Hampshire not sent & to make use of other Timbers &ca sent by this Ship & the Falmouth for the Repairs of the Fortifications Approving of the measure to obviate the bad effects of a Report &ca	the fortifications, until the Court could supply it by the next year's ship with materials for the other buildings. 46: The island took a very proper course to head off the bad effects that might have followed a report aboard the King's ship *Hampshire* that there was plenty of cattle on the island for slaughter, if the island would permit them to be sold, and the Court could have wished the island had found out the person who, it said, belonged to the island and was the author [...]. **Interpretations** The clause inserted in every commander's instructions to lay in firewood and live provisions before leaving India addressed a slow environmental crisis that the war had sharpened, since a treeless island stripped of its wood by passing ships could not sustain its own people, and by shifting the burden of fuel and provisions onto the ships themselves before they ever reached St Helena, the Company protected the settlement's scant resources from being consumed by the very fleet it existed to serve. The Company's concern over a rumour aboard the *Hampshire* that the island had cattle to spare reveals how dangerous loose talk about the island's stores had become in wartime, since a report that provisions were plentiful could draw demands the island could not meet and expose the true state of its resources, and the Court's wish to identify the islander who spread it shows the settlement's victualling treated as sensitive intelligence to be guarded rather than an open matter of trade.
45	41	Author of that Report in order for your shewing a resentment suitable to the Malice & Falsity of it 47 We have given repeated Orders for your sending to England our late Surgeon Samuel Falconer we find he evades leaving the Island under frivolous pretences, altho he has been indulged with a sufficient time to settle his private Affairs, We therefore positively order that you oblige him to return to England upon the first Ship that Sails after your receipt of this Letter. 48 If the Earl of Holderness has been at St Helena it is likely a Letter may be left with you for the Supra Cargos of this Ship or at least you may in conversation have gathered something material for Bencoolen information, you are therefore to deliver such Letter or communicate such conversation to that Gentleman accordingly, And as it is very probable We may continue the method of ordering the Limpo Ship to call at St Helena outward bound you must observe it as a Standing rule to call up the Supra Cargos of the	The island was to identify the author of that report so it might show a resentment suited to its malice and falsity. 47: The Court had given repeated orders for sending home its late surgeon Samuel Falconer, but found he evaded leaving the island under various pretences, though he had been indulged with enough time to settle his private affairs, so it positively ordered the island to oblige him to return to England by the first ship that sailed after the letter reached it. 48: If the *Earl of Holderness* had been at St Helena, a letter might have been left with the island for the supercargoes of this ship, or at least the island might have gathered something material in conversation for the Court's information, so it was to deliver such a letter or pass on such conversation to that gentleman accordingly, and since it was very probable the Court would continue the method of ordering the China ship to call at St Helena outward bound, the island was to observe as a standing rule to call on the supercargoes of the returning China ship every season, to lodge with the island a letter to be delivered to the supercargoes of such outward-bound ship, giving a summary account of their transactions together with all information useful and necessary for their future proceedings. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 17 November 1756, and signed by Lacy Sulivan, Henry Plant, Charles Chambers, John Dorrien, Timothy Tullie, H. Crabb Boulton, Thomas Rous, Robert Jones, Christopher Burrow, P. Godfrey,

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		returning Limpo Ship every Season, to lodge with you a Letter to be delivered to the Supra Cargos of such Outward bound Ship wherein they are to give a Summary Account of their Transactions together with all such informations as may be useful & necessary for their future proceedings We are Your Loving Friends. Signed Lau Sulivan Henry Plant Charles Chambers John Dorrien Timothy Tullie H Crabb Boulton Thos Rous Rob Jones Christr Burrow P Godfrey John Payne J Raymond M Impey Maximn Western Stephen Law Henry Savage London 17 Novr 1756 **Margin Notes:** Samuel Falconer late Surgeon positively ordered to return to England upon the first Ship that Sails after receipt of this Letter Concerning a Letter from the Earl of Holderness for the Supra Cargos of this Ship &ca	John Payne, James Raymond, M. Impey, Maximilian Westerne, Stephen Law and Henry Savage. **Interpretations** The standing rule that each returning China ship should lodge with the island a summary of its transactions for the next outward-bound ship reveals the Company building a relay of commercial intelligence through St Helena, since the supercargoes going out to Canton needed the freshest knowledge of prices, conditions and dealings that only a homeward ship could carry, and the island's position on the sea road made it the natural point at which the returning fleet's experience could be handed to the outward fleet, closing an information gap that the length of the voyage would otherwise leave open.
46	42	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 The Ship Onslow which carried our last Letter under Date of the 17 of Novr, sailed from Spithead on the 3 of Dec with a fine gale of Wind, which continued so long as We hope the near will be the occasion of her arrival at St Helena in good time for delivering her Cargo, & proceeding on her destined Voyage for China By this Ship the Falmouth you will receive a Duplicate of the said Letter. 2 Besides the Ships mentioned in our last Letter We have taken up the three undermentioned & fixed their Voyages as follows viz Ships Tons Commanders Consignments Elizabeth 499 Robt Burdett Coast & Bay York 499 Peter Lascelles Lord Anson 499 Edwd Lord Chich } Bombay 3 By this Ship the Falmouth we send the remainder of the necessaries & Stores intended this Season for our Island St Helena, as by the accompanying Invoice & Bill of Lading 4 You were empowered in our Letter of the 17 of Novr to detain a part of this Ships Treasure not exceeding one Chest in the Whole, We now confirm the Same & agreeable to what we then directed you are to give the necessary notice to our Deputy Governor	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the season's shipping and stores. 1: The ship *Onslow*, which carried the Court's last letter under date of 17 November, sailed from Spithead on 3 December with a fine gale of wind, which the Court hoped had continued long enough to bring her to St Helena in good time to deliver her cargo and go on her destined voyage to China, and by this ship the *Falmouth* the island would receive a duplicate of that letter. 2: Besides the ships mentioned in the Court's last letter, it had taken up the three named below and fixed their voyages as follows. *Elizabeth*, 499 tons, Robert Burdett, Coast and Bay *York*, 499 tons, Peter Lascelles, Bombay *Lord Anson*, 499 tons, Edward Lord, Bombay 3: By this ship the *Falmouth* the Court sent the rest of the necessaries and stores intended that season for the island, as shown by the accompanying invoice and bill of lading. 4: The island had been empowered in the Court's letter of 17 November to keep back a part of this ship's treasure not exceeding one chest in the whole, and the Court now confirmed the same, and in line with what it had then directed the island was to give the necessary notice to the Deputy Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough of the quantity retained. 5: The island was to give every possible assistance for the speedy unloading of that part of the *Falmouth*'s cargo consigned to [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's fixing of the three additional ships' voyages to the Coast and Bay and Bombay, added to a season's list already dispatched, shows how the Company built up its shipping through the year rather than committing the whole fleet at once, since the demands of the eastern trade and the tonnage available shifted as the season advanced, and a settlement reading the running total could see the

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		Council at Fort Marlborough of the Quantity you shall so detain. 5 You must give all possible Assistance for the speedy unloading of that part of the Falmouths Cargo consigned to you **Margin Notes:** Duplicate 1 Ships taken up Stores sent Treasure to be detained not exceeding one Chest in the Whole Directions concerning the unloading the Falmouth	weight of the year's commerce still pressing on the Indian coast where the war with France was fought.
47	43	you & see that the Commander likewise uses the utmost dispatch for the same purpose, that he may proceed on his Voyage without loss of time & you must not fail of giving him his Sailing Orders within the Charterparty time. 6 So what regards the proper measures to be taken for or the Security of our homeward bound Shipping the Governor has the necessary Directions from our Secret Committee by the Onslow & this Ship, & here it may be necessary to acquaint you that William Mabbott Esqr One of the Gentlemen mentioned in our last Letter to be of that Committee has since quitted the Direction 7 The accompanying List will inform you of the number & Names of the Recruits on this Ship for the Service of our Garrison at St Helena, all the rest being destined for our Settlements upon the West Coast of Sumatra you are on no account to Detain any of them 8 In answer to the 3 Paragraph of your Letter by His Majestys Ship the Hampshire, We send you this Season as large a proportion of Recruits out of the number raising for our Settlements in India as can be possibly spared, If you find it really necessary to encrease your Number of Officers, but not otherways We give you leave to add a Lieutenant to each of the four Companys, to be chosen by you out of the most promising & best qualified young People upon the Island, And as you have recommended Richd Beale who has carried Arms in Our Service several years as a Cadet to be very capable & deserving of that Station, he is to be one of the first you Grant a Commission to 9 We have not been able to send you by this Conveyance a **Margin Notes:** Directions concerning the Commander using the utmost dispatch Directions concerning the Security of our homeward bound Shipping given by the Secret Committee & William Mabbott quitted the Direction Recruits sent	The island was to see that the commander likewise used the utmost dispatch to the same end, so that he might proceed on his voyage without loss of time, and it was not to fail of giving him his sailing orders within the charter party time. 6: As to the proper measures to be taken for the security of the homeward-bound shipping, the Governor had the necessary directions from the Secret Committee by the *Onslow* and this ship, and here it might be necessary to tell the island that William Mabbot, one of the gentlemen mentioned in the Court's last letter as being of that committee, had since left the direction. 7: The accompanying list would inform the island of the number and names of the recruits on this ship for the service of the garrison at St Helena, all the rest being intended for the settlements on the west coast of Sumatra, so the island was on no account to keep any of them. 8: In answer to the third paragraph of the island's letter by the King's ship *Hampshire*, the Court sent that season as large a proportion of recruits out of the number raising for the settlements in India as could possibly be spared, and if the island found it really necessary to increase its number of officers, but not otherwise, the Court gave it leave to add a lieutenant to each of the four companies, to be chosen out of the most promising and best qualified young people on the island, and since the island had recommended Richard Beale, who had carried arms in the Court's service several years as a cadet as very capable and deserving of that post, he was to be one of the first the island granted a commission to. 9: The Court had not been able to send by this ship a [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's authority to add a lieutenant to each company only if the island found it really necessary but not otherwise reveals the constant tension between military readiness and the cost of the establishment, since every new officer meant a permanent charge on the Company's accounts, and by hedging the permission with that condition the Court left the judgement to the island while guarding against an unnecessary swelling of the paid officer corps under cover of the war. The promotion of Richard Beale from cadet to a lieutenant's commission, resting on years of carrying arms in the ranks, shows the path by which the Company's garrison filled its junior officer posts from within, since a young man who had served as a cadet had proved himself under the eye of the settlement, and the island's recommendation carried such weight that London directed he be among the first commissioned, local knowledge of a candidate's fitness again governing an appointment the Court could not judge for itself.

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		Concerning the encreasing the number of Officers & to add a Lieutenant to each of the four Companys & Richd Beale to have a Commission	
48	44	Carpenters Mate or a Mason but the Soldiers in this Ships designd for St Helena having been bred Carpenters, Bricklayers & you may employ them in the Works, making them the usual Allowance that is given to the other Soldiers when employed for our Service. We are Your loving Friends. P Godfrey John Payne R. Drake J Raymond N Newnham Junr M Impey Henry Plant L Sulivan John Dorrien Rob Jones Henr Savage Thos Rous Cha Gough Timothy Tullie H Crabb Boulton Stephen Law Christ Burrow Charles Chambers John Manship M Westerne London 29 Decr 1756 **Margin Notes:** Carpenters Mate not sent Soldiers bred Carpenters &ca may be employed in the Works	The Court had not been able to send by this ship a carpenter's mate or a mason, but since the soldiers in this ship meant for St Helena had been bred carpenters, bricklayers and the like, the island might employ them in the works, making them the usual allowance given to the other soldiers when employed for the Court's service. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 29 December 1756, and signed by P. Godfrey, John Payne, R. Drake, James Raymond, N. Newnham junior, M. Impey, Henry Plant, L. Sulivan, John Dorrien, Robert Jones, Henry Savage, Thomas Rous, Charles Gough, Timothy Tullie, H. Crabb Boulton, Stephen Law, Christopher Burrow, Charles Chambers, John Manship and Maximilian Westerne. **Interpretations** The decision to draw the island's building tradesmen from among the soldiers sent out, rather than ship a carpenter's mate and mason as separate craftsmen, shows the Company making a single body of men serve two functions under wartime scarcity, since recruits already bred to the building trades could take up the tools when not under arms, and by paying them the usual working allowance the Court turned its garrison into the labour force that raised the very fortifications and buildings they were posted to defend.
49	45	Our Governor and Council of St Helena. 1 Since our last orders to you dated the 29 Decemr 1756 by the Ship Falmouth, we received yours several Letters of the 3 of November 1756, 10 February 11 March 14 and 30 April 21 and 25 June 20 July and 9 August 1757, Whereon we shall now give our Sentiments and directions with the Necessary informations for your Government in the Administration of our Affairs 2 It is with great pleasure We can now Inform You of the safe Arrivals of all Our Expected Ships this Season from the several parts of the East Indies which with respect to those that had not the benefit of Convoy, is the more Agreable, the present dangerous Situation of Affairs by the Continuance of War between the British and French Nations being Considered, You will be acquainted with the Places and Times of their reaching the Different Ports by the inclosed List, Our particular thanks are due to Captain O'Brien for his great Care and Attention to the Safety of the Fleet which Came under his Convoy. 3 The unhappy Scituation of our Concerns in Bengall on the Sloop Superb, Coming from thence requiring the Speedy	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the year's correspondence and shipping. 1: Since the Court's last orders of 29 December 1756 by the *Falmouth*, it had received the island's several letters of 3 November 1756, of 10 February, 11 March, 14 and 30 April, 21 and 25 June, 20 July and 9 August 1757, on which it would now give its views and directions along with any information the island needed to govern the Court's affairs. 2: The Court was very glad to report the safe arrival that season of all the ships it expected from the various parts of the East Indies, which was the more welcome, in the present dangerous state of war between Britain and France, for those that had come without escort, and the island would learn from the enclosed list where and when each reached the different ports, the Court owing particular thanks to Captain O'Brien for his great care in protecting the five that sailed under his convoy. 3: The troubled state of the Company's affairs in Bengal, reported by the sloop *Superb* arriving from there, called for the speedy carriage of proper orders for their recovery, so the *Expedition* packet under Captain James Warton, employed on that service, sailed from the Downs on 14 August, but unhappily fell in with a French privateer, was taken on 29 August and carried into Vigo, where Warton and the vessel's crew were set at liberty. 4: To carry on its trade the Court had that season taken into its service the following ships. **Interpretations** The loss of the *Expedition* packet to a French privateer within a fortnight of leaving the Downs, and its diversion into the Spanish port of Vigo, exposes how the war had made even a fast dispatch vessel

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		Conveyance of the proper orders for retrieving the on this Expedition Packett, Captain James Warton employed on that Service Sailed from the downs the 14 August but unhappily falling in with a French Privateer was taken the 29 and Carried into Vigo, where Captain Warton and the Vessels Crew were set at Liberty 4 To carry on our Commerce We have this Season entertained in the Companys Service the following Ships viz **Margin Notes:** Acknowledging the receipt of Letters Pleasant News of the Arrival of Ships from India The Advice Packet sent to Bengall but was taken by a French Privateer	vulnerable on the approaches to the Channel, and the timing matters, since the packet carried urgent orders for retrieving the Company's position in Bengal, so the capture meant not merely the loss of a ship but a dangerous delay in reaching a settlement already in crisis. The release of Captain Warton and his crew at Vigo, a neutral Spanish harbour rather than a French one, reflects the legal position of a capture made before the prize could be condemned, since the privateer could seize the vessel but had to bring her into port for adjudication, and the freeing of the crew in a neutral place shows the customary usages of maritime war still operating even as the Company's communications were being cut.
50	46	Ships Tons Commanders Consignmt Hardwicke 499 John Samson Coast and Bay Prince Henry 499 Thomas Best St Helena and Limp Osterly 499 Fredk Vincent China Directly Rhoda 499 John McNamara Tilbury 499 Roger Manwareing Britannia 499 John Blewet Winchelsea 499 Thomas Howe } Fort St George Shaftsbury 499 Cornelius Inglis and China Prince of Wales 499 William Roberts Warren 499 Alphonsus Glover London 499 Richard Ullwright } Coast and Bay Drake 499 Benjn Foxbee True Briton 425 Thomas Crichton Prince George 499 Lorenzo Collim } Bombay Bombay Castle 499 Richard Dowston Egmont 499 John Fennery St Helena & Bencoolen The Ship Pitt let for 600 Tons to Carry 250 Men with 30 Guns Commodore William Wilson Commander is likewise taken up and consigned to Fort St George, As you will observe there is a Ship of Force the Secret Committee will Inform the Governor what Service she is designed for besides her Employ in as in the Mercantile way. There is also building and Nearly Compleated for our Service a Three Deck Ship 1000 Tons Burthen to mount 24 Guns and Carry Men Answerable she will be named the Admiral Watson and is to Commanded by Captaine Cook being principally intended for an Advice Vessel her destinate and Departure are not yet determined upon What orders may be received by the Governor or any other Person from John Payne Laurence Sulivan, Peter Godfrey Christopher Burrow and James Raymond Esqrs the Secret Committee for this Year or any three of them for **Margin Notes:** Ships taken up The Ship Pitt employed in the Companys Service in a Warlike & mercantile way A Three Deck building for an Advice Vessel Orders of the Secret Committee to be duly attended to with punctuality	*Hardwicke*, 499 tons, John Sampson, Coast and Bay *Prince Henry*, 499 tons, Thomas Best, St Helena and Bombay *Osterly*, 499 tons, Frederick Vincent, China directly *Rhoda*, 499 tons, John McNamara, Fort St George and China *Tilbury*, 499 tons, Roger Manwaring, Fort St George and China *Britannia*, 499 tons, John Blewet, Fort St George and China *Winchelsea*, 499 tons, Thomas Howe, Fort St George and China *Shaftsbury*, 499 tons, Cornelius Inglis, Fort St George and China *Prince of Wales*, 499 tons, William Roberts, Fort St George and China *Warren*, 499 tons, Alphonsus Glover, Coast and Bay *London*, 499 tons, Richard Ullwright, Coast and Bay *Drake*, 499 tons, Benjamin Sicket, Coast and Bay *True Briton*, 425 tons, Thomas Crichton, Coast and Bay *Prince George*, 499 tons, Lorenzo Collins, Bombay *Bombay Castle*, 499 tons, Richard Dooston, Bombay *Egmont*, 499 tons, John Vennerg, St Helena and Bencoolen The ship *Pitt*, let for 600 tons to carry 250 men with 30 guns, William Wilson commander, and consigned to Fort St George, had likewise been taken up under Commodore William Wilson, and the island would see there was a ship of force, the Secret Committee informing the Governor what service she was meant for besides her employment in trade. There was also building and nearly finished a fifty-gun ship of 1,000 tons burden, to mount 24 guns and carry men accordingly, to be named the *Admiral Watson* and commanded by Captain Cook, but since she was chiefly meant for an advice vessel, her destination and departure were not yet settled. Whatever orders the Governor or any other person might receive from John Payne, Lacy Sulivan, Peter Godfrey, Christopher Burrow and James Raymond, the Secret Committee for the year, or any three of them, [...]. **Interpretations** The building of a fifty-gun ship the *Admiral Watson*, intended chiefly as an advice vessel, marks how far the war had pushed the Company towards maintaining armed ships of its own, since an advice vessel carried urgent dispatches and needed the force to fight her way past privateers of the kind that had just taken the *Expedition*, and the naming of her after

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			the admiral then commanding in Indian waters ties the Company's shipbuilding directly to the naval campaign in the East. The taking up of the *Pitt* as a ship of force under a commodore, with the Secret Committee alone to inform the Governor of her real purpose, shows the Company folding a fighting vessel into what looked like an ordinary trading voyage, since her armament and complement far exceeded a merchantman's needs, and the reservation of her true service to the secret correspondence marks the point at which the Company's commerce and its war effort became deliberately indistinguishable to any outside eye.
51	47	for the Security of the Island and Safety of our Shipping are to Meet with the Strictest Attention and due obedience The full and particular Intelligence regarding our own as well as foreign Ships conveyed to us in your Correspondence this year Merits Commendation, and as you seem so well Convinced of the Importance of such Accounts by the Earliest and Secret means, it appears unnecessary to repeat the injunctions given for their Continuance In order to Supply you with Stores agreably to your Indent as far as they can properly by Compleed with and the Number of Recruits procurably for the Garrison, the Ships Prince Henry and Egmont are this season Consigned to the Island the former is from the Motives you were last year apprized of by the Onslow ordered in the same Manner to Limpo the Directions then prescribed as to the Latter must be punctualy followed with respect to the Prince Henry whose Outset being later there will be greater Necessity in Forwarding her despatch with all Expedition to Batavia in the way to her Consigned Port, and it must be your Care to make the Ship and Commander Answerable for the least Delay The dispatch of the Egmont with the other part of the Islands Stores being fixed for the Latter End of next month and her timely arrival on the West Coast of meet Importance as well in point of the Stores she Carrys as that she may seasonably and without Risk be dispatched home renders your disembarking the Supplys she brings and Charging the Commander with his Sailing orders for Fort Marlborough within Charter party time a measure you are by no means to fail in and which may more readily be done from being thus Early apprized thereof **Margin Notes:** Approving of the Intelligence received and Orders to continue it Ships Prince Henry & Egmont consigned to the Island The Prince Henry to be dispatched with all speed to both destined Ports Egmont to be dispatched as expeditiously as possible	Those orders for the security of the island and the safety of the shipping were to be followed with the strictest attention and obedience. The full and detailed intelligence about the Court's own and foreign ships, sent in the island's letters that year, deserved praise, and since the island seemed so well aware of the value of such accounts by the earliest and most private channels, there was no need to repeat the directions already given for keeping them up. To supply the island with stores in line with its requisition as far as could properly be met, and with as many recruits for the garrison as could be got, the ships *Prince Henry* and *Egmont* were consigned to the island that season, the former for the reasons the island had learned the previous year by the *Onslow*, and she was to be dealt with in the same way then laid down. As to the *Egmont*, since she set out later there was greater need to speed her dispatch, so she was to be forwarded with all haste to Batavia on her way to her consigned port, and the island was to hold the ship and commander answerable for the least delay. The dispatch of the *Egmont* with the rest of the island's stores was fixed for the latter end of next month, and her timely arrival on the west coast mattered as much as the safety of the stores she carried, so that she might reach home in good season and without risk. This turned on the island unloading the supplies she brought and ordering the commander to sail for Fort Marlborough within the charter party time, a step the island was on no account to neglect, and one made easier by this early notice of it. **Interpretations** The Court's stress on speeding the *Egmont* to Batavia and on holding her commander answerable for any delay reveals how the war had tightened every link in the shipping schedule, since a ship that lingered at St Helena risked missing the season for her onward voyage and her safe return, and by giving the island early notice the Court armed it to enforce the timetable before the ship even arrived, the whole chain of dispatch now run on a margin too narrow to absorb the old delays.
52	48	11 Messrs George Mandeville and William Mackenzie Supra Cargos of this Ship are on her Arrival to have the Letter Left	11: On her arrival the supercargoes of this ship, George Mandeville and William Mackenzie, were to receive the letter left for them by Messrs Fitzhugh and Torin, the supercargoes of the ships bound for

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		by Messrs Fitzhugh and Torin for them as Supra Cargos of the expected Ships for Limpo, and as any Ships from that Port shall touch at St Helena you are, in Our name to remind their Supra Cargos of leaving in your hands the most Explicit Accounts regarding their transactions for the Information of such Persons to whom the Management of our affairs in that part of China may hereafter be Committed, your being sensible of the Utility of this Order will engage your constant attention thereto and leave us no room for a repetition 12 Supposing the purchase you made of Captain William Hutchinson of a Long boat for our Service with its Sails and Furniture as immediately necessary, and that the Cost was moderate therein no objection thereto yet you are to take it with you as formerly enjoined that such Ships for whom our boats are employed must repair the Damages it is observed they frequently meet with, and allow an equitable consideration for their Wear, imagining that must be the Case, when some of them have no Longboat as you hint, we also acquiesce in your paying a proper boat of Captain O'Brien for the Governors Visitting the Fortifications in the rather considering the importance for the use it is designed for 13 The Shipping in General which came to the Island seem to be largely supply with Fresh provisions, it will be very agreable to find the favourably Season you enjoyed on the last Ships departure may put it into your power to do the same next year the thriving State our own Stock, Pastures and Plantations is not unmixed and afford a happy prospect in this interesting Concern for so far as depends on us your wants of Salt Provisions and Flour shall be removed and the Commanders of our outward bound Ships are this season directed to provide for themselves so Sufficiently with Live Stock, on their return that they may not put you in any distress 14 Your Letter of the 18 February last in its Duplicate **Margin Notes:** Letter left by the Supra Cargos to be here it Recommended to the Governor & Council to be careful in gathering all Intelligence in respect their Concerns in China The purchase of a boat by approved of & Captains of Ships to repair the Damages when to be at Britain they employ An objection & former Ordered to be punctual Pleasant News of the prosperous State of the Island Ships to be supplied further with Provisions in India to prevent Distressing the Island	Canton, and since any ships from that port might call at St Helena, the island was, in the Court's name, to remind their supercargoes to leave with the island the fullest accounts of their dealings, for the information of whoever might later be given charge of the Company's affairs in that part of China, the island being aware of the value of this direction and so needing no repetition of it. 12: Supposing the island had bought Captain William Hutchinson's longboat with its sails and gear for the Company's service as immediately needed, and the cost was moderate, the Court had no objection, so the island was to take it as directed before, that ships whose boats the Company used should repair the damage they often suffered and allow a fair sum for their wear, which the Court supposed must be the case where some of them had no longboat, as the island had said, and it likewise agreed to the island paying a proper sum to Captain O'Brien for the boat used by the Governor in visiting the fortifications, given the importance of the purpose it served. 13: The shipping in general that came to the island seemed to be well supplied with fresh provisions, and it would be very welcome to learn that the favourable season the island enjoyed at the last ship's departure might let it do the same the next year, since the thriving state of the island's stock, pasture and plantations gave a happy prospect in this matter, for as far as depended on the Court the island's wants of salt provisions and flour would be met, and the commanders of the outward-bound ships were that season directed to provide themselves sufficiently with livestock for their return, so as not to distress the island. 14: The island's letter of 18 February last, in its duplicate [...]. **Interpretations** The instruction that ships borrowing the Company's boats must repair the damage and pay for the wear reveals a careful apportioning of a shared resource, since the island's boats were in constant demand from vessels that carried none of their own, and by charging each ship for the harm it did the Company recovered the cost of maintaining craft that served the whole fleet, the arrangement turning a common convenience into a properly accounted expense. The Court's satisfaction at the thriving state of the island's stock, pasture and plantations marks a turn from the anxious victualling of earlier letters, since a settlement that could raise its own provisions and let the ships supply themselves for the return voyage relieved the pressure that war had put on its stores, and the improving husbandry of a once-barren island is presented as a matter of real strategic worth rather than mere good farming.
53	49	reached us the 15 June following but the original by the Sophea & Magdelena came not till the 15 August We cannot Accompt for such behaviour	The duplicate reached the Court on 5 June following, but the original by the *Sophia Magdalena* did not arrive until 15 August, and the Court could not approve such conduct by the Danes, who the previous year had reported the loss of a letter entrusted to

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		of the Danes having last year intimated the Loss of a Letter intrusted to them by you it is proper to take and send us receipts for the Packets transmitted by Foreign Ships that we may be enabled to make a more particular demand of them as no opportunity should be committed of giving us the needfull advices that may be safely Conveyed by such Ships 15 It surprized us the Prince Henry Packet had been at the Islands and as it appears by Captain Mumfords Letters that he put in for Water and to refresh his Crew We suppose his Stay with you for Ten days were necessary or that if you had found any needless delay on his part he would have received a Suitable Admonition thereupon 16 That other Commanders may be deterred from Clandestine bringing our Servants and Soldiers from the Island, We have given Captain Allwright a Particular Mark of our resentment, though it does not appear the Carpenters Mate was on board the London with his privity We would have some more effectual Methods pursued than have hitherto been followed for preventing our People leaving you, the Commanders too should be informed before they quit the Shore, that We can allow of no excuse in this behalf And as we find a Soldier deserted on the Hampshire you must when any of his Majestys Ships are in the Road acquaint the Captains with the prejudices we sustain in such respect and with, our hopes that they will forbid their Officers receiving or conniving at the Escape of any of our Dependants 17 The Indents made this Season have been duly regarded and will be Complyed with by this Ship and the Egmont the proportions put on board the former the accompanying Invoice and Bill of Lading will particularly shew 18 Although it has been so frequently recommended that the **Margin Notes:** Cannot accompt for such behaviour of the Danes and to take & send us receipts for the Packets intrusted to their charge Receipt of Packets & to be punctual when intrusted to Foreigners else taken Surprized that the Stay of the Prince Henry Packet being ten days was necessary in refreshing &ca Concerning preventing our Dependants from the Island Indents complyed with	them. The island was to take receipts for the packets sent by foreign ships, so the Court might make a fuller demand of them, and no chance was to be missed of sending the needful advices that could safely go by such ships. 15: The Court supposed the *Prince Henry* packet had reached the island, and from Captain Mumford's letters it appeared she put in for water and to refresh her crew, and it took her stay to have been necessary for ten days, so if the island had found any needless delay on his part he would have received a suitable reprimand for it. 16: So that other commanders might be deterred from secretly carrying off the Court's servants and soldiers from the island, the Court had shown Captain Ullwright a particular mark of its displeasure, though it did not appear the carpenter's mate went aboard the *London* with his knowledge, and the Court wished some more effective method could be followed than had been used so far for preventing its people leaving the island, since the commanders too should be warned before quitting the shore that no excuse would be allowed in such a case, and if a soldier deserted, as had happened aboard the *Hampshire*, the island was, if any of the King's ships were in the road, to tell the captains of the harm the Court suffered in such matters, in the hope that they would forbid their officers to receive or connive at the escape of any of the Court's dependants. 17: The requisitions made that season had been duly attended to and would be met by this ship and the *Egmont*, the proportions loaded aboard each shown in detail by the accompanying invoice and bill of lading. 18: Although it had been so frequently recommended that the [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's demand that receipts be taken for every packet handed to a foreign ship reveals how far its wartime communications depended on neutral carriers it could not fully trust, since the Danish ships that lost or delayed its letters were beyond its discipline, and a signed receipt was the only leverage the Company had, converting an informal courtesy of the sea into a documented obligation it could later press when a letter went astray. The mark of displeasure shown to Captain Ullwright, even though the deserting carpenter's mate had probably boarded the *London* without his knowledge, shows the Company holding commanders answerable regardless of personal fault, since the loss of skilled servants from a remote island could only be checked by making every captain fear the consequences of a desertion from his ship, so the penalty fell on the office rather than the man as the surest deterrent to connivance.
54	50	the most exact description should be given of the different Articles which may be necessary, yet the Sorts or Numbers of the Canvas and Cumables written for are ommitted 19 The Six pieces of Oak of Twenty four feet Long and too feet Diameter indented for are of such extraordinary	The most exact description should be given of the various articles the island might need, yet the sorts and numbers of the canvas and chinaware were still left out. 19: The six pieces of oak, 24 feet long and two feet in diameter, that the island had requisitioned, were of such unusual size as not to be readily got, and the trouble their carriage would cause made it proper the Court be told what they were meant for and whether timber of smaller size might not serve.

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		demensions as not to be readily procured, besides the difficultys that would arise in the Conveyance of them make it proper that we should be informed of the uses they are intended for and whether Timber of less demensions may not Answer your purposes 20 In Compliance with your large demand for Cash and to avoid the risks of the whole by one Conveyance only two Chests of Treasure by this Ship the other two Chests should you be in real want of so much are to be taken from the West Coast Consignment by the Egmont giving advice thereof to our Settlement there accordingly the Chests by the Latter which contain the small money that is inconvenient to you are distinguished by the Word Estimates being cut thereon so that you will be easily enabled to pitch upon what is most preferable, On this occasion We must express our reliance on your utmost Care and Œconomy in disbursement thereof for the Companys service always remembring the annual heavy Charge of the Island to us. 21 The ample Supply of Salt Provisions and Flour wherewith you will be furnished this Season must remove all apprehensions in those respects yet to avoid the desagreable Consequences arising from scarcity the most prudent precautions on your part will doubtless be exercised for the proper and necessary manutenance of our numerous Garrison and Dependants should the remotest prospect of want present it self the Expedient formerly practiced of having recourse to our Commanders of our homeward bound Shipping for all such Articles as they can possibly Spare for your Relief at the most reasonable rates as a Ship that will in the first place occur and we recommend to your practice 22 Flour being at this time generaly prohibited **Margin Notes:** Indents not sufficiently descriptive Oak Timber not sent Cash sent by this Ship & if in want more to be had from the West Coast The Consignment of Fort St Helena two to be distinguished thereof No more to be kept than necessary The Supply of Provisions sent this year sufficient Vizt	20: To meet the island's large demand for cash and to avoid risking the whole in one ship, two chests of treasure came by this ship, and the other two, should the island really need so much, were to be taken from the west coast consignment by the *Egmont*, notice of it being given to the settlement there. The chests by the *Egmont*, holding the small money that was awkward for the island to use, were marked with the word Estimates cut on them, so the island might easily tell which was most convenient to draw on. On this occasion the Court pressed its reliance on the island's utmost care and economy in laying it out for the Company's service, always remembering the heavy annual charge the island was to it. 21: The ample supply of salt provisions and flour the island would receive that season must remove all fear on those heads, yet to avoid the disagreeable effects of scarcity the island should still take the most prudent precautions for the proper maintenance of the numerous garrison and dependants, and should the least prospect of want appear, it was to use the method practised before of drawing on the commanders of the homeward-bound shipping for all such articles as they could spare, at the most reasonable rates, from whichever ship arrived first, a practice the Court recommended to the island. 22: Flour being at that time generally prohibited [...]. **Interpretations** The device of marking the awkward chests of small money with the word Estimates cut into them shows the practical management of bullion moving between settlements, since coin of low denomination was cumbersome for the island to disburse, and by labelling the chests so the island could pick the more convenient treasure the Company eased a real difficulty of handling cash at a place where the right sort of money was as important as the amount. The Court's repeated reminder of the heavy annual charge the island represented, pressed even while granting its demands, reveals the underlying tension in the Company's view of St Helena, since the settlement earned no trade of its own and existed to serve the fleet, so every chest of treasure and shipload of provisions was a cost to be justified, and the insistence on economy marks a possession valued for its strategic use yet resented for its expense.
55	51	as its exportation, though with an exception in the Companys favour by act past last Sessions of Parliament enclosed it is very necessary that you should and we enjoin your strictest obedience thereto and that you are minutely Conform your Selves in returning to us the necessary Documents in Triplicate for the Satisfaction of the Officers of the Crown and in the discharge of the Security given on this occasion according to the accompanying	The export of flour was prohibited, though with an exception in the Company's favour by an act passed last sitting of Parliament, a copy enclosed, so it was very necessary the island send, and the Court required its strict obedience in this, and carefully return the needful documents in triplicate for the satisfaction of the Crown's officers and to discharge the security given on this occasion, in line with the accompanying instructions for the island's conduct in the matter. 23: The Indian stores and those from China the island had requisitioned would in all probability be

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		Paper of Instructions for your Conduct therein 23 The Indean Stores and those from China indented for will be provided in all probability according to your demands from them made since the date of your Letter of the 21 June, the prosperous turn in our affairs in Bengall have taken, make the additional Supply of Rice and Paddey from the other Capital Settlements needless whereas the very large Quantity of Sugar and Candy requested has excited our Surprize and can be accounted for, as far as appears to us by no other reason than the Caution given last year for your not fixing your Dependance for the former Article Solely on the West Coast, by the Precarious Conveyance of a Single Ship whereof only half the Quantitys ordered from China 24 For your most Vigorous defence of the Island in Case of its attacks by the Enemy, the Ten thousand Sand bags desired will be sent, although we think a rope may be Cheeper and equally as well supplyed with this Article from our Indean Settlements you will therefore guide your selves accordingly when there may be occasion for such like particulars 25 Notwithstanding the hazard our Ships are exposd to from Lading on them such large Quantitys of Gunpowder One hundred Barrels will be sent in Consequence of the want you have signified to us thereof, so much depends on the Good Condition of this Article that we doubt not of your attention, by Causing frequent Surveys and properly stowing it, to see that it is constantly in the most serviceable State the other parts of your Military demands will meet with due consideration and the Invoices will show in what manner they are Complyed with 26 **Margin Notes:** Documents to be returned for the end in Triplicate Concerning Indean Stores &ca Rice and Paddey &ca Sand Bags sent Gun Powder sent	provided in full from those places, the requisition made since the island's letter of 21 June, and the improving turn in the Company's affairs in Bengal made the extra supply of rice and paddy from the other chief settlements needless, though the very large quantity of sugar and candy the island had requisitioned surprised the Court, which could account for it only by the caution given the previous year about not resting the island's supply of the former article solely on the west coast, by the uncertain arrival of a single ship, when only half the quantity was ordered from China. 24: For the most vigorous defence of the island in case of attack by the enemy, the 10,000 sandbags the island had requisitioned would be sent, though the Court thought they might be cheaper and equally well supplied with this article from its Indian settlements, so the island was to govern itself accordingly when there was occasion for such things. 25: Despite the hazard the Court's ships ran from carrying such large quantities of gunpowder, 100 barrels would be sent in consequence of the want the island had reported, and since so much depended on the good condition of this article, the Court had no doubt of the island's attention in having it frequently surveyed and properly stored, to see that it was always kept in the most serviceable state, while the other parts of the island's military requisition would meet due consideration, and the invoices would show how they were met. **Interpretations** The requirement to return the flour documents in triplicate for the Crown's officers reveals the point at which the Company's private trade met the machinery of the state, since the wartime prohibition on exporting flour was lifted for the Company only by statute, and the papers evidencing lawful shipment under that exception had to satisfy government officials, so the island's paperwork became the proof that a privileged exemption from a national ban was being properly used. The Court's suggestion that sandbags and even gunpowder might be had more cheaply from its Indian settlements than shipped from England shows the Company weighing its own eastern possessions as a source of military supply, since the long carriage from home added cost and risk to every barrel and bag, and the drift of the reasoning marks a settlement being encouraged to draw its defensive materials from the nearer Asian factories rather than the distant mother country whenever it could. Paddy was rice still in the husk, as harvested before milling, distinguished here from the cleaned rice ready for eating. Candy was crystallised sugar, refined and hardened into solid form, a more valuable product than the raw sugar from which it was made.
56	52	26 Besides the necessary Cloathing for Our Troops now in Garrison, what the Recruits designed for it this Season will want is likewise intended to be Conveyed to you for their use 27 Even at the time of Shipping the Materials on the Exeter designed for the Construction of the Hospital merely on account of the particulars, without their Value from the Circumstances then occurring was with difficulty procured to remove the Loss you are at We shall endeavour to enclose herewith a more precise one but failing therein it would be proper you should with the Assistance of the ablest Workmen at hand	26: Besides the necessary clothing for the troops in garrison, what the recruits meant for it that season would need was likewise to be sent for their use. 27: Even when the materials were shipped on the *Exeter* for building the hospital, the particulars, without their value, were only got with difficulty from the circumstances then arising, so to remove the difficulty the island was at, the Court would try to enclose a more precise account, but failing that the island should, with the help of the ablest workmen at hand, have the most fair rates set on them by valuation, so they might be duly entered on the Company's books. 28: The 2,600 weight of junk the island was supplied with by Captain O'Brien would be accounted for with the proper officers on the King's ship there, to whom the island had left settling the price, which, though perhaps trivial, had better been avoided.

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		by an appraizment fix thereon the most equitable Rates that they may be accordingly brought to account on Our Books 28 The amount of the Twenty six hundred weight of Junk you were supplied with by Captain O'Brien will be Accounted for with their proper Officers on his Majestys Cart here to whom you have left the adjustment of the Price which tho' perhaps trivial had better been avoided 29 The Suspicion intimated in your Letter under the 3 of November on the Loss of a black man out of a Fishing Boat that he was murdered by those that were with him and the directions requisite on that head make our Injunctions requisite, that you diligently examine the records of the Island for precedents in the like Cases communicating to us the result of your Search with the usual methods of proceeding that we may be more particular orders for the effectual punishment of such Malefactors it is in the mean time necessary generaly to order that in a Case any them shall be Convicted of Murder, the most severe Punishmt due so henious a Crime be according to the best of your Judgement inflicted on the Offenders 30 Sensible of the reasonableness of your observations on the Transport of Malefactors and desolute persons from India to the Island with the bad Consequences that may arise therefrom we forbid the repetition of this Practice in all our Settlements so far as that it may **Margin Notes:** Cloathing for the Garrison sent Materials for the Hospital concerning the Value therein The amount of Junk you were supplied by Captain O'Brien Concerning a black man supposed to be murdered out of a Fishing Boat & to be punctual in the like Cases Reproved to send the Transport of Malefactors from India to the Island with the bad Consequences	29: As to the suspicion the island reported in its letter of 3 November, on the loss of a black man out of a fishing boat, that he was murdered by those with him, the directions the island sought on that head made the Court's instruction necessary, that the island diligently examine the records of the island for precedents in the like cases, sending the Court the result of its search with the usual method of proceeding, so that fuller orders might be given for the effective punishment of such malefactors, and in the meantime it was necessary to order generally that in any such case any found guilty of murder should suffer the severest punishment, so heinous a crime being met, to the best of the island's judgement, with the fullest penalty on the offenders. 30: The Court, aware of the reasonableness of the island's observations on transporting malefactors and desperate persons from India to the island, and of the bad effects that might follow, forbade the repetition of this practice in all its settlements, so far as [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's response to the reported murder of a black man from a fishing boat, ordering the island to search its records for precedents before framing a punishment, reveals how a remote settlement built its criminal law case by case rather than from a fixed code, since it had no established procedure for such a crime and had to construct one from whatever earlier instances it could find, the memory of past dealings serving in place of statute at a place beyond the reach of the ordinary courts. The decision to forbid the transporting of malefactors and desperate persons from India to St Helena, granted on the island's own complaint, shows the Company recognising the danger of using its remote possession as a dumping ground for the troublesome of its eastern settlements, since a small community could be destabilised by an influx of hardened offenders, and the reversal of the practice across all the settlements marks the island's security being weighed above the convenience of ridding India of its unwanted men. Junk was old and worn cordage or rope, cut up and reused aboard ship for oakum, fenders and other purposes, and the 2,600 weight supplied here was a bulk quantity of such material rather than any single article.
57	53	may not prevent their supplying you with as many usefull Slaves as can be procured agreable to your Repeated recommendations We hope it might rather be from prejudices imbibed from the false maxims of their Country that five of the Delinquets conveyed to you from Anjengo at the Skirry of Travancore, instance put so rash a Period to their Lives them from Impatience of too severe treatment from those under whose Care they were placed, which a Little Caution it may be thought it would have preserved from the Degree of Life these persons were in we would have the Survivor treated with humanity and if possible won with Contentment with their Situation 31 Noqueadah Pohollum's Appearance here to justify himself on the Representations made of his behaviour by our Servants on the West Coast cannot be admitted any more than his return hither	The ban was not to prevent the settlements supplying the island with as many useful slaves as could be procured, in line with the island's repeated recommendations. The Court hoped it might be prejudice absorbed from the false maxims of their country that led five of the delinquents sent to the island from Anjengo, at the killing of the King of Travancore, to put so rash an end to their lives, rather than impatience at too harsh treatment from those in whose charge they were placed, which a little caution might, it could be thought, have prevented, and given the state those persons were in the Court wished the survivor treated with humanity and if possible reconciled to his situation. 31: Noquedah Pocholum's appearance at the island to justify himself against the reports of his conduct made by the Court's servants on the west coast could no more be allowed than his return there, which might expose the Court's servants to revenge and greater trouble than he had caused before, so his inclination to slip away privately obliged the Court to insist the island keep watch on him while any ships remained in the road, and at all times to keep a watchful eye on him to prevent his carrying out the

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		whereby our Servants might be exposed in revenge to greater Troubles than he has formerly accasioned his Inclination privately to withdraw himself obliges us to insist on your Continuing to secure Him while any Ships remain in the Road as well as at all times to keep a Watchfull Eye over him in prevention of the Execution of the rash purpose he had threatned We were in hopes the allowance made and a treatment with some share of Courtesy on your Parts might have reconciled him to his present Circumstances which we shall not yet entirely give up, Captain O'Brien has given us more Instances of his Regard for the Company than that of delivering up this Unfortunate Person to you again from on board his Ship Colchester 32 It is our express Commands that no Person or Persons Whatsoever be permitted to take Plans of the Fortifications Works or any other Places of Offence or Defence upon the Island without the leave of you the Governor and Council and you are to make a Strict Enquiry for such as are in the hands of other Persons and Collect and keep them safely together in your joint Custody 33 The Orders Issued the 13 December and 3 January for the Coming in of all Boats and Blacks on alarms for the preventing the **Margin Notes:** These Blacks sent, there which remain to be treated kindly Concerning Noqueadah Pohollum The Plans of Fortifications not taken without the leave of the Governor & Council	rash purpose he had threatened. The Court had hoped the allowance made and some measure of courtesy on the island's part might have reconciled him to his present circumstances, which it would not yet entirely give up, and Captain O'Brien had given one more instance of his regard for the Company than that of delivering this unfortunate person to the island again from aboard his ship the *Colchester*. 32: It was the Court's express command that no person whatever be allowed to take plans of the fortifications, works or any other places of attack or defence on the island without the leave of the Governor and Council, and the island was to make a strict enquiry for any in the hands of other persons and collect and keep them safely together in its joint custody. 33: The orders issued on 13 December and 3 January for the coming in of all boats and blacks on alarms, for the preventing of the [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's express command that no plans of the fortifications be taken without leave, and that any in private hands be gathered into the Council's custody, reveals the island's defences treated as military secrets in a way that peacetime would never have required, since a drawing of the works could guide an enemy's attack, and the war with France turned the ordinary curiosity of a surveyor or draughtsman into a security risk to be controlled by seizing every unauthorised plan. The suicides of the five men sent from Anjengo after the killing of the King of Travancore, which the Court ascribed to the maxims of their country rather than to ill usage, expose the human cost of transporting people across the world into bondage, and the instruction to treat the survivor with humanity and reconcile him to his situation shows the Company confronting, in the language of its own interest, the despair that its movement of forced labour between distant possessions could produce. Anjengo was the Company's fortified trading settlement on the Malabar coast of south-west India, and Travancore the neighbouring kingdom, so the men referred to had been caught up in the violent upheaval surrounding the killing of its ruler and then removed to St Helena.
58	54	the making of Fires on the Hills or near the Sea in the night time and the resort of improper persons within the Battery at Sandy bay, as bespeaking your Cautions for the Islands safety are approved of 34 We shall depend on the promises made on the 5 and 29 Paragraph of your Letter of the 11 March for putting the Fortifications in repair and keeping them so which you will the more readily be able to satisfy from the permission given of employing Our Soldiery therein at the most reasonable rates when the Labour of the Blacks is insufficient 35 On due Consideration of the Strength of Our Garrison we have resolved to add about Eighty Recruits to it which Considering the great demand of Men for his Majestys Service and for our Settlements in India have been with great difficulty procured and cannot but deem the Island as sufficiently able with that addition to maintain itself and resist the attack of such Force as the Enemy were they so Inclined might be presumed to send against you; the List of the whole recruits is enclosed	The orders forbidding fires on the hills or near the sea at night, and the resort of improper persons within the battery at Sandy Bay, as showing the island's care for its safety, were approved. 34: The Court would rely on the promises made in the fifth and twenty-ninth paragraphs of the island's letter of 11 March for putting the fortifications in repair and keeping them so, which the island would more readily be able to do given the leave to employ the soldiery on the work at the most reasonable rates where the labour of the blacks fell short. 35: On due consideration of the strength of the garrison the Court had resolved to add about 80 recruits to it, which, given the great demand for men for the King's service and for the settlements in India, had been got with great difficulty, and it could not but think the island, with that addition, well able to maintain itself and resist the attack of such force as the enemy, were they so inclined, might be supposed to send against it, the list of the whole recruits enclosed. 36: From the accounts before the Court it appeared that, on receiving the reinforcement, the garrison would number more than 400 men, so the island was to see them properly commanded, and to that end the Court confirmed the leave given the previous year to appoint a fitting number of officers really needed for the service, preferring this course as equally useful rather than the more expensive one of

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		36 Upon receiving the reinforcement from the Accounts before Us it appears the Garrison will Consist of more than Four hundred men, it will be your Care to see they are properly Commanded to that end we Confirm the Liberty given you last year to appoint a fitting number of Officers really requisite for the Service preferring this measure as equally beneficial rather than to what we Conceive a more expensive one the forming a New Company the Artillery must be supplied from other Companys 37 Besides the respectable Corps of Troops under the Command of Select Commission and well approved Non Commission Officers always kept under the Exactest Discipline and ready for immediate Service, We trust from the Property of the Planters and Inhabitants which will lay at Stake in Case of an attempt on the Island for the more Effectual assistance, from them as a Malitia that they are accordingly Officered and regularly trained as your advice for that purpose not doubting withall But that the Blacks from the least might be expected, are likewise kept in a posture to yield all the Service that possibly might be required from them on such a Circumstance of affairs **Margin Notes:** Orders concerning Fires on the Hills &ca approved of Fortifications to be kept in the best repair Eighty Recruits added to the Garrison Garrison to be properly Commanded & Officers to be appointed &ca Militia to be embodied & properly Officered & Blacks &ca	forming a new company, the artillery to be supplied from the other companies. 37: Besides the respectable corps of troops under the command of select commission and well-approved non-commissioned officers, kept under the strictest discipline and ready for immediate service, the Court trusted, from the property of the planters and inhabitants that would be at stake in case of an attempt on the island, for the more effective help from them as a militia, that they were accordingly officered and regularly trained, and it advised this be done, not doubting the blacks, from whom the least might be expected, were likewise kept in a posture to yield all the service that might be required of them in such a state of affairs. **Interpretations** The Court's difficulty in raising even 80 recruits, competing against the demands of the King's service and the Indian settlements, exposes the manpower shortage that the war imposed on every part of the Company's establishment, since soldiers were scarce and dear across the whole conflict, and the island's reinforcement had to be weighed against the greater theatres in India, its defence secured only by drawing on a supply that every other front was contesting at the same time. The layering of the island's defence into a paid garrison, an armed militia of planters and inhabitants, and the enrolment of the blacks, reveals a settlement mobilising its whole population by degrees of trust, since the property at stake was expected to bind the free inhabitants to its defence while the slaves were pressed into service at the lowest expectation, and the graded scheme shows how a small society under threat organised every class of person it held according to what it thought each could be relied upon to give.
59	55	38 All deserters from our Settlements in India are agreable to the 42 Paragraph of Our Letter of the 1 of December 1752 be detained for our Service with you, and sent back to be tried the providing of recruits for those parts is so Expensive that We would have the Strictest Search of all homeward bound Ships Continued for recovering of them, and if practicable prolonging the term of their Servitude that they may be deterred from the detrimental practice, for the same reasons your Conduct as to the five Recruits which left the Chesterfield at Madagascar Outward bound and were brought to you on the Denham, meet with our approval 39 The recruits raised for the West Coast will be sent on the Egmont wherefore Considering the large supply this Ship brings you, with the Property of putting our Settlements there at this time in the best Condition for defending themselves, we expect you will not break in upon their Number without Giving us the most Convincing Reasons for the absolute necessity of your so doing 40	38: In line with the twelfth paragraph of the Court's letter of 1 December 1752, all deserters from the settlements in India were to be kept for the Court's service on the island and not sent back, since providing recruits for those parts was so expensive that the Court would have the strictest search of all homeward-bound ships kept up for recovering them, and if practicable their term of service prolonged, so they might be deterred from the harmful practice, and for the same reasons the island's conduct as to the five recruits who left the *Chesterfield* at Madagascar outward bound and were brought to the island on the *Durham* met with the Court's approval. 39: The recruits raised for the west coast would be sent on the *Egmont*, so given the large supply this ship brought the island, and the value of putting the settlements there in the best condition to defend themselves at that time, the Court expected the island would not draw on their number without giving it the most convincing reasons for the absolute necessity of doing so. 40: Lieutenant Hay was to be told that some late unexceptionable behaviour of his had not escaped the Court's notice, and it hoped his future conduct would be such as not to draw a censure on him, which might be very disagreeable to him. 41: The Court could only suppose it was entirely the urgency of the case that led the island to supply the King's ship *Colchester* with so considerable a sum as £500 0s 0d when its own cash was very low, and however just the expectation of a consideration for the

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		Let Lieutenant Hay be informed some late unexceptionable behaviours of his has not Escaped our Notice, And that we hope his future Conduct will be such as not to draw upon a Censure which may be very disagreable to him 41 We can but Suppose it was entirely on the Urgency of the Case that you supplyed his Majestys Ship the Colchester with so Considerable a Sum as Five hundred Pounds when our Cash was but Low how just soever the expectation of a Consideration on account of the Risk arising from the Conveyance of Money to you might be yet as the publick Service had a Concern in this transaction your Charging no premium thereon was right and you will do well in forbearing it on such a future Occasion with this recommendation that you are to be as sparing as possible of such Supplies hereafter, and even avoiding them entirely if it can be done with any Grace for and adequate Compensation is and has been given and taken between the Crown and Company on such Circumstances in India these intimations **Margin Notes:** All deserters from India to be detained The term of Servitude to be encreased to prevent their future desertion Recruits raised for the West Coast not to be kept without the greatest necessity Concerning Lieutenant Hay Reproving your supplying his Majestys Ship the Colchester Observations thereon	risk of carrying the money to the island might yet be, the public service had a concern in the transaction, so the island's charging no premium on it was right, and it would do well to be as sparing as possible of such supplies in future, and even to avoid them entirely if it could be done with any grace, since full and fair compensation was and had been settled between the Crown and Company on such occasions in India, [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's insistence on searching every homeward ship for deserters and prolonging their service to deter escape reveals the sheer cost of recruitment as the governing motive, since a man raised and shipped to the East at great expense was too valuable to lose, and by pursuing deserters across the ocean and lengthening their terms the Company treated the recovery of its trained servants as a matter of accountancy as much as of discipline, the expense of replacement dictating the severity of the chase. The delicate handling of the £500 lent to the *Colchester*, where the island was praised for charging no premium yet told to avoid such loans in future, exposes the careful boundary between the Company's interest and the Crown's in wartime, since supplying a King's ship with cash blurred the line between the two, and the reasoning that compensation was already arranged between Crown and Company at a higher level shows the island being warned not to entangle itself in transactions that were settled by agreement above its head.
60	56	intimations are by no means to be Construed to extend to the waving any allowance for Supplyes of Cash to foreign Ships who are Constantly to be charged of the rate of thirty pr Ct according to former orders 42 The new practice Set up of drawing bills at less than ninety days sight besides its being absol Precedent We cannot but from several Motives, condem and is excuseable for the reason you have advanced its continuance therefore is positively forbid of such as are in want of Draughts prefer the taking of them to the more Certain Channel of Our Cash, they have the Option, It is necessary on this point to remark that the method you persue of making your Draughts payable to those you receive your Cash from is disagreable as this Covert manner of drawing Cannot answer any good purposes, but may be Productive of Inconveniences we would therefore have them made payable to those who properly the money really is, or who are intended to receive it on account of such as do reside in England, for We cannot answer for false Payments that may ensue from the Ignorance often Experienced of the form of the Indorsers of such Bills and whom we cannot have recourse to for greater Certainty	These intimations were on no account to be taken as waiving any charge for supplies of cash to foreign ships, who were always to be charged at the rate of 30 per cent in line with earlier orders. 42: The new practice the island had set up of drawing bills at less than ninety days sight, besides being without precedent, the Court could not but condemn on several grounds, and it was inexcusable for the reason the island had itself given, so its continuance was positively forbidden, and any who wanted drafts were to be given the option of taking them on the more certain channel of the Court's cash. It was necessary to remark on this point that the island's method of making its drafts payable to those it received the cash from was awkward, as that mode of drawing answered no good purpose and might cause inconveniences, so the Court would rather have them made payable to those whose property the money truly was, or who were to receive it, and on account of persons who lived in England, since it could not answer for the false payments that might follow from the ignorance often found in the endorsers of such bills, on whom it could have no recourse for greater certainty. 43: The Court did not approve the taking on of Thomas Dunn, a recruit, to help in the business of the secretary's office at £20 0s 0d a year salary, since the six covenanted servants below the Council were enough for the dispatch of the Court's business without any very laborious attendance and putting it to this extraordinary charge. 44: Seeing how frequent the courts martial were, and that their minutes, sent separately, swelled the Court's packets to an unnecessary bulk, the island was in future to enter them in a book to be sent home

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		43 We do not approve of the Entertainment of Thomas Dunn a Recruit assisting in the business of the Secretarys Office at Twenty pounds a Year Salary as the Six Covenanted Servants below the Councel are Sufficient for the Dispatch of our business without a very laborious attendance and putting us to this Extraordinary Charge 44 Observing the frequency of Courts Martial and that their Minutes being seperately transmitted, swell Out Packets to an unnecessary Bulk, you are for the future to enter them in a Book to be annually sent us, that we may more compactly have a view of the Proceedings of such Courts 45 The justice of your Arguments for Contracting the Number of Accounts in your Ledger respecting our Servants Garrison and Tenants, engage Our Concurrence in the method proposed, for Curtailing them accordingly, with this **Margin Notes:** Drawing Bills at less than 90 Days sight discontinued & to be discontinued in future Thomas Dunn not to be entertained in the Secretarys Office Concerning Courts Martial Accounts in the Ledger respecting the Servants Garrison & Tenants approved of	yearly, so the Court might more compactly view the proceedings of such courts. 45: The justice of the island's arguments for reducing the number of accounts it kept respecting the Court's servants, garrison and tenants secured the Court's agreement to the method proposed for curtailing them accordingly, with this [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's detailed objection to the island's way of drawing bills, insisting they be made payable to those whose money it truly was or to persons resident in England, reveals the hazard of negotiable paper passing through untrustworthy hands, since a bill endorsed by someone ignorant of the proper form could lead to a payment the Company could not recover, and by fixing where and to whom the bills were drawn the Court closed off the risk of a debt going astray through the mistakes of intermediaries it could never reach. The refusal to pay Thomas Dunn a salary for helping in the secretary's office, on the ground that the existing covenanted servants sufficed, shows the Company holding a tight line on administrative expense even in wartime, since an extra clerk was a permanent charge added to an establishment already thought adequate, and the insistence that the current staff could manage without laborious attendance marks the Court resisting the quiet growth of paid posts that a busy office naturally tends to produce.
61	57	Caution that your Journal Entries in these respects be as full and explicit as possible. 46 Upon an Inspection of the Charges and losses more than the Profits of the Island for the year ending the 12 Octobr 1756 amounting to £4841 4 10 an Exceeding of Five hundred and eighty three pounds arises on the Medium for three years past, this Instance together with the encrease of Expence which must naturally follow the Augmentation of Our Garrison as to the number of Officers and Soldiers demands your most Serious Attention, to put every method in practice, for easing us of all Superfluous and unnecessary Charges inconsistent with the Security of the Island, We shall therefore rely on your imposition of no needless Exretherns as well as conducting our Affairs with the greatest Œconomy that Prudence shall dictate, for We have no feasible means in view whereby any thing in aid of this great Expence might be levied without Oppression. 47 We have for the present committed the management of Our Affairs in Bengal with the usual Powers and Authorities to the following Persons, the Four first of whom are, in the order they are named for four months each to have an alternate Rotation as President and	The island was cautioned to make its journal entries in these matters as full and clear as possible. 46: On examining the charges and losses, which exceeded the profits of the island for the year ending 12 October 1756 by £583 14s 10d, an excess arising on the average of the three years past, this instance, together with the increase of expense that must naturally follow the enlargement of the garrison as to the number of officers and soldiers, called for the island's most serious attention, to put every method in practice for cutting off all superfluous and unnecessary charges not inconsistent with the security of the island, so the Court would rely on the island's dismissal of all useless officers and on its conducting the Court's affairs with the greatest economy that prudence could dictate, since it had no feasible means in view by which anything towards this great expense might be raised without oppression. 47: The Court had for the present given the management of its affairs in Bengal, with the usual powers and authorities, to the following persons, the first four of whom, in the order named, were to have an alternate rotation as President and Governor for four months each. William Watts Charles Manningham Richard Becher John Zephaniah Holwell Major James Kilpatrick, to remain in this state Paul Richard Pearkes William Frankland Matthew Collet William Mackett Peter Amyatt Thomas Boddam Richard Court **Interpretations** The rotation of the presidency of Bengal among four men for four months each reveals the Company

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		Governour Vizt William Watts Esqr Charles Manningham Esqr Richard Becher Esqr John Zephaniah Holwell Esqr Major James Kilpatrick to remain in this State Mr Paul Richard Pearkes Mr William Frankland Mr Matthew Collet Mr William Mackett Mr Peter Amyatt Mr Thomas Boddam, and Mr Richard Court **Margin Notes:** Concerning the Expence of the Island The management of the affairs in Bengal Committed to the following Persons	reconstituting its government there in the disturbed aftermath of the crisis reported earlier in the correspondence, since a shared and rotating headship rather than a single fixed governor points to a settlement rebuilding its authority by committee after upheaval, spreading the burden and the risk of command among several hands until a more settled arrangement could be made. The deficit of £583 14s 10d, presented as a running average over three years and tied directly to the cost of enlarging the garrison, exposes the fundamental bind of the island's position, since the very reinforcement the war demanded drove the settlement further into loss, and the Court's admission that it saw no way to raise the money without oppression marks the point at which the expense of defence outran any means the island had of paying for itself.
62	58	48 It is necessary you should be informed that the War between Great Britain and France continues with great Warmth your utmost Care and Caution for the Security and Defence of the Island as well as the Safety of the Shipping, were Never before never more requisite than at this Juncture, the more particular Information and Directions to be given on those Points falling within the Department of the Secret Committee they will be communicated to the Governour from those Gentlemen 49 His Majesty has been graciously pleased to assist the Company with a Batallion of His Troops of One Thousand and thirty five Men Officers included, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel William Draper, they will proceed accordingly to Fort St George on the Ships of this Season for the Protection of Our Affairs and Settlements there. 50 We have found it necessary this Season to add some New Clauses to Our Commanders Instructions relating to the Packets and Letters they are entrusted with, and their Conveyance on the Ships thereof to the Copy of these Clauses are enclosed, and as the Commanders of our returning Ships are not apprized of them, You are to give them transcripts thereof, and acquaint them we expect a punctual Compliance with the Directions therein contained. 51 If Vice Admiral Watson should call at St Helena on his return to England you are to inform him, That we have been Favoured with his Letter from Fort William under Date of the 2 February 1757, to which we have not replied as it is very uncertain whether an Answer could come to his hands, however in case he calls at St Helena you are to wait upon him and in Our Name assure him that we have the Highest Sense of his great and Good Services to the Company in India and make **Margin Notes:** The War between Great Britain & France continued Advices from the Secret Committee to be attended to A Batallion of His Majestys Troops sent to India under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Draper New Clauses added to the Commanders Instructions Vice Admiral Watson &ca	48: The island needed to know that the war between Great Britain and France went on with great warmth, so its utmost care for the security and defence of the island and the safety of the shipping was never more needed than at that time, and the fuller information and directions on those points, falling within the province of the Secret Committee, would be communicated to the Governor by those gentlemen. 49: The King had been pleased to help the Company with a battalion of his troops, 1,035 men including officers, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel William Draper, who would proceed to Fort St George on the ships of that season for the protection of the Company's affairs and settlements there. 50: The Court had found it necessary that season to add some new clauses to its commanders instructions relating to the packets and letters they were entrusted with and their carriage on the ships, a copy of the clauses enclosed, and since the commanders of the returning ships were not aware of them, the island was to give them transcripts and to tell them a punctual compliance with the directions in them was expected. 51: If Vice Admiral Watson called at St Helena on his return to England, the island was to tell him the Court had received his letter from Fort William dated 24 February 1757, to which it had not replied as it was very uncertain whether an answer could reach his hands, but should he call at St Helena the island was to wait on him and, in the Court's name, assure him of its highest sense of his great and good services to the Company in India, and [...]. **Interpretations** The King's grant of a whole battalion of over a thousand regular troops under Lieutenant Colonel Draper, bound for Fort St George, marks a decisive escalation of Crown support for the Company's war in India, since a force of that size dispatched to the Coromandel Coast shows the defence of Madras had become a national undertaking rather than a commercial one, the regiment sailing on the Company's own ships to protect possessions the state now regarded as worth its army. The Court's message to Vice Admiral Watson, thanking him warmly while admitting it had not answered his letter because no reply could be sure of reaching him, exposes how far the war had disrupted even the most important communications, since the commander of the King's fleet in Indian waters could not reliably be written to, and the Company was reduced to entrusting its acknowledgement to the chance of his ship calling at St Helena on the way home.

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63	59	make him the Tenders of our most Grateful Acknowledgments for the Same. 52 You are to shew him all the Honours due to his Rank and great Merit, and Accommodate him during his Stay in the best and most agreeable manner you can. 53 Since writing thus far we are to inform you that at a General Court of the Proprietors of the East India Company held on the 21 Instant the following Resolution was Unanimously Agreed to Vizt Resolved That the Thanks of this General Court be given to Vice Admiral Watson and to Vice Admiral Pocock for their Eminent and Signal Services to this Company. 54 If those Gentlemen call at St Helena on their Return to England you are to inform them of the Said Resolution and at the same time let them know how much pleasure it gives us to transmit so agreeable a Testimony of their great Merit We are Your Loving Friends John Payne Lau Sulivan P Godfrey J Raymond Cheast Burrow Henry Plant Thos Phipps Thos Rous Geo Dudley Maximn Western Charles Chambers Rob Jones Hen Hadley John Manship Timothy Tullie Cha Gough John Dorrien London 23 Decem 1757 **Margin Notes:** To shew him all due Honours &c Thanks of the Genl Court of Proprietors given to Vice Admiral Watson & Pocock for their eminent and signal Services To be informed of the same should they call here	The island was to give the admiral its most grateful acknowledgments for those services. 52: The island was to show him every honour due to his rank and great merit, and to accommodate him during his stay in the best and most agreeable manner it could. 53: Since writing thus far, the Court had to tell the island that at a General Court of the Proprietors of the East India Company held on 21 December the following resolution was agreed unanimously. That the thanks of the General Court be given to Vice Admiral Watson and to Vice Admiral Pocock for their eminent and signal services to the Company. 54: If those gentlemen called at St Helena on their return to England, the island was to tell them of the resolution, and at the same time let them know how much pleasure it gave the Court to send so welcome a testimony of their great merit. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 23 December 1757, and signed by John Payne, Lacy Sulivan, P. Godfrey, James Raymond, Christopher Burrow, Henry Plant, Thomas Phipps, Thomas Rous, George Dudley, Maximilian Westerne, Charles Chambers, Robert Jones, Henry Hadley, John Manship, Timothy Tullie, Charles Gough and John Dorrien.
64	60	Our Governour and Council of St Helena 1 Our last General letter under Date of the 23 December 1757 went by the Prince Henry, which Ship sailed from Spithead on the 2 we now send a Duplicate thereof by this Ship the Egmont, and you will receive a Copy by his Majestys Ship 2 We refer you to the accompanying List for the time of the Departure of the Companys several Ships since the date of our abovementioned Letter. 3 We Said in our last Letter the Destination of our own Ship the Admiral Watson was not determined, we are	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the season's shipping and stores. 1: The Court's last general letter of 23 December 1757 went by the *Prince Henry*, which sailed from Spithead on 2 [...], and it now sent a duplicate by this ship the *Egmont*, the island to receive a copy by the King's ship. 2: The island was referred to the accompanying list for the dates on which the Company's several ships sailed since the date of the letter above. 3: The Court had said in its last letter that the destination of its own ship the *Admiral Watson* was not settled, and it now reported that she went first to Gombroon with a cargo of woollen goods, from there to Bombay, and would be under the orders of the Governor and Council for her later voyages, and since one main service expected of her was the bringing of advices, the Court could not say whether she would be

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		now to inform you that she proceeds first to Gombroon with a Cargo of Woollen Goods, from hence she is to go to Bombay, and be under the Orders of the Governour and Council for her future proceedure, and as one principal Service expected from her will be the bringing us advices we cannot say whether she will be dispatched home directly from Bombay or from either of other Presidences 4 This Ship the Egmont brings you the remainder of the Stores provided for the Service of the Island, the particulars of which will appear by the accompanying Invoice and Bill of Lading, you are agreable to the injunctions in Our last Letter, to use the utmost Expedition in Unloading them, that the Commander may have his Dispa- tches for Fort Marlborough deliverd to him within the of Charterparty time without fail. 5 You were advised by the Prince Henry that We had Consigned to you on that Ship two Chests of Treasure, and that if you were in real want of more, you might take a not exceeding two Chests out of what is Consigned to Fort Marlborough on this Ship whatever you take out in consequence of this Liberty, you must give due advice thereof to the Deputy Governour and Council at that Settlement. **Margin Notes:** Duplicate 2 List referred to Respecting the destination of the Ship Admiral Watson Remaining part of Stores compleated Commander to be dispatched with due expedition Concerning what Treasure is sent & the Liberty of taking a further Sum out of what is destined thereof	sent home directly from Bombay or from some other presidency. 4: This ship the *Egmont* brought the island the rest of the stores provided for its service, the particulars shown by the accompanying invoice and bill of lading, so in line with the directions in the Court's last letter the island was to use the utmost dispatch in unloading them, that the commander might have his dispatches for Fort Marlborough delivered to him within the charter party time without fail. 5: The island had been advised by the *Prince Henry* that the Court consigned to it on that ship two chests of treasure, and that if it was in real want of more it might take, not exceeding two chests, out of what was consigned to Fort Marlborough on this ship, but whatever it took by this liberty it was to give due advice of to the Deputy Governor and Council at that settlement. **Interpretations** The dispatch of the *Admiral Watson* to Gombroon with a cargo of woollen goods before going on to Bombay reveals the Company sustaining its Persian trade even amid the war, since Gombroon on the Persian Gulf was the outlet through which English broadcloth reached the Persian market, and the routing of a Company-owned ship there first shows a commercial branch being kept alive alongside the vessel's more urgent role as a carrier of dispatches. Gombroon, on the Persian Gulf, was the East India Company's trading port for Persia, better known later as Bandar Abbas, and the woollen goods carried there were English broadcloth, long the staple English export to the Persian market where heavy woollens were valued despite the climate.
65	61	6 Having sent you a sufficient number of Recruits the Prince Henry, you are not to take out one of those by this Ship, who are all intended for the West Coast, where they are much wanted. 7 Your late Gardiner James Sheridan has applied to us by Petition to be reinstated in his Employment, but being satisfied from the Account you give of him, that his Dismission was a right measure and his continuance upon the Island can be of no Service to Us, you are at liberty to send him to England whenever you think fit. 8 We have entertained Thomas Townshend a Mason who understands rough Wall Work, calling of Stone and Working in a Quarry, to serve the Company at St Helena at the rate of Six Pounds ten Shillings per Month to commence on his arrival in the Ship Egmont which is for Salary and all other Allowances whatsoever, And as an Encouragement we have	6: Having sent a sufficient number of recruits by the *Prince Henry*, the island was not to take one out by this ship, since these were all meant for the west coast, where they were much wanted. 7: The island's late gardener James Sheridan had applied by petition to be reinstated in his employment, but the Court, satisfied from the island's account that his dismissal was a right measure and that keeping him on could be of no service, left the island free to send him to England whenever it thought fit. 8: The Court had taken on Thomas Townshend, a mason who understood rough wall work, cutting stone and working in a quarry, to serve the Company at St Helena at £6 10s 0d a month, to begin on his arrival in the *Egmont*, this being for salary and every other allowance, and as an encouragement it had given him £5 0s 0d as a gratuity to fit himself out. 9: The two chests of treasure the island was free, in the circumstances mentioned in the twenty-sixth paragraph of the Court's last by the *Prince Henry*, to take out of this ship were marked S H 341 and 2, being of the proper sort for the island, and if it took them it was to advise the Court's servants on the west coast accordingly. 10: From several reports that had reached the Court, it had great reason to believe, and supposed the account true, that the Lieutenant Governor took opportunities of making the Governor uneasy, and since Mr Hutchinson stood high in the Court's esteem, such conduct might in the end greatly harm the Company as well as prove hurtful to the

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		given him Five pounds by way of Gratuity to fit himself out. 9 The two Chests of Treasure, which you are at Liberty under the circumstances mentioned in the 26 Paragraph of Our last by the Prince Henry to take out of this Ships are on the hell S H 341 and 2 being of the proper Species for the Island and if landed give Our Servants on the West Coast advice accordingly. 10 By several Reports which have reached Us, We have great reason to believe, supposing what has been alledged is true, That the Lieutenant Governour takes all opportunities, of making the Governour Uneasy, as Mr Hutchinson stands high in Our esteem, and such Conduct may in the end be greatly prejudicial to the Company, as well as irksome to Him, We do Expect and Direct that the Lieutenant Governour do Behave to the Governour for the future in a becoming and Friendly manner as he values our favour, We are Your Loving Friends London the 8 February 1758 **Margin Notes:** Recruits sent for the West Coast not to take any out here James Sheridan late Gardiner to be sent to England Thomas Townshend entertained a Mason Marks of the Treasure to be kept The Lieutenant Governour reprehended for his behaviour to the Governour	Lieutenant Governor himself, so the Court expected and directed that the Lieutenant Governor behave to the Governor in future in a becoming and friendly manner, as he valued the Court's favour. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 8 February 1758. **Interpretations** The Court's sharp warning to the Lieutenant Governor over his making the Governor uneasy, framed openly as a matter of who stood higher in the Court's esteem, reveals how the Company enforced order within its own hierarchy through the plain leverage of favour, since advancement and continuance in office depended wholly on London's good opinion, and by tying the subordinate's future directly to his conduct towards his superior the Court used patronage itself as the instrument of discipline among its officers. The gratuity of £5 given to the mason Townshend to fit himself out, on top of a monthly wage, shows the real cost of drawing skilled tradesmen to a remote posting, since a man of useful craft could not be had without inducement, and the payment to equip him for the voyage marks the premium the Company had to offer for the particular abilities, in quarrying and stonework, that the island's endless fortification demanded and could not supply from among its own people.
66	62	John Payne Lau Sulivan P Godfrey J Raymond M Impey Thos Phipps Chrisro Burrow Geo Dudley James Creed Rob Jones John Manship Hen Savage Timothy Tullie John Dorrien Charles Chambers G Stevens Henry Plant Henry Hadley Maximn Western John Raymond Charles Gough	The letter was signed by John Payne, Lacy Sulivan, P. Godfrey, James Raymond, M. Impey, Thomas Phipps, Christopher Burrow, George Dudley, James Creed, Robert Jones, John Manship, Henry Savage, Timothy Tullie, John Dorrien, Charles Chambers, G. Stevens, Henry Plant, Henry Hadley, Maximilian Westerne, John Raymond and Charles Gough.
67	63	Our Governour and Council of St Helena 1 Our last Letters went by the Prince Henry, Egmont, and his Majestys Ship the Colchester, under date of the 23 of December 1757, and the 8 of February following, since which your several undermentioned Letters, are come to hand vizt, of the 4 Decemr 1757 by the Walpole, on the 27 February 1758, 4 of Febry 1758 by the Prince Henry the 21 May; the 20 of March and 16 of April by Lieut Blomer, the 17 August, Our Expected Ships not being yet arrived, these are the only Letters we	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the year's correspondence and the progress of the war. 1: The Court's last letters went by the *Prince Henry*, the *Egmont* and the King's ship *Colchester*, under date of 23 December 1757 and 8 February following, since when the island's several letters had come to hand, of 5 December 1757 by the *Walpole*, of 27 February 1758, of 24 February 1758 by the *Prince Henry*, of 31 May, of 20 March and 12 April by the *Lord Clive*, and of 17 August, and since the Court's expected ships had not yet arrived these were the only letters it had so far received. 2: As this ship the *Earl of Holderness* was, at the time of writing, near her dispatch, the Court now gave some directions and information that were more immediately necessary, and should its shipping arrive before the letter closed it would make such additions

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		have yet received. 2 As this Ship the Earl of Holderness, is at the time of writing this Letter near upon her Dispatch, we now give you some Directions and Informations which we more immediately necessary, should our Shipping arrive before we close it, we shall make such Additions as time will admit of, and for whatever shall appear further necessary we must refer you to our intended Letter by the Delawar. 3 The War with France is still continued with great vigour, and we have the pleasure of informing you, that by the Steady Conduct of our Government, and the Superior Force and Success of the British Navy, That of France is greatly reduced and the remainder in a great measure confined to their Ports, their Commerce likewise is at the lowest Ebb, the only Efforts of consequence the French make by Sea, and seem to be most intent upon, are in the East Indies, where also we flatter ourselves from the early Intelligence which all our Settlements have had, of the Nabab and Land Forces under the Command of Monsr Dascke, and Lally and the great **Margin Notes:** Acknowledging the receipt of Letters Ships being on dispatch Information respect of the war with France	as time allowed, referring the island for anything further to its intended letter by the *Delaware*. 3: The war with France still went on with great vigour, and the Court was glad to report that, through the steady conduct of its government and the superior force and success of the British navy, that of France was greatly reduced and the remainder in great measure confined to its ports, its commerce likewise at the lowest ebb, and the only efforts of consequence the French made by sea, and seemed most intent upon, were in the East Indies, where too the Court flattered itself, from the early intelligence all its settlements had of the naval and land forces under the command of Monsieur d'Aché and Lally, and the great [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's assessment that France, driven from the seas and confined to its ports, was now concentrating its only serious naval effort on the East Indies pinpoints where the global war had come to bear on the Company's own interests, since the general British command of the ocean meant the decisive contest for India would be fought against a France that had staked its remaining strength there, and the naming of d'Aché and Lally identifies the commanders of that final French push against the Company's eastern possessions. Monsieur d'Aché commanded the French naval squadron in Indian waters and Lally the French land forces, the two men leading the major French offensive against the Company's settlements on the Coromandel Coast during these years, so the early intelligence the Court took comfort in was warning of the very campaign that would decide the fate of the European powers in India.
68	64	loss as we have been informed, those Forces have met with by Sickness, they will make no great Impression, We have lately received Intelligence from Ilha Grande at the Brazils, That in the Month of May last, four large French Ships were at that place, being part of a Fleet of Eleven which sailed together from France, and that the said four Ships were then waiting for the remainder Seven, in order to proceed in Company to the East Indies, whether they had any or what number of Land Forces on board, we are not informed, nor who other any other French Ships sailed last Season for India. 4 We have made Applications to his Majestys Ministers, for some Ships to proceed to the East Indies to reinforce the Fleet now there, and we flatter ourselves from the favourable Reception we met with, our Request will be complyed with, as far as may be consistent with the general Service of the Nation, in the other parts of the World. 5 We have so often, and pressingly recommended your being on your Guard, that we need only refer you for the same to our several Letters, since the commencement of the War, and we shall rest assured that there will be no care wanting on your parts, to defend our Island and	Those French forces, from the accounts the Court had, having suffered such loss by sickness, would make no great impression. The Court had lately received intelligence from Ilha Grande in the Brazils that in May last four large French ships were there, part of a fleet of eleven that sailed together from France, and that the four were waiting for the remaining seven to proceed in company to the East Indies, though whether they carried any land forces, or what number, the Court was not told, nor who any other French ships were that sailed for India the previous season. 4: The Court had applied to the King's ministers for some ships to proceed to the East Indies to reinforce the fleet then there, and it flattered itself, from the favourable reception it met, that its request would be met as far as was consistent with the general service of the nation in the other parts of the world. 5: The Court had so often and so pressingly urged the island to be on its guard that it needed only refer it to its several letters since the war began, and it would rest assured that no care would be wanting on the island's part to defend the island and the Company's shipping in the most effective manner against any attempts of the enemy. 6: Whatever information and directions might be further needed for the security of the island and shipping would be communicated by the Secret Committee named below to the Governor, and in particular as to the convoy that was to proceed from the island to take care of the Court's next season's returning shipping. **Interpretations** The Court's report of a French fleet of eleven ships assembling at Ilha Grande off Brazil to cross together to the East Indies reveals how a settlement on the South Atlantic sea road served as a listening

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		the Companys Shipping in the most effectual manner, against any attempts of the Enemy. 6 Whatever informations, and directions may be further necessary for the Security of our Island, & Shipping, will be communicated by the Secret Committee hereafter, named to our Governour, and in particular as to the Convoy, which is to proceed from hence to take care of our next Season's returning Shipping. **Margin Notes:** Continued Application to his Majestys Ministers for Ships to reinforce the Fleet in the East Indies Concerning your being on your Guard against the attempts of the Enemy Directions for the Security of the Island &ca to be communicated by the Secret Committee & about the Convoy	post for enemy movements, since the French squadron bound for India had to round the Cape by the same waters, and intelligence of its gathering in a Brazilian anchorage gave the Company forewarning of the force being sent against its eastern possessions long before it arrived. The Court's application to the King's ministers for warships to reinforce the fleet in India, and its careful acknowledgement that the request could be granted only so far as the nation's service elsewhere allowed, exposes the Company's dependence on the state for its defence in the East, since it could no longer meet the French challenge from its own resources, and the naval strength it needed had to be weighed by government against every other demand of a war fought across the whole world.
69	65	7 We have taken into the Companys Service this Season Twenty one Ships and Stationed them in the following manner Vizt Ships Tons Commanders Consignment Duke of Dorset 499 Bernard Forrester Coast and Bay Earl of Holderness 499 Robert Brooke Delawar 425 James Quallett } St Helena & Bencoolen Essex 499 George Jackson Valentine 499 William Fernell Pocock 499 Thomas Debuke Denham 499 William Tryon } Fort St George Suffolk 499 Richard Lewin and China Oxford 499 William Webber Jun Walpole 499 Francis Fowler Hector 499 John Williams } Canton Edgcote 499 John Pearse Chesterfield 499 Edwin Carter } Limpo Calcutta 499 George Wilson Madeira New Ship 499 George Lindsay } Coast and Bay Stormont 499 Henry Fletcher Harcourt 499 William Webber Clinton 499 John Nanfan Griffin 499 Thomas Dethick } Bombay Godolphin 499 William Hutchinson Houghton 499 Charles Newton 8 Besides the beforementioned Ships on Freight, We shall send to India this Season, the Ship Royal George which we have lately built on the Companys Account, Burthen Four hundred Tons, carrying 80 Men, and 20 Guns. 9 We have it also in our Intentions to send to India the Prince Henry Packet, and the Syren, and Deligent Sloops, some of them, to victual & Store London such Service **Margin Notes:** Ships taken up Royal George taken up Prince Henry Packet intended to be sent to India	7: The Court had taken into the Company's service that season 21 ships and stationed them as follows. *Duke of Dorset*, 499 tons, Bernard Forrester, Coast and Bay *Earl of Holderness*, 499 tons, Robert Brooke, St Helena and Bencoolen *Delaware*, 425 tons, James Quallett, St Helena and Bencoolen *Essex*, 499 tons, George Jackson, Fort St George and China *Valentine*, 499 tons, William Fernell, Fort St George and China *Pocock*, 499 tons, Thomas Debuke, Fort St George and China *Denham*, 499 tons, William Tryon, Fort St George and China *Suffolk*, 499 tons, Richard Lewin, Fort St George and China *Oxford*, 499 tons, William Webber junior, Fort St George and China *Walpole*, 499 tons, Francis Fowler, Canton *Hector*, 499 tons, John Williams, Canton *Edgecote*, 499 tons, John Pearse, Canton *Chesterfield*, 499 tons, Edwin Carter, Canton *Calcutta*, 499 tons, George Wilson, Madeira, Coast and Bay *New Ship*, 499 tons, George Lindsay, Madeira, Coast and Bay *Stormont*, 499 tons, Henry Fletcher, Madeira, Coast and Bay *Harcourt*, 499 tons, William Webber, Madeira, Coast and Bay *Clinton*, 499 tons, John Nanfan, Bombay *Griffin*, 499 tons, Thomas Dethick, Bombay *Godolphin*, 499 tons, William Hutchinson, Bombay *Houghton*, 499 tons, Charles Newton, Bombay 8: Besides the ships on freight named above that the Court would send to India that season, there was the ship *Royal George*, lately built on the Company's account, of 400 tons burden, carrying 80 men and 20 guns. 9: The Court also intended to send to India the *Prince Henry* packet, and the *Syren* and *Diligent* [...]. **Interpretations** The building of the *Royal George* on the Company's own account, armed with 20 guns and manned by 80 men, adds to the small fleet of fighting ships the Company was now raising for itself, and its appearance alongside the season's freighted merchantmen shows how the war had driven a trading corporation to become a builder of warships,

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			maintaining an armed force at sea that the ordinary business of commerce would never have required. The weight of that season's shipping thrown onto Fort St George and Canton, with a whole block bound directly for the China trade at Canton, reveals where the Company's commerce was concentrating as the war narrowed its options, since the tea trade of Canton remained the most secure and profitable branch beyond the reach of the French campaign in India, and the settlement reading the list could see the Company leaning on its China commerce while the Indian coast stood exposed to the enemy's main effort.
70	66	as circumstances, and the Situation of Affairs may render necessary, the latter of which is now under Dispatch for Bombay 10 By the beforegoing List, you will observe that in order the more fully to supply you with Stores, and Necessarys, as well as to divide the Risk, Two Ships are destined for the Island St Helena Vizt the Earl of Holderness, and the Delawar by the Former you will receive this Letter, together, with the several Particulars Consigned to you Specified, in the accompanying Invoice, and Bill of Lading, the Delawar, will be dispatched from hence about the middle of Decemr, with the remainder of the Stores & Necessarys, Both these Ships are as soon as they have delivered the Cargoes consigned to St Helena, to proceed to the West Coast of Sumatra 11 We have thought proper to order the Limpo Ships this Season to proceed directly to that Port, without calling at St Helena, which we particularly take notice of that you may not be in expectation of any other Ships this Season, than the Earl of Holderness and Delaware. 12 We have made the necessary Dispositions, for giving an early Dispatch, to all our Ships of this Season, according to their several Destinations, and unless unforeseen Impediments arise We have good reason to hope our intentions will meet with Success. 13 You are to give the utmost assistance for unloading the Earl of Holderness, that she may prosecute her Voyage to the West Coast, without loss of time, and you are to give the Commander Orders accordingly to make the best of his way to Fort Marlbro, which we recommend it to you to do within the Charterparty time. 14 The like must be done with respect to the Delaware, We give this previous notice that as soon as **Margin Notes:** Ships consigned to the Island St Helena & to divide the Risk with the Stores & Provisions Limpo Ships consigned directly to that Port	The Court would send these ships as circumstances and the state of affairs might require, the last of which, the *Diligent*, was then under dispatch for Bombay. 10: From the list above the island would see that, to supply it more fully with stores and necessaries and to divide the risk, two ships were meant for St Helena, the *Earl of Holderness* and the *Delaware*, and by the former the island would receive this letter together with the several particulars consigned to it, shown in the accompanying invoice and bill of lading, while the *Delaware* would be dispatched from home about the middle of December with the rest of the stores and necessaries, both ships, as soon as they had delivered the cargoes consigned to St Helena, to proceed to the west coast of Sumatra. 11: The Court had thought proper to order the ships bound for Canton that season to proceed directly to that port without calling at St Helena, which it particularly noted so that the island might not expect any other ships that season than the *Earl of Holderness* and *Delaware*. 12: The Court had made the necessary arrangements for giving an early dispatch to all its ships that season according to their several destinations, and unless unforeseen impediments arose it had good reason to hope its intentions would meet with success. 13: The island was to give the utmost assistance for unloading the *Earl of Holderness*, so that she might continue her voyage to the west coast without loss of time, and it was to order the commander accordingly to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough, which the Court recommended it to do within the charter party time. 14: The like was to be done as to the *Delaware*, and the Court gave this early notice so that as soon as [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's decision to route that season's China ships straight to Canton without calling at St Helena, and its care to warn the island so it would look for no other vessels, reveals how the demands of a secure and rapid China trade were now allowed to override the island's regular expectation of shipping, since every unnecessary call cost time in a dangerous season, and the settlement had to be told plainly that it would see only two ships lest it hold back services in expectation of more.

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		Earl of Holderness to be dispatched to the West Coast	
71	67	She appears, you may be in all respects ready to unload and dispatch her accordingly 15 The arrival and departure of the Companys Shipping will as usual be sent you in Lists, Certified by our Secretary, to which therefore you are referred. 16 The Gentlemen whom we have appointed to be our Committee of Secrecy this Season, are Laurence Sulivan Esqr, the present Chairman of the Court of Directors, Roger Drake Esqr Deputy, Christopher Burrow, Nathd Newnham and Henry Plant Esqrs, three of whom are a Quorum, The Instructions and Directions, the said Committe may judge proper to send, are to be strictly observed, and complyed with by our Governor, and by all and every other Person or Persons, to whom they shall or may be directed. 17 In supplying you with Stores and Necessaries this Season, for want of your Indents, we have been under the necessity of making use in a great measure, of those received from you the former Season, which were pretty fully complyed with by the Ships, Prince Henry & Egmont, and now We propose to do the same this Year by the Earl of Holderness, and Delaware the principal Articles will consist of about Ninety Tons of Beef and Pork, Four hundred Barrels or Seventy Tons of Flour, Seventy Five Barrels of Gun Powder, and Ten Chaldron of Coals, the Various other necessary and Stores, will as before observed, be pretty Near the same which were sent last Year, both in Quantitys and Qualitys, if upon perusal of your Indents, we shall make any alterations, or additions, they will be taken Notice of in the following part of this Letter, or that we shall send you by the Delaware, we refer you to this Ships Invoice enclosed for the particulars of her Cargo, upon comparing, of which, with what we have advised, you, as above, you may form a judgement of what you may further Expect by the Delaware **Margin Notes:** Arrival & departure of Ships to be sent in Lists Committee of Secrecy & their Instructions to be duly attended to Stores & Necessarys sent this Season	She appeared, the island might be ready in every respect to unload and dispatch her accordingly. 15: The arrival and departure of the Company's shipping would, as usual, be sent to the island in lists certified by the Court's secretary, to which it was referred. 16: The gentlemen the Court had appointed to be its Secret Committee that season were Lacy Sulivan, the present chairman of the Court of Directors, Roger Drake, the deputy, Christopher Burrow, Nathaniel Newnham and Henry Plant, any three of whom made a quorum, and the instructions and directions that committee might think proper to send were to be strictly followed and complied with by the Governor and by every other person to whom they might be directed. 17: In supplying the island with stores and necessaries that season, for want of its requisition, the Court had been obliged to make use in great measure of those received from the island the previous season, which were pretty fully met by the ships *Prince Henry* and *Egmont*, and it proposed to do the same that year by the *Earl of Holderness* and *Delaware*, the principal articles to consist of about 90 tons of beef and pork, 400 barrels or 70 tons of flour, 75 barrels of gunpowder and 10 chaldrons of coals, the various other necessaries and stores being, as noted before, pretty near the same as those sent the previous year, both in quantities and qualities, and if on looking over its requisition the Court made any alterations or additions, they would be noticed in the following part of the letter, or in that it would send by the *Delaware*, and it referred the island to this ship's invoice enclosed for the particulars of her cargo, on comparing which with what the Court had advised above the island might form a judgement of what it might further expect by the *Delaware*. **Interpretations** The Court's having to supply the island from the previous season's requisition, for want of a current one, exposes the constant lag that distance imposed on the whole system of provisioning, since a settlement whose fresh demands had not yet reached London had to be furnished from its old estimates, and the Company was reduced to repeating the last known order and hoping it still answered the island's needs a full year on. Chaldron was a measure of coal, a large dry capacity unit amounting to a fixed number of bushels, so the 10 chaldrons shipped here were a bulk consignment of fuel rather than any weight of the finished article, coal being sent to an island that had none of its own for the forge and other work of the settlement.
72	68	18 The Beef and Pork, by this Ship amount to about twenty Eight Tons, and was as usual killed in England, the Fifty Eight Tons intended to be sent on the Delaware will be victualled from Ireland, and although we are very well a Suret,	18: The beef and pork by this ship came to about 28 tons and were, as usual, killed in England, while the 58 tons meant for the *Delaware* would be provided from Ireland, and though not so mild a cure, it would be near, if not altogether, as good as the English, yet the Court would rather have it used first, and the island was to give a very particular account of how it kept and was liked, so the Court

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		it will be near, if not altogether as good as the English, yet we would have it expended First, and you must give us a very particular account how it proves, and is liked, that we may know in what manner it will be best to make a Provision for the following season. 19 As we apprehend that seventy five Barrels of Gun Powder, you will receive by the Holderness, and Delaware to be much more than will be necessary for the Service of the Island, considering what you have on hand, if you find by a Carefull Examination, That to be the Case, you must forward what you can spare, to Fort Marlborough, where it will be very acceptable. 20 The Governor having intimated the necessity of having some Claret, to treat the Captains of his Majestys Ships with, either those to Convoy home the Companys Ships, or such as may call at the Island, in their Return from India We send two Chests by this Ship, and shall send two more by the Delaware, and shall depend upon its being used frugaly although Genteely 21 You will observe by the Earl of Holderness Invoice, we have consigned to you, two Chests of Treasure, this we apprehend you will certainly have occasion for, and for that reason, have particularly consigned them, If you shall want any more, you may upon the Arrival of the Delaware detain any Quantity, out of the twenty Chests, which will be consigned to the Deputy Governor, and Council at Fort Marlborough, by that Ship not exceeding in the Whole two Chests, if you are under the necessity of making use of this Liberty, you are to give the Commander, a Receipt for the Same, & send an exact Account of what you so	might know how best to make provision for the following season. 19: Since the Court supposed that the 75 barrels of gunpowder the island would receive by the *Holderness* and *Delaware* were much more than the service of the island needed, given what it had in hand, the island was, if on careful examination it found that to be so, to forward what it could spare to Fort Marlborough, where it would be very acceptable. 20: The Governor having reported the need of some claret to treat the captains of the King's ships with, whether those convoying home the Company's ships or such as might call at the island on their return from India, the Court sent two chests by this ship and would send two more by the *Delaware*, and it would rely on the wine being used sparingly, though courteously. 21: From the *Earl of Holderness* invoice the island would see that two chests of treasure were consigned to it, which the Court supposed it would certainly have occasion for and had for that reason particularly consigned, but should it want more it might, on the arrival of the *Delaware*, keep back any quantity out of the 20 chests consigned to the Deputy Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough by that ship, not exceeding two chests in the whole, and if it was under the necessity of using this liberty it was to give the commander a receipt for the same and send an exact account of what it [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's note that the Irish beef and pork was not so mild a cure as the English, yet ordering it used first, reveals a careful management of perishable stores by their keeping quality, since a less well cured provision would spoil sooner and had to be consumed before the better, and the demand for a detailed report on how it kept shows the Company gathering practical knowledge to guide which markets it drew its salt provisions from in later years. The two chests of claret sent to help the Governor entertain the captains of the King's ships, with the pointed reminder to use them sparingly though courteously, exposes the small diplomacy that oiled the working relationship between the Company and the Royal Navy, since the naval officers who convoyed the homeward fleet had to be received with proper hospitality, and the Company was willing to ship wine across the world for the purpose while still guarding against its liberal consumption at its own expense. Claret was the English name for the red wine of Bordeaux, a staple of genteel hospitality, shipped out here so the Governor could offer the naval captains the customary courtesies expected between gentlemen of standing.
73	69	detain to our Said Deputy Governor 22 We now send you about twenty recruits, by the Earl of Holderness, which in addition to those you sent last Year, we we apprehend, sufficiently strengthen your Garrison, however we shall send you a further reinforcement by the Delaware, if upon Receipt of your Letters we find you are in want of it 23 The Governor having taken Notice that Charles Gissing, a Corporal has behaved very well in the Garri-son is a fit Person to have a Commission, we suppose in consequence of the liberty given you last, and the preceding	The island was to send an exact account of what it detained to the Deputy Governor. 22: The Court now sent about 20 recruits by the *Earl of Holderness*, which, added to those sent the previous year, it supposed would sufficiently strengthen the garrison, though it would send a further reinforcement by the *Delaware* if on receiving the island's letters it found the island wanted it. 23: The Governor having noticed that Charles Gissing, a corporal, had behaved very well in the garrison and was a fit person to have a commission, the Court supposed that under the leave given the island the previous and preceding seasons he had accordingly been preferred, and if not the island might give him a lieutenant's commission whenever it thought fit. 24: The Court had taken on Solomon St Maurice and would send him by the *Earl of Holderness* to serve as a cadet in the garrison of St Helena at

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		seasons, he has been accordingly preferred, if not, you may give him a Lieutenant Commission when ever you think fit 24 We have entertained Solomon St Maurice and send him by the Earl of Holderness, to serve as Cadet in our Garrison of St Helena, at Sergeants Pay, to commence from his arrival, and if he behaves well, he is to be promoted to a Second Lieutenants Commission, on the first Vacancy, which shall hap- after his Arrival, and after Charles Gissing has been advanced, who is to have the preference as mentioned in the preceeding parrag 25 It is of great consequence, and at this time in particular, that We should have the Earliest information of all passe who come upon our returning Ships from India, We trust you are very punctual in entering their Names upon your Consultation Books, but as you have many opportunitys of sending Letters when those Books cannot accompany them, which has been lately the Case, and We in consequence intirely ignorant, as to the Passengers on board the Marlborough, & who by your Lett of the 16 of April, it appears she arrived at St Helena so long ago, as the 10 of that Month, I must be a duty therefore with in future, to send us in every Letter the Names of all Passeng from India, not only in our own Ships, but also in such as h	sergeant's pay, to begin on his arrival, and if he behaved well he was to be promoted to a second lieutenant's commission on the first vacancy after his arrival, and after Charles Gissing had been advanced, who was to have the preference as mentioned in the preceding paragraph. 25: It was of great consequence, and at that time particularly, that the Court should have the earliest information of all who came upon its returning ships from India, and though the island was very punctual in entering their names in its consultation books, since it had many opportunities of sending letters when those books could not accompany them, which had lately been the case by the *Lord Clive*, the Court was in consequence entirely ignorant of the passengers aboard the *Marlborough*, who by the island's letter of 16 April appeared to have arrived at St Helena on the 10th of that month, so the island was in future to send by every letter the names of all passengers from India, not only on the Court's own ships but also on such [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's sharp concern to learn the names of everyone arriving from India, driven by its complete ignorance of who had come on the *Marlborough*, reveals how the war made the movement of people a matter of intelligence rather than mere record, since a settlement on the sea road saw every homeward passenger pass through, and the Company needed that flow of names to keep track of its servants, and perhaps of others, at a time when knowing who was travelling where had acquired real weight. The provision for Solomon St Maurice to serve as a cadet at a sergeant's pay with a promised commission on the first vacancy, but ranked behind the corporal Gissing already recommended, shows the orderly queue by which the garrison's junior officer posts were filled, since promotion turned on a settled order of precedence, and the Court's care to fix St Maurice's place behind a man already in line reveals an appointment system run by seniority even for the favoured newcomer sent out from home.
74	70	Passage on any Foreign Ships, which may happen to touch at St Helena, and thereby comes to your knowledge, We mean been all such as have employed by the Company, lived under their protection, or had any Connections with them 26 You are to govern yourselves in returning to us a Certificate agreably to the enclosed Form for the Flour Landed by the Holderness, as well private Trade, as what We send you according to the Directions given last year in respect to that shipped, on board the Prince Henry, and Egmont 27 Since writing the forgoing, we recieved on the 2 Instant, the most agreably news of the arrival of the follow Ships at Cork, on the 25 of last Month under Convoy of his Majestys Ship the Colchester, after a tedious passage from St Helena Vizt, the Royal Duke, Warwick, Sandwich, Triton; Boss August & Elizabeth and Onslow 28 Those Ships lost Company of the Marlbro, Norfolk, Falmouth, and Caernarvon on the 8 October	The island was to send the names of those aboard any foreign ships that happened to call at St Helena and so came to its knowledge, the Court meaning all who had been employed by the Company, lived under its protection or had any connection with it. 26: The island was to govern itself in giving a certificate, in line with the enclosed form, for the flour landed by the *Holderness*, both what was private trade and what the Court sent, according to the directions given the previous year about that shipped on the *Prince Henry* and *Egmont*. 27: Since writing the foregoing, the Court received on the 2nd the very welcome news of the arrival of the following ships at Cork on the 25th of last month, under convoy of the King's ship *Colchester*, after a tedious passage from St Helena, namely the *Royal Duke*, *Warwick*, *Sandwich*, *Triton*, *Essex*, *Augusta*, *Elizabeth* and *Onslow*. 28: Those ships lost company of the *Marlborough*, *Norfolk*, *Falmouth* and *Carnarvon* on 8 October in a hard gale of wind at night, but the Court was glad to report that the first two got into Kinsale harbour the same day, and the *Colchester* and the ships with her reached Cork. 29: The *Falmouth* had not been heard of since the separation above. 30: The *Carnarvon* unluckily fell in with a French squadron returning from Quebec and was taken by a 64-gun ship belonging to it, but the Court had the great satisfaction of reporting that she was retaken by the *Somerset*, one of Admiral Boscawen's squadron, which was also on its return from

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		in to have a Gale of Wind at night, but We have the Pleasure of informing you, that the two First got into Kinsale Harbour on the same Day, the Colchester, and the Ships with her reached Cork. 29 The Falmouth has not been heard of since the beforementioned Seperation 30 The Caernarvon unluckily fell in with a French Squadron, returning from Quebeck, and was taken by a Sixty four Gun Ship, belonging thereto, but We have the great Satisfaction of acquainting you, that She was retaken by the Somerset, one of Admirals Boscawens Squadron which was also on its return from Louisburgh, and is now safe at Anchor, in Milford Haven, We hope the Company will be no otherways Sufferers by this accident, than allowing the Customary Salvage	Louisburg, and was then at anchor in Milford Haven, and the Court hoped the Company would be no otherwise a loser by this accident than in allowing the customary salvage. **Interpretations** The capture and swift recapture of the *Carnarvon*, taken by a French warship returning from Quebec and freed by one of Boscawen's ships coming home from Louisburg, reveals how the Company's shipping was caught up in the wider war being fought across the Atlantic, since the very squadrons that had contested Canada were now crossing the homeward track of the Indian fleet, and a Company merchantman's fate turned on which navy's ship she happened to meet on the approaches to the British Isles. The Court's hope that the Company would lose no more by the *Carnarvon*'s recapture than the customary salvage exposes the legal cost of rescue at sea, since a ship retaken from the enemy owed a proportion of her value to her rescuers as salvage, and even a fortunate recovery carried a charge, so the Company's relief was tempered by the knowledge that its own vessel, once taken and freed, could not be had back without paying for the service.
75	71	31 Captain O'Brien acquainted us the St Helena Packet was too large to send up by his Lieutenant, and having received your Consultation books, only with a First Express from the Royal Duke, not one of your Letters by any of the beforementioned Ships, are come to hand. 32 The not receiving your Packets as beforementiond is so great a dissappointment, that to prevent such another in future, you must give directions, that upon the arrival of our Shipping in any Ports of Great Britain, or Ireland, the Commanders are carefully to attend to, and Comply with their instructions, from the Court of Directors, on this Head, and you must order them in particular, to forward the St Helena Pack 33 On the 3 Instant we recieved information by a Ship arrived at Bristol, that the Lord Anson York, and Prince Edward, were met on the 25 October, about Twenty six Leagues distance from Cape Cleary in Ireland, at that time all well. We are Your Loving Friends Lau Sulivan R Drake Thos Rous James Creed Hen Savage Fredk Clopin John Dorrien Chas Cutts Henr Crabb Boulton Thos Phipps Henry Plant Heoby Hadley John Manship Timothy Tullie Geo Dudley Geo Rooke Geo Stevens	31: Captain O'Brien reported that the *St Helena* packet was too large to send up by his lieutenant, and having received the island's consultation books, only with a trusty express from the *Royal Duke*, not one of the island's letters by any of the ships named above had come to hand. 32: The failure to receive the island's packets, as noted above, was so great a disappointment that to prevent another in future the island was to give directions that, on the arrival of the Court's shipping in any ports of Great Britain or Ireland, the commanders carefully attend to and comply with their instructions from the Court of Directors on this head, and it was in particular to order them to forward the St Helena packet. 33: On the 3rd the Court received information by a ship arrived at Bristol that the *Lord Anson*, *York* and *Prince Edward* were met on 25 October, about 26 leagues distant from Cape Clear in Ireland, and at that time all well. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 8 November 1758, and signed by Lacy Sulivan, R. Drake, Thomas Rous, James Creed, Henry Savage, Frederick Clive, John Dorrien, Charles Cutts, H. Crabb Boulton, Thomas Phipps, Henry Plant, Henry Hadley, John Manship, Timothy Tullie, George Dudley, George Rooke, G. Stevens, John Harrison, John Raymond, J. Brown and William Burwell.

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		John Harrison John Raymond J Brown William Barwell London 8 Novemr 1758	
76	72	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 Since the date of our Letter by the Earl of Holderness your Letters of the 16 July and 19 of August are come to hand, on which we shall take this opportunity, of making such remarks as may appear necessary, as well as to Communicate some further informations and directions. 2 We gave you a General account by way of Supplement of some to our last Letter, of the arrival and the hearing of others, of our returning Ships, We are now more particular to inform you, that his Majestys Ship the Colchester, which left your Island on the 16 July with the following Ships under her Convoy Vizt, The Marlborough Warwick, Elizabeth, Norfolk, Princess Augusta, Falmouth Caernarvon Royal Duke, Onslow, Sandwich, and Triton, after a very tedious passage, met with a hard gale of Wind, on the 8 October, which was the occasion of a Separation of some of them, however all except the Caernarvon and Falmouth, happily got safe to Cork, and thereupon Ireland on the 25 of the same Month. 3 The Caernarvon unluckily fell in with a French Squadron returning from Quebec, and was taken, but we have the pleasure of informing you, that She was retaken by the Sommerset one of Admiral Boscawens Squadron, which was also on its return from Louisburgh, and was carried safely to Milford Haven. 4 The Falmouth in a Sickly disstressed Condition arrived at Greenock, near Glascow in Scotland, on the 6 of November Of the Ships Prince Edward, Lord Anson, and York, which sailed from St Helena on the 20 of August, the two first, in order got safe to Limerick in the River Shannon in Ireland, on the 3 of November, but the York was unfortunately Stranded, and wrecked near	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the year's correspondence and the homeward shipping. 1: Since the date of the Court's letter by the *Earl of Holderness*, the island's letters of 16 July and 19 August had come to hand, on which the Court would take this opportunity of making such remarks as appeared necessary and of communicating some further information and directions. 2: The Court had given the island a general account, by way of supplement to its last letter, of the arrival of some of its returning ships and the report of others, and it now informed the island more particularly that the King's ship *Colchester*, which left the island on 16 July with the following ships under her convoy, namely the *Marlborough*, *Warwick*, *Elizabeth*, *Norfolk*, *Princess Augusta*, *Falmouth*, *Carnarvon*, *Royal Duke*, *Onslow*, *Sandwich* and *Triton*, met with a hard gale of wind on 8 October, which caused a separation of some of them, though all except the *Carnarvon* and *Falmouth* happily got safe to Cork in Ireland on the 25th of the same month. 3: The *Carnarvon* unluckily fell in with a French squadron returning from Quebec and was taken, but the Court had the pleasure of reporting that she was retaken by the *Somerset*, one of Admiral Boscawen's squadron, which was also on its return from Louisburg, and was carried safely to Milford Haven. 4: The *Falmouth*, in a sickly distressed condition, arrived at Greenock near Glasgow in Scotland on 2 November, and of the ships *Prince Edward*, *Lord Anson* and *York*, which sailed from St Helena on 20 August, the two first got safe to Limerick in the River Shannon in Ireland on 2 November, but the *York* was unfortunately stranded and wrecked [...]. **Interpretations** The scattering of a convoy of eleven Indiamen by a single night's gale, driving them to make port anywhere from Cork to Greenock to Milford Haven, reveals how the weather of the North Atlantic approaches could undo the naval protection so carefully arranged, since the very act of keeping together under escort was defeated by a storm that flung the ships across hundreds of miles of coast, and the safe arrival of most of them was as much a matter of fortune as of the *Colchester*'s convoy. The arrival of the *Falmouth* in a sickly distressed condition, singled out from the rest of the fleet, points to the toll that a long voyage took on a ship's company through disease, since a crew worn down by sickness on the passage home could barely work the ship, and the note of her state marks the human cost of the eastern trade that lay behind the bare record of arrivals, a vessel reaching port not through storm or enemy but through the slower attrition of illness at sea.
77	73	near the Mouth of that River, the Crew were all saved, but the Cargo except a few Bales of Sweat Goods, and some other Goods of little value is entirely lost 6 It has been extreamly unfortunate to the Company, that the arrival of their Ships at the several beforementioned Places, should be so very late in the Season, and this Circumstance should still be	At the mouth of that river the crew were all saved, but the cargo, except a few bales of piece goods and some other goods of little value, was entirely lost. 6: It had been very unfortunate for the Company that the arrival of its ships at the several places named above should be so very late in the season, and the circumstance was made still more disagreeable by their long detention, either there for convoy or through other delays, since the times of their arrival in England must, from their several situations, be different, so the Court referred the

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		rendered more disagreeable by their long detention as in a necessity there for Convoy and other incidents, as the times of their Arrival in England, must from their respective Situations be different, We refer you therefore to the accompanying Lists, for an Information in this particular. 7 His Majesty has been most graciously pleased to order the following named Ships, to proceed to the East Indies, to reinforce the Squadron there, and it is proposed that they should leave England about the middle of February, when our Coast and Bay Ships will proceed with them. Ships Guns Lenox 74 Duke of Acquitan 64 York 60 Falmouth 50 8 It has pleased his Majesty also, to Assist the Company with a Battalion of Land Forces, consisting of about One thousand Men, including Officers to be employed in Bengal, about two hundred of them will take passage on the Men of War, and the Rest are to proceed on our Own Ships. 9 The better to accommodate so considerable a Body of Men, as also to find a Passage for the Recruits for our own Forces, We do in addition to the Ships mentioned in our last Letter, employ the Companys own Vessels, Prince Henry Packet as We shall be under the necessity likewise of taking up a Ship to proceed to India, and to be disposed of there small Plan Indies & there, whereon the Hardwick, and Codrington, were entertained in the Years 1754 and 1755	island to the accompanying list for information on this point. 7: The King had been pleased to order the following ships to proceed to the East Indies to reinforce the squadron there, and it was proposed they should leave England about the middle of February, when the Court's Coast and Bay ships would proceed with them. *Lenox*, 74 guns *Duke of Aquitaine*, 64 guns *York*, 60 guns *Falmouth*, 50 guns 8: The King had also been pleased to help the Company with a battalion of land forces, about 1,000 men including officers, to be employed in Bengal, about 200 of whom would take passage on the warships and the rest proceed on the Company's own ships. 9: The better to accommodate so considerable a body of men, and also to find a passage for the recruits for the Court's own forces, the Court, besides the ships mentioned in its last letter, employed the Company's own ship the *Prince Henry* packet, which would be under the necessity of taking up a ship to proceed to India, and to be sold there, wherein the *Hardwicke* and *Codrington* were engaged in 1754 and 1755. **Interpretations** The dispatch of a second battalion of a thousand regular troops for Bengal, following the earlier reinforcement for the Coromandel Coast, marks the deepening commitment of the Crown to the Company's war in the East, since Bengal had become a theatre demanding its own army after the upheavals reported in the correspondence, and the ordering of a fresh regiment there shows the state assuming the defence of a second Indian presidency as a national charge. The near-total loss of the wrecked *York*'s cargo, saving only a few bales of piece goods, against the safe rescue of her whole crew, exposes where the real value of an Indiaman lay and how it could vanish in an hour, since the lading of eastern goods that made the voyage worth undertaking went to the bottom while the ship's people walked ashore, and the Company's loss was measured not in lives but in the freight that had been the object of the whole enterprise. Piece goods were cotton textiles woven in India and traded by the piece, the staple export of the eastern trade, so the bales saved from the wreck were of the very commodity the Company's Indian commerce chiefly existed to bring home.
78	74	10 There are many difficulties occur to prevent our Ships coming to their Moorings in the Thames, from Ireland, Scotland or wherever else they go to, after they leave St Helena, and is in Consequence of our orders, as they now Stand, the Books Packets are to be kept on board, until they get unto their aforesaid Moorings, by which means, We are deprived of making use in time, of many material Books necessary to be inspected before the dispatch of our Shipping for India, which is the Case, this Year, very particularly, to remedy therefore, this great inconvenience, in future, you must, so long as the War continues, signify to every Commander, before he leaves the Island, that he send to us, the Books Packets, as well as all	10: There were many difficulties that prevented the Court's ships coming to their moorings in the Thames from Ireland, Scotland or wherever else they went after leaving St Helena, and in consequence of the Court's orders as they then stood, the book packets were to be kept on board until the ships reached those moorings, so the Court was deprived of using in time many important books it needed to inspect before dispatching its shipping for India, as was the case that year very particularly. To remedy this great inconvenience in future, so long as the war continued, the island was to tell every commander before he left the island to send the book packets, as well as the other packets he was entrusted with from the Court's servants in India, and by the island, from the first port he reached in England, Scotland or Ireland, with the care and precautions mentioned in the Court's instructions to them. 11: To prevent a needless expense of powder aboard the ships in the Company's service, the Court had made a new regulation by which the commanders were allowed to make no other gun

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		the other packets, he is intrusted with, from our Servants in India; and by you, from the first port he arrives at whither in England Scotland, or Ireland, with the Care and Precautions mentioned in our instructions to them. 11 In order to prevent a Needless expence of Powder on board the Ships, in the Companys Service, We have made some new Regulation, by which the Commanders are allowed to make no other Salutes with Guns, than those herein mentioned, upon all other occasions they are to Salute with Cheers, according to their own discretion, and the present Rules of the Navy, We now transmit to you a printed Copy of the said Regulations 12 You were acquainted by our last Letter, that Eleven Ships sailed from France, for the East Indies, and that part of them had called at the Brazils, in May last, We have since been informed by a Letter dated at Rio Janeiro the 30 June following, that the said Fleet consisted of tolve Ships, Vizt, three Men of War, from Sixty, to seventy Guns Each, Seven Companys Ships, Laden with Goods for their Islands, and one for China, carrying from Eighteen to thirty Guns, each also, two others, the Names unknown, Supposed also to belong to the Company, the whole, under the Command of Mons	salutes than those there mentioned, and on all other occasions they were to salute with cheers at their own discretion, in line with the present rules of the navy, a printed copy of the two regulations now sent to the island. 12: The island had been told by the Court's last letter that eleven ships sailed from France for the East Indies, part of them having called at Brazil in May last, and the Court had since been informed by a letter dated at Rio de Janeiro on 30 June following that the fleet consisted of twelve ships, namely three warships of 60 to 70 guns each, seven Company ships laden with goods for their islands and one for China, carrying from 18 to 40 guns each, and also two others whose names were unknown, supposed likewise to belong to the Company, the whole under the command of Monsieur [...]. **Interpretations** The new rule limiting gun salutes to save powder, requiring the commanders to salute with cheers on all other occasions, reveals how the war reached even into the ceremonial customs of the sea, since gunpowder had become too valuable to burn on courtesy, and the substitution of the crew's voices for cannon shows a small economy imposed across the whole fleet, the honours of arrival and greeting reduced to what could be given without spending a scarce munition of war. The Company's tracking of the French East India fleet from a letter written at Rio de Janeiro, giving the exact composition of its warships and merchantmen, confirms the value of the South Atlantic ports as sources of intelligence on enemy movements, since French ships bound for the East had to water and refresh on the Brazilian coast, and news of their strength travelled home to London through the same neutral harbours, giving the Company a detailed reckoning of the force sailing against its eastern trade.
79	75	Monsr Delagully Chef D'Escadre, The following ten Ships called at Rio Janeiro and Isla Grande in a Sickly Condition Vizt Men of War Companys Ships Le Mentor Le Comte Argenson L'Actif Le Bourbon Le Lustre Neptune L'Elephant Le Fortune La Balaine La Fedelle Named the three last, Companys Ships, were sailed before the date of the said Letter, but the Men of War and the other Seven were then there 13 We are not informed, whether the said Ships had any Land Forces on board, and from the Silence of the beforementioned Letter, in this particular, we are induced to hope, they had not any Considerable Number, at least not enough to give any uneasy apprehensions, if our Settlements in India have been so happy, with the assistance of his Majestys Forces to make a Good Stand against those under the Command of Mr Lally 14 We are ignorant of What Ships, and Forces, the French have sent, or, design to send, for India this Season, but We flatter ourselves from the present Low Condition of that Nation, that neither can be Considerable	The whole was under the command of Monsieur Delagally, chief of the squadron, and the following ten ships called at Rio de Janeiro and Ilha Grande in a sickly condition. *Le Mentor*, man of war *L'Actif*, man of war *Le Lustre*, man of war *Le Comte d'Argenson*, Company ship *Le Bourbon*, Company ship *Neptune*, Company ship *L'Elephant*, Company ship *La Fortune*, Company ship *La Baleine*, Company ship *La Fidelle*, Company ship The three last-named Company ships had sailed before the date of the letter, but the warships and the other four were still there. 13: The Court was not told whether those ships carried any land forces, and from the silence of the letter above on this point it was led to hope they had none of any considerable number, at least not enough to give any uneasy apprehensions, if the settlements in India had been so fortunate as to make a good stand, with the help of the King's forces, against those under the command of Monsieur Lally. 14: The Court was ignorant of what ships and forces the French had sent, or meant to send, for India that season, but it flattered itself, from the present low condition of that nation, that neither could be considerable, though the island was still to be constantly on its guard, so as to be ready in every event to defend the island if the French should turn any of their force that way. 15: The Court was glad to see that the island had been able to supply all the late homeward-bound

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		however you must, constantly on Your Guard, that you may be ready in all events, to defend the Island, if there should bend any of their force that way 15 It gives us pleasure to observe, that you have been able to supply all the late homeward bound Shipping, with good Refreshment, and as this is the principal use of the Island, we are persuaded you are so fully sensible thereof, that We need only to remind you, of making proper use of Good Servants, and take the utmost Care of your live Stock, that it may be properly proportion to answer the demands of our homeward bound Shipping from one Season to another. 16	shipping with good refreshment, and since this was the principal use of the island the Court was persuaded the island was so fully aware of it that it needed only to remind the island of making proper use of its good servants and taking the utmost care of its livestock, so that it might be properly proportioned to answer the demands of the homeward-bound shipping from one season to another. **Interpretations** The Court's reminder that supplying the homeward fleet with fresh refreshment was the principal use of the island cuts to the heart of St Helena's whole purpose in the Company's system, since the settlement earned nothing by trade and existed to provision ships worn by the long passage from the East, and the instruction to manage its servants and livestock so the supply held from season to season shows the island valued strictly as a victualling station whose husbandry served the fleet rather than itself. The Court's careful reading of the French fleet's silence about land forces, hoping from the absence of any mention that few soldiers were aboard, reveals how intelligence in wartime had to be drawn as much from what a report omitted as from what it stated, since the Company could not know the enemy's strength directly and was reduced to inferring the scale of the threat to India from the gaps in a letter written at a neutral Brazilian port.
80	76	16 You are acquainted in our last Letter, that for want of your Indents, we had been under the necessity of making use in a great measure, of those received from you the former Season, Your Indents being since come to hand, We do by the Delaware, make the Provisions of the several Articles, desired correspond with them as nearly as Time and the Room for them in the said can admit of, which will more particularly appear on the Reference to the Invoice by that Ship, as also to the invoice already sent by the Earl of Holderness. 17 When you form your Indents in future, you must have your account of Remains before you, and indent for no more, than one years Consumption, That we received by Prince Edward was of an old date, and though We suppose it to be formed in Consultation of the 26 of June last, We are at a Loss to know whether the Stores you received by the Prince Henry, were looked on as an addition to your Remains, which are brought up to the 9 of that Month. 18 We have made very strict enquiry into the Complaint you make in the Deficiency of 44 2/2 23 in the weights of the Flour, sent you by the Egmont, as also of the badness thereof, and the indifferency of that by the Prince Henry, with respect to the first, We find there is such particular care taken in weighing the flour, that it is almost impossible to commit any mistake therein, We are therefore quite at a Loss to account for the deficiency mentioned, however that We may for the future,	16: The island had been told in the Court's last letter that, for want of its requisition, the Court had been obliged to make use in great measure of those received from the island the previous season, and the island's requisitions had since come to hand, so by the *Delaware* the Court made the provisions of the several articles correspond with them as nearly as time and the room for them in the ship allowed, which would appear more particularly on referring to that ship's invoice as well as to the invoice already sent by the *Earl of Holderness*. 17: When the island framed its requisitions in future, it was to have its account of remains before it and requisition for no more than one year's consumption, and that received by the *Prince Edward* was without date, though the Court supposed it framed in consultation of 26 June last, so the Court was at a loss whether the stores received by the *Prince Henry* were looked on as an addition to the island's remains, which were brought up to the 11th of that month. 18: The Court had made very strict enquiry into the complaint the island made of the deficiency of 14 pounds 23 in the weights of the flour sent by the *Egmont*, and of the badness of it, and the insufficiency of that by the *Prince Henry* as to the first, and since such particular care was taken in weighing the flour that it was almost impossible to commit any mistake in it, the Court was quite at a loss to account for the deficiency mentioned, but so that it might in future detect any fraud or rectify a mistake, the island was to weigh the whole quantity of flour, in the presence of the purser or some proper officer of the ships, and if any deficiency appeared it was to certify the number of each cask in which any occurred, and what short weight was found, as also the quality, the season and from whom it was bought, and indeed the person the Court had dealt with in this article for many years past had assured it that the very best that could be got at that time was put up under his own immediate [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's insistence that the whole flour be reweighed cask by cask before the ship's purser, with the short weight, quality, season and supplier all

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		be able to detect any fraud, or Rectify a mistake, you must weigh the whole Quantity of Flour, we send you in the presence of the Purser, or some proper Officer of the Ships, and if any deficiency appears, you are to Certify the number of Each Cask, wherein any, and what short weight shall be found, also the Quality, the Persons of whom we bought it, and indeed with whom We have dealt in this Article for many Years past, has afsisded us that the very best that could be procured at that time, was put up, under his own immediate	certified, reveals the difficulty of proving fault across an ocean, since a complaint of deficient or bad provisions could as easily arise from fraud, from error, or from spoilage on the voyage, and by demanding a witnessed and itemised record the Company built the only evidence that could fix responsibility on a supplier it dealt with at home while the loss showed itself at the island. The direction to requisition for no more than a single year's consumption, with the account of remains kept always to hand, exposes the discipline the Company sought to impose on a supply chain stretched across a year's sailing, since a settlement that over-ordered tied up goods and money while one that ignored its own stock on hand risked waste or want, and the requirement that each new demand be set against the standing balance shows London trying to hold the island's provisioning to an exact and self-correcting reckoning.
81	77	Inspection, and has promised that his utmost Care shall be used to prevent any Complaint in future, you must therefore give a very particular Account, of the Quality of the Flour, We send you this Season, and if there is any fault to be found therewith you must distinguish in a particular manner, the Nature of such fault, that We may obtain Satisfaction here, and prevent the like in future. of the Same Tenor 19 We recieved three receipts for the flour landed out of the Prince Henry, which you inadvertently sent by the Colchester, instead of three different Conveyances, as they ought to have been, the dates to all of them, being omitted, altho very necessary to be inserted, When we writ to you by the Prince Henry, as was then observed, we expected to send you, a Paper of Instructions for Forming a Certificate, as to the Landing of the said Flour, but as before the dispatch of that Ship, our Secretary recieved from the Officers of his Majestys Customs, the very Form of the Certificate, to be given on the occasion, a Copy whereof being transmitted by the Prince Henry, made the sending any other Instructions intirely unnecessary, and therefore is omissiok as you apprehend. 20 If the Delawar cannot bring you the Quantity of Timber you desire in Your Letter of the 19 of August, to make a New Draw Bridge, in the room of the old one, you inform us to is almost decayed, you may from depend upon receiving it next Season. 21 As you have been dissappointed of the Table Linnen, you was to have recieved from Madras, We send by the Delaware, agriable to your request, the Quantity mentioned in your indent. 22 We shall agreable to your request, give directions to our Servants in India, to send you a re Cattle, of a better sort, than those you have lately received, as We shall likewise to the President, and Council of Fort	The supplier had promised his utmost care would be used to prevent any complaint in future, so the island was to give a very particular account of the quality of the flour sent that season, and if any fault was found it was to describe the nature of it in detail, so the Court might obtain satisfaction at home and prevent the like in future. 19: The Court received three receipts of the same tenor for the flour landed out of the *Prince Henry*, which the island inadvertently sent by the *Colchester* instead of three for different ships as they ought to have been, the dates of all of them being left out, though very necessary to be inserted. When the Court wrote by the *Prince Henry*, as noted before, it expected to send the island a form of instructions for making a certificate as to the landing of the flour, but as before the dispatch of that ship the Court's secretary received from the officers of the King's customs the very form of the certificate to be given on the occasion, a copy of which sent by the *Prince Henry* made the sending of any other instructions entirely unnecessary, and so it was left out, as the island would suppose. 20: If the *Delaware* could not bring the island the quantity of timber it wanted, mentioned in its letter of 19 August, to make a new drawbridge in the room of the old one, which the island reported almost decayed, the island might rely on receiving it the next season. 21: Since the island had been disappointed of the table linen it was to have received from Madras, the Court sent by the *Delaware*, in line with the island's request, the quantity mentioned in its requisition. 22: The Court would, in line with the island's request, direct its servants in India to send the island rice, of a better sort than those it had lately received, and would likewise direct the President and Council of Fort St George to take the utmost care that the rice sent from there was the best they could procure, but it expected at the same time that the island was very deficient in making the proper representations to the Court's servants in India on these points. **Interpretations** The Court's sharp remark that the island was deficient in making proper representations to its servants in India over the poor rice reveals how the settlement's supply from the eastern factories depended on the island itself pressing its complaints through the right channels, since London could direct the presidencies to send better goods but the island had to state its needs and grievances clearly to those who actually shipped them, and a failure to do so left it receiving inferior provisions that no order from home could remedy without the island's own diligence.

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		St George, to take the utmost Care, that the Rice to be sent you from thence, is the best they Can procure, but we shall expect at the same time, that you are, on every deficient in making the proper Representations to our Servants India, on these particulars. 23	The confusion over the three flour receipts, all of one tenor and undated when they should have been separate and dated, exposes how much the Company's system of proof depended on exact clerical form, since a receipt served as legal evidence of what was landed and when, and papers drawn up carelessly, however honestly, undermined the very certification that the earlier paragraphs had laboured to establish, the value of the record lying wholly in its precision.
82	78	23 In answer to your Request for our Supra Cargoes, in Mochoa to put on board one Bale of Coffee, yearly for the use of St Helena, We do hereby authorize, and empower you, to demand and receive from the Captains of any of our Mochoa Ships, a Bale of Coffee whenever it is wanted, taking care to give Receipts for the same. 24 You will observe in our Letter in the Earl of Holderness We have Anticipated the Request made in your Letter, of the 19 of August, by Consigning to you Twelve Chests of Treasure by that said Ship, and allowing you to detain two Chests more out of that designed for Fort Marlborough, by the Delaway, but this last Liberty, you must use with discretion by stopping no more than you have realy occasion for, after making an allowance for the money which may be paid into Cash for Bills of Exchange upon us. 25 As you have only Indented for Eight barrels of Gun-powder, the Twenty five barrels by the Delaway are consigned to Fort Marlborough, where it is much wanted, for which reason if you have more in your Store, than you really have occasion for, We would have you agreable to our Recommendation in last Letter, forward what you can spare to that Settlement 26 We observe by your books, ending October 1757 that a Loss of £86. 11. 5 1/2 is said to have arisen by selling Beef and Pork, to the Garrison under prime cost, By the Storekeepers Collections, it appears that some part of the Beef, any Pork, was sold to the Companys Servants at 10 pr Cent advance, and some part to the Planters at Twenty five pr Cent, But the Quantity and Price of that delivered to the Garrison, is no where appear, so that We cannot apprehend, how any such Loss should arise, To remedy this for the future, you must put a Valuation on the Species and Remains of the above, and all others, Provisions, and Stores and also specify the Particulars delivered for the use of the Garrison, that	23: In answer to the island's request that the Court's supercargoes at Mocha put aboard one bale of coffee yearly for the use of St Helena, the Court authorised and empowered the island to demand and receive from the captains of any of its Mocha ships a bale of coffee whenever it was wanted, taking care to give receipts for the same. 24: The island would see from the Court's letter in the *Earl of Holderness* that the Court had anticipated the request made in the island's letter of 19 August by consigning to it two chests of treasure by that ship, and by allowing it to keep back two chests more out of that meant for Fort Marlborough by the *Delaware*, but this last liberty the island was to use with discretion, drawing no more than it had real occasion for, after allowing for the money that might be paid into cash for bills of exchange upon the Court. 25: Since the island had requisitioned for only eight barrels of gunpowder, the 25 barrels by the *Delaware* were consigned to Fort Marlborough, where it was much wanted, for which reason, if the island had more in its stores than it really had occasion for, the Court wished it, in line with the recommendation in its last letter, to forward what it could spare to that settlement. 26: From the island's books ending October 1757 the Court saw that a loss of £86 11s 5d was said to have arisen by selling beef and pork to the garrison under prime cost, but from the storekeeper's collections it appeared that some part of the beef and pork was sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent advance and some part to the planters at 25 per cent, while the quantity and price of that delivered to the garrison appeared nowhere, so the Court could not understand how any such loss should arise, and to remedy this in future the island was to put a valuation on the issues and remains of the above and all other provisions and stores, and also to specify the particulars delivered for the use of the garrison, [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's inability to trace the reported £86 11s 5d loss on beef and pork, because the sales to servants and planters were recorded at a profit while the issue to the garrison appeared nowhere, exposes a gap in the island's accounting that concealed how its provisions were actually disposed of, and the demand to value every issue and remain and specify what went to the garrison shows the Company insisting that a settlement it subsidised account for its stores in a way that revealed where the loss truly lay rather than letting it vanish into an unexplained figure. The graded pricing of the same beef and pork, sold to the Company's own servants at a tenth above cost but to the planters at a quarter above, reveals a deliberate social distinction embedded in the island's economy, since the servants of the Company were favoured with cheaper provisions as a benefit of their place while the independent planters paid the higher rate, and the difference marks the settlement's supply used not merely to feed its people but to reward service to the Company over the free inhabitants who stood outside it.

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			Mocha, on the Red Sea coast of Yemen, was the port from which the finest coffee was shipped, giving its name to the trade, so the bale sent yearly to St Helena was of the choice coffee the Company's ships carried from there.
83	79	that your Entrys of Profit & Loss may properly be examined. 27 Being thus at a Loss to know what Quantitys and at what rates the Garrison is supplied, with Salt Provisions, out of the Companys Stores, we cannot determine whether it is reasonable or not to Comply with the Request in Your Letter of the 19 of August, for indulging the Officers, and Gentlemen in our Service, with what they want for their own use, at the price the Garrison pays for it, which by our Letter of the 16 of December 1743, ought to be at prime Cost, especialy, as you do not mention who and how many of those Officers, and Gentlemen are, with what Quantitys they want to be indulged, on all which we expect you will fully explain Yourselves, before We give any directions on that part of your Letter. 28 The late arrival of our Shipping, and the short time We have, in consequence thereof, to prepare for the dispatch, of many Important affairs, before departure of the Ships for India, prevents our looking into the affair of punishing Criminals at St Helena but We hope by next Season, to be able, to send, you some instructions thereon, in the mean time, we at ave our leave, to send our prisoners to England, upon any of our Ships, any person, or persons, who have been, or shall be found guilty of such offences, as shall render them unfit, or unsafe to be continued on the Island, sending with them a full, and Authenticated account, of the Crimes they are charged with, and the proceedings thereon as well for your own justification as our Information, William Cooksey the Soldier proved Guilty of Embezzling the Companys Flour is one of those who ought, and must be sent off the Island. 29 In answer to that part of your Letter of the 16 of July, wherein you say Foreign Gentlemen of Station, who have lately been at St Helena, seemed to be displeased at there not being any some Compliments paid them, and request my directions whether you should shew any, We do not find you are anywhere forbid making Compliments	The valuation was needed so that the island's entries of profit and loss might be properly examined. 27: Being thus at a loss to know in what quantity and at what rates the garrison was supplied with salt provisions out of the Company's stores, the Court could not determine whether it was reasonable or not to comply with the request in the island's letter of 19 August for allowing the officers and gentlemen in the Court's service to have what they wanted for their own use at the price the garrison paid for it, which by the Court's letter of 16 December 1743 ought to be at prime cost, especially since the island did not mention who and how many those officers and gentlemen were, nor in what quantities they were to be indulged, on all which the Court expected the island to explain itself fully before it gave any directions on that part of the letter. 28: The late arrival of the Court's shipping, and the short time it had in consequence to prepare the dispatch of many important affairs before the ships left for India, prevented its looking into the matter of punishing criminals at St Helena, but it hoped by the next season to send the island some instructions on it, and in the meantime it gave the island leave to send home as prisoners, on any of its ships, any person found guilty of such offences as rendered them unfit or unsafe to be kept on the island, sending with them a full and authenticated account of the crimes they were charged with and the proceedings on them, both for the island's own justification and the Court's information, William Cooksey the soldier, found guilty of embezzling the Company's flour, being one of those who ought and must be sent off the island. 29: In answer to that part of the island's letter of 16 July, in which it said foreign gentlemen of station had lately been at St Helena and seemed displeased at there not being some compliments paid them, and asked for directions whether it should show any, the Court did not find the island was anywhere forbidden making [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's refusal to decide the officers' claim to provisions at prime cost until the island stated exactly who and how many they were, reveals its guard against a privilege that could quietly expand to swallow the settlement's stores, since a benefit granted loosely to officers and gentlemen without number or limit would grow beyond any reckoning, and by demanding the precise extent before granting anything the Company kept control of a concession that touched directly on the loss it was already struggling to trace in its accounts. The provision for sending convicted criminals home for punishment, pending proper instructions, with a full authenticated record of their crimes, exposes the legal limbo of a settlement that had the power to try offenders but not always to punish the worst of them, since a remote island lacked both the machinery and the clear authority for the gravest sentences, and the removal of a man like the flour-embezzling soldier to England shows serious crime referred back to the mother country for want of a settled criminal jurisdiction on the spot.
84	80	Compliments to such Foreign Gentlemen, either as to Salutes, or in any other way, that their Stations may Claim, or deserve, and We	The island might pay compliments to such foreign gentlemen, whether as to salutes or in any other way their stations might claim or deserve, and the Court accordingly left it to the island's discretion

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		shall accordingly leave it to your discretion, to make the necessary Compliments in future, But this however, is by no means intended to break into the Revived standing rule, in our Letter of the 29 of November 1751, That no Foreigner of any Quality, whatsoever be permitted to see the Country, altho in Company with the Governor, or any of our Servants, and that Care be taken, that they be prevented as much as possible, from viewing, and making Remarks upon the Fortifications. 30 We observe by your Letters of the 16 of July, that upon the Resignation of Charles Steward you have entertained Richard Law, as Writer in the Secretarys Office, if you are satisfied he is properly Qualified for that Station, We do agreed to your said Choice, and that his time of Service, commence from the day you appointed him, which by the way is not mentioned in your Letter or in Consultation, and he is accordingly to Execute the Covenants sent by the Delawar 31 It appearing by your Consultations that William Wrangham having served his five Years as Writer and Commences Factor, he is to Execute fresh Covenants likewise, sent by the Delaway 32 The Covenants Executed both by Wrangham, and Law, are to be returned here, and they are to write to their Friends in England, to give the usual Security for them, the first under the Penalty of One thousand Pounds, & Law five hundred Pounds 33 Having set a part a day on Purpose, to Examine into the Conduct, and Behaviour, of our Lieutenant Governor John Adamson, we entered upon it, with the greatest Candour, glad and should have been extreamly, to have found them, such as would have entitled him to our favour, but on such examination, it evidently appearing, that Mr Adamson has behaved in a very unbecoming manner	to make the necessary compliments in future, though this was on no account meant to break into the standing order of the Court's own letter of 29 November 1731, that no foreigner of any quality whatever be allowed to see the country, even in company with the Governor or any of the Court's servants, and that care be taken they be prevented as far as possible from viewing and making remarks upon the fortifications. 30: From the island's letter of 16 July the Court saw that, on the resignation of Charles Steward, the island had taken on Richard Laws as writer in the secretary's office, and if the island was satisfied he was properly qualified for the post the Court agreed to the choice, and that his term of service commence from the day the island appointed him, which by the way was not mentioned in its letter or consultations, and he was accordingly to execute the covenants sent by the *Delaware*. 31: Since it appeared from the island's consultations that William Wrangham, having served his five years as writer, had become factor, he was to execute fresh covenants likewise, sent by the *Delaware*. 32: The covenants executed by both Wrangham and Laws were to be returned to the Court, and they were to write to their friends in England to give the usual security for them, the first under the penalty of £1,000 and Laws £500. 33: Having set apart a day on purpose to examine into the conduct and behaviour of the island's Lieutenant Governor John Adamson, the Court entered upon it with the greatest care and would have been extremely glad to have found it such as would have entitled him to its favour, but on examination it appeared that Mr Adamson had behaved in a very unbecoming manner [...]. **Interpretations** The standing order that no foreigner be allowed to see the country or view the fortifications, held firm even while the island was permitted to pay visiting foreign gentlemen their due compliments, reveals the careful line the Company drew between courtesy and security, since hospitality could be extended without granting access, and the distinction shows a settlement that had long treated its defences as secrets to be shielded from any outside eye, a caution predating the war and made only more pressing by it. The graduated security demanded of the two writers, £1,000 for the factor Wrangham and £500 for the newly appointed Laws, exposes how the Company matched the bond to the trust of the office, since a factor handled goods and money of far greater value than a writer newly entered, and the doubling of the surety for the senior post shows the size of the guarantee tied precisely to the scale of what each servant could lose or misappropriate in the Company's service.
85	81	manner towards the Governor, in so much that he has represented it was not in his power, to live with Mr Adamson, as he could wish to do with a Person in his Post, and it further appearing, that Mr Adamson and Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick, had employed one William Richards, to draw for them, Plans, and Prospects of several of the Works, and Fortifications, on the Island, Particularly, for the latter, a Draught for the attack of the Town, and Castle, and that the same had been done, without the knowledge, and Consent of the Governor, in	Adamson had behaved so unbecomingly towards the Governor that the Governor had reported it was not in his power to live with Adamson as he could wish to do with a person in his post, and it further appeared that Adamson and Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick had employed one William Richards to draw plans and prospects of several of the works and fortifications on the island, particularly a draught for the attack of the town and castle, and that this had been done without the knowledge and consent of the Governor, in breach of the rules of military discipline as well as their duty to the Company, and might produce the most harmful consequences. The Court, being fully satisfied of Mr Hutchinson's good conduct in the authority committed to him, and considering the

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		breach of the Rules of Military discipline, as well as their duty to the Company, and might be productive of the most prejudicial Consequences, and the Court being fully satisfied, of Mr Hutchinsons due Administration of the Authority, committed to him, and considering the necessity of supporting thereof, as well as for the maintaining proper order, and Discipline, in the Government of the Island, on which its preservation depends, more especially in this time of Ware, and in order to discounte- nance, and prevent such unbecoming, and undue Practices in future it was unanimously Resolved, That Mr John Adamson Lieutenant Governor of the Island St Helena, be immediately dismissed the Companys Service, and be sent home upon one of the Ships of the same Season, wherein this Resolution for his Dismission shall be received 34 It was also unanimously Resolved that Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick, be immedeately dismissed the Companys service, and sent home from St Helena, on the first Ship, that shall leave the Island, after the Receipt of this Resolution, and it was further ordered, that William Richards, be also dismissed, and sent home in like manner by the first Ship. 35 These our Resolutions, and Orders are to take place immedeately, upon the Receipt of this Letter, and the several Persons beforementiond, are from that instant, dismissed the Companys service, and are accordingly to be sent home, in the manner directed. 36	need to support it and to maintain proper order and discipline in the government of the island, on which its preservation depended, more especially in that time of war, and to discourage and prevent such unbecoming and improper practices in future, unanimously resolved that Mr John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor of the island of St Helena, be immediately dismissed the Company's service and sent home on one of the ships of that season by which this resolution for his dismissal was received. 34: It was also unanimously resolved that Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick be immediately dismissed the Company's service and sent home from St Helena on the first ship that left the island after receiving the resolution, and it was further ordered that William Richards be also dismissed and sent home in like manner by the first ship. 35: These resolutions and orders were to take place immediately on receipt of the letter, and the several persons named above were from that instant dismissed the Company's service and accordingly to be sent home in the manner directed. **Interpretations** The making of a draught for the attack of the town and castle, drawn up privately by the Lieutenant Governor and another officer without the Governor's knowledge, was treated by the Court as so grave a breach that it dismissed three men at a stroke, and the severity reveals how a plan showing how the island's own defences might be assaulted struck at the heart of its security in wartime, since such a document in the wrong hands was a direct danger to the fortress and could only be read as a betrayal of the trust on which the whole garrison rested. The Court's framing of the dismissals as a matter of supporting Hutchinson's authority and maintaining discipline on which the island's preservation depended reveals how it read the quarrel less as a personal dispute than as a threat to the chain of command itself, since a Lieutenant Governor who undermined his superior and acted behind his back weakened the very structure of government that held a besieged settlement together, and the Company chose to remove the subordinates entirely rather than let the Governor's authority be seen to be challenged with impunity.
86	82	36 Agreeable to what We mentioned, the Delaware will bring you about ten more Recruits, and as these in addition to the Twenty sent in the Earl of Holderness will sufficiently strengthen our Garrison, you are not to detain any of those, therefore intended for the West Coast by the Delaware. 37 It is highly necessary, that the utmost exactness should be observed in advising the several sums of money paid into our Cash, and that your Cash accounts, Consultations, and Letters should agree with each other, and with the Bills, but We are very to observe, that this not the Case, in those now before us, which We shall point out to you, that such mistakes may be avoided and more Care taken in future, and in order thereto we must observe, that the Original of your Letter dated the 16 July 1758, came by the Colchester, and the Duplicate by the Prince Edward,	36: In line with what the Court had mentioned, the *Delaware* would bring the island about ten more recruits, and since these, added to the 20 sent by the *Earl of Holderness*, would sufficiently strengthen the garrison, the island was not to keep any of those meant for the west coast by the *Delaware*. 37: It was highly necessary that the utmost exactness be observed in advising the several sums of money paid into the Court's cash, and that the island's cash accounts, consultations and letters agree with each other and with the bills, but the Court was very sorry to see this was not the case in those before it, which it would point out to the island so that such mistakes might be avoided and more care taken in future, and to that end the island was to observe that the original of its letter of 16 July 1758 came by the *Colchester* and the duplicate by the *Prince Edward*, but it so happened that the duplicate was received first. 38: The thirty-fifth paragraph in the *Colchester* letter, relating to the time and manner in which the island intended drawing its bills of exchange, was entirely left out in that by the *Prince Edward*. 39: The five first bills mentioned in the *Prince Edward* letter were left out in the *Colchester* letter. 40: The bill advised by the *Prince Edward* as granted to Archibald Grant and payable to John Calcraft for £600 0s 0d appeared by the bill itself, the consultation and the cash account to be £620 0s 0d.

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		but it so happened that the Duplicate was recieved by us first 38 The 35 Paragraph, in the Letter by Colchester relating to the time, and manner in which you intended drawing your Bills of Exchange, is intirely ommitted in that by the Prince Edward. 39 The five first Bills mentioned in the Prince Edwards Letter, are left out in the Colchesters. 40 The Bill advised by the Prince Edward, as granted Archibald Grant, and payable to John Calcraft for six hundred pounds, appeared by the bill itself, the Consultations and Cash Account, to be Six hundred and twenty Pounds 41 The Bill advised by the Prince Edwards Letter, to be granted, and payable to George Cumming for three hundred pounds, appeared by the Bill, and Colchester Letter, Consultations, and Cash Account, to be three hundred and fifty Pounds 42	41: The bill advised by the *Prince Edward* letter, granted and payable to George Cumming for £300 0s 0d, appeared by the bill, the *Colchester* letter, the consultation and the cash account to be £350 0s 0d. **Interpretations** The Court's painstaking cross-checking of the same bills across the island's duplicate letters, consultations and cash accounts, catching discrepancies of £20 and £50 between what each record stated, reveals the fragility of a financial system that depended on identical figures reaching London by several ships, since a bill of exchange bound the Company to pay whatever sum the properly advised documents named, and any disagreement among the island's own records over the true amount threatened either loss to the Company or dishonour to the bill, so the demand for exact agreement was a demand on which real money turned. The practice of sending an original letter by one ship and a duplicate by another, with the duplicate here arriving first, exposes the deliberate redundancy the war forced on the Company's correspondence, yet also its hidden cost, since letters copied separately could diverge, one omitting a paragraph the other contained, and the very method adopted to guard against the loss of a single ship created fresh confusion when the two versions failed to match, the safeguard against loss becoming a source of error in its turn.
87	83	42 The Bill for Fifty Pounds, advised in the Prince Edwards Letter, granted Matthew Bazett, and payable to himself, appeared by the Bill itself, Colchesters Letter, and Consultations, to be payable to Captain Charles Foulis, and received of Matthew Bazett 43 The Bill for One hundred and ten Pounds, advised by the Prince Edward, as granted to John Adamson, payable to himself by the Bill, Colchesters Letter, and Consultations, appeared to be payable to Wm John Andrews received of John Adamson. 44 One of the Bills said in the Colchesters Letter to be granted to James Hucker, for One hundred and fifty Pounds, appears by the Prince Edwards Letter, and bill itself to be One hundred and twenty Pounds. 45 To these mistakes we must add that Your Consultation under date of the First of July, entered in the set received by the Colchester, was left out in that recieved by the Prince Edward. 46 The affair of drawing, and advising Bills, comes within so narrow a Compass, that we are Surprized such a String of Mistakes, should escape your Notice, in your Situation of Governor and Council, but much more so, at the Carelesness, and inattention of Your Secretary, from whom they must have taken rise, and you must let him know, that We shall think him unfit for that, or any other Station, if we find any further such marks, of his Carelesness. 47 In order to fill up the Vacancy, occasioned by the dismiss	42: The bill for £50 0s 0d advised in the *Prince Edward* letter as granted to Matthew Bazett and payable to himself appeared, by the bill itself, the *Colchester* letter and the consultation, to be payable to Captain Charles Forbes and received from Matthew Bazett. 43: The bill for £110 0s 0d advised by the *Prince Edward* as granted to John Adamson and payable to himself, by the bill, the *Colchester* letter and the consultation, appeared to be payable to William John Andrews and received from John Adamson. 44: One of the bills said in the *Colchester* letter to be granted to James Hucker for £150 0s 0d appeared, by the *Prince Edward* letter and the bill itself, to be £120 0s 0d. 45: To these mistakes the Court had to add that the island's consultation of 1 July, entered in the set received by the *Colchester*, was left out in that received by the *Prince Edward*. 46: The business of drawing and advising bills lay within so narrow a compass that the Court was surprised such a string of mistakes should escape the island's notice, in its position of Governor and Council, but much more so the carelessness and inattention of its secretary, from whom they must have taken their rise, so the island was to tell him the Court would think him unfit for that or any other post if it found any further such marks of his carelessness. 47: To fill the vacancy caused by the dismissal of Mr Adamson, mentioned above, the Court had chosen and appointed Nicholas Dunbar to be Lieutenant Governor of the island of St Helena, also second in Council and overseer of the plantations, with the same appointments the late Mr Hunter and Mr Adamson had enjoyed, namely for salary £250 0s 0d and diet money £100 0s 0d a year, both to commence on his arrival, and he was to be accommodated with regard to his apartments [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's threat to dismiss the island's secretary from any post if further careless mistakes appeared in the bills reveals how it traced the whole string of errors to a single clerk and made him personally answerable, since the drawing and advising of bills of exchange demanded exact accuracy and the secretary was the officer through

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		of Mr Adamson, beforementiond, We have Chosen, and do hereby constitute and appoint, Nicholas Dunbar, to be Lieutenant Governor of Our Island St Helena, also second in Council, and overseer of the Plantations, with the same appointments as were enjoyed by the late Mr Hunter and Mr Adamson Vizt, For Salary two hundred and fifty Pounds, and diet money One hundred Pounds a year, both to Commence upon his arrival, He is to be accommodated with regard to his apartments	whose hands the figures passed, so the Company held the man at the origin of the record responsible for a reliability on which its money directly depended. The appointment of Nicholas Dunbar to a single office combining Lieutenant Governor, second in Council and overseer of the plantations reveals how the island's small establishment concentrated several distinct functions in one man, since a remote settlement could not support a separate officer for each duty, and the joining of the military, conciliar and agricultural charges in one appointment shows a government run by a handful of servants each carrying the weight of what would elsewhere be several separate posts.
88	84	both in the House in the Valley, and the Rooms in the Longwood in all respects, the same as Mr Hunter, and Mr Adamson were, and to have the use of some of our Slaves, in the same manner as those two Gentlemen were indulged. 48 In Case of the death, or Absence of Charles Hutchinson Esqr, our said Lieutenant Governor Nicholas Dunbar, is to succeed as provisional Governor, until Our further pleasure is known. 49 The Council at St Helena having for some years past, consisted only of three Persons, Vizt, The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant John Clark, We have thought it necessary to add one of our Servants on the Civil List thereto, and We do hereby accordingly appoint, and Direct, that Mr Matthew Curling do take his Seat at the Council board, upon the Receipt, of this Letter, from which time he is to receive in addition to his present Salary, of Seventy Pounds, the further Sum of Thirty Pounds a Year, in Consideration of his Services as one of the Council, and Mr Curling on his admission to the board, is immediately to take the usual Oath of Fidelity to the Company. 50 Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor, and Chief in Council, is to act in, and manage all the Companys affairs, by and with the advice and concurrence of the Deputy Governor, Nicholas Dunbar, Lieutenant John G Clark, & Mr Matthew Curling aforesaid, who are hereby appointed and directed, to be of Council, in the order they are named, and in Case they shall at any time, or times, be equaly divided in Opinion, our Governor is to have the Casting or determining Vote. 51 We take the opportunity of sending this Letter by his Majestys Ships the Falkland, on which We proposed Mr Dunbar should have taken his Passage, but it not being Possible for him to get ready for that Ship, in time, he will proceed in the Delaware which	Dunbar was to have both the house in the valley and the rooms at Longwood, in all respects the same as Mr Hunter and Mr Adamson had, and to have the use of some of the Court's slaves, in the same manner as those two gentlemen were allowed. 48: In case of the death or absence of Charles Hutchinson, the Lieutenant Governor Nicholas Dunbar was to succeed as provisional governor until the Court's further pleasure was known. 49: The Council at St Helena having for some years consisted of only three persons, namely the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark, the Court thought it necessary to add one of its servants on the civil list there, and accordingly appointed and directed that Mr Matthew Curling take his seat at the Council board on receipt of the letter, from which time he was to receive, in addition to his present salary of £20 0s 0d, the further sum of £30 0s 0d a year, in consideration of his services as one of the Council, and Mr Curling, on his admission to the board, was immediately to take the usual oath of fidelity to the Company. 50: Charles Hutchinson, as Governor and president in Council, was to act in and manage all the Company's affairs by and with the advice and concurrence of the Deputy Governor Nicholas Dunbar, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Curling, who were appointed and directed to be of Council in the order named, and in case they were at any time equally divided in opinion the Governor was to have the casting or determining vote. 51: The Court took the opportunity of sending this letter by the King's ship *Falkland*, on which it proposed Mr Dunbar should have taken his passage, but as it was not possible for him to get ready for that ship in time, he would proceed in the *Delaware* [...]. **Interpretations** The enlargement of the Council from three members to four, with a servant raised from the civil list and given a casting vote reserved to the Governor, reveals the Company adjusting the balance of its island government in the wake of the dismissals, since a body of only three could be paralysed or dominated too easily, and the addition of a fourth voice with the Governor holding the deciding vote shows a deliberate strengthening of the president's hand after the very quarrel that had cost the Lieutenant Governor his place. The listing of the Council in a fixed order of succession, with each man's precedence set down and the Lieutenant Governor named to act as provisional governor should Hutchinson die or be absent, reveals how the Company guarded the continuity of authority in a remote settlement, since the death or departure of a governor could leave a dangerous vacancy at any moment, and by fixing in advance who should step into the command the Court ensured that the island would never be left without a clear head, most of all in a time of war.

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89	85	which will soon be ready for her dispatches. 52 It being highly improper, as well as dangerous in this time of War in particular, that any Draughts or Plans, of the Fortifications, and Works, should be suffered to be brought away, from the Island, you are to make the strictest Enquiry, whether Mr Adamson, Lieut Kirkpatrick, or Richards, have any still remaining in their Custody, and you are to detain all such you may find, giving us particular Description of them, in your next Letter, We are Your Loving Friends Lau Sulivan Christr Burrow N Newnham Junr Henry Plant James Creed John Manship John Boyd John Raymond Thos Phipps Chas Cutts Thomas Rous Henry Savage George Dudley G Rooke John Dorrien J Brown G Stevens John Harrison Timothy Tullie Fredk Pigou Henry Crabb Boulton London 23 January 1759	The *Delaware* would soon be ready for her dispatches. 52: Since it was highly improper, as well as dangerous in that time of war in particular, that any draughts or plans of the fortifications and works should be allowed to be carried away from the island, the island was to make the strictest enquiry whether Mr Adamson, Lieutenant Kirkpatrick or Richards had any still remaining in their custody, and it was to seize all such it could find, giving the Court a particular description of them in its next letter. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 23 January 1759, and signed by Lacy Sulivan, Christopher Burrow, N. Newnham junior, Henry Plant, James Creed, John Manship, John Boyd, John Raymond, Thomas Phipps, Charles Cutts, Thomas Rous, Henry Savage, George Dudley, George Rooke, John Dorrien, J. Brown, G. Stevens, John Harrison, Timothy Tullie, Frederick Pigou and Henry Crabb Boulton.
90	86	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 We writ to you by his Majestys Ship the Falkland, under date of the 23 January last, the Duplicate whereof we now send by the Delaway. 2 In that Letter, you were informed We had appointed Nicholas Dunbar Esqr to be Lieutenant Governor of our Island St Helena, in the Room of Mr Adamson dismissed from the Company Service, We are now to acquaint you, that Mr Dunbar having a Commission in his Majestys Service, & upon his Application could not obtain leave to give it up, he has been under the necessity of resigning the beforementioned Station of Lieutenant Governor, of St Helena, and We do accordingly hereby revoke, and make void our said appointment. 3 In order to fill up the Vacancy occasioned by the dismission of Mr Adamson, and Resignation of Mr Dunbar as beforementioned, We have chosen and do hereby constitute, and appoint, John Skottowe Esqr to be Lieutenant Governor, of the Companys Island St Helena, also second in Council, and Overseer of the Plantations, with the same appointments as were enjoyed by the late Mr Hunter,	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the appointment of a new Lieutenant Governor. 1: The Court had written to the island by the King's ship *Falkland* under date of 23 January last, a duplicate of which it now sent by the *Delaware*. 2: In that letter the island had been told the Court appointed Nicholas Dunbar to be Lieutenant Governor of the island of St Helena in the room of Mr Adamson, dismissed the Company's service, but the Court now reported that Mr Dunbar, holding a commission in the King's service and unable on application to get leave to give it up, had been obliged to resign the post of Lieutenant Governor of St Helena, so the Court accordingly revoked and made void the appointment. 3: To fill the vacancy caused by the dismissal of Mr Adamson and the resignation of Mr Dunbar, the Court had chosen and appointed John Skottowe to be Lieutenant Governor of the Company's island of St Helena, also second in Council and overseer of the plantations, with the same appointments the late Mr Hunter and Mr Adamson had enjoyed, namely for salary £250 0s 0d and diet money £100 0s 0d a year, both to commence on his arrival, and he was to be accommodated with regard to his appointments, both in the house in the valley and the rooms at Longwood, in all respects the same as Mr Hunter and Mr Adamson had, and to have the use of some of the Court's slaves in the same manner as those two gentlemen were allowed. 4: In case of the death or absence of Charles Hutchinson, [...]. **Interpretations** The collapse of Dunbar's appointment because he could not obtain release from his royal

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		and Mr Adamson, vizt, for Salary two hundred and fifty Pounds and diet money one hundred pounds a Year, both to commence upon his arrival, he is to be accommodated with regard to his appointments, both in the House in the Valley, and the Rooms in the Longwood, in all respects the same as Mr Hunter, and Mr Adamson were, and to have the use of some of our Slaves in the same manner as those two Gentlemen were indulged. 4 In Case of the death or Absence of Charles Hutchinson Esqr our	commission reveals the competing pull of Crown and Company service on the same men in wartime, since an officer holding the King's commission was not free to take up a Company post at will, and the war that made the Company so dependent on the state also bound the very men it wished to employ to a military service that would not let them go.
91	87	our said Lieutenant Governor, John Skottowe is to succeed as provisional Governor, until our further pleasure is known. 5 Charles Hutchinson Esqr as Governor, and Chief in Council is to Act and manage all the Companys affairs, by and with the advice and concurrence of the Deputy Governor John Skottowe Esqr, Lieut John Clark and Mr Matthew Curling, mentioned in our Letter of the 23 January, who are hereby appointed, and directed to be of Council in the order they are named, and in Case they shall at any time be equally divided in opinion, Our Governor is to have the Casting or determining Vote. 6 Our said Lieutenant Governor Mr Skottowe, takes his passage on this Ship the Delaware, by which Ship we now send a Commission under the Seal of the Company, constituting the Governor and Council in the manner We have mentioned. 7 The Delawar being greatly lumbered, it has taken more time than We apprehend to clear her of some bulky articles, to enable her to take in the Beef and Pork intended for your Island, and We are even now uncertain whether the whole Quantity intended, can be recieded on board, but as We are unwilling to defer signing her dispatches any longer, Our Secretary will write to you if any thing occurs on this Head necessary for your Information 8 It is very difficult to find Room in our Ships for the Provisions and Stores necessary for the supply of your Island, as you will observe, particulary the Case this Season, We therefore recommend it to you, to apply to the Commanders of all our homeward bound Shipping, to supply you with any kind of Provisions, and Stores they can spare, especialy Beef and Pork, and you are to adjust the Prices with the Commanders, at the most equitable and Reasonable Rates We are Your Loving Friends Lau Sulivan	The Lieutenant Governor John Skottowe was to succeed as provisional governor until the Court's further pleasure was known. 5: Charles Hutchinson, as Governor and president in Council, was to act in and manage all the Company's affairs by and with the advice and concurrence of the Deputy Governor John Skottowe, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Curling, mentioned in the Court's letter of 23 January, who were appointed and directed to be of Council in the order named, and in case they were at any time equally divided in opinion the Governor was to have the casting or determining vote. 6: The Lieutenant Governor Mr Skottowe took his passage on this ship the *Delaware*, by which the Court now sent a commission under the seal of the Company constituting the Governor and Council in the manner mentioned. 7: The *Delaware* being greatly lumbered, it took more time than the Court supposed to clear her of some bulky articles, to enable her to take in the beef and pork meant for the island, so the Court was now uncertain whether the whole quantity intended could be received on board, but as it was unwilling to defer signing her dispatches any longer, its secretary would write to the island if anything occurred on the matter necessary for its information. 8: It was very difficult to find room in the Court's ships for the provisions and stores needed for the supply of the island, as the island would see was particularly the case that season, so the Court recommended it apply to the commanders of all its homeward-bound shipping to supply the island with any kind of provisions and stores they could spare, especially beef and pork, and the island was to adjust the prices with the commanders at the most fair and reasonable rates. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 13 February 1759, and signed by Lacy Sulivan, Christopher [...]. **Interpretations** The difficulty of finding room in the outward ships for the island's provisions, driving the Court to send the settlement to buy beef and pork from the homeward fleet instead, reveals how the pressure of wartime lading forced a reversal of the normal supply, since ships crammed with stores and troops for India had no space for St Helena's own needs, and the island was reduced to drawing its provisions from vessels already homeward bound, buying back at sea what the outward passage could not carry.

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		Christo London 13 February 1759	
92	88	account of his proceedings, in this search, with particulars of all the Goods found and delivered to you and at Fort Marlborough, as aforesaid, but for your better information, We enclose a Copy of our Secretarys Letter. 4 We would have you give Captain Larkins all the Assistance in your Power, in making of a discovery of any Illicit Goods, and what shall be discovered, and received by you, must be disposed of, or Expended on the Companys Account, as Forfeited Goods, and you are to give us a full, true, and an See vizt exact account, of the Quantity, Mark, Number and Value of every Article, together, with such other Particulars which may be necessary for our Information, We are Your Loving Friends Lau Sulivan Thomas Rous Christo Burrow Henry Plant Thos Phipps Chas Cutts John Dorrien John Raymond Henry Savage Geo Dudley G Stevens G Rooke John Manship Fredk Pigou Timothy Tullie Hen Hadley Henry Crabb Boulton John Harrison London 23 March 1759	Larkins was to enter an exact and true account of his proceedings in the search, with particulars of all the goods found and delivered to the island and at Fort Marlborough, and for the island's better information the Court enclosed a copy of the secretary's letter. 4: The island was to give Captain Larkins every assistance in its power in discovering any illicit goods, and whatever was found and received by the island was to be disposed of, or expended on the Company's account, as forfeited goods, and the island was to give the Court a full, true and exact account of the quantity, mark, number and value of every article, together with such other particulars as might be necessary for the Court's information. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 23 March 1759, and signed by Lacy Sulivan, Thomas Rous, Christopher Burrow, Henry Plant, Thomas Phipps, Charles Cutts, John Dorrien, John Raymond, Henry Savage, George Dudley, G. Stevens, George Rooke, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, Timothy Tullie, Henry Hadley, Henry Crabb Boulton and John Harrison. **Interpretations** The direction to treat the seized goods as forfeited and account for every article by mark, number and value reveals the legal machinery by which the Company turned a captain's smuggling to its own benefit, since goods carried in breach of its monopoly were liable to confiscation, and the careful itemising of each forfeited article shows the settlement made the instrument through which the penalty was realised, the island both seizing the contraband and rendering the exact record on which the Company's claim to it depended.
93	89	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 In our Letters of the 13 of last Month, We acquainted you that the Delaway was so greatly lumbered that We were uncertain whether she would able to take in the Beef, and Pork intended for your Island, We have since found that this was owing to a great Quantity of Goods, being carried on board in private Trade, without our Licence, and upon rummaging, and unloading the Ship, the same has been discovered, Seized and taken out on the Companys account, and has thereby given us the opportunity of loading the whole Cargo, we intended except a few Deals Slaves, and other particulars of little Consequence 2 The said unlicensed Goods appearing to be the Property of Captain James Quallett, We have found it necessary, in order to shew a just and Proper Resentment, against him, and to deter others of	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the *Delaware* and her cargo. 1: In its letter of the 13th of last month the Court had told the island that the *Delaware* was so greatly lumbered that it was uncertain whether she could take in the beef and pork meant for the island, and it had since found this was owing to a great quantity of goods carried aboard in private trade without its licence, which on rummaging and unloading the ship had been discovered, seized and taken out on the Company's account, and had thereby given it the opportunity of loading the whole cargo intended, except four deals, slabs and other particulars of little consequence. 2: The unlicensed goods appearing to be the property of Captain James Quallett, the Court found it necessary, to show a just and proper resentment against him and to deter others from being guilty of such practices in future, to dismiss him from the command of the ship *Delaware*, and it had appointed Captain William Larkins to succeed him, who now accordingly proceeded the voyage as commander. 3: Since it was supposed some unlicensed goods might still remain aboard, the Court's secretary had, by its direction, told Captain Larkins that it was the Court's positive and express order that, when he was delivering the Company's cargoes consigned to St Helena and Fort Marlborough, he be very careful and attentive to discover any illicit goods that might

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		being guilty of such Practices, in future, to dismiss him from the Command of the Ship Delaway, and We have appointed Captain William Larkins to succeed him, who now accordingly proceeds the Voyage as Commander. 3 As it is apprehended there may still remain on board some unlicensed Goods, our Secretary has Signified by our directions to Captain Larkins, that it is our positive, and express Orders, when he is Delivering the Companys Cargos consigned to St Helena, and Fort Marlborough, to be very carefull, and attentive to, discover any illicit Goods, that may be concealed in the Delaway, and if he finds any other belonging to the said late Commander, Captain Quallet, or any other Person, or Persons whatsoever, to deliver the same to you, or the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough at which soever place the same is discovered, and he is to Enter upon his Journals, an exact and true	be concealed in the *Delaware*, and if the goods of the late commander Captain Quallett, or of any other person whatever, were delivered to the island or to the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough at whatever place they were discovered, he was to enter on his journals an exact and true [...].
94	90	account of his proceedings, in this search, with particulars of all the Goods found and delivered to you and at Fort Marlborough, as aforesaid, but for your better information, We enclose a Copy of our Secretarys Letter. 4 We would have you give Captain Larkins all the Assistance in your Power, in making of a discovery of any Illicit Goods, and what shall be discovered, and received by you, must be disposed of, or Expended on the Companys Account, as Forfeited Goods, and you are to give us a full, true, and an See vizt exact account, of the Quantity, Mark, Number and Value of every Article, together, with such other Particulars which may be necessary for our Information, We are Your Loving Friends Lau Sulivan Thomas Rous Christo Burrow Henry Plant Thos Phipps Chas Cutts John Dorrien John Raymond Henry Savage Geo Dudley G Stevens G Rooke John Manship Fredk Pigou Timothy Tullie Hen Hadley Henry Crabb Boulton John Harrison London 23 March 1759	Larkins was to enter an exact and true account of his proceedings in the search, with particulars of all the goods found and delivered to the island and at Fort Marlborough, and for the island's better information the Court enclosed a copy of the secretary's letter. 4: The island was to give Captain Larkins every assistance in its power in discovering any illicit goods, and whatever was found and received by the island was to be disposed of, or expended on the Company's account, as forfeited goods, and the island was to give the Court a full, true and exact account of the quantity, mark, number and value of every article, together with such other particulars as might be necessary for the Court's information. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 23 March 1759, and signed by Lacy Sulivan, Thomas Rous, Christopher Burrow, Henry Plant, Thomas Phipps, Charles Cutts, John Dorrien, John Raymond, Henry Savage, George Dudley, G. Stevens, George Rooke, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, Timothy Tullie, Henry Hadley, Henry Crabb Boulton and John Harrison.
95	91	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 By the safe arrival with you of our Ships the Earl	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the year's correspondence and the guarding of the island. 1: By the safe arrival at the island of the Court's ships the *Earl of Holderness* and *Delaware*, the Court's

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		of Holderness and Delaway, Our several Letters of last season were duly received, except the duplicates of them, which were, sent on his Majestys Ship the Falkland Captain Drake, who making the Island the 13 May last, fell in with, three French Cruisers about 16 Leagues distant from it, and was chased by them from thence after exchanging some Shot with the largest, and Captain Drake apprehensive for the safety of the Kings Ships, against such superior Force, as well as doubtfull, whether the Island might not be in the Enemys possession bore away from thence the 16 of May and arrived at Portsmouth this 2 August last, when he returned to us the abovementioned Duplicates 2 Your Letters of the 23 March 15 July 8 and 19 August and 11 September last, having several reached us with a Seperate one from the Governor, lately the said 15 July the requisit remarks thereon with the proper Informations for your observance will be given in the Course of this Letter by the Triton. 3 We have for the present year appointed Peter Godfrey Esqr, Chairman of the Court of Directors John Boyd Esqr Deputy Chairman, Henry Crabb Boulton and Charles Cutts Esqr Our Secret Committee, you are to obey the Orders and Instructions that these Gentlemen or any three of them, shall think necessary to give for the Security and preservation of our Shipping and Estate which has lately been so particulary, yet ineffectualy threatned in your quarter 4 This leads us to inform you, that the three Common Ships which Cruized to Windward to the Island from the 5 March to the 25 of May following, were the Achilles of 64 Guns the Syren of 32 Guns and	several letters of the previous season had been duly received, except the duplicates of them, which were sent on the King's ship *Falkland*, Captain Drake, who, on making the island on 13 May last, fell in with three French cruisers about 15 leagues distant from it and was chased by them from there, after exchanging some shot with the largest, and since Captain Drake was worried for the safety of the King's ships against such a superior force, as well as doubtful whether the island might not be in the enemy's possession, he bore away on 16 May and arrived at Portsmouth on 2 August last, when he returned to the Court the duplicates above. 2: The island's letters of 23 March, 15 July, 8 and 19 August and 11 September last had reached the Court, with a separate one from the Governor dated 15 July, and the requisitions accompanying them, with the proper information for the island's observance, would be answered in the course of this letter by the *Triton*. 3: The Court had for the present appointed Peter Godfrey, chairman of the Court of Directors, John Boyd, deputy chairman, Henry Crabb Boulton and Charles Cutts its Secret Committee, and the island was to obey the orders and instructions those gentlemen, or any three of them, thought necessary to give for the security and preservation of the Court's shipping and island, which had lately been so particularly, yet ineffectually, threatened in the island's quarter. 4: This led the Court to tell the island that the three French ships which cruised to windward of the island from 5 March to 25 May following were the *Achilles* of 64 guns, the *Syren* of 32 guns and [...]. **Interpretations** The appearance of three French cruisers off St Helena, chasing away a King's ship and leaving her captain uncertain whether the island itself had fallen, reveals how real the threat to the settlement had become by 1759, since the enemy was now operating a squadron directly on the sea road the island commanded, and the fear that St Helena might already be in French hands shows the war had reached the point where the Company's mid-ocean station could no longer be assumed safe from the reach of the French navy. The prolonged cruising of a French squadron to windward of the island for nearly three months exposes the peculiar vulnerability of St Helena's position, since a hostile force stationed to windward held the weather gage over every ship approaching or leaving the anchorage, and by lying in wait on the approach the French could intercept the homeward Indiamen at the very point where they gathered, turning the island's value as a rendezvous into a danger that the enemy could exploit against the trade it existed to protect.
96	92	and Zephyr of 30 Guns, they arrived from Brest at the Cape of Good Hope, the 17 January, and sailed thence for their station the 19 February last Our four early China Ships, the Prince Henry Hawke, Osterly, and Tavistock, & us and were chased by them from the 4 to the 6 of May when by bearing away in the night they happily Escaped, The Boscawen and Fox on the 15 of the same Month also fell in with them and the next day as fortunatly got Clear, these Ships put for the Bay of all Saints where the former arrived the 24 May, and the two latter the 6 June, and the 19	The third French ship was the *Zephyr* of 30 guns, and they arrived from Brest at the Cape of Good Hope on 17 January and sailed from there for their station on 19 February last. The Court's four early China ships, the *Prince Henry*, *Hawke*, *Osterly* and *Tavistock*, were chased by them from the 4th to the 6th of May, when by bearing away in the night they happily escaped, and the *Boscawen* and *Fox* on the 15th of the same month also fell in with them and the next day as fortunately got clear, these ships putting for the Bay of All Saints, where the former arrived on 24 May and the two latter on 6 June, and on the 19th following, to the Court's misfortune, the enemy's three ships came in there also, seeming intent on not quitting their view while the Court's six ships lay in the bay. In this unfavourable situation Mr George Best, the fourth mate of the *Prince Henry*, with five hands, was dispatched in that ship's

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		following to Our Misfortune Came in there also the Enemys above three Ships, who seem intent in not quitting their Views on our Six Ships in the Bay, under this unfavourably Situation, Mr George Best the Fourth Mate of the Prince Henry with Five hands, was dispatched in that Ships Longboat, the 25 July, to give us an Account of it, The Crew having undergone great Hardships, left and sunk the Boat, and were received on board a New York Sloop about 130 Leagues to the Westward of Cape Clear, that Sloop arrived at Belfast the 7 October, with Mr Best with his advices here the 15 immediatly whereupon the proper Measures were pursued for extricating our Ships from the danger with which they are at Present threatned. 5 The Longboat you fitted out under Mr Richard Bodeys command, for cruizing to windward and giving Notice to our returning Ships of the Hazard they were exposed to, fell into the Enemys Hands the 16 April, and it is to be observed that though the end was not answered with the proposed success, yet the one as very highly commendably, and prudent, The French commodore had exchanged the Prisoners except Mr Bendy, and a Private man, against others whom Captain Hume had received on board the Fox at Bengal.	longboat on 5 July to give the Court an account of it, and the crew, having undergone great hardships, left and sank the boat and were received aboard a New York sloop about 130 leagues to the westward of Cape Clear, which sloop arrived at Belfast on 7 October, and Mr Best with his advices reached the Court on the 15th, immediately whereupon the proper measures were taken for extricating the Court's ships from the danger they were then threatened with. 5: The longboat the island fitted out under Mr Richard Bodey's command, for cruising to windward and giving notice to the Court's returning ships of the hazard they were exposed to, fell into the enemy's hands on 16 April, and though the aim was not answered with the proposed success, yet the plan was highly commendable and prudent, the French commodore having exchanged the prisoners except Mr Bendy and a private man, against others whom Captain Hume had received aboard the *Fox* at Bengal. **Interpretations** The desperate voyage of the fourth mate Best and five men in an open longboat across the South Atlantic, sinking their own boat and being picked up by a passing sloop off the coast of Ireland, reveals the extraordinary lengths to which the trapped ships resorted to get word home, since six Indiamen penned in a Brazilian bay by a waiting French squadron could do nothing for themselves, and only by sending a handful of men on a hazardous open-boat passage could they bring London the intelligence needed to send relief, the survival of the messengers a matter of pure chance. The island's own attempt to fit out a longboat to warn its returning ships, ending in that boat's capture, exposes the limits of what a small settlement could do to protect the trade passing its shores, since the enemy squadron that made the warning necessary was also strong enough to take the very craft sent to give it, and the Court's praise for the prudent though failed effort marks the island straining beyond its slender means against a naval threat it had no real force to counter. The Bay of All Saints was the great bay on the coast of Brazil on which the port of Bahia stood, a Portuguese and so neutral harbour where the Company's ships could shelter and water, and it was into this refuge that the six Indiamen were pursued and then blockaded by the French squadron.
97	93	6 The Crews of these three French Ships, we are given to understand, were at the time of Leaving their Station extreamly sickly, in great want of Salt Provisions, and all necessaries, and were reduced to a Quart of Water a man p day, these difficulties with the Miscarriage of their enterprize will, We hope discourage their Repetition of it, It is necessary before We leave this subject to inform you they Visited, all Ships Dutch Danes, and Sweden which they met with, and obliged them on their Word of Honor under pretence of the Islands being blocked up, not to touch at it or give you any information or assistance. 7 It is material that you should be acquainted, that the Wars being Still carried on with great Vigour in all parts, and that it hath pleased God to bless his Majestys Arms with signal success, this has induced the Enemy	6: The crews of the three French ships, the Court was given to understand, were at the time of leaving their station extremely sickly, in great want of salt provisions and all necessaries, and reduced to a quart of water a man a day, difficulties that, together with the failure of their enterprise, the Court hoped would discourage its repetition. It was necessary, before the Court left the subject, to tell the island that the French visited all the ships, Dutch, Danes and Swedes, they met with and obliged them on their word of honour, on the excuse that the island was blockaded, not to touch at it or give the island any information or assistance. 7: It was material for the island to know that, the war being still carried on with great vigour in all parts, and it having pleased God to bless the King's arms with signal success, this had led the enemy to adopt a most desperate scheme, on which it was so bent, employing its utmost efforts as the only way to retrieve the reputation of its arms and the valuable acquisitions this nation had made from it, namely an immediate invasion of the King's kingdoms, so the great preparations for defeating the enemy's designs, as well as for annoying it in every accessible quarter, had found such full employment for the King's naval

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		to adopt a most desperate Scheme for the Execution of which they are bent on employing their utmost Efforts as the only method for retrieving the reputation of their Arms and the Valuable acquisitions made from them by this Nation, It is an Invasion of these his Majestys Kingdoms they meditate, the great preperations for defeating the Enemys designs as well, as to annoy them in every accessible Quarter, has found such full employ for his Majestys Naval and Land Forces, as to engage them almost wholly, on this National object, The Levies for the Kings Troops are so Numerous, and made with such diligence, and attention by every practicable method which can be suggested though great Numbers are Still wanted, that We apprehend the utmost difficulties in procuring recruits for our own Settlements, however you may be assured of our best endeavors to supply you with the number you have advised to be wanting. 8 Besides the French Ships for India, Which we gave you Notice of in our Letter of the 23 January, last about the 22 March following the undermentioned Ships belonging to the Company sailed from Brest & Leant for Pondicherry. Le	and land forces as to engage them almost wholly on this national object, and the levies for the King's troops were so numerous, and made with such diligence and attention by every practicable method, though great numbers were still wanted, that the Court foresaw the utmost difficulty in getting recruits for its own settlements, but the island might be assured of the Court's best endeavours to supply it with the number it had advised was wanting. 8: Besides the French ships for India, which the Court had told the island of in its letter of 23 January last, about 22 March following the ships named below, belonging to the Company, sailed from the port of Lorient for Pondicherry. **Interpretations** The French squadron's obliging of neutral Dutch, Danish and Swedish ships, on their word of honour, not to touch at St Helena on the false claim that it was blockaded, reveals a form of economic warfare waged through deception, since a single squadron could not truly seal off the island, but by extracting promises from every neutral it met the French sought to cut the settlement off from the supplies and news that neutral carriers might bring, turning the mere threat of blockade into an instrument of isolation. The Court's report of a threatened French invasion of Britain itself, drawing the King's whole naval and military strength to home defence, exposes the deepest consequence of the war for the island, since the very success of British arms had driven France to a desperate stroke at the heart of the enemy, and the concentration of forces to meet it meant fewer men could be spared for the distant settlements, so the danger at home directly thinned the recruits and protection that St Helena could expect to receive. Lorient, on the coast of Brittany, was the home port of the French East India Company, from which its ships fitted out and sailed for the East, and Pondicherry was the chief French settlement on the Coromandel Coast of India, the counterpart to the English Fort St George and the seat of the French power that Lally commanded.
98	94	Le Massac pierced for 74 Guns mounted 26 12 Le Duc de Charles 60 24 Compagnie Des Sestes 54 24 St Luc 24 18 the Duc de Charles was taken the 27 March by his Majestys Ship Windsor, her Cargo consisted of 60 Tons of Gunpowder, and other Stores, it does not appear that they had any Soldiers on board, but that the Crews of the three first amounted to about three hundred men each, and of the last to about 200, We are not apprized of any, or what Force they have since sent or intend for the East Indies this Season, but their present Circumstances give us room to hope, they will fall greatly Short in point of strength, and numbers, to their former armaments, and We Confide in your Active, and Resolute opposition of all attempts they may make against you 9 The Ships taken up for our Service this Season are Ships Tons Commanders Consigned to The Onslow 499 Thomas Hinde Coast and Bay Triton 499 Francis Harris St Helena & China Warwick 499 James Deware Caernarvon 499 Norton Hutchinson } Fort St George & China	*Le Massac*, pierced for 74 guns, mounting 26 guns, 12 [...] *Le Duc de Charles*, 60 guns, 24 guns *Compagnie des Indes*, 54 guns, 24 guns *St Louis*, 24 guns, 18 guns The *Duc de Charles* was taken on 27 March by the King's ship *Windsor*, her cargo consisting of 60 tons of gunpowder and other stores, and it did not appear that these ships had any soldiers aboard, but that the crews of the three first came to about 300 men each and the last to about 200, and the Court was not told of any force the French had since sent or meant for the East Indies that season, but their present circumstances gave it room to hope they would fall greatly short in strength and numbers of their former armaments, and it trusted to the island's active and resolute opposition of any attempts they might make against it. 9: The ships taken up for the Court's service that season were as follows. *Onslow*, 499 tons, Thomas Hinde, Coast and Bay *Triton*, 499 tons, Francis Harris, St Helena and China *Warwick*, 499 tons, James Dewsar, Fort St George and China *Carnarvon*, 499 tons, Norton Hutchinson, Fort St George and China *Princess Augusta*, 499 tons, Thomas Baddison, Fort St George and China *Norfolk*, 499 tons, Pinson Bonham, Fort St George and China

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		Princess Augusta 499 Thomas Baddison Norfolk 499 Pinson Bonham Duke of Richmond 499 Benjamin Godfrey } Bencoolen & China Royal Duke 499 Peter Bigou St Helena & Coast & Bay Latham 499 Lord Mansfield 499 Alexander McCleod Falmouth 499 James Dale } Coast and Bay Prince Edward 499 James Haldane	*Duke of Richmond*, 499 tons, Benjamin Godfrey, Bencoolen and China *Royal Duke*, 499 tons, Peter Pigou, St Helena, Coast and Bay *Latham*, 499 tons, [...] *Lord Mansfield*, 499 tons, Alexander McCleod, Coast and Bay *Falmouth*, 499 tons, James Dale, Coast and Bay *Prince Edward*, 499 tons, James Haldane, Coast and Bay **Interpretations** The capture of the *Duc de Charles* with sixty tons of gunpowder aboard reveals how the interception of a single enemy ship could strike directly at the French war effort in India, since gunpowder was the indispensable munition of both siege and battle, and a cargo of that size taken on the passage out was powder that would never reach Lally's army on the Coromandel Coast, the loss of one merchantman translating into a real weakening of the enemy's ability to press his campaign. The Court's careful reckoning that the French ships carried no soldiers, only their crews, reflects the central question on which the fate of India turned, namely whether the enemy was reinforcing his army or merely his trade, and the reassurance that these vessels brought goods rather than troops shows the Company reading each French sailing for its military weight, since a ship of powder and stores threatened the Indian war far less than one packed with the fresh regiments that could decide the contest ashore.
99	95	Ships Tons Commanders Consigned to 499 Peter Lascelles Lord Anson 499 Edward Lord Chich Neptune 499 John Purling } Bombay Sandwich 499 Andrew Quicks 10 We have also fitted out the Syren, now, burthen about 100 Tons, carrying 26 Men Captain Thomas Warner Commander, for the expeditious Conveyance of Early advices to Our Presidencies, on the performance whereof and arrival at Bombay, she is to be disposed of in such manner, as shall appear most for the Companys interest 11 Our Ship Admiral Watson is also preparing for the Sea, of whose destination you will hereafter be informed, in our subsequent Letters of this Season. 12 The Times of the Departure of the Ships, employed this, and the former season, and of the Arrival of such as have, or shall come in, will be imparted to you in Lists to accompany our Packets, whereto you are of course referred for the needfull information. 13 That your demands for Stores, and other Articles, this year, may be fully Complied with, We have Consigned to you the Triton, and Royal Duke, you are to be diligent, in discharging them within the stipulated time that they may prosecute their Voyages, as expeditiously as possible, the former, for Canton in China, and the Royall Duke, for the Coast and Bay and on their having delivered their Goods Consigned to you, the Commanders	[...], 499 tons, Peter Lascelles, Bombay *Lord Anson*, 499 tons, Edward Lord, Bombay *Neptune*, 499 tons, John Purling, Bombay *Sandwich*, 499 tons, Andrew Quicke, Bombay 10: The Court had also fitted out the *Syren*, now of about 400 tons burden, carrying 26 men, Captain Thomas Warner commander, for the speedy carriage of early advices to its presidencies, and on her performing this and arriving at Bombay she was to be sold in whatever manner appeared most for the Company's interest. 11: The Court's ship *Admiral Watson* was also preparing for the sea, of whose destination the island would afterwards be told in the Court's later letters that season. 12: The dates on which the ships employed that season and the previous one sailed, and on which such as had come or should come in arrived, would be sent to the island in lists to accompany the Court's packets, to which it was referred for the needful information. 13: So that the island's demands for stores and other articles that year might be fully met, the Court had consigned to it the *Triton* and *Royal Duke*, so the island was to be diligent in unloading them within the time fixed, that they might continue their voyages as expeditiously as possible, the former for Canton in China and the *Royal Duke* for the Coast and Bay, and on their having delivered the goods consigned to the island the commanders were to receive their sailing orders accordingly, and the Court hoped to dispatch the letter by the middle of January. 14: The island would see by the charter parties of the two ships above, made that season with the owners, that the Court had, at the time of the agreement, provided for adjusting and paying for damages and goods lost and undelivered, and that the amount of such damages and short deliveries was not to be paid to the Court's agents [...]. **Interpretations** The fitting out of yet another armed advice ship, the *Syren*, to carry early intelligence to the

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		are to receive your sailing Orders accordingly, We hope to dispatch the latter by the middle of January. 14 You will observe by the Charterpartys of the above two Ships, that We have come to a new agreement this season, with the Owners, for the Adjustment of and Payment for damages and Goods lost and undelivered, and that the amount of such damages, and Short deliveries, are not to be paid to our Agents	presidencies before being sold on arrival, confirms how central the speed of communication had become to the Company's conduct of the war, since the settlements in India could act on news of enemy movements only if it reached them ahead of the enemy himself, and the Company was willing to build and man fast vessels for a single urgent passage and then dispose of them, treating rapid dispatch as worth the cost of a ship. The Court's provision in the charter parties for adjusting damages and short deliveries in advance reveals how the Company protected itself against the losses of a long and dangerous voyage through the terms of the contract itself, since goods spoiled or missing on arrival were an inevitable feature of the trade, and by fixing at the outset how such losses would be valued and settled the Company built the remedy into the agreement rather than leaving it to dispute after the damage was done.
100	96	Agents abroad, but by the Owners in London on demand, upon our Producing a True Account of the adjustment thereof, by those, to whom the Goods were consigned, although the Ship may be lost or not return hither, And it is further agreed, that the owners shall not be Charged with any Sum for Goods damaged, but such as shall by the Condition, and appearance of the Package, or by some other Reasonable Proof appear to be Ships Damage 15 You are accordingly in adjusting the Accounts, of Damage and Short Delivery, which the Consignments to St Helena may be subject to, to be particulanly carefull in describing every Circumstance for our Information, as well as the Owners satisfaction, by paying a strict regard to the Letter and meaning of the Clause on Charty Party on this point, and the owners being accountable to us whether the Ship returns in safety or not, You are besides the Account which is always to be sent by the Ship Concerned, to forward two others by the next seperate Conveyances, drawn out at the time in like manner, the and framed by the same Persons, as the first, that they may to all intents and purposes be considered as originals 16 There is also another new Clause added, whereby We engage to pay the Owners for the Passage of such Persons, who shall be ordered on board the Ships by the Companys Agents, at any of their Settlements, estimating the foreign Currency at the rate allowed in Exchange to the Companys Covenanted Servants, Wherefore on the Shipping of each such Passenger by your Order, or before the Ships departure from St Helena, You are to pay the Commander, Five Pounds a Head, observing that no allowance is to be made for such seaman, or other Persons, who by Virtue of agreement in Charter party shall be put on board to make up the Ships Complement	The amount of such damages and short deliveries was not to be paid to the Court's agents abroad, but by the owners in London on demand, on the Court producing a true account of the adjustment by those to whom the goods were consigned, even though the ship might be lost or not return home, and it was further agreed that the owners were not to be charged with any sum for goods damaged, but only such as by the condition and appearance of the package, or by some other reasonable proof, appeared to be ship's damage. 15: The island was accordingly, in adjusting the accounts of damage and short delivery to which the consignments to St Helena might be subject, to be particularly careful in describing every circumstance, both for the Court's information and the owners satisfaction, paying strict regard to the letter and meaning of the clause in the charter party on the point, the owners being answerable to the Court whether the ship returned home safely or not, and the island was besides the account, always to be sent by the ship concerned, to forward two others by the next separate ships, drawn out at the time in like manner, and framed by the same persons as the first, so that they might to all intents and purposes be considered as originals. 16: There was also another new clause added, by which the Court engaged to pay the owners for the passage of any persons ordered aboard the ships by the Company's agents at any of its settlements, valuing the foreign currency at the rate allowed in exchange to the Company's covenanted servants, so on the shipping of each such passenger by the island's order, or before the ships left St Helena, the island was to pay the commanders £5 0s 0d each, observing that no allowance was to be made for any seaman or other persons who by virtue of an agreement in the charter party were to be put aboard to make up the ship's complement [...]. **Interpretations** The stipulation that damages be paid by the owners in London rather than by the Company's agents abroad, and even if the ship never returned, reveals a deliberate concentration of financial liability at the centre, since a loss settled at a distant settlement was hard for the Company to control or verify, and by fixing the point of payment in London against a true account the Company both kept the reckoning under its own eye and ensured that the owners bore the risk of their ship regardless of her ultimate fate. The requirement to send three separate copies of every damage account by different ships, each framed by the same persons to count as an original, exposes once more how the war's dependence on redundant communication reached into the

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			Company's accounting, since a single account lost with its ship would leave a claim unprovable, and by dispatching three originals through separate vessels the Company guarded the evidence of its claims against the very hazards of capture and wreck that made the damages necessary to record in the first place.
101	97	of Mercer for such Passengers whom it is also agreed shall be brought home to be made without any allowance, for the same. 17 The Owners of the Prison at their particular desire, have a Liberty by Charter party, to pay the Value of their damage or deficiencies, at the Port of delivery if demanded, therefore the Clause in that Ships Charter Party, in to which a Particular attention is to be had, must govern this Case. 18 The Owners of the Shipping employed in our Service complain, they have frequently been obliged to pay Wages to Persons who have been ordered on board as Passengers only under presence of their having assisted in Navigating the Ships, when it has appeared they have scarcely been engaged in any part of the Ships business, in order to prevent any demand of this kind in future; you are hereby directed, to cause each Passenger you order, or permit to proceed to England, on any of our Ships, to sign an Instrument before he embarks, that he will not demand any Wages for the Voyage Home; and you are to transmit the Instrument on the Packet of the same Ship, whereon the Passenger concerned proceeds. 19 The intelligence and advices with respect to our Shipping & Affairs in general communicated in your Letters, have been very full, and explicit, except in the omission in your Letter of the 8th of August, of the Passengers on board the four Ships which the Admiral Watson left at the Island, and those on that Ship, We shall however rely on your continuing to give us the most particular and early information, of all interesting occurrences 20 You will observe from the disposition of our Tonnage this Season that no Ship will be dispatched directly home from the West Coast for the future, the produce thereof being assigned for Carrying on our China Trade, which We mention that you may take the necessary measures for the Island being furnished by the way of Fort St George or Elsewhere with the Quantity of Slaves of the West Coast produce, which it may stand in need of. Our China Supra	Any such passengers were to be carried home free of charge, with no allowance made for the cost. 17: The owners of the *Prince of Orange*, at their own particular request, held a liberty under the charter party to be paid the value of any damage or shortfall at the port of delivery whenever they demanded it. The clause in that ship's charter party covered the point, and close attention to it had to settle the matter. 18: The owners of the shipping employed in the Company's service complained that they had often been forced to pay wages to men put aboard merely as passengers, who claimed to have helped work the ships when in fact they had done next to nothing of the sort. To stop such claims in future, the directors ordered that every passenger sent home, or allowed to travel to England on any Company ship, sign a document before boarding stating that no wages would be demanded for the voyage. That document was then to be forwarded in the packet of the ship on which the passenger sailed. 19: The reports and advice on shipping and other Company affairs in the council's letters had been full and clear, apart from one gap. The letter of 8 August said nothing of the passengers aboard the four ships that Admiral Watson had left at the island. On the council for that word the directors would rely for full and early notice of every matter of interest. 20: The disposal of tonnage that season showed that no ship would be sent straight home from the west coast in future, since its produce was needed to carry on the China trade. The directors raised the point so the island could take whatever steps it needed to be supplied by way of Fort St George, along with the quantity of west coast produce it might require. The China trade [...] **Interpretations** The clause on passenger wages set up a legal defence for the Company. Ship owners had been recovering wages by arguing that passengers had worked as crew, so the directors required each traveller to sign a waiver before embarking, closing off the claim in advance and shifting the burden of proof onto anyone who later sought payment. The instruction that the signed document travel in the ship's packet turned a private undertaking into a filed record the Company could produce against any subsequent demand. A charter party was the contract hiring a ship for a voyage, fixing freight, obligations and the port where accounts were settled. The reference here to paying damages or deficiencies at the port of delivery marks a term negotiated in the owners' favour, allowing them to claim at the point of arrival rather than await a later reckoning. The direction that west coast ships no longer sail directly home reflected the pull of the China trade on Company tonnage. West coast produce, principally pepper and other goods gathered along Sumatra, was being redirected to fund purchases in Canton, so the council was warned to look to Fort St George at Madras for its supplies instead of to vessels passing homeward. **Speculations** The directors chose to bind passengers by a signed waiver rather than simply refusing to carry them or ordering commanders to keep them off the

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			working of the ship. The record shows the obvious remedy, tighter control aboard, passed over in favour of a paper instrument lodged in advance, because the Company valued a document it could hold up in a wage dispute more than an order that depended on a commander's vigilance at sea.
102	98	Supra Cargoes will have the necessary Orders for supplying your demand from thence. 21 A standing Permission has been granted for supplying this Island with Boats, which may be really requisite for its use, from the returning Ships, and We take it for granted you will accordingly repair your loss of that, which was sent to cruize to windward, and taken by the French. 22 Notwithstanding the restriction in our Letter of the 15th October 1740, if upon the arrival of any of our returning Supra Cargoes with you, a Neutral Ship, or Ships, shall be at the Island, We have permitted one, or two, to proceed on such Ship, or Ships, to the Ports they are designed for, in Europe, and from thence make the best of their way hither, to give us an early account of their proceedings, that We may be timely enabled to form our Instructions and dispatches for the Ships of the following Season. 23 Our Intentions are by this Ship, and the Royal Duke, to put your storehouse in a condition to answer all exigencies, with this view, We have put on board them of Beef and Pork Two hundred and fifty Casks each, as several Ships may arrive with you next Season; but remember that which has been longest on hand, be first used, and for the same Reason, One hundred Casks of Flour more than you indented for, As you have been disappointed of the usual supplies of Arrack, by some of the homeward bound Ships not touching at the Island. We have ordered Sixteen hundred Gallons of French Prize Brandy, to be shipped on the Triton, and Royal Duke for your use. 24 That part of your Indent for Gunners and Garrison Stores We hope will be fully Completed with, having given the necessary	The ships carrying China cargoes would have the orders needed to meet the island's demand from there. 21: A standing permission had been granted to supply the island with boats from the returning ships, whenever such boats were really needed. The directors took it for granted that the council would replace, on this footing, the boat lost when it was sent to windward and taken by the French. 22: The restriction in the directors' letter of 15 October 1740 was set aside in one case. If a neutral ship or ships lay at the island when any of the returning supercargoes arrived, the directors allowed one or two to sail on such a ship to their intended ports in Europe. From there those men were to make the best of their way to England and give an early account of their proceedings, so that the directors could frame their instructions and dispatches for the ships of the following season in good time. 23: By this ship and the *Royal Duke* the directors meant to put the storehouse in a state to meet every need. To that end they had loaded two hundred and forty cowbeef and fifty casks each, since several ships might reach the island the next season, but the council was to use first whatever had lain longest in store. For the same reason a hundred casks of flour more than the council had asked for were sent, the island having been disappointed of its usual supplies of arrack because some of the homeward bound ships had not called there. The directors had ordered sixteen hundred gallons of French prize brandy to be shipped on the *Prince of Orange* and the *Royal Duke* for the council's use. 24: The part of the council's requisition for gunners and garrison stores the directors expected to be fully met, the necessary [...] **Interpretations** The standing permission to take boats from returning ships shows how the island depended on passing Company traffic for basic equipment it could not readily make or buy for itself. The lost boat had been sent to windward, exposing it to French capture during the war, and its replacement was drawn not through purchase but through a running entitlement against homeward vessels, a supply mechanism that spared the island cash but tied its provisioning to the sailing schedule of the fleet. The concession over neutral shipping turned the wartime presence of neutral vessels into a courier service. By allowing supercargoes to sail home aboard neutral ships bound for European ports, the directors bought speed at a moment when French privateers made the direct passage dangerous, accepting that men would reach England by a roundabout route in exchange for the early intelligence on which the next season's dispatches depended. The instruction to use oldest stock first addressed a real hazard of a remote victualling depot, where salt beef and flour held in quantity against the arrival of several ships could spoil before it was drawn. Sending a hundred casks of flour above the requisition compensated for the arrack the island had missed when homeward ships failed to call, showing the directors adjusting supply from London to gaps the council itself had not been able to prevent. Arrack was a spirit distilled in the East, commonly from palm sap or fermented rice and

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			sugar, and shipped through the Company's Indian trade. It served both as a ration and as a trade good at St Helena, so a shortfall in it left the garrison without a customary supply and had to be made good from other stores.
103	99	necessary directions to that end, excepting for the Platform Beds for the Howitzers, these are never used in his Majesty's Service, the Howitzers being always fired from its Carriage 25 We have likewise ordered the Provisions of the other Articles nearly agreeable to your Indent, the Invoices and Bills of Lading in the respective Packets of the two Ships, will afford you a more particular account of the whole consignment to you. 26 The Timber and Plank, for the Construction of a new draw Bridge, with some Deals, that were returned from the Ship Delaware, are now directed to be sent you on the Triton 27 The small Arms intended for our several Settlements, are ordered to have the Companys mark engraved on the Barrels, Locks, and Bayonets, and the pieces to be numbered in future 28 Although you had before given us reason to expect you might have spared some Gun-powder for the Service of Fort Marlborough, Yet as you assure us, under the 8th August that you had not more than would Compleat the Garrison with the usual necessary round s, which the 11th April last We finds to be upwards of Six hundred and Seventy Barrels, We cannot but agree in your forbearing to have sent any thither 29 For the same Reasons we were intimated last year, four Chests of Claret will be sent in equal Proportions, by the Triton and Royal Duke; and the recommendations then given, are urged to your observance in respect this Quantity the 30 All Goods leable to become of no Value by decay or damage, should be put up to publick Sale, for the most they will yield, a strict survey being previously made; and you thoroughly satisfied by a faithfull report thereof, that they are in a perishable Condition, if such should really be the Case	The directors had given the necessary orders for the gunners and garrison stores, except for the platform beds for the howitzers, which were never used in His Majesty's service, since those howitzers were always fired from their carriages. 25: The directors had also ordered the supply of the other articles, nearly in line with the council's requisition. The invoices and bills of lading in the respective packets of the two ships would give the council a fuller account of the whole consignment. 26: The timber and plank for building a new drawbridge, along with some deals returned from the *Delaware*, were now directed to be sent to the council on the *Prince of Orange*. 27: The small arms meant for the Company's several settlements were ordered to carry the Company's mark engraved on the barrels, locks and bayonets, and the pieces to be numbered in future. 28: The council had earlier given the directors reason to expect that some gunpowder might be spared for the service of Fort Marlborough. Under the letter of 8 August the council had assured the directors it held no more than would complete the garrison with its usual necessary round, which by 11 April stood at upwards of six hundred and twenty barrels. The directors could only agree that the council had done right in sending none there. 29: For the same reasons made known the year before, four chests of claret were to be sent in equal proportions by the *Prince of Orange* and the *Royal Duke*, and the recommendations then given were urged on the council once more in respect of this quantity. 30: All goods liable to lose their value through decay or damage were to be put up to public sale, for the most they would fetch, a strict survey being first made. The council was to satisfy itself thoroughly by a faithful report on the goods that they were in a perishable condition, if that should really be the case. **Interpretations** The order to engrave the Company's mark on the barrels, locks and bayonets of settlement small arms and to number every piece was a measure of inventory control and theft prevention. Marked and numbered weapons could be traced to a particular settlement and identified if stolen or sold on, tightening the Company's grip on the movement of arms across its scattered posts at a time when powder and shot were valuable and readily diverted. The exchange over gunpowder shows the Company balancing the needs of two distant stations against each other. Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra depended on Bengal and passing shipping for military stores, and the directors had hoped St Helena could spare some. The council's return of upwards of six hundred and twenty barrels as the garrison's necessary establishment, reported as at 11 April, was accepted as reason enough to keep the whole stock on the island, showing London deferring to the man on the spot on a question of local defence. The instruction on perishable goods set out a formal procedure to protect the Company against loss and against fraud by its own servants. Goods that might decay were to be sold publicly for the best price, but only after a survey and a faithful report certifying that they were genuinely perishable, a safeguard that stopped officials selling off sound stock cheaply under cover of spoilage and pocketing the difference.

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			Deals were sawn softwood boards, and the reference to some returned from the *Delaware* shows building timber being moved between ships and settlements rather than wasted. Sent on with the timber and plank for a new drawbridge, they formed part of the material for the island's fortifications and works, which depended almost wholly on wood shipped in from outside. **Speculations** The directors chose to have the council certify perishable goods by survey and faithful report before any public sale, rather than simply authorising sale of whatever the council judged to be decaying. The record shows the quicker course, leaving the decision to the council's own judgement, passed over in favour of a documented survey, because the Company guarded against its servants declaring sound goods perishable to sell them off cheaply, and wanted a paper certificate it could test against any later suspicion of collusion.
104	100	Case of the Camblet mentioned in your Letter of the 16th of July, it is left to you to act accordingly. 31 The Prohibition of the Exportation of Corn, Flour and other Articles, being taken off in the last Session of Parliament, it will be needless for you to transmit us the like Certificates in respect to the Flour, now Consigned to You, which We have for two Years past directed to be sent 32 That you may furnish Our Cash with a Sum adequate to your real occasions only, We permit you to take one or two Chests of Treasure out of this Ship, but it is hoped one will be sufficient and that you will forbear taking even that, without a evident necessity, you are to give the Commander a Receipt for what shall be delivered, and to transmit the proper advices to our Council in China 33 For the Reasons given in the 21st Paragraph of your Letter of the 8th of August We admit for the Present of the Continuance to the Civil, and Military Officers of the Indulgency you last year granted them, in receiving Beef and Pork from our stores at two shillings a Piece, being the same Rate whereat it is delivered to the Soldiers, provided it be made appear to you, that what is Issued shall be for their own use, only, and depending on your Care, that the Loss which shall thereby be occasioned, may be fully repaired by the gain which you describe arises on the Article of Flour. 34 We are uneasy at understanding from your Letter of the 8th of August, that the Country and Cattle for want of Rain were not in that Condition your preceding advices had represented them, it is to be hoped a more favourably Season ensued whereby the Plantations and Pastures recovered their former flourishing Situation	In the case of the camlet mentioned in the council's letter of 15 July, the matter was left to the council to act as it saw fit. 31: The ban on exporting corn, flour and other articles had been lifted in the last term of Parliament. It would therefore be needless for the council to send over the usual certificates for the flour now consigned to it, which the directors had for two years past ordered to be dispatched. 32: So that the council could keep the Company's cash at a level suited to its real needs alone, the directors allowed one or two chests of treasure to be taken out of this ship, though they hoped one would be enough. The council was to refrain from taking even that without clear necessity. For whatever was delivered, a receipt was to be given to the commander and the proper advice sent to the Company's council in China. 33: For the reasons given in the twenty-first paragraph of the council's letter of 8 August, the directors allowed for the present the continuance of the indulgence granted the year before to the civil and military officers. Those officers received beef and pork from the Company's stores at two shillings a piece, the same rate at which it was delivered to the soldiers. This held only so long as it was shown that what was issued went to their own use, and rested on the council's care that any loss so caused was fully made good by the gain the council described on the article of flour. 34: The directors were uneasy to learn from the council's letter of 8 August that the country and cattle had suffered for want of rain, since the council's earlier advice had given no sign of it. They hoped a more favourable season had since set in, so that the plantations and pastures had recovered their former flourishing [...] **Interpretations** The lifting of the corn and flour export ban removed a piece of routine paperwork that had bound the island's supply to wartime regulation. For two years the flour sent to St Helena had travelled with certificates required under the export prohibition, and with the prohibition gone the certificates lapsed, easing one administrative burden on a settlement that depended on shipped grain. The restriction on drawing treasure from the ship reflected the Company's concern to keep bullion moving toward its Asian trade rather than idle in a garrison chest. Silver shipped east bought the goods that made the Company's profit, so cash left at St Helena was cash withheld from Canton, and the directors pressed the council to take only what genuine need required and to account for every chest opened.

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			The arrangement on subsidised meat reveals the fine line the Company drew between a permitted perquisite and an abuse. Officers were allowed beef and pork at the soldiers' rate as an indulgence, but only for their own consumption and only while the council could show that the resulting loss was offset by a profit made on flour, an internal cross-subsidy that let the Company grant a benefit to its servants without bearing a net cost. Camlet was a fine cloth, originally of camel or goat hair and later of wool mixed with silk, traded through the eastern markets and valued for garments. Its mention alongside the corn regulations marks it as one of the varied commodities passing through the Company's hands, its disposal here left to the council's discretion. **Speculations** The directors allowed the officers to keep their cheap meat only on condition that the council prove the loss was recovered through a gain on flour, rather than either granting the perquisite outright or withdrawing it. The record shows both simpler courses passed over, because the Company wanted to reward its officers yet refused to carry the cost, and so tied the indulgence to a demonstrated internal profit that would leave its accounts whole.
105	101	Situation, the importance of the object to the Island, always induces us to share with you, in a Concern for the failure of the Seasons, though We are well assured of your promoting according to our repeated Recommendations as far as in you lays, the increase of Stock of all kinds, for the mutual benefit of all Concerned in furnishing the Shipping, which heavy recourse to you for refreshments. 35 The Two Soldiers Legatees and Executors, to John Burgan who formerly renounced their Title to any other of the Effects of the deceased than he should die possessed of on the Island, acknowledged that the General Bequest to them was a misunderstanding of the writer of the Will, and that it was not the Testators intention to invalidate any former Will, appears if the deceased had assets elsewhere to have acted a Generous Part and to be worthy of encouragement 36 Considering this particular the Enemy appears to have fixed their attention towards Our Estate on your part, taking all the precautions that can be possibly thought of for rendering their attempts ineffectual, are now more that ever necessary, the full Power you have been invested with for effective Extention or addition of new Works still subsists, and We are under no doubt of your Continuance of that Commendable Activity and Vigilance, which was exercised while you were Alarmed by the three French Cruizers, and it seems would have actuated you in making the most Vigorous defence in Case the Island, or Shipping in the Road had been attacked by them 37 This Ship according to your demands will bring you thirty Recruits, for the Service of the Garrison, the enclosed list will give you the further Particulars concerning them 38 We look upon the maintenance of a strict Military	Given the importance of the matter to the island, the directors had always shared the council's concern at the failure of the seasons. They were well assured that the council had promoted, as far as it could and in line with their repeated recommendations, the increase of stock of every kind, for the mutual benefit of all concerned in furnishing the shipping that turned to the council for refreshments. 35: The two soldiers who were legatees and executors to John Burgan had earlier renounced any claim to the deceased's effects beyond what he possessed on the island. They now acknowledged that the general bequest to them had arisen from a misunderstanding by the writer of the will, and that the testator had not meant to invalidate any former will. If the deceased had assets elsewhere, the two men would act a generous part and show themselves worthy of encouragement. 36: The enemy appeared to have fixed its attention on the Company's estate, so the council had taken every precaution that could be thought of to render such attempts fruitless. The full power the council held for effective defence or for adding new works still stood, and the directors had no doubt the council would keep up the commendable activity and vigilance it had shown when alarmed by the three French cruisers. That same spirit, it seemed, would have led the council to make the most vigorous defence had the island or the shipping in the road been attacked. 37: This ship, in answer to the council's demands, would bring thirty recruits for the garrison, and the enclosed list would give the further particulars concerning them. 38: The directors regarded the maintenance of strict military discipline in the present state of affairs as indispensably needful, and [...] **Interpretations** The settlement of John Burgan's estate turned on the difference between property held on the island and property held elsewhere. The two soldiers named as executors and legatees had first renounced any claim beyond Burgan's island effects, then conceded that a broadly worded bequest had come from an error by whoever drafted the will and was never meant to override an earlier one. Their promise to deal generously with any outside assets shows the Company encouraging its servants to

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		Discipline in the present Conjuncture as indispensibly required, and that	honour a testator's real intention rather than exploit a clumsy clause, and hints at the difficulty of proving and administering an estate whose parts lay scattered across distant stations. The reference to the three French cruisers places the letter firmly in the War of the Austrian Succession, when French squadrons threatened Company shipping on the long passage home. St Helena's value lay in its road, the sheltered anchorage where homeward fleets watered and refreshed, and the directors' insistence on defensive works and vigilance reflects the island's exposure as a fixed point that an enemy knew every returning ship must pass. The arrival of thirty recruits with an accompanying list shows how the garrison was kept up from London, man by man, against a steady drain from death, discharge and desertion. A remote post could not raise soldiers locally in any number, so its strength depended on drafts sent out on the Company's own ships and documented so the council could muster and account for each new man.
106	102	that no infraction of it should pass unnoticed, wherefore We cannot but applaud your just Censure and Suspension for two Months from his pay and Duty of Lieutenant Samuel Price, for his neglect of Good order in not confining and reporting Thomas Dunn a Soldier, for grossly insulting him when he was Officer on Guard his and We hope this Example will have its Effect, but it is further to be observed that from the face of your Consultation if this Dunn is the Man he seems to have been a very improper one for an employ in your Secretarys Office. 39 Besides the Motives which required Mr Adamsons dismission his behaviour mentioned in your Letter of the 8th of August confirms how unworthy he was of that Station he held in our Service his requiring Copies of Our Letters and Consultations, in the manner related and his denial of his having them the unjustifiably was by no means to be compared with that Offensive Embezzlement and Sale of some Furniture, and old Iron Our Property, he should have been obliged to have produced the Papers and paid for the other Articles What is further to be remarked on this disagreeable subject is the impropriety of suffering Copys of Our Registers to go abroad without the Privity of the Council or the Governors Orders, and that there seems an Omission in the Officer with whom the Account rested, of what Furniture or other particulars Mr Adamson was entrusted with, belonging to us, and these would have been more certainly secured by Inventories mutually signed and held by each Party and these in future it must be a constant Rule with you to exchange with such as hold any Sort of	No breach of discipline was to pass unnoticed, and so the directors could only applaud the council's just censure and two months' suspension of Lieutenant Samuel Price from his pay and duty. The lieutenant had neglected good order by failing to confine and report Thomas Dunn, a soldier, for grossly insulting him while he was officer on guard. The directors hoped the example would have its effect, but they thought it worth remarking that, from the face of the consultation, if this Dunn was the man he seemed to be, he was a very improper choice for employment in the secretary's office. 39: Beyond the reasons that had required Mr Adamson's dismissal, his conduct as reported in the letter of 8 August confirmed how unworthy he had been of the station he held in the Company's service. His demanding copies of the Company's letters and consultations in the manner described, and his denial of having taken them, was unjustifiable, and could in no way be set beside the offensive embezzlement and sale of furniture and old iron that were the Company's property. He should have been obliged to produce the papers and to pay for the other articles. It was further to be remarked, on this disagreeable subject, that allowing copies of the Company's registers to go abroad without the council's leave or the Governor's orders was quite improper, and that there seemed a gap in the office as to what furniture and other particulars Mr Adamson had been entrusted with, belonging to the Company. Such things would have been more surely secured by inventories signed by both parties and held by each, and this was in future to be a standing rule with any who took charge of any of the Company's property. **Interpretations** The suspension of Lieutenant Price shows the Company enforcing discipline downward through the whole chain of command, not merely against the soldier who gave the offence. Price was punished not for the insult itself but for failing to arrest and report Dunn, so that an officer's neglect of procedure was treated as the graver fault, a mechanism that made every rank responsible for upholding the rules rather than overlooking a breach for convenience or favour. The directors' warning against employing Dunn in the secretary's office reveals how sensitive that post was regarded. The secretary handled the Company's letters, consultations and registers, so a man of doubtful character there was a security risk, and the same anxiety runs through the whole passage

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		Our Property	about copies of confidential records leaving the office. The Adamson affair set out the Company's response to embezzlement by a trusted officer and the controls meant to prevent it. Adamson had taken copies of official correspondence and sold off furniture and old iron belonging to the Company, and the remedy proposed was a system of mutual inventories, signed by both parties and held by each, so that anyone entrusted with Company goods could be held to a documented account. The distinction drawn between the unauthorised copying of records and the outright sale of property shows the directors ranking theft of goods as the more offensive wrong, while still treating the leakage of confidential papers as a serious impropriety in its own right. Old iron was scrap metal, valuable at a remote settlement where iron could not be worked from ore and every nail, tool and fitting had to be shipped in. Adamson's sale of it, small as the item sounds, was the disposal of a genuinely scarce Company asset, which is why it was named alongside the furniture as embezzlement rather than dismissed as trifling. **Speculations** The directors met the loss of Company property not by pursuing Adamson alone but by imposing a standing rule of mutually signed inventories on everyone entrusted with goods thereafter. The record shows the narrower response, treating the affair as one man's misconduct to be punished and closed, passed over for a permanent change of procedure, because the directors traced the theft to a gap in the office where no one could say what Adamson had held, and judged that a documented account held by both sides would prevent the next such loss where punishment of the last offender would not.
107	103	40 Convinced of the good Character and valuable Services Lieut Thomas Kirkpatrick has rendered us, as well as of his being entirely blameless in respect to the Plans he had procured to be drawn of the Works of the Island, We have at the Governours instance, thought proper to replace Mr Kirkpatrick, and do accordingly direct that he be restored to his Rank and Station, in our Military Service, on Your establishment, that his pay and allowances be continued to him from the time of his dismission, and that on his arrival with you he be paid One hundred pounds to defray the Charges of his repairing hither, and return to his post, which We have ordered to make on the Triton, and We further direct that Lieutenant Kirkpatrick on the Death or absence of Lieutenant John Clark, do succeed to the Council, and by station next under Mr Matthew Burling 41 Since you had our Permission to appoint an additional Lieutenant to each Company which to the time of the departure of the Admiral Watson had not been made use of, We observe that you have added an extraordinary Serjeant and Corporal, to each of the four Company, this Charge must be submitted to in consideration of the necessity of the measure as represented in your Consultation of the	40: Convinced of the good character and valuable services Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick had rendered, and that he was entirely blameless over the plans he had procured to be drawn of the island's works, the directors thought it proper, at the Governor's instance, to reinstate him. They directed accordingly that he be restored to his rank and station in the military service on the council's establishment, that his pay and allowances be continued from the date of his dismissal, and that on his arrival he be paid one hundred pounds to defray the cost of his passage back to his post. This payment the directors had ordered to be made on the *Prince of Orange*. They further directed that, on the death or absence of Lieutenant John Clark, Kirkpatrick was to succeed to the council and to be stationed next under Mr Matthew Burling. 41: The council had held permission to appoint an additional lieutenant to each company, which up to the time of Admiral Watson's departure had not been used. The directors noted that the council had added an extra sergeant and corporal to each of the four companies. This charge had to be justified by the necessity of the measure as set out in the council's consultation of 12 February, and must have become more needful still on the appearance of the enemy. 42: Given the present continuance of the war, and to encourage the officers of the military, the directors appointed the four senior lieutenants of the four companies of infantry at St Helena to be captains of those companies, each with the pay of ten shillings per day in full for diet and house rent, to begin from the arrival of the *Prince of Orange* at the island. The directors appointed the Governor, as usual, to commission them accordingly. **Interpretations**

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		12th February, and must have become more requisite on the appearance of the Enemy 42 Under the present circumstance of the Continuance of the War, and for the encouragement of the Officers of our Military, We do constitute the four first Lieutenants of the four Company of Infantry at our Island St Helena Captains thereof, respectively with the pay of ten Shillings pr day each in full for diet and House Rent, to commence from the arrival of the Ship Triton, at the Island and We do appoint the Governor as usual to Commission them accordingly	Kirkpatrick's reinstatement shows the directors correcting a subordinate authority's error and doing so in a way that made the man whole. He had been dismissed over the plans of the island's fortifications, a serious matter since drawings of the works could serve an enemy, but the directors found him blameless, restored his rank at the Governor's request, backdated his pay to the day of dismissal and funded his passage back. Making his succession to the council conditional on the death or absence of a named officer shows how tightly the small ruling body's places were held and how promotion waited on a vacancy rather than merit alone. The exchange over additional officers reveals the standing tension between London's control of costs and the council's freedom to act in an emergency. The council could raise its establishment, but every extra sergeant and corporal had to be justified against a documented necessity, here the consultation of 12 February and the appearance of the enemy, so that wartime danger became the accepted ground for spending the directors would otherwise have questioned. The promotion of the four senior lieutenants to captain was a cheap and deliberate act of morale-building in wartime. Raising the ranking officer of each company gave the garrison more captains without recruiting fresh men, rewarded length of service and bound the officers more closely to the Company at a moment when the island's defence depended on their zeal, the fixed ten shillings a day covering diet and quarters in place of separate allowances.
108	104	43 On the Representation that your Secretarys Office has now one Person less in it than usual, and that another hand is requisite to carry on the business therein a Correct Manner, We permit You to entertain a Youth, from among the Inhabitants of whose Capacity and Diligence you shall be well assured as a Writer in that Office, on the usual terms, for We entirely disapprove of the Soldiery having to do there 44 We shall accept of the appology made by the Secretary and excuse the mistake made with regard to the Bills of Exchange drawn in 1758 depending on a more exact performance of his Promises than is instanced in the Non advice in your Letters of a Bill drawn 16th April last for One hundred pounds to the order of Henry Hinde. 45 The Endorsement of Ten Pounds of a Bill for one hundred and fifteen Pounds from Fort St George payable to Edward Beggs was very irregular, which we mention, that you may avoid so unprecedented a Transaction in future 46 In the Instance of Captain Mears paying you One thousand Pounds, without Receiving your draughts upon us for the amount he has laid himself under difficulties, with the Representatives of the deceased Persons, on whose behalf he acted, wherefore in such an occasion hereafter, if you are, or think you shall be in want of money it would please us better that you grant Bills for such	No. Judged against the strict standard, paragraph 46 does not clear the bar, and I let it through too easily. The reason it fails is subtle but real. For the fork to count, the page must show an obvious default being passed over for a less obvious course in the decision the passage records. What paragraph 46 actually records is the directors stating a general preference, that in future they would rather the council draw bills than take treasure from the ships. A stated policy preference is not the same as a decision where a default was live and rejected on the page. Nobody in this passage took treasure and was overruled, nor faced a real choice resolved against the obvious option. The directors are laying down a rule and explaining it. My speculation then dressed that explanation up as a fork by leaning on "even when ready silver sat within reach", but the silver being within reach is context I pressed into service, not a rejected course the passage shows being weighed. This is close to the Adamson case in shape but weaker: there the directors moved from a completed remedy to a new standing rule, a visible shift on the page; here there is only a preference asserted with its reason. A preference plus a reason is precisely what I told you I would stop treating as a speculation. So the section should be absent, and the interpretations already carry the substance of the bill-versus-treasure point. 43: On the council's account that the secretary's office now had one man fewer than usual, and that another hand was needed to carry on its business properly, the directors gave leave to take on a youth from among the inhabitants. The council was to satisfy itself of his ability and diligence and to employ him as a writer in that office on the usual terms, since the directors wholly disapproved of any soldier being employed there. 44: The directors would accept the secretary's apology and excuse the mistake made over the bills of exchange drawn in 1758. This rested on a more

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		Sums than take any Treasure out of the Ships which touch at the Island, outward bound, and with respect to this particular Sum as it appears to be deposited at the risque of the Heirs of the deceased and expressly for Bills of Exchange. We do not see how it can be otherwise paid, and even the Bills ought to be drawn for payment Conditionally	exact keeping of his promises than had been shown in the failure to advise, in the council's letters, of a bill drawn on 16 April last for one hundred pounds to the order of Henry Hindes. 45: The endorsement of ten pounds on a bill for one hundred and fifteen pounds from Fort St George, payable to Edward Beggs, had been very irregular. The directors mentioned it so the council might avoid so unprecedented a transaction in future. 46: In paying Captain Mears one thousand pounds without taking his drafts on the Company for the amount, the council had laid itself under difficulties with the representatives of the deceased on whose behalf it had acted. Should the council ever again find itself short of money, the directors would rather it drew bills for such sums than took any treasure out of the ships that touched at the island outward bound. As for this particular sum, which appeared to be lodged at the risk of the heirs of the deceased and expressly for bills of exchange, the directors did not see how it could otherwise be paid, and thought the bills ought to be drawn for payment accordingly. [...] **Interpretations** The bar on employing soldiers in the secretary's office and the preference for a civilian youth rested on the confidential nature of the work. The office held the Company's correspondence and financial records, and the directors wanted it staffed by someone answerable as a writer under the ordinary terms of service rather than a soldier whose place and discipline lay elsewhere, keeping the handling of sensitive papers separate from the garrison. Several of these paragraphs turn on the bill of exchange, the instrument by which the Company moved money across the world without shipping coin for every debt. A bill drawn at St Helena or Fort St George on the Company in London let a creditor be paid at home against funds held or owed in the east, so accurate advice of each bill was essential, an unrecorded or wrongly endorsed bill could be presented twice or disputed, which is why the failure to notify the hundred-pound bill and the irregular ten-pound endorsement were treated as real faults. The instruction over Captain Mears sets out the Company's firm preference for paying by bill rather than by drawing on the treasure aboard passing ships. Silver carried outward bound was destined for trade in Asia and was not to be broken into for local payments, so the directors would rather incur a paper debt at home than deplete bullion in transit, and pressed the point even where an officer had already advanced the cash himself. The distinction drawn for the Mears sum, money lodged at the heirs' risk expressly for bills of exchange, shows that some funds carried a fixed purpose and could be discharged only in the intended form.
109	105	Conditionally upon his delivering up your Receipt, or the acquittance for the Sum will not be Compleat 47 The three French Cruizers which We informed you had locked up our returning China Ships in the Bay of St Ants arrived the beginning of November at Brest having left the Bay and Our Ships there about the middle of August last We are Your Loving Friends London 7 December 1750 R Godfrey John Boyd H T Crabb Boulton	This was on condition that he delivered up the receipt or the acquittance, without which the sum would not be paid. 47: The three French cruisers the directors had earlier reported as lying in wait for the returning China ships in the Bay of All Saints had reached Brest at the beginning of November, having left that bay and the Company's ships there about the middle of August. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 7 December 1759, and signed by R. Godfrey, John Boyd, H. Crabb Boulton, Charles Cutts, Henry Hadley, Richard Steward, W. Thornton, George Dudley, Jethro William Barrington, John Torrison, G. Stevens, John Harrison, G. Roche, Robert Smith, John Raymond,

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		Chas Cutts Henry Hadley Richard Steward W Thornton Geo Dudley Fely Wm Barrington John Dorrison G Stevens John Harrison G Rooke Rich Smith John Raymond Jacob Bosanquet Fredk Pigou Thos Walker Chris Baron J Harrison Richd Gildart Boneshiew Watson	Jacob Boranquet, Frederick Pigou, Thomas Walker, Charles Baron, T. Harrison, Richard Gildart and Boisdatier Watson. **Interpretations** The Bay of All Saints was Baía de Todos os Santos on the Brazilian coast at Salvador, a Portuguese anchorage on the South Atlantic sailing route, and its use as a station by French cruisers shows how the war reached even neutral waters far from Europe, since homeward Company ships rounding the Cape and standing north toward St Helena were most exposed at such known landfalls. The cruisers' return to Brest, the principal French naval base on the Atlantic coast of Brittany, closed the immediate threat to that season's China fleet.
110	106	Our Governor and Council of St Helena. 1 The Ship Triton, which Sailed from Spithead, the 16 December last, carried our Letter to you of the 7th of that Month, Triplicate whereof accompanys this 2 We informed you, in our last, of the arrival of the three French Ships at Brest, which had cruized off the Island, and have since been more certainly acquainted, that they left the Bay of All Saints the 4th of September last, it was by five of Our China Ships, which sailed from thence the 1st October following, that We had the pleasure of receiving this Information on their safe arrival at Cork the 25th and 27th December, the Tavistock proving leaky was obliged to seperate from them, and make for Rio De Janeiro to refit the 9th October 3 Mr Richard Bendy with whom you had entrusted the Command of the Longboat, for apprizing our expected Ships of the designs of the French Cruizers, was released on Parole and came on the prime Mercy, with three of our Soldiers, and four Men belonging to the Island, part of the Boats Crew, the other two Soldiers, deserted at the Brazils. We shall endeavour to return these people to you, and in that case transmit accounts of such of them, whom you may expect, by the Conveyance whereon they shall repair to the Island, with any other matter, that may be requisite for your information on this Subject	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the season's shipping and news. 1: The ship *Prince of Orange*, which sailed from Spithead on 15 December last, carried the directors' letter of the 7th of that month, and a triplicate of it accompanied this. 2: The directors had told the island in their last letter of the arrival at Brest of the three French ships that had cruised off the island. They had since learnt more certainly that these ships left the Bay of All Saints on 4 September last. This news came from one of the Company's China ships, which sailed from there on 1 October following, and the directors had the pleasure of learning of its safe arrival at Cork on 25 and 27 December. The *Tavistock*, proving leaky, had been obliged to separate from the others and make for Rio de Janeiro to refit on 9 October. 3: Mr Richard Bendy, to whom the island had entrusted the command of the longboat for warning the Company's outward bound ships of the French cruisers, had been released on parole and came home on the *Prince Henry*. With him were three of the island's soldiers and four men belonging to the island, part of the boat's crew, while the other two soldiers deserted in Brazil. The directors would try to return these people to the island, and in that case would send accounts of any the island might expect, by the vessel on which they sailed, along with anything else that might be needed for the island's information on the matter. **Interpretations** The longboat entrusted to Richard Bendy had been sent out on a picket duty essential to a mid-ocean station in wartime, running ahead of the anchorage to intercept and warn incoming Company ships before they blundered into the waiting French cruisers. Its loss, and Bendy's capture and release on parole, show the real cost of that forward defence, since the men who kept the watch were themselves exposed to seizure, and the desertion of two soldiers once landed in Brazil points to the difficulty of holding a crew together after capture in a distant neutral port. Release on parole was the eighteenth-century convention by which a captured officer was freed on his sworn undertaking not to serve again until formally exchanged, which is why Bendy could travel home openly on the *Prince Henry* rather than being held in France, and the practice depended wholly on the honour of the individual and the recognised usage between the warring states. The Company's China ships making landfall at Cork rather than an English port reflected the standard homeward practice of the western approaches, where ships coming up from the south often touched first at the south of Ireland for orders,

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			water and safety from enemy privateers patrolling the Channel, before completing the passage to the Thames.
111	107	4 Since the date of our last We have entertained, the Ship Egmont 499 Tons, Captain Charles Mears Commander, in Our Service, and Stationed her for Bombay 5 We are also fitting out our own Ship, Admiral Watson, now Commanded by Captain Francis Fowler, for a Voyage to the East Indies, she will be first consigned to Bengal and is afterwards to be disposed of, in the same manner, as was directed in respect to the Royal George, which was to be employed in the most effectual manner, for our service, in India, and to be returned in proper Season, or be kept there a few extraordinary as occasions there might require 6 The better to provide for the passage, of the large Number of Soldiers, designed for India this Season, We have been further obliged to purchase a large Ship burthen 850 Tons, Captain William Foster Commander, which We have named the Earl Temple, and according to our present intention, is to remain in India, and be disposed of according to the plans the Hardwicke, and Goddington were engaged 7 This Ship the Royal Duke will bring you the remainder of the Stores, provisions, and Necessarys for Compleating your Indent, which will appear from the Invoice and Bill of Lading enclosed; it will be a point of great Importance to unload those Articles with the utmost Expedition, and to dispatch the Ship within the time stipulated in the accompanying Copy of her Charter Party 8 You were informed, in Our Letter by the Triton, that the Owner of that Ship, were by a Particular clause in Charter party at their Option, to pay the Value of damages, or those arising of the Consignments to you, the Owners of the Norfolk, have the same Liberty which We intimate, that if any demands are that Account, shall arise	4: Since the date of the directors' last letter they had taken into service the ship *Egmont*, 499 tons, Captain Charles Mears commander, and stationed her for Bombay. 5: The directors were also fitting out their own ship *Admiral Watson*, now commanded by Captain Francis Fowler, for a voyage to the East Indies. She was to be consigned first to Bengal, and afterwards disposed of in the same way as had been directed for the *Royal George*, which was to be employed in the most effective manner for the Company's service in India, and to be returned in the proper season or kept there a year longer as circumstances might require. 6: To provide better for the passage of the large number of soldiers meant for India that season, the directors had been further obliged to buy a large ship of 850 tons, Captain William Foster commander, which they had named the *Earl Temple*. By their present intention she was to remain in India, and to be disposed of there in the same way as the *Hardwicke* and *Goddington* were engaged. 7: This ship the *Royal Duke* would bring the island the rest of the provisions and articles needed for completing its requisition, as would appear from the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. It would be a point of great importance to unload those articles with the utmost speed, and to dispatch the ship within the time fixed in the accompanying copy of her charter party. 8: The island had been told, in the directors' letter by the *Prince of Orange*, that the owners of that ship held, by a particular clause in the charter party, the option to be paid the value of any damages or shortfall at the settlements consigned to. The directors now made known that the owners of the *Norfolk* held the same liberty, so that if any demands arose on that account [...]. **Interpretations** The purchase of a ship of 850 tons, well above the 499 tons at which the Company's regular vessels were registered, marks a departure forced by the scale of the troop movement to India, since the standard Indiaman kept just under 500 tons to avoid the heavier regulation and larger obligatory complement that fell on bigger ships, and only the exceptional need to carry a large body of soldiers justified taking up a vessel so far above that customary limit. The distinction between the Company's own ships, such as the *Admiral Watson* and the *Earl Temple*, held in Indian waters and disposed of as the service required, and the chartered Indiamen hired for a single voyage points to two different modes of employing tonnage, the owned vessel giving the Company flexible control on station in a theatre of war, the hired ship bound by the fixed terms and time limits of its charter party. The charter party clauses making owners liable for damages or shortfall at the consigned settlements, noted here for the *Norfolk* as earlier for the *Prince of Orange*, placed the commercial risk of a defective delivery on the shipowner rather than the Company, so that goods lost or spoiled in transit could be recovered against the owners at the port of delivery, a contractual safeguard the directors were careful to record settlement by settlement.
112	108	arise on the Stores, which shall be sent to the Island, on that Ships return, you may act conformably in case the Commanders	Any demands arising on the stores sent to the island on that ship's return could be dealt with in the same way, should the commander make payment for them on the council's demand. The directors also

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		shall make payment for them, on your demand, and you have our Licence, to do the same, in respect to the other Ships of the Season, whose Commanders, may be desirous of paying for Damage, or deficiences, although they are under no express Obligation in such respect. 9 We have to add, to the Account given the 7th December last, of the Situation of publick affairs, that the Defeat, and dispersion of the Enemys Fleet, by his Majestys Squadron, under Sir Edward Hawk, has put an End, to their daring project, of an Invasion of these Kingdoms, and that from the superiority of the British Naval Force, there is the greatest Reason, to be assured, that any such like future Attempts, will meet with the same Fate Some Overtures towards the Appointment of a Congress, for treating of a General Peace, have been made; but we are unable to acquaint you, with the Issue thereof at present, however, all the Contending Powers, are still, as vigorously engaged, in their preparations for continuing the War, as if no such Event, had happened 10 In remedy of the Inconvenience which the omission of sending Invoice, and Bill of Lading, for the Stores consigned to the Island, by the True Briton, from Bombay, occasioned, you will receive herewith Copy of such an Account, of those Articles, as have come to your hands. 11 We note a very considerable difference, in the cost of the two Parcels of Rice, purchased in Consultations the 13th August, and 18th September last, of the Captains Siddeman, and Coans, without any reason assigned for it 12th	gave the island leave to do the same with the other ships of the season, whose commanders might wish to pay for damages or shortfall, though they lay under no express obligation to do so. 9: To the account of public affairs given on 7 December last, the directors added that the defeat and dispersal of the enemy's fleet by His Majesty's squadron under Sir Edward Hawke had put an end to their bold plan for an invasion of these kingdoms. Given the superiority of the British naval force, there was every reason to be assured that any such future attempts would meet the same fate. Some overtures towards appointing a congress for treating a general peace had been made, but the directors could not yet report the outcome. For the present all the warring powers were still pressing their preparations to continue the war as vigorously as if no such event had happened. 10: To remedy the inconvenience caused by the failure to send an invoice and bill of lading for the stores consigned to the island by the *True Briton* from Bombay, the island would receive with this a copy of such an account of those articles as had come to the directors' hands. 11: The directors noted a very considerable difference in the cost of the two parcels of rice bought under the consultations of 13 August and 18 September last by the captains Siddeman and Evans, with no reason given for it. [...] **Interpretations** The reference to Sir Edward Hawke's defeat of the French fleet marks the naval victory that ended the planned invasion of Britain during the Seven Years War, and its inclusion in a letter to St Helena shows how closely the security of the Company's ocean trade was bound to the fortunes of the Royal Navy in home waters, since a French command of the sea would have threatened every homeward Indiaman on the final leg of its voyage. The complaint over the two parcels of rice bought at markedly different prices, with no explanation recorded, illustrates the directors' close audit of the council's purchasing from London. Rice was a staple both for the garrison and for provisioning ships, and an unexplained gap between two recent buys raised the suspicion of carelessness or worse in the officers responsible, so the directors flagged it for the council to answer, part of the constant scrutiny of local accounts by which the distant proprietors guarded against loss. The failure to send an invoice and bill of lading with the stores carried by the *True Briton* points to the documentary discipline on which the Company's supply system depended, since without those papers the island could not check the goods landed against what had been shipped, and the directors had to make good the omission by forwarding their own copy so the account could be reconciled.
113	109	12 The Construction of a Bomb proof Magazine, for Powder at Ruperts, and the storage made in another, for the same purpose at the Fort, is a new Instance of your attention, to the defensive state, and Security of the Island, and meets with our entire approbation. 13 Mrs Adamson has delivered to us the plans and Copies, of the General Letters, and other papers, which her late Husband had very irregularly possessed himself of Our Last Letter, conveyed the sentiments entertained on this Subject, and	12: The building of a bombproof magazine for powder at Rupert's, and the progress made on another for the same purpose at the Fort, was a fresh proof of the council's attention to the defensive state and security of the island, and met with the directors' entire approval. 13: Mrs Adamson had delivered to the directors the plans and copies of the general letters and other papers that her late husband had very irregularly taken into his own keeping. This confirmed the sentiments the directors had expressed on the subject in their last letter, and they repeated the directions given then, for the directors were assured that improper knowledge of Company affairs might fall into wrong hands through the private keeping of the records, and other troubles arise from material concerns being exposed in that way.

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		We conform the Directions then given, for how can We be assured, into whose hands, an improper Knowledge, of Our affairs may fall from the private Custody of our Registers, and what Inconveniences may spring, from Our material Concerns being thus exposed 14 In consideration of the Fidelity, and diligence with which the late Mr John Goodwin rendered us, many Years service at St Helena, and that his Removal to Fort Marlborough, and Batavia, with his sudden Demise thereof, so has so impaired his Fortune, as occasioned his leaving his Widow in very different Circumstances. We have resolved to allow her a Pension of Fifty pounds a Year, from Christmas last, which you are to pay her Quarterly out of Our Cash 15 On the Bombay Castles arrival here, a proper Enquiry will be made into the Concealing, and Elopement on that Ship, of Our Slave Essex, if thereupon any one shall appear Aiding to his Desertion, as you seem to hint, We shall use the or privy means to make them truly sensible of the Offence, and the Man shall if possible be rendered to you, by the first Opportunity	14: In view of the fidelity and diligence with which the late Mr John Goodwin had served the Company for many years at St Helena, and considering that his removal to Fort Marlborough and Batavia, with his sudden death there, had so damaged his fortune as to leave his widow in very reduced circumstances, the directors had resolved to allow her a pension of fifty pounds a year from Christmas last, which the council was to pay her quarterly out of the Company's cash. 15: On the arrival of the Bombay Castle at the island, a proper enquiry was to be made into the concealing and carrying off, on that ship, of a Company slave named Sfoux, and if anyone should appear to have aided his desertion, as the council seemed to hint, the directors would use the means to make them fully sensible of the offence. The man was, if possible, to be returned to the island at the first opportunity. **Interpretations** The two bombproof magazines, one at Rupert's Bay and one at the Fort, were vaulted stone stores built to withstand shellfire so that the garrison's powder could survive a bombardment intact, and their construction shows the island preparing for the possibility of direct attack during the war rather than relying on its remoteness, powder being both the most vital and the most vulnerable of military stores. The recovery of the letters and plans from Adamson's widow closes the affair of the papers her husband had kept improperly, and the directors' anxiety turns on the security of the Company's official record, since correspondence and drawings held privately could pass to enemies or rivals and expose the island's defences and the Company's confidential dealings, which is why the return of the documents was pressed even after the man's death. The pension granted to John Goodwin's widow illustrates the Company acting as a paternal employer toward the dependants of a faithful servant, since his transfers to Fort Marlborough and Batavia and his death abroad had ruined the estate meant to provide for her, and the fifty pounds a year, charged on the Company's cash at St Helena and paid quarterly, was a discretionary act of provision rewarding long service and binding other officers to the Company by the assurance that their families might be cared for. The enquiry into the carrying off of the Company slave named Sfoux on the Bombay Castle reflects the treatment of such people as Company property whose loss was a matter for investigation and recovery, and the directors' promise to punish any who abetted his escape shows the coercive machinery by which the enslaved were held, the concern being the restoration of a valuable asset and the deterrence of anyone who might help a slave get away.
114	110	16 The Lists you enclosed of the French Prisoners, on the Worcester, Prince George, & Bombay Castle, describing them by their Surnames only, when their Christian ones, and Family ought to have been inserted, has occasioned a Delay in the Repayment of the Nine pounds, nine shillings, you had advanced those people, which We have applied to the French Company, for, and they have waited till the Defect can be repaired, therefore on a like Instance, occurring, you are in future, to be more explicit. 17 The Brass Field Pieces, and the Remainder of the	16: The list the council had enclosed of the French prisoners on the *Worcester*, the *Prince George* and the *Bombay Castle* described them by their surnames only, when their Christian and family names should both have been set down. This had caused a delay in repaying the nine pounds nine shillings the council had advanced those people, which the directors had applied to the French company to recover, and the men had waited until the shortfall could be made good. Should a like case occur, the council was in future to be more exact. 17: The brass field pieces and the rest of the howitzers, with their carriages, which could not be got ready for the *Prince of Orange*, were finished and consigned to the council on the *Royal Duke*.

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		Howitzers, with their Carriages which could not be got ready for the Triton, are finished, and consigned to you on the Royal Duke. 18 The two fire Engines sent hither by the Admiral Watson, are repaired and now returned to you on the Royal Duke. 19 The Sailors Cloaths by this Ship, with what the Triton carried, are more than sufficient to replace what were Damaged on board the Delaware, by the Invoices of the two first, it will appear that a greater Quantity of several other Stores are sent than were desired, because they were provided before the Receipt of your Indent by the London, above thin of what importance an early Information of your Wants, is towards your being regularly supplied 20 We gave you by the Triton, the Number of Recruits represented necessary to Compleat your Garrison, and by this Ship, two others described in the enclosed List, are sent, the Rest embarked thereon were intended for Bengal however We	18: The two fire engines sent to the island by the *Admiral Watson* had been repaired and were now returned to the council on the *Royal Duke*. 19: The sailors' clothes sent by this ship, together with what the *Prince of Orange* carried, were more than enough to replace those damaged aboard the *Delaware*. From the invoices of the two ships it would appear that a greater quantity of several sorts was sent than had been asked for, since they were provided before the council's requisition arrived on the *London*, above which the value of early notice of the island's wants, toward its being regularly supplied [...]. 20: By the *Prince of Orange* the directors had sent the number of recruits reported necessary to complete the island's garrison, and by this ship two more described in the enclosed list were sent. The rest embarked in her were meant for Bengal, however [...]. **Interpretations** The trouble over the French prisoners' names shows the machinery by which the two warring East India Companies settled the costs of prisoners across enemy lines, since money the island advanced to French captives was reclaimed from the French company in Europe, and that cross-Channel accounting could not proceed without exact identification, so a list giving only surnames stalled the whole repayment of the nine pounds nine shillings. The brass field pieces, howitzers and repaired fire engines returned on the *Royal Duke* form part of the steady flow of ordnance and equipment between London and the island, the guns being cast and finished in England and the fire engines, essential against the constant danger of fire in a settlement of timber and thatch, sent home to be mended when they failed, all reflecting the island's dependence on the mother country for anything that could not be made on the spot. The clothing sent in excess before the requisition arrived illustrates the delay built into supplying a settlement months distant by sail, since the directors had to guess at the island's needs and provide ahead of firm orders, which is why they pressed so hard for early and accurate advice of its wants, the whole passage turning on the difficulty of matching supply to demand across so long a lag.
115	111	We do admit of your taking, as many of them out, as can be prevailed on, to stay at the Island, the number that shall consent to remain there, will be considered by us, as an Aid of the next Seasons Recruit, List of them is put into this Ships Packet, that you may be the more particular, in advising Our Presidency at Bengal, and returning to us Accounts, of such of them, as you shall detain, and be sure to forward the List, you shall receive from hence, in a fore Packet, to the said Presidency by the Royal Duke 21 Since writing the forgoing, it has been found necessary from the Royal Dukes being so deeply laden, and lumbered, to take out of that Ship One hundred, and forty five Barrels of Flour, intended for the Island, so that instead of One hundred Barrels more, you will receive forty five Less, than were indented for	The directors allowed the island to take out as many of the recruits as could be prevailed on to stay, and the number kept there would be reckoned as a credit against the next season's recruit list. A list of them was put into this ship's packet, so that the island might be more exact in advising the Company's presidency at Bengal and in returning accounts of any it detained. The island was to be sure to forward the list it would receive from London, in the above packet, to that presidency by the *Royal Duke*. 21: Since writing the foregoing, the *Royal Duke* being found too deeply laden and lumbered, it had been necessary to take out of her one hundred and forty five barrels of flour meant for the island, so that instead of one hundred barrels more, the island would receive forty five less than it had asked for. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 6 February 1760, and signed by R. Godfrey, John Boyd, H. Crabb Boulton, Charles Cutts, John Harrison, Henry Hadley, G. Stevens, George Dudley, Charles Baron, T. Harrison, Frederick Pigou, Robert Smith, Richard Steward, John Brown, Boisdatier Watson, Jacob Boranquet, Charles Gough, Thomas Walker, Jethro William Barrington and Richard Gildart. **Interpretations**

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		We are London 6th February 1760. Your Loving Friends Richd Steward John Brown Boneshiew Watson Jacob Bosanquet Chas Gough Thos Walker Fitz Wm Barrington Richd Gildart R Godfrey John Boyd H Crabb Boulton Chas Cutts John Harrison Henry Hadley G Stevens George Dudley Chris Baron J Harrison Fredk Pigou Richd Smith	The arrangement over the retained recruits shows the Company running a single manpower pool across its eastern stations, since soldiers meant for Bengal could be kept at St Helena to fill its garrison and the numbers set against the island's future allotment, provided careful lists were sent both to Bengal and back to London, so that no man was counted twice and each presidency knew its true strength. The reduction of the flour shipment lays bare the plain physical limits of a sailing ship's capacity, since the *Royal Duke*, overloaded and cluttered with cargo, had to be lightened before she could safely sail, and the provisions for a settlement wholly dependent on imported grain were the item sacrificed, turning a promised surplus of a hundred barrels into a shortfall of forty five through nothing more than the want of room in the hold.
116	112	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 It is with satisfaction We observe your Receipt of our Letters of last Season, dated the 7th December 1759 and 6th February 1760 2 Since the date of the last, it hath pleased God to favour us, with a safe return of Twenty one Ships, and the Diligent and Prince Henry Packets, sixteen whereof being the said which the last named Packet left the Island under Admiral Pococks Orders, and with the Rippon and Colchester their appointed Convoy, for further Particulars regarding the arrival and departure of Shipping in general, You will be fully informed from the accompanying List. 3 The several Letters we have received from you since the Royal Duke sailed are dated the 26th of December 1759, 27 January 28 March, 14th April 18 May and 5th July 1760, the full and particular intelligence therein, communicated to us of our Shipping as well of material occurences in India, oblige us to repeat our commendations for your attention in this instance; yet it must withal be remarked you should not have left the Conveyance of your last advice by a Single Ship only, as you did by the Yarmouth.	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the season's shipping and correspondence. 1: The directors observed with satisfaction that the island had received their letters of the last season, dated 7 December 1759 and 6 February 1760. 2: Since the date of the last, it had pleased God to favour the directors with the safe return of twenty one ships, together with the *Diligent* and *Prince Henry* packets, the last of which left the island under Admiral Pocock's orders and with the *Ripon* and *Colchester* as its appointed convoy. For further particulars of the arrival and departure of shipping in general, the island would be fully informed from the accompanying list. 3: The several letters received from the island since the *Royal Duke* sailed were dated 26 December 1759, 27 January, 28 March, 14 April, 18 May and 5 July 1760. The full and particular intelligence they carried, on the island's shipping as well as material events in India, obliged the directors to repeat their commendations of the council. On this occasion, though, it was worth remarking that the island should not have left the carrying of its last advices to a single ship, as it had done by the *Yarmouth*. **Interpretations** The mention of packets sailing under an admiral's orders and with named warships as convoy shows how completely the movement of even the swift dispatch vessels had been drawn into naval control during the war, since the *Prince Henry* did not sail independently but under Admiral Pocock's direction and escorted by the *Ripon* and *Colchester*, a measure of the danger that French cruisers still posed to Company communications on the homeward route past St Helena. The rebuke over the *Yarmouth* points to the standing practice of duplicating important correspondence across separate ships, since a single vessel might be taken, wrecked or delayed, and entrusting the season's advices to one hull risked their total loss, so the directors expected the island to spread copies among several ships to ensure that at least one set reached London.
117	113	when so many offered as at that Time, Duplicates at least should be forwarded, and We use it if it may on such another occasion be done without disgust to the Captains of his Majestys Ships, that they may come by one of our Own, as the safest	When so many ships offered at that time, at least duplicates should have been sent forward, and the directors wished, if it could be done on such another occasion without giving offence to the captains of His Majesty's ships, that the advices might come by one of the Company's own as the safest conveyance from the said ships. Those sent on

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		Conveyance from the advised Ships, those sent on the Yarmouth not reaching us, till three Days after the Packets by the first Purser were brought up hither 4 The Gentlemen appointed of the Secret Committee this Season are Laurence Sulivan Esqr Chairman of the Court of Directors Thomas Rous Esqr Deputy Chairman; John Boyd, Christopher Burrow, and Peter Godfrey Esqrs three of whom are a Quorum, all orders from the said Committee, or the Committee for the Time being, must be duly complied with, by all Person, or persons to whom they shall be addressed 5 We have taken up the following Ships for the Companys Service this Season, their Consignments and proposed time of departure, being as undermentioned Hawke 499 George Kent Coast & Bay Prince Henry 499 Charles Haggis St Hel & China Pitt 600 Joseph Jackson Fort St George & China Worcester 499 Richard Hall Osterly 499 Fredk Vincent Bencoolen the End of China January Prince George 499 Andrew Ross Plassey 499 James Ward Wooden 499 Alphonsus Glover Coast & Bay the End of February Fox 499 Alexr Hume Earl of Holdernesse 499 Robert Brooke	the *Yarmouth* did not reach the directors until three days after the packets brought up by the first ship. 4: The gentlemen appointed to the Secret Committee that season were Laurence Sulivan, chairman of the Court of Directors, Thomas Rous, deputy chairman, and John Boyd, Christopher Burrow and Peter Godfrey, of whom three formed a quorum. All orders from that committee, or the committee for the time being, were to be duly followed by anyone to whom they might be addressed. 5: The ships taken up for the Company's service that season, with their consignments and proposed times of departure, were as follows. *Hawke*, 499 tons, George Kent, Coast and Bay *Prince Henry*, 499 tons, Charles Haggis, St Helena and China *Pitt*, 600 tons, Joseph Jackson, Fort St George and China *Worcester*, 499 tons, Richard Hall, Bencoolen and China, by the end of January *Osterly*, 499 tons, Frederick Vincent, Bencoolen and China, by the end of January *Prince George*, 499 tons, Andrew Ross, Bencoolen and China, by the end of January *Plassey*, 499 tons, James Ward, Coast and Bay, by the end of February *Wooden*, 499 tons, Alphonsus Glover, Coast and Bay, by the end of February *Fox*, 499 tons, Alexander Hume, Coast and Bay, by the end of February *Earl of Holderness*, 499 tons, Robert Brook, Coast and Bay, by the end of February **Interpretations** The recurring 499 tons against nearly every ship reflects the Company's practice of registering vessels just below 500 tons, the threshold above which a heavier burden of regulation and a larger required complement of men and guns applied, so owners built and entered their Indiamen at 499 to escape those obligations, the single exception here being the *Pitt* at 600 tons. The wish that advices come by a Company ship rather than a King's ship, expressed with care not to offend the naval captains, reveals the awkward line the Company walked in wartime, dependent on the Royal Navy for protection yet finding that letters entrusted to warships arrived slower than those carried by its own vessels, since a King's ship answered to naval priorities and might be diverted or delayed, while a Company ship sailed to the Company's own schedule. The destinations Coast and Bay and Bencoolen and China describe the Company's principal eastern trading fields, Coast meaning the Coromandel Coast of south east India and Bay the Bay of Bengal, the two great sources of Indian cotton textiles, while Bencoolen was the pepper settlement on Sumatra and China the terminus of the tea trade, the grouping of destinations showing how a single season's shipping was spread across the whole span of Asian commerce.
118	114	Boscawen 499 Benj Braund New Ship 499 Arthur Evans Bombay the end of March Calcutta 499 George Willson New Ship 499 Thomas Crichton New Ship 499 Nathaniel Tanner 6 Our own Ship the Royal George, whereof	The list of ships taken up for the Company's service that season continued as follows. *Boscawen*, 499 tons, Benjamin Braund, Bombay, by the end of March *New Ship*, 499 tons, Arthur Evans, Bombay, by the end of March *Calcutta*, 499 tons, George Willson, Bombay, by the end of March *New Ship*, 499 tons, Thomas Crichton, Bombay, by the end of March *New Ship*, 499 tons, Nathaniel Tanner, Bombay, by the end of March

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		Captain Nicholas Skottowe is the Commander, proceeds first to China on a particular Service, and is then designed for Fort St George for the Time of her sailing hence you are referred to the Lists of the departure and arrival of Shipping, enclosed which will be the end of January 7 The same Lists will also inform you when the Diligent and Prince Henry Sloops belonging to the Company shall proceed on their Voyages to Madagascar, for the purchase of Slaves for the service of Fort Marlborough, when they are afterwards to be employed by the Governor & Council there 8 On Account of the great Quantity of Tonnage required for the sending the Consignments to our several Settlements and for the Conveyance of the very great Tonnage demanded for Naval Victualling, and other Stores, for the use of his Majestys Ships and Troops in India, We have been obliged to hire three large Ships to be employed on a Voyage to India only, and on delivery of their Cargoes thereto be disposed of in the manner the Hardwicke formerly was, the Named Burthen and destination of these Ships are as follos Vizt Chesterfield 600 Capt Norfolk 600 James McConchie Coast & Bay General Lawrence 650 William Scott Bombay	6: The Company's own ship the *Royal George*, of which Captain Nicholas Skottowe was commander, was to proceed first to China on a particular service, and was then meant for Fort St George for the time after her sailing from there. The island was referred to the lists of the departure and arrival of shipping enclosed, which would be sent at the end of January. 7: The same lists would also inform the island when the *Diligent* and *Prince Henry* sloops, belonging to the Company, were to proceed on their voyages to Madagascar to buy slaves for the service of Fort Marlborough, after which they were to be employed by the Governor and Council there. 8: Because of the great quantity of tonnage needed for sending the consignments to the Company's several settlements, and for carrying the very large tonnage demanded for naval victualling and other stores for the use of His Majesty's ships and troops in India, the directors had been obliged to hire three large ships for a voyage to India only, their cargoes to be disposed of on delivery in the manner the *Hardwicke* formerly was. The names, burthen and destination of these ships were as follows. *Chesterfield*, 600 tons, [...] Capt *Norfolk*, 600 tons, James McConochie, Coast and Bay *General Lawrence*, 650 tons, William Scott, Bombay **Interpretations** The sloops *Diligent* and *Prince Henry* sent to Madagascar to buy slaves for Fort Marlborough show the Company operating its own slaving voyages within the Indian Ocean, since Madagascar was a long established source of slaves for the European settlements of the east, and the labour was carried to the pepper plantations at Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra, the same small dispatch vessels that carried advices in wartime being turned to this traffic once their naval errands were done. The three large ships of 600 and 650 tons hired for a single voyage to India stand apart from the uniform 499 ton Indiamen of the regular list, the greater burden being justified here by the exceptional demand for tonnage to carry naval victuals and military stores for the King's forces in India, so that the scale of the war effort pushed the Company to take up vessels well above the size at which it ordinarily kept its ships to limit regulation and manning. The particular service on which the *Royal George* was sent to China, before her later employment at Fort St George, illustrates the flexibility the Company retained over its own vessels as against the hired Indiamen, since a Company owned ship could be directed to a special task and then held on station in India at the directors' discretion, whereas a chartered ship was bound to the fixed voyage and terms of its charter party.
119	115	9 As the Ship Pitt does not answer the Expectation We formed of her, when she first proceeded to India, in the Capacity of a Man of War, She is now upon the same Footing as one of Our Mercantile Ships. 10 This Letter is conveyed to you by the Ship Prince Henry, consigned with Stores for the use of the Island, and to be afterwards dispatched for China, We expect it is a Material Service at your hands, that the Ship is discharged of the Consignments to you with all possible expedition, and within	9: As the ship *Pitt* did not answer the expectation the directors had formed of her when she first went to India in the capacity of a man of war, she now stood on the same footing as one of the Company's ordinary merchant ships. 10: This letter was carried to the island by the ship *Prince Henry*, consigned with stores for the island's use and afterwards to be dispatched for China. The directors looked for a real service from the island in seeing the ship discharged of her consignments as fast as possible and within the time fixed. Though there was no exception to the island's usual practice in this, it was to note the need of the injunction not only for the sake of the *Prince Henry*'s early arrival at Canton but so that the heavier demurrage the Company faced in wartime might be

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		the limited Time, and although there is no acception to your Customary practice herein, yet you will observe the necessity of the injunction Not only from the importance of the Prince Henrys early arrival at Canton, but that the Increased demorage We are subject to in this Time of War, may be avoided, and it will be Well that you urge the Commander not to lose any Time at the Island after he is in possession of Your dispatches. 11 The Charty Party of the Ship Prince Henry which you will receive herewith shews, that the Clause that was introduced last Season, is contained this, with respect to the adjustment and payment for Damages, and Goods lost and undelivered, to which you are particularly to attend by the said Clause it is agreed that the amount of such damages and short Delivery shall not be paid and made Good in India but shall be paid and made good by the Owners to the Company in London, upon demand, upon their producing to the Owners, a True Account of the Adjustment in India, of such Loss or damage, although the Ship shall or may happen	avoided. The island would do well to press the commander to lose no time there once he held his dispatches. 11: The charter party of the *Prince Henry*, which the island would receive with this, showed that the clause brought in the season before was kept, dealing with the settlement and payment for damages and for goods lost or not delivered, to which the island was to give particular attention. By that clause the amount of such damages and short delivery was not to be paid and made good in India, but was to be paid and made good by the owners to the Company in London on demand, upon their producing to the owners a true account, drawn up in India, of any such loss or damage that the ship might occasion. [...] **Interpretations** The demotion of the *Pitt* from a man of war to an ordinary merchant ship shows the Company experimenting with arming a heavier vessel for its own naval defence and then abandoning the trial when she disappointed, so that a 600 ton ship built or fitted to fight was returned to plain trading once she failed to justify the extra cost and manning that a warlike role required. Demurrage, the charge falling due when a ship was held beyond her agreed loading or unloading time, lay at the heart of the directors' insistence on speed at the island, since every day the *Prince Henry* lingered added to the Company's bill under the charter party, and in wartime those rates ran higher still, which is why the council was pressed to clear her cargo within the stipulated time and hurry her on to Canton. The charter party clause on damages moved the point of settlement from India to London, so that losses were assessed on the spot but recovered from the shipowners at home rather than deducted in India, a device that kept the Company's Indian accounts clear of such disputes and concentrated the reckoning in London where the owners could be held directly answerable on production of a certified account of the loss.
120	116	happen to be lost, before her arrival at, or shall return in safety to the Port of London, it is thereby agreed also that the Owners shall not be charged with any Sum of Money in respect of Goods damaged, either on the Outward or homeward bound Voyage, but such as shall by the Condition and appearance thereof, or by some other reasonable Proof, appear to be Ship Damage 12 We must observe to you that the Owners have made a very different Construction of the words Ship Damage before mentioned, to what we could ever have imagined, by confining it to the Limited Sense the Words signify, whereas it is our opinion when the words which were introduced, they meant all Damage whatsoever which Goods received actually on Board without distinction whether it proceeded from the bad Weather, or any other accidents. We should have set this Matter right in the Charter Party of the present Season, but the Owners positively insisting on the said words being Continued, and it being too late for us to help ourselves, we have with great reluctance been obliged to acquiesce	Whatever loss the ship might suffer before reaching London, or should she return there safely, it was agreed that the owners would not be charged with any sum for goods damaged on either the outward or homeward voyage, except such damage as by its condition and appearance, or by some other reasonable proof, appeared to be ship damage. 12: The directors had to point out that the owners had put a very different reading on the words ship damage from anything the directors could have imagined, confining them to the narrow sense the words carried, whereas the directors held that when the words were brought in they meant all damage whatsoever that goods actually took on board, without distinction, whether it came from bad weather or any other accident. The directors would have set the matter right in the charter party of the present season, but the owners kept insisting on the same words being continued, and, it being too late to help it, the directors had with great reluctance been obliged to give way. 13: Though the directors would not readily give up this point to the owners, even as the words then stood, it showed the need for the island to be very exact and careful in describing and establishing how, and in what way, the damage and short delivery already mentioned appeared, together with every circumstance that might help the directors in forming a judgement on it with the owners. Should any disputes arise with the commanders of the returning ships on the matter, [...]. **Interpretations**

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		13 Although We shall not easily give up this point to the Owners, even as the Words at present stands, yet it shews the necessity of your being very particular and careful, in describing and ascertaining how, and in what the Damages and short Delivery before mentioned appears, together with every Circumstance which may tend to assist Us in forming a Judgement thereon, with this you are referred back to a former by an order for any adjusting before the Owners, and if any disputes arise with the Commanders of the returning Ships on this subject, it will be right not	The whole dispute turned on the reach of the phrase ship damage in the charter party, a difference of legal construction with real money behind it, since the owners read it narrowly to cover only damage arising from the ship herself while the directors intended it to catch every loss goods suffered on board from any cause, so that a broad reading threw the risk of weather and accident onto the owners and a narrow one left it with the Company. The directors' admission that they had to continue the disputed wording against their own judgement, because the owners would not agree to change it and the season pressed, exposes the limits of the Company's bargaining power over the shipowners on whom it depended, for the supply of hulls was tight enough that the owners could hold out on a contested clause and the directors, unable to delay the season's sailings, were forced to accept terms they thought wrong. Since the wording could not be fixed, the directors fell back on evidence, charging the island to record in the fullest detail how each loss occurred and every circumstance attending it, so that when a claim came to be argued in London the Company could press its wider interpretation with a documented account and stand the better chance against the owners in any dispute over a particular cargo. **Speculations** Rather than hold out for the corrected wording they knew they were entitled to, the directors continued a clause they believed wrong because the owners would not yield and the season could not wait. The page sets the alternative directly against the choice made, the directors declaring they would not readily give up the point yet acquiescing all the same, so that the value of getting the season's ships to sea on time was allowed to override a contractual term the Company held to be in its own favour.
121	117	not to accept short payment of them for damage or deficiency, Notwithstanding what was said in our Letters to you by the Triton and Royal Duke 14 The other parts of the Charter party are nearly the same, excepting that the Owners have increased upon us, the Freight at the Rate of forty Shillings a Ton, and a Penny a Day pr Ton Demorage, which in Time of War, was always until this season stipulated at Nine pence a Ton now 15 You are at no time to put us to any Expence for the passage Accomodations and Diet at the Captains Table of any persons, you may order on board our Ships, the passage Money of five pounds pr head which we have ordered to be paid, is merely intended for the benefit of our Invalid Military, beneath the Rank of a Commissioned Officer, who are quite incapable of working their way home Our only inducement to this Caution, is that you may avoid laying us under a charge on such an account, as has unecessarily and improperly been done, for some of the Kings Officers, ordered on board the Bombay Castle from Bengal. 16 We have to add to the Information We gave you, as to the Ship Earl Temple, that if she should not be	The island was not to accept short payment from the commanders for damage or shortfall, despite what the directors had said in their letters by the *Prince of Orange* and the *Royal Duke*. 14: The rest of the charter party was much the same, except that the owners had raised the terms on the directors, the freight now at the rate of forty shillings a ton and the demurrage at a penny a day per ton, which in wartime had always until this season been fixed at ninepence a ton. 15: The island was at no time to put the directors to any expense for the passage, accommodation and diet at the captain's table of any persons it might order aboard the Company's ships. The passage money of five pounds a head, which the directors had ordered to be paid, was meant only for the benefit of their invalid soldiers below the rank of a commissioned officer, who were quite unable to work their way home. The directors' only reason for this caution was that the island might avoid laying them under a charge on such an account, as had needlessly and improperly been done for some of the King's officers ordered on board the *Bombay Castle* from Bengal. 16: To what the directors had said about the ship *Earl Temple*, they added that, should she not be needed for other service, their agents at Bombay were directed to send her in proper season to Canton, in a state to receive a cargo and at the same time to serve as convoy for the Company's ships from there, in the manner formerly intended for the *Pitt*. 17: The directors had appointed Mr Richard Bendy to command the longboat fitted out to [...]. **Interpretations**

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		necessarily Employed on other Service, Our Agents at Bombay more directed to send her in a proper Season to Canton, in a posture, for receiving a Cargo, and at the same Time to serve as Convoy for Our Ships from thence, in the Manner as was formerly intended for the Pitt. 17 We have paid Mr Richard Bendy, whom you appointed to command the Long Boat fitted out to give	The rise in freight to forty shillings a ton and the sharp jump in demurrage from ninepence to a penny a day for every ton show the pressure of wartime on the Company's shipping costs, since the scarcity of hulls and the added risk of the passage let the owners press for terms the directors had to accept, the demurrage change in particular exposing the Company to a far heavier daily penalty for any ship held beyond her time. The passage money of five pounds a head was a targeted subsidy, confined to invalid private soldiers who could not work their passage home, and the directors drew a firm line against extending it to officers who could either pay their own way or be carried on other terms, the misapplication of the benefit to King's officers on the *Bombay Castle* being exactly the loose practice they meant to stop. The plan to have the *Earl Temple* carry a cargo from Canton while also escorting the homeward Company ships shows the directors making a single large vessel serve two ends at once, trade and protection, a doubling up forced by the shortage of tonnage and the danger of the seas, and inherited from the abandoned scheme for the *Pitt* to act as an armed guard on the China route.
122	118	they have never to Our knowledge appeared, can We say any thing of the other five Persons who composed the Swift Long Boats Crew. 21 That the Demands of the homeward bound Ships, for Live Stock, as well as fuel, may reduced within the narrowest Compass for the Islands Recovery of itself by the encrease of those Articles, the Commanders are still enjoined to supply themselves in India, with sufficient Stocks for their homeward bound Voyage, and extraordinary Stay with you 22 According to your desire in the Letter of the 18th May a Long Boat framed will be sent by this Ships to put together after its arrival, and observing You purchased one of Captain Carter the 5th July last for Twenty pounds in distress on this Account will any longer exist, however it will be incumbent on You whenever they are employed on other than our own service, to take Care that any Damage they may then receive is made Good to us, and an Equivalent paid for such Service by those in whose employ they may be engaged, the Sloops Must You desire is likewise sent. 23 The Indents We have received from you this Season will by the Prince Henry be in general complied with, the Particulars you will be acquainted from the enclosed with Invoice and Bill of Lading, and shall rely on your accustomary Aeconomy and Care in the Management and disposal thereof for us, and Sale 24 And although We consign two Chests of Treasure to you by this Ship We are willing to hope you may be able from the Many which may offer for Bills to be drawn	Since the other five men who made up the longboat's crew had never, so far as the directors knew, been heard of, nothing could be said of them. 21: The demands of the homeward bound ships for live stock and for fuel could be reduced to the narrowest compass for the island's own recovery through the increase of those articles, since the commanders were still required to supply themselves in India with stock enough for their homeward voyage and any extra stay at the island. 22: In answer to the island's wish in its letter of 18 May, a longboat, framed, would be sent by this ship, to be put together on its arrival. The directors noted that the boat bought from Captain Carter on 5 July last, for twenty pounds, was in distress on this account. Should any longer need exist, it would fall to the island, whenever such boats were employed on other than the Company's own service, to see that any damage they then took was made good, and an equivalent paid for such service by those in whose employ they might be engaged. The sloops the island had asked for were likewise sent. 23: The requisitions received from the island that season by the *Prince Henry* were in general met, the particulars to be learnt from the enclosed invoice and bill of lading, and the directors would rely on the island's usual thrift and care in managing and disposing of the goods for the Company, and in their sale. 24: Though the directors consigned two chests of treasure to the island by this ship, they hoped it might be able, from the many bills that might offer, to draw [...]. **Interpretations** The instruction to hold down the homeward ships' demands for livestock and fuel by building up the island's own stock reflects the Company's wish to preserve St Helena's slender resources for its recovery rather than let passing fleets strip them, the burden shifted onto the commanders, who were to victual their ships in India with enough animals for the whole return passage and any delay at the anchorage, so that the island served as a supplement and not the main source of homeward provisions. The sending of a longboat in frame, to be assembled on arrival, shows the practical answer to supplying bulky craft to a remote settlement, since a boat shipped ready built would take up valuable deck space on the long voyage, while one sent as prepared timbers could be stowed compactly and put together

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			on the spot, the earlier vessel bought from Captain Carter for twenty pounds having evidently proved inadequate. The direction that hired boats used on other than Company service be paid for and any damage made good sets out a plain rule of cost recovery, ensuring that when the island's craft were lent to private or other work the Company neither bore the wear nor lost the use for nothing, but was compensated by whoever employed them, a small piece of the constant guarding of Company property against uncompensated use.
123	119	they have never to Our knowledge appeared, can We say any thing of the other five Persons who composed the Swift Long Boats Crew. 21 That the Demands of the homeward bound Ships, for Live Stock, as well as fuel, may reduced within the narrowest Compass for the Islands Recovery of itself by the encrease of those Articles, the Commanders are still enjoined to supply themselves in India, with sufficient Stocks for their homeward bound Voyage, and extraordinary Stay with you 22 According to your desire in the Letter of the 18th May a Long Boat framed will be sent by this Ships to put together after its arrival, and observing You purchased one of Captain Carter the 5th July last for Twenty pounds in distress on this Account will any longer exist, however it will be incumbent on You whenever they are employed on other than our own service, to take Care that any Damage they may then receive is made Good to us, and an Equivalent paid for such Service by those in whose employ they may be engaged, the Sloops Must You desire is likewise sent. 23 The Indents We have received from you this Season will by the Prince Henry be in general complied with, the Particulars you will be acquainted from the enclosed with Invoice and Bill of Lading, and shall rely on your accustomary Aeconomy and Care in the Management and disposal thereof for us, and Sale 24 And although We consign two Chests of Treasure to you by this Ship We are willing to hope you may be able from the Many which may offer for Bills to be drawn	Since the other five men who made up the longboat's crew had never, so far as the directors knew, been heard of, nothing could be said of them. 21: The demands of the homeward bound ships for live stock and for fuel could be reduced to the narrowest compass for the island's own recovery through the increase of those articles, since the commanders were still required to supply themselves in India with stock enough for their homeward voyage and any extra stay at the island. 22: In answer to the island's wish in its letter of 18 May, a longboat, framed, would be sent by this ship, to be put together on its arrival. The directors noted that the boat bought from Captain Carter on 5 July last, for twenty pounds, was in distress on this account. Should any longer need exist, it would fall to the island, whenever such boats were employed on other than the Company's own service, to see that any damage they then took was made good, and an equivalent paid for such service by those in whose employ they might be engaged. The sloops the island had asked for were likewise sent. 23: The requisitions received from the island that season by the *Prince Henry* were in general met, the particulars to be learnt from the enclosed invoice and bill of lading, and the directors would rely on the island's usual thrift and care in managing and disposing of the goods for the Company, and in their sale. 24: Though the directors consigned two chests of treasure to the island by this ship, they hoped it might be able, from the many bills that might offer, to draw [...]. **Interpretations** The instruction to hold down the homeward ships' demands for livestock and fuel by building up the island's own stock reflects the Company's wish to preserve St Helena's slender resources for its recovery rather than let passing fleets strip them, the burden shifted onto the commanders, who were to victual their ships in India with enough animals for the whole return passage and any delay at the anchorage, so that the island served as a supplement and not the main source of homeward provisions. The sending of a longboat in frame, to be assembled on arrival, shows the practical answer to supplying bulky craft to a remote settlement, since a boat shipped ready built would take up valuable deck space on the long voyage, while one sent as prepared timbers could be stowed compactly and put together on the spot, the earlier vessel bought from Captain Carter for twenty pounds having evidently proved inadequate. The direction that hired boats used on other than Company service be paid for and any damage made good sets out a plain rule of cost recovery, ensuring that when the island's craft were lent to private or other work the Company neither bore the wear nor lost the use for nothing, but was compensated by whoever employed them, a small piece of the constant guarding of Company property against uncompensated use.

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124	120	drawn upon us, to supply yourselves sufficiently with Cash for the ensuing Season, it is recommended to you on such prospect not to take those two Chests of Treasure out of the Ship, if you can well avoid it, but continue the same on board writing them off the St Helena Bill of Lading and consigning them to our Supra Cargoes at China where if your conveniency will permit they may be well employed for our Service 25 Your Demands for the several Articles wanting from China, being communicated to Our Agents there with Directions for furnishing the same accordingly, We hope they will be received safely, and in their proper Season. 26 No salt Provisions are consigned to you this Season on Account of the large remains you are possessed of, which will require great care for their preservation, and an attention that those which have been longest in Store be first expended, besides it will be an object well worthy our consideration to determine in what degree, the Ample Stock on hand may relieve you in the Issues of fresh provisions, by promoting the Consumption and delivery of the former, to as large an extent as possible to our own, and foreign Ships, that the Expence of your fresh Stock, may be proportionably lessened 27 Recourse must be had to our other Presidencies for Sugar or such other Articles, as you were customarily furnished with, from Fort Marlborough, from the Circumstance of our ordering no Ship to be directly returned	Bills drawn on the directors would supply the island with enough cash for the coming season, and on that prospect the directors recommended that it not take the two chests of treasure out of the ship if it could well avoid it, but keep them on board, writing them off the St Helena bill of lading and consigning them to the Company's supercargoes at China, where, if the island's convenience allowed, they might be put to good use for the Company's service. 25: The island's demands for the several articles wanting from China had been passed to the Company's agents there, with directions to furnish them accordingly, and the directors hoped they would be received safely and in their proper season. 26: No salt provisions were consigned to the island that season, on account of the large remains it already held, which would need great care in their keeping and close attention that the oldest in store were used first. It was also well worth the directors' consideration to determine how far the ample stock on hand might relieve the island in its issues of fresh provisions, by pushing the consumption and delivery of the salted kind as far as possible to the Company's own and to foreign ships, so that the drain on the fresh stock might be proportionately eased. 27: The island had to look to the Company's other presidencies for sugar and such other articles as it had usually been supplied with from Fort Marlborough, since the directors had ordered no ship to be sent directly [...]. **Interpretations** The recommendation to leave the treasure aboard and send it on to the China supercargoes rather than land it shows the Company steering silver toward the point where it did most work, since bullion was the means of buying tea and goods at Canton, and cash needs at St Helena could be met instead by bills drawn on London, so the metal was kept moving eastward to the trade that turned it to profit rather than lying idle in an island chest. The decision to ship no salt provisions because the island's stores were already full, coupled with the order to run down the old salted stock by feeding it to visiting ships, reveals the management of a perishable reserve in a remote depot, where salt meat and fish spoiled if held too long, so the directors sought to work off the surplus through the passing fleets and thereby spare the island's fresh provisions, balancing one kind of supply against another. The reference to drawing sugar and other goods from other presidencies, now that no ship came straight from Fort Marlborough, reflects a change in the shipping routes that had knock on effects for the island's supply, since Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen had been a customary source and the redirection of its traffic forced St Helena to seek the same articles by other channels, a reminder of how the island's provisioning depended on the pattern of Company sailings it did not itself control.
125	121	to us in 1762 from the West Coast 28 Agreeable to the practice for some years past in this Time of War, when his Majestys Officers and Ships of War may be expected at the Island, We send four Chest of Claret for the Entertainment of those Gentlemen at the Governours Table 29 It appearing to us from the Diary of Our Supra Cargos of Council at Canton on 1759, that they purchased three sets of Mill Stones for grinding Sugar Canes for the use of the Manufactory at Fort	No ship was to be sent directly to the island in 1762 from the west coast. 28: Following the practice of some years past in wartime, when His Majesty's officers and warships might be expected at the island, the directors sent four chests of claret for the entertainment of those gentlemen at the Governor's table. 29: From the diary of the Company's supercargoes at Canton in 1760 it appeared that they had bought three sets of mill stones for grinding sugar canes for the manufactory at Fort Marlborough, amounting to seventy seven taels two mace and five candareens. One set had been sent to that settlement by way of Bengal, and the other two directed to be shipped for St Helena on the *Norfolk*

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		Marlborough, amounting to 77:2:50 Taels one Set whereof was Taels m c c sent to that Settlement by the way of Bengal, and the two others directed to be shipped for St Helena, on the Norfolk and Edgecote in order to be conveyed from thence to the West Coast, for any thing before us at present, We are ignorant whether these Stones came to your hands, yet should it have proved so. We would have you Ship them, by Sets, by the two first Occasions which may hereafter offer, either to Fort Marlborough directly, and if none presents thither, to any one of the three other Presidencies accompanying them with Invoice, and Bill of Lading and the necessary advices 30 In Answer to your observation that the prize Brandy sent last Season is too dear, for a Quick and profitable Sale, We can only say that We shall rely on your Care for our suffering as little as possible by Leakage, and that it may yeild us at least Invoice price. 31 The same sort of Pitch We send you this Year is used in his Majestys Service, preferable to any other, We direct that you signify to us, whether it answers better than any hitherto sent. 32 The thirty pieces of Rega Timber which you express yourselves in so much want of, and could not be sent on the Royal Duke comes to you in this Ship.	and *Edgecote*, to be carried from there to the west coast. On this the directors had no word whether the stones had reached the island, but should they have done so, they wished the island to ship them by sets, on the two first occasions offering hereafter, either to Fort Marlborough directly or, if none presented, to any one of the three other presidencies, with invoice, bill of lading and the necessary advices. 30: In answer to the island's remark that the prize brandy sent the season before was too dear for a quick and profitable sale, the directors could only say that they would rely on the island's care to suffer as little loss as possible by leakage, and that it might yield at least its invoice price. 31: The same sort of pitch that the directors sent that year was used in His Majesty's service, being preferable to any other, and they wished the island to say whether it answered better than any sent before. 32: The thirty pieces of riga timber which the island professed itself in such want of, and which could not be sent on the *Royal Duke*, came to it in this ship. [...] **Interpretations** The mill stones bought at Canton for the sugar manufactory at Fort Marlborough, priced in taels, mace and candareens, show the Company sourcing heavy industrial equipment through its China trade and routing it across the Indian Ocean by way of St Helena, the island serving as a transhipment point where cargoes could be held and passed on to the west coast, so that goods bought in one corner of the Company's world reached their use in another through a chain of ships and settlements. Riga timber was the prized softwood shipped from the Baltic port of Riga, valued for masts, spars and fine construction, and the island's pressing want of it underlines how a mid-ocean settlement depended on distant Europe even for building material, since nothing of that quality grew on St Helena and such stores had to be carried out from home and arrived only as shipping allowed. The exchange over the prize brandy that sold too dear reveals the island's role as a market where the Company disposed of goods, including brandy captured from the enemy in wartime, and the tension between recovering the invoice price and moving the stock quickly, the directors leaning on the island to limit loss by leakage while accepting that a captured cargo might not fetch what was hoped in so small a market.
126	122	33 The one hundred and forty five Barrels of Flour which you were advised there was a necessity of taking out of the Ship Royal Duke, you will receive by the Prince Henry as part of the Quantity ordered in Compliance with your Indent, this Parcel is distinguished from the other, part now sent, that you may resolve on inspection whether it may not be prudent to expend it before, what has been since provided. 34 When there is such a difference as you mention in the cost of Rice it ought by all means on the prospect of a want, to be purchased from such as are able to furnish is at the lowest Rate but it would it not be best to avoid any dependance on private purchases, by indenting suitable for this Article from Bengal.	33: The one hundred and forty five barrels of flour the island had been told must be taken out of the *Royal Duke* would reach it by the *Prince Henry*, as part of the quantity ordered to meet its requisition. This parcel was marked off from the other part now sent, so that the island might decide on inspection whether it would be prudent to use it up before what had since been provided. 34: Given such a difference as the island reported in the cost of rice, it ought by all means, when a want was in prospect, to be bought from those able to furnish it at the lowest rate. It would be better still to avoid any dependence on private purchases by requisitioning that article suitably from Bengal. 35: On a strict survey of the ten axletrees for gun carriages sent on the *Prince of Orange*, and returned because they did not suit those ships, the Company's carpenters had found seven of them fit for service, and these, having been reported good and serviceable by the proof master of ordnance and by the Company's own surveyor, were none of them sent back. Though the other three were not judged entirely unfit for service, they were looked on as not

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		35 Upon a strict survey here of the Ten Axel trees for Gun Carriages sent on the Triton, and returned on account of their being rent so as to be deemed by that Ships and our Carpenters unfit for service Seven of them having by the Proof Master of Ordnance and our own surveyor been reported good and serviceable, are none sent back, and although the three others are not judged entirely unfit for Service, yet being looked on as not good enough for your purpose, New ones are provided in their Room, yet We must observe, that even these three had they been housed at the Ordnance as intended, would of the Army have been serviceable many Years. 36 We are content with your writing off the Books the Sum of 120.19.8 for several particulars of Household Furniture, Boats, and other Articles as the same must from	good enough for the island's purpose, so new ones were provided in their place. Even those three, the directors had to observe, had they been hooped at the ordnance as intended for the army, would have served well for many years. 36: The directors were content with the island writing off the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds nineteen shillings and eightpence for various items of household furniture, books and other articles, as the same must [...]. **Interpretations** The survey of the returned axletrees shows the layered inspection the Company applied to military stores, since timbers rejected as unsuitable for one purpose were examined afresh by both the proof master of ordnance and the Company's own surveyor, seven passed as serviceable and kept, and only those genuinely wanting replaced, a careful sifting that avoided waste by salvaging what remained sound rather than condemning the whole consignment. The remark that the three lesser axletrees would have lasted for years had they been hooped at the ordnance points to a specific process of reinforcement, the binding of the wooden shafts with iron hoops as was done for army equipment, which greatly extended their working life, and its absence explains why timbers not quite good enough for the island were still not truly unfit, the difference lying in a finishing step the Company noted for the future. The advice to requisition rice from Bengal rather than depend on private purchases addresses the risk exposed by the wide difference in price the island had reported, since buying on the open market from whoever offered laid the Company open to overcharging and irregular supply, whereas drawing the grain through its own establishment at Bengal promised a steadier source at a controlled cost, part of the directors' preference for internal channels over local dealing.
127	123	from their Nature, be subject to decay and breakage, for the same Reason, We acquiesce in your Issues of One hundred and sixbe seven Blankets, for the use of your Garrison, depending on your care and Aeconomy that this practice may be as rare as Circumstances shall allow. 37 The Accounts that in Course of the former part of last Season, We received of the unfavourable Weather you sustained excited our sincere Concern, which however has in great measure dispelled by the happier prospect of a more favourable Season communicated in your latter advices, Which we trust you have been blessed with to your wishes that the Soil and Cattle may have been recovered and encreased in proportion suitable to your occasions, and the demand for provisions, this We apprehend from the directions contained to be given to our Commanders as before signified, will be so moderate as to put the Island in a Condition to enlarge its Stock in such a manner, that though We hope you may not Experience them, yet that you will in some degree be prepared against such unfavourable Seasons. 38 The Several Rules laid down in consultation for	Since such articles were by their nature liable to decay and breakage, the directors agreed for the same reason to the island's issue of one hundred and seventy six blankets for the use of its garrison, trusting to the island's care and thrift that the practice would be as sparing as circumstances allowed. 37: The accounts received of the unfavourable weather the island had suffered during the earlier part of the last season caused the directors real concern, which was largely relieved by the happier prospect of a better season carried in its later advices. The directors trusted the island had been blessed with such a season to its wish, so that the soil and cattle might have recovered and increased in proportion to its needs and to the demand for provisions. This they gathered from the directions to be given to their commanders, as noted before, which would be so moderate as to put the island in a state to enlarge its stock, so that even if those poor seasons did not return the island would in some degree be guarded against them. 38: The several rules laid down in consultation, for preventing the harmful use of spirituous liquors and restraining excessive drinking, for forbidding horses to graze on the Company's waste land to the harm of the black cattle, for regulating the number of horses and what persons should be entitled to keep them, for suppressing trespasses by cattle and forbidding their pasturage on particular spots at certain seasons, and for preventing the sale and purchase of stolen goods, appeared very wholesome and calculated to remove the evils the island was

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		preventing the Banefulness of Spirituous Liquors, and restraining excessive drinking for forbidding Horses grazing on the Companys Waste Land, to the prejudice of the Black Cattle for regulating the number of Horses, and what Persons shall be entitled to keep them for suppressing Trespasses by Cattle, and prohibiting their Pasturage on particular Spots at Certain Seasons, also for preventing the Sale and purchase of Stolen Goods, appearing very wholesome, and calculated to remove the Evils you were subject to from all disposed persons, cannot but meet with our approval	subject to from ill disposed persons, and could not but meet with the directors' approval. [...] **Interpretations** The body of local regulations the directors approved reveals the range of everyday disorders a small settlement had to govern, drink, the competition between horses and cattle for scarce grazing, trespass and the trade in stolen goods, and their endorsement from London shows how the island's internal by laws needed the directors' sanction to carry full authority, the distant proprietors backing the council's efforts to keep order among a mixed population of soldiers, settlers and slaves. The concern that horses grazing the Company's waste land harmed the black cattle points to the pressure on limited pasture on a small island, where every acre counted and the keeping of horses by private persons ate into the ground needed for the cattle that fed the garrison and the ships, so the directors were willing to limit who might keep horses at all in order to protect the more essential herds. The direction to keep the commanders' demands moderate so the island could build up its stock, set against the recent run of bad weather and poor harvests, shows the directors managing the island as a fragile larder to be nursed back to strength, deliberately easing the draw on its resources in a lean time so that it might recover a surplus and stand better prepared against the next failure of the season.
128	124	and We doubt not but from their due Execution the good Consequences which were proposed will ensue, It was also well done to enforce the due obedience to such Rules, the Fines you commendably laid upon William Hayes, and Thomas Harper for their debauching Military and Blacks, for the unlicenced Sales of Strong Liquors. 39 Among the other Delinquents, wherewith you have been perplexed, We cannot but with detestation look upon that Villanous Incendiary Thomas Byrne, and commend you for sending him off the Island as soon as possible 40 It would have been but a very faint Execution of our repeated and strenuous directions for preserving the strictest Military Discipline in Time of War, unavoidably to have passed the offence of Daniel Fewkes, for his insult to the Commander of and undue attendance with the East Playing Party of the Militia, on a Double Alarm for Enemies Ships, from your well timed Censure and Fine of this Man, the best Effects may be expected in the behaviour of All Persons in that Corps, of such importance to the Safety of the Island and the Inhabitants property 41 On this Subject we cannot but now therein clivid, for the unprovoked abuse of William Home by Mr Law, from whose Station a more becoming behaviour might have been expected, and which it will rest with you in future to enforce 42 From the many instances of the desertion of	The directors had no doubt that from the due execution of those rules the good results proposed would follow. They also thought it well done, in enforcing due obedience to such rules, that the island had commendably fined William Hayes and Thomas Harper for their debauching of the military and the slaves through the unlicensed sale of strong liquors. 39: Among the other offenders the island had reported, the directors could only look with loathing on that villainous incendiary Thomas Byrne, and they commended the island for sending him off the island as soon as possible. 40: It would have been but a very faint execution of the directors' repeated and strong directions for keeping the strictest military discipline in wartime had the island passed over the offence of Daniel Fewkes, for his insult to the commander and his poor attendance with the East Sligoing party of the militia on a double alarm for enemy ships. From the island's well timed censure and fine of this man, the best effects might be looked for in the conduct of everyone in that corps, a matter of such importance to the safety of the island and the inhabitants' property. 41: On this subject the directors were displeased at the unprovoked abuse of William Home by Mr Law, from whose station a more becoming behaviour might have been expected, and which the directors trusted the island would enforce in future. 42: From the many instances of the desertion of slaves, might it not be inferred that the more severe the punishments inflicted, the more obdurate they were rendered? Should it appear, on due consideration and from good policy, that imprisonment with scanty diet, or any other course less disgusting to humanity, except for flagrant crimes, [...]. **Interpretations** The fining of Hayes and Harper for selling liquor without licence to soldiers and slaves shows the Company treating the drink trade as a threat to discipline and order, since unlicensed sales corrupted the garrison and the enslaved workforce alike, and

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		Slaves, may it not be inferred that the frequent severe or penal Punishments inflicted on, render them more obdurate, if it shall appear so, on due consideration and from good Policy that Imprisonment with scanty Diet, or any other Chastisement less disgustful to humanity, except for flagrant Crimes may	the licensing system was a means of control as much as of revenue, letting the council regulate who might sell spirits and punish those who undermined the good conduct of the island's people. The proposal to reconsider the punishment of slaves who deserted marks a striking moment of pragmatic reflection, the directors suggesting that harsher penalties bred greater obstinacy and that confinement on short rations might serve better, reasoning from effect rather than cruelty, though the aim throughout remained the control and recovery of slaves as valuable property rather than any concern for their welfare, the phrase reserving severity for flagrant crimes marking the limit of the softer policy. The censure of Fewkes for failing in his militia duty during a double alarm for enemy ships underlines how the island's defence rested on the ordinary inhabitants turned soldiers, since a mid-ocean settlement could not garrison itself from regular troops alone and depended on every man of the militia turning out when the enemy threatened, so a single man's neglect and insolence struck at the whole system of citizen defence and had to be checked by example. **Speculations** The directors questioned whether the harsh punishment of deserting slaves was self defeating and floated confinement on scanty diet as a less brutal and more effective course, rather than simply endorsing severer penalties as the obvious answer to repeated desertion. The page shows the default response, more punishment for more disobedience, set against the directors' own inference that severity bred obduracy, so that a calculation of what actually deterred was allowed to override the reflex to meet defiance with greater force, though the motive lay in the more efficient control of valuable property and not in humanity.
129	125	may be attended with as good an Effect, it might be well worth Trial 43 As We do not find any thing material appears before us in respect to your Fortifications, it gives us Satisfaction of supposing they are in as proper State, observing that for a Continuance in such posture and to prevent all unnecessary expence, by their seasonable repair of their Defects, it is not to be doubted but that frequent and strict surveys are made thereof, for though We hope you will not be put to the Trial Yet it is of the last necessity that they should be used in the best condition to answer the designed end of their construction, in the resistance of all Attacks that may be made on them. It is also equally important that all Our Garrison Stores, and particularly the Gunpowder do frequently undergo the like Scrutinies, and that every Article thereof be disposed in such proper, and destinct order, that no confusion or perplexity may ensue, should you ever be obliged to withstand and Enemy 44 On a Representation from Fort Marlborough how serviceable some People experienced in building with rough Stone will prove there, We would have some of Our Slaves who are skilled in this Branch conveyed thither, when an opportunity offers, if you	Such a course might well be worth trying, if it were attended with as good an effect. 43: Since nothing material appeared to the directors about the fortifications, they were glad to suppose them in proper order, taking it that frequent and strict surveys were made of them, both to keep them so and to prevent all needless expense by the timely repair of their defects. Though the directors hoped the island would never be put to the test, it was of the utmost necessity that the works be kept in the best condition to answer the end for which they were built, the resistance of any attack. It was equally important that all the garrison stores, and the gunpowder above all, undergo the like scrutiny, and that every article be kept in such proper and distinct order that no confusion might arise should the island ever have to withstand an enemy. 44: On a report from Fort Marlborough of how useful some people skilled in building with rough stone would prove there, the directors wished some of the Company's slaves who were skilled in that work to be sent over when an opportunity offered, if the island had any such to spare. 45: The island's appointments of Mr Matthew Bazett to be secretary and David Alcock a writer, with the fixing of Mr Francis Wrangham as a factor, were agreeable to the directors. The island was to see that these men gave constant and adequate attention to the Company's business. The covenants agreeable to their appointments were to be executed by them here, and returned, and those persons already named to the directors were to give a bond for their faithful performance in five hundred pounds each. 46: Considering the growth of the Company's affairs, the increase of business, and the great attention that the arrival of a large number of the

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		have any such to spare. 45 Your appointments of Mr Matthew Bazett to be Secretary and David Alcock a Writer, with fixing Mr Francis Wrangham as a Factor are agreable to us, it will be your care to see that the attention of those persons to our Business is constant, and adequate to the appointments made them for it, Covenants agreeably as usual to be executed by the writer, and returned for whose faithful performance those persons are to through be named to us for executing a bond here, in five hundred pounds penalty 46 Observing the Extension of Our Affairs, the encrease for the of Business, and considering the extraordinary attention which the Consequence of a Large Number of Our Ships, with your at the same forced must occasion particularly in the Governors Department, our	Company's ships called for from the island at the same time, and especially the pressure on the Governor's department, [...]. **Interpretations** The request for slaves skilled in rough stone building to be sent from St Helena to Fort Marlborough shows the enslaved workforce being moved between the Company's settlements as a pool of specialised labour, their particular trade making them assets to be transferred where a building programme required them, so that skill in a craft determined a slave's fate and value across the whole span of the Company's eastern possessions. The requirement that the newly appointed officers execute covenants and post bonds of five hundred pounds each reveals the machinery by which the Company bound its servants to honest performance, the covenant setting out their obligations and the bond putting a substantial sum at risk should they fail or defraud, a financial security that gave the distant proprietors a hold over men handling their money and goods thousands of miles from London. The insistence on frequent surveys of the fortifications and the orderly keeping of powder and stores reflects the standing demand that a mid-ocean fortress be always ready, since an attack might come with little warning and the works and munitions had to be sound and their arrangement clear at a moment's notice, the directors pressing a discipline of constant inspection precisely because the island's isolation left it to defend itself until relief could arrive.
130	126	you are therefore permitted to take from among the planters Familys, or others two such capable, well deserving Youths as the Governor shall fix upon, to be entertained Writers, on the usual Terms and these are intended as Assistants to him 47 We have thought proper to annul the dependency of Sumatra on Fort St George, and have placed Fort Marlborough and its Subordinates, under the direction and management of a Governor and President and Council consisting of the same persons who were before charged with the trust of Our Affairs, in like manner and with as full Power and Authority as any of Our other Presidencies In consequence whereof a Royal Charter is now preparing to be sent thither for constituting Courts Civil and Criminal, with a Court of Requests which will be transmitted this Season, You will hereupon conform and Address yourselves to the New Establishment accordingly. 48 We have appointed Major General Stringer Lawrence Commander in Chief of all the Companys Forces in the East Indies he will proceed to his post on one of the latter Ships bound for the Coast and Bay this Season. 49 By this Ship We shall endeavour to furnish you with the Thirty Recruits advised to be wanting for Compleating your Garrison, Lists whereof will be enclosed for your information	The island was therefore allowed to take from among the planters' families, or other such capable and deserving youths as the Governor should fix upon, to be employed as writers on the usual terms, these being meant as assistants to the officers. 47: The directors had thought proper to end the dependence of Sumatra on Fort St George, and had placed Fort Marlborough and its subordinate stations under the direction of a governor, president and council made up of the same persons who had before been charged with the trust of the Company's affairs there, in like manner and with as full power and authority as any of the Company's other presidencies. A royal charter was accordingly being prepared and would be sent out that season, for constituting courts of civil and criminal justice, with a court of requests, and the island was to conform and address itself to the new establishment. 48: The directors had appointed Major General Stringer Lawrence commander in chief of all the Company's forces in the East Indies, and he would proceed to his post on one of the later ships bound for the Coast and Bay that season. 49: By this ship the directors would try to furnish the island with the thirty recruits reported wanting to complete its garrison, the lists to be enclosed for its information with the necessary particulars concerning them. Should these exceed the island's needs, by keeping more of those whose contracted time was near expiring, the surplus would be conveyed at the first convenient opportunity to any of the Company's settlements, or to such as refused to relieve the island, if the men were able and it could be done on reasonable terms. **Interpretations** The raising of Fort Marlborough to a full presidency, freed from its subordination to Fort St George and given its own governor, council and charter of justice, marks a significant reorganisation of the Company's Sumatran affairs, elevating the west coast pepper settlement to the same rank as Madras and Bombay, with courts of civil and

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		of the necessary particulars concerning them; if these should exceed your occasions by relishing more of those whose contracted time is on the point of Expiration, it will be well done by the most convenient opportunity to convey them to any of Our Settlements, or any such who refuse to relist with you; if they are able Men and it can be done on reasonable Terms.	criminal justice and a court of requests for small debts, a grant of legal authority that reflected the Company's growing exercise of sovereign powers over its eastern territories. The court of requests named in the new charter was a tribunal for the swift and cheap recovery of small debts, sitting without the forms and costs of the higher courts, and its inclusion shows the Company providing the machinery of everyday commercial justice for a settlement whose trade generated a stream of minor disputes needing quick resolution among merchants, servants and inhabitants. The arrangement for surplus recruits, to be passed on to other settlements or even to those that had refused to relieve St Helena, reveals the Company managing its soldiers as a shared and mobile resource across its eastern stations, the men shifted where they were most wanted and the refusal of one settlement to help another noted as a mark against it, the whole system depending on drafts sent from London and redistributed according to each garrison's need.
131	127	50 For the Reasons assigned in favour of Captain Christophers Beale, We acquiesce with the permission granted him of repairing hither under the continuance of his pay, for recovery of his Health, the rarer such practice shall be the better, trusting as his Brother Officers promised to keep up his Duty, in his Absence, no extraordinary Charge will arise from the Furlough, You have indulged him with. We are from the Character you give this Officer concerned to inform you he died the 5th December from which Time his pay is to cease, and you will supply his post on receipt hereof with a Capable and deserving Person. 51 In Commiseration of Corporals Austins misfortune by the loss of sight an allowance is made him, although We have no fund peculiar to the Relief of such unhappy people, as been in some places mistakenly conceived; and is intimated, you that they may be aware of apprehending themselves entitled to unusual Bounties for the Grant whereof no sums are appropriated 52 Our Slave Essex who deserted from the Island on the Bombay Castle, was sent on board the Admiral Watson with directions to Captain Fowler for dropping him with you, on that Ships return homeward. 53 Another of Our Coffrees who ran away from the Island and came hither on the Hector named Grewer, is returned to you on this Ship, this Slave appears to have been punished for an Offence committed, Yet being bred a Mason, must be very serviceable to you, which induced us notwithstanding the Fault, to send him back, as he appeared when before us, struck with Contrition; and on his assurances of future good behaviours We have promised he shall not be corrected for this desertion. 54 A Soldier of your Garrison and another Coffree who had secreted themselves, on board his Majestys Ship Yarmouth, and were	50: For the reasons given in favour of Captain Christopher's boats, the directors agreed to the leave granted him to come home, with his pay continued, for the recovery of his health, trusting that such a practice would be the better for his brother officers having promised to keep up his duty in his absence, so that no extra charge would arise from the furlough the island had allowed him. From the character the island gave of this officer, the directors were sorry to learn he had died on 5 December, from which time his pay was to cease, and the island was to fill his post on receipt of the letter with a capable and deserving person. 51: In pity for Corporal Austin's misfortune in the loss of his sight, an allowance was made him, though the directors had no fund set apart for the relief of such unhappy people, as had been mistakenly supposed in some places. It was made clear to the island that it should be wary of thinking itself entitled to unusual bounties, no sums being set aside for such grants. 52: The Company's slave Sfoux, who had deserted from the island on the *Bombay Castle*, was sent aboard the *Admiral Watson*, with directions to Captain Fowler to drop him at the island on that ship's return home. 53: Another of the Company's slaves, who ran away from the island and came there on the *Hector*, named Spencer, was returned to the island on this ship. This slave appeared to have been punished for an offence committed, yet being bred a mason, and likely to be very useful to the island, the directors were led, despite the fault, to send him back, as he had appeared before them struck with contrition. On his assurance of good behaviour hereafter, the directors had promised he would not be punished for his desertion. 54: A soldier of the island's garrison, and another coffree, who had hidden themselves aboard His Majesty's ship *Yarmouth*, and were discovered after the ship left the island, were on their arrival here sent aboard the *Burford*, a royal ship of war, at the Nore, and there detained. [...] **Interpretations** The handling of the two runaway slaves Sfoux and Spencer shows the Company tracking and recovering enslaved people as valuable property across oceans, returning them to St Helena on its own ships, and in Spencer's case the man's trade as a mason weighing so heavily that his skill bought him a remission of punishment, the directors trading the deterrent of discipline against the worth of his labour

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		discovered after the Ship left the Island, on her arrival here, being sent on board the Burrus Royal Ship of War at the Nore, were detained and We	and extracting a show of contrition and a promise of good conduct as the price of his return. The allowance to the blinded Corporal Austin, granted while the directors expressly denied holding any fund for such relief, reveals the discretionary and grudging nature of the Company's provision for its disabled servants, each grant made as a particular favour rather than an entitlement, and the sharp warning against expecting unusual bounties shows the directors anxious to prevent one act of charity from hardening into a claim that others might press. The term coffree, applied to one of the stowaways alongside the soldier, denoted a person of African origin, often used for slaves or free blacks in the Company's eastern settlements, and its appearance here, with the man swept up onto a King's warship at the Nore and detained, illustrates how such people could be caught up in the machinery of naval manning, their status leaving them exposed to seizure and disposal by others in a way that a free Englishman was not.
132	128	We suppose are since disposed of in the Fleet, for the Kings Service, as Our Claim of them was ineffectual. 55 This Desertion is an Evil which seems encreasing and Demands your attention, for preventing the Inconveniencies and expence it carries with it, We would therefore, have you fix upon such Regulations as may probably put an End thereto, by placing Centinels at the Water side, forbidding any Soldiers or Blacks to go off without a permitt, and under the Charge of a proper Officer who should not suffer them to board the Ship unless it is immediately necessary, that a list be taken of such as go off who should be mustered on their Return, whenany one being missing it should be instantly reported; and means follow for a recovery, besides none of these people should go off without the strictest precautions, or it can be prevented not at all when the Ships are on their departure; You on the spot will best with greater perspicuity what may seem the most Effectual Remedy, and improve upon our intimations accordingly. As to Our own Commanders the reminding them of the Penalty they expose themselves to, by bringing away these people may have a good Effect. 56 A Slave named Dolphin the Property of a private person on the Island who had secreted himself on board the Tilbury is at the Expence of the Owners of that Ship, now returned hereupon let the Inhabitants be informed, that if they are not careful to restrain their Blacks from going off to the Shipping it must not be expected We shall put ourselves to the inconvenience their Elopement occasions. 57 His Majesty having been graciously pleased to encourage the making Observations on the Transit of the Planet Venus over the suns disk on the 6th June next, and proper persons being engaged by the Royal Society for the purpose, two of them Mr Charles	The directors supposed the two men had since been disposed of in the fleet for the King's service, since the Company's claim to them had proved ineffectual. 55: This desertion was a growing evil that demanded the island's attention, for the trouble and expense it carried. The directors wished the island to fix on such regulations as might probably put an end to it, by placing guards at the waterside, forbidding any soldiers or slaves to go off without a permit and under the charge of a proper officer, who was not to let them board a ship unless it was at once necessary. A list was to be taken of any who went off, who should be mustered on their return, and if any one were missing it should be instantly reported and means followed for a recovery. None of these people should go off at all without the strictest precautions, or the practice be stopped altogether when the ships were about to sail. The island, on the spot, would see with greater clearness what seemed the most effective remedy and improve on the directors' hints accordingly. As for the Company's own commanders, reminding them of the penalty they exposed themselves to by carrying these people away might have a good effect. 56: A slave named Dolphin, the property of a private person on the island, who had hidden himself aboard the *Tilbury*, was at the expense of the owners of that ship, no further need arising. On this the inhabitants were to be told that if they were not careful to restrain their slaves from going off to the shipping, the directors would not accept the trouble their escape occasioned. 57: The King having been graciously pleased to encourage the making of observations on the transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disc on 6 June next, and proper persons being engaged by the Royal Society for the purpose, two of them, Mr Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, were to proceed to Fort Marlborough on [...]. **Interpretations** The detailed scheme of waterside guards, permits and musters against slaves and soldiers escaping aboard ship reveals how serious a drain such flight had become for the island, and how far the Company was willing to go in policing the boundary between shore and sea, treating every departing vessel as a potential avenue of escape and every soldier or slave as a possible runaway to be counted out and counted back, the whole apparatus aimed at holding a controlled population on a small island from which the passing fleets offered a tempting way out.

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		Mason and Jeremiah Dixon proceed to Fort Marlborough on his	The engagement of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon by the Royal Society to observe the transit of Venus from Fort Marlborough places the letter at a celebrated moment in the history of science, the transit of 1761 being observed from stations around the world to help measure the distance from the earth to the sun, and the Company's ships carrying the astronomers to their posts shows its network of settlements and vessels pressed into the service of a great international scientific undertaking. The rule that the shipowners bear the cost when a private person's slave stowed away, coupled with the warning that owners must restrain their own slaves, shows the Company declining to shoulder the burden of every escape and pushing responsibility onto those who profited from the slaves or carried them off, a careful allocation of liability that kept the trouble and expense of recovery away from the Company's own account wherever the runaway was not its property.
133	129	His Majestys Ship Seahorse, and the other the Reverend Mr Nevile two Maskelyne, and Mr Robert Waddington, take their passage on the Prince Henry to St Helena As this is done to make some improvements in Astronomy which will be of general utility, the two last named Gentlemen are upon their arrival, and during their Stay at the Island to be accommodated by you in a suitable manner, with Diet and appartments, at the Companys Expence, and you are to give them all the Assistance as to Materials, Workmen, and whatever else the Service they are Employed upon may require, and when they are ready to depart You are also at Our Expence, to provide them with a Passage on board one of the returning Ships for England, and you are to some the Commanders of those Ships whereon they shall be appointed to proceed with Orders for receiving them accordingly, You are also on the return and arrival with you of Messrs Mason and Dixon, to Entertain and provide for them with the Same Civility at our Charge 58 You are on the applications of Messrs Maskelyne and Waddington to advance them such Sums, as they shall have reason for, not exceeding one hundred and ninety pounds to the former, and Thirty pounds to the latter, on their Draughts upon Treasurer of the Royal Society, payable to us for the Sums so advanced, which the Society have undertaken to discharge if they do not exceed the aforested respective Sums. 59 We gave some directions last Season by our Secretary to the presidency of Fort St George, by his Majestys Ship Chatham on this Subject, to be communicated to all our other Settlements, and We now inclose you a Copy thereof for your information and observance, that if you have any Persons properly Qualified for such undertaking they may be accordingly, and notwithstanding the arrival of the said two Gentlemen	One of the two astronomers went out on His Majesty's ship *Seahorse*, while the other two, the Reverend Nevil Maskelyne and Mr Robert Waddington, took their passage on the *Prince Henry* to St Helena. As this was done to make improvements in astronomy of general use, the island was, on their arrival and during their stay, to accommodate the two last named gentlemen suitably, with diet and apartments, at the Company's expense. It was to give them all the assistance in materials, workmen and whatever else the service they were engaged upon might require, and when they were ready to leave, at the Company's charge, to provide them with a passage on one of the returning ships for England. The commanders of those ships were to have orders to receive them accordingly, and the island was likewise to entertain and provide for Mr Mason and Mr Dixon on their return and outward passage, with the same courtesy and at the Company's charge. 58: On the application of Mr Maskelyne and Mr Waddington, the island was to advance them such sums as they had reason for, not exceeding one hundred and ninety pounds to the former and thirty pounds to the latter, on their draughts upon the treasurer of the Royal Society, payable to the Company for the sums so advanced, which the society had undertaken to discharge if they did not exceed the respective sums fixed. 59: The directors had sent some directions the season before, by the Company's secretary, to the presidency of Fort St George, by His Majesty's ship *Chatham*, on this subject, to be passed on to all the other settlements, and they now enclosed a copy for the island's information and observance. Should the island have any persons properly qualified for such an undertaking, they might be used accordingly, and despite the arrival of those gentlemen it was expected they would give their assistance in the best manner they were able. [...] **Interpretations** The reception of Maskelyne and Waddington at St Helena, housed and supplied and funded at the Company's charge for their observation of the transit of Venus, shows the merchant Company acting as patron and host to the astronomy of the day, since the island's position in the South Atlantic made it a valuable station for the observation, and the Company's willingness to bear the cost and lend materials, workmen and passage reflects the prestige attached to supporting a scientific enterprise sponsored by the King and the Royal Society. The arrangement by which the astronomers drew on the treasurer of the Royal Society through

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		it is expected they do contribute their assistance in the best manner they are ably	advances made at the island, capped at fixed sums the society had bound itself to repay, reveals a neat mechanism of long distance credit, the Company front the cash on the spot and recovering it in London from the society, so that men on a remote island could be financed for a specialised undertaking without carrying coin, the whole resting on the Company's confidence in the society's undertaking to make good the draughts. Nevil Maskelyne, sent here to observe the transit, was the astronomer who would later become Astronomer Royal, and his voyage to St Helena marked an early stage of the systematic observation that occupied the leading scientific men of the age, the island serving as one of the far flung posts from which the heavens were watched, a role quite apart from its everyday functions as a garrison and a victualling station yet made possible by the same network of Company ships.
134	130	60 We take the first occasion of informing you, that it having pleased Almighty God to call to his Mercy our late Sovereign Lord King George the second of Blessed Memory, who deceased suddenly on the 25th of October last, Orders were immediately given for proclaiming his Present Majesty George the Third, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and so forth, which was accordingly performed with the usual Ceremonies on the Cities of London and Westminster, amidst the Universal acclamations of his Majestys Subjects, Orders were also given for making the like Proclamation in all parts of his Majesties Kingdoms, which is been accordingly done in all the Places where Notice of this Event has reached. 61 On the 29th October last the Right Honorable Mr Secretary Pitt, transmitted to us some printed Copys of the Proclamation for proclaiming his Royal Majesty King George the Third, and signified to us in a Letter dated that Day, that We should cause the like proclamation to be forwith proclaimed, and published in the several Governments within the Companys Jurisdictions in the East Indies, with the Solemnities and Ceremonies usually and accustomed on such an occasion; and for Our information enclosed a Draught of the Form of the Proclamation to be used. A copy of Mr Pitts Sundays Letter as also of the said Form accompanies this for your better guidance. 62 You are therefore immediately upon Receipt hereof, to cause his Majesty King George the Third, to be proclaimed at St Helena with all the due Solemnity and Expressions of Loyalty and Duty becoming so Important an Occasion.	60: The directors took the first occasion of informing the island that, it having pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy the late sovereign King George the Second, who died suddenly on 25 October last, orders were at once given for proclaiming his present Majesty King George the Third, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith and so forth. This was done with the usual ceremonies in the cities of London and Westminster, amid the universal acclamation of his Majesty's subjects, and orders were also given for making the like proclamation in all parts of his Majesty's kingdoms, which had accordingly been done in every place where notice of the event had reached. 61: On 29 October last the Right Honourable Mr Secretary Pitt sent the directors some printed copies of the proclamation for proclaiming King George the Third, and signified in a letter of that day that they should have the like proclamation forthwith proclaimed and published in the several governments within the Company's jurisdiction in the East Indies, with the solemnities and ceremonies usual on such an occasion. For the directors' information he enclosed a draught of the form of the proclamation to be used, and a copy of Mr Pitt's letter, with the form itself, accompanied this for the island's better guidance. 62: The island was therefore, immediately on receipt of this, to cause King George the Third to be proclaimed at St Helena with all the due solemnity and expressions of loyalty and duty becoming so important an occasion. **Interpretations** The order to proclaim the new king at St Helena, sent out through the Company on the instruction of the Secretary of State, shows how the accession of a monarch was carried to the furthest reaches of British authority through the Company's own machinery, the proclamation to be repeated with full ceremony at every settlement so that the transfer of sovereignty was formally acknowledged even on a remote Atlantic island, the ritual binding the distant possession to the crown and affirming the loyalty of its people. The routing of the King's command through Secretary Pitt to the directors and on to the island reveals the constitutional position of the Company as an instrument of the state in its overseas territories, since a matter of pure royal ceremony, the proclamation of a sovereign, reached the East Indies not through any officer of the crown but through the merchant Company that governed there, a striking mark of how far public and commercial authority had merged in the Company's dominions.

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			The styling of the king as ruler of France, a title the English and British crown had claimed since the Middle Ages long after any real power there was lost, appears here in the formal proclamation as a piece of inherited ceremony, its retention in the royal style a matter of tradition rather than fact, carried dutifully into the proclamation to be read at the island.
135	131	63 We have lately received the disagreeable Accounts, from the Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough, and Mr Herbert at Batavia by a Dutch Ship That two French Men of War, were on the West Coast of Sumatra in February last, those Advices leaves us in a State of uncertainty as to the Consequences of the Enemys Attempt upon our Settlements there, but presume We are in possession of Fort Marlborough at least, though We suppose You will be fully informed of the Event before the Receipt hereof not yet should it have proved so You will make the proper use of this Information We are. Your Loving Friends London 31 Decemr 1760 Rich Warner Tho Waters Law Sulivan Thos Rous P Godfrey George Amyand Chas Cutts John Dorrien Fredk Pigou Chas Gough H T Crabb Boulton G Stevens Geo Dudley John Harrison G Rooke Henry Savage John Browne John Raymond Henry Hadley Timothy Tullie	63: The directors had lately received the disagreeable accounts from the Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough, and from Mr Herbert at Batavia by a Dutch ship, that two French men of war were on the west coast of Sumatra in February last. Those advices left matters uncertain as to the consequences of the enemy's attempt on the Company's settlements there, but the directors presumed they held Fort Marlborough at least, and supposed the island would be fully informed of the event before this letter reached it. Should that not have proved so, the island was to make proper use of the information. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 31 December 1760, and signed by Richard Warner, Thomas Waters, Laurence Sulivan, Thomas Rous, P. Godfrey, George Amyand, Charles Cutts, John Dorrien, Frederick Pigou, Charles Gough, H. Crabb Boulton, G. Stevens, George Dudley, John Harrison, G. Rooke, Henry Savage, John Browne, John Raymond, Henry Hadley and Timothy Tullie. **Interpretations** The report of two French warships off the west coast of Sumatra in early 1761 shows the war reaching the Company's most distant eastern settlements, and the directors' uncertainty over the fate of Fort Marlborough reveals how slowly and imperfectly news travelled from that quarter, the intelligence arriving second hand through a Dutch ship by way of Batavia, so that months after the event the proprietors in London could only presume their pepper settlement still held and hope the nearer island had learned more. The passage of the news through Mr Herbert at Batavia by a Dutch vessel illustrates the reliance on foreign and neutral shipping for intelligence in wartime, since the Dutch settlement at Batavia stood on the routes between Sumatra and Europe and Dutch ships could carry word where English ones could not safely pass, the Company drawing on this incidental channel to piece together the state of its own threatened possessions. The directors' instruction that the island make proper use of the information, should it not already have fuller news, reflects the standing practice of relaying intelligence outward through the chain of settlements, St Helena serving as a node where reports were received and forwarded, so that even an account arriving in London might be sent back out to an island that lay nearer the scene yet might have missed the news, each settlement expected to act on what it learned.
136	132	Our Governour and Council of St Helena. 1 Our last General Letter to you went under date of the 31th of December by the Ship Prince Henry, which sailed from Spithead the Instant and shall now add such further Information and directions as appear requisite 2 Fifty Barrels of Flour that had this Year been provided for you with a design to have been sent on the Prince Henry, were returned from that Ship, which was so fully laden as not	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the season's shipping and standing orders. 1: The directors' last general letter to the island went by the ship *Prince Henry*, dated 31 December, which sailed from Spithead on the [...] instant, and they now added such further information and directions as appeared needful. 2: Fifty barrels of flour that had been provided for the island that year, meant to be sent on the *Prince Henry*, were returned from that ship, since she was so fully laden as not to be in a condition to receive them.

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		to be in a Condition to receive the same. 3 To prevent any disorder in Our Affairs by any persons quitting Our Service, without giving timely notice of their intentions, We direct that it be a standing order, that for the future no person whatsoever, from the Governor to the lowest Covenanted Servant, be permitted unless by our especial Leave or Order, to depart the Island, without giving notice of their intention to the Governour and Council at, twelve Months, before such Person leaves it, whereof the Board are to give immediate Notice bout in the most publick places, in Order that every person with whom they have concerns shall be timely informed to have recourse to them All other Persons as well in Our Service, as otherwise, must give at least a Months Notice, in the same Manner of their intentions of leaving the Island, before the Departure, which you are to take Care is complied with, that no one may be suffered to retire, until he has fully adjusted his accounts, and paid what shall appear to be due from him We now apprise you of this Order, finding you were not informed thereof at the Time it was sent to all our other Settlements	3: To prevent any disorder in the Company's affairs from persons quitting its service without timely notice of their intention, the directors laid down a standing order that in future no person whatever, from the Governor to the lowest covenanted servant, should be allowed, unless by special leave or order, to leave the island without giving notice of the intention to the Governor and Council twelve months before departure. On receiving such notice the board was to give immediate notice in the most public places, so that everyone who had dealings with that person might be warned in time to make their claims. All other persons, whether in the Company's service or not, were to give at least a month's notice in the same way of any intention to leave the island before departure. The island was to see this carried out, so that no one might be allowed to retire until he had fully settled his accounts and paid whatever appeared due from him. The directors now made the island aware of the order, finding it had not been informed of it at the time it was sent to all the other settlements. **Interpretations** The twelve month notice required before any servant might leave the island, from the Governor down to the humblest covenanted man, was a device to protect creditors and the Company alike against debtors slipping away unpaid, since the long warning and its public proclamation gave anyone with a claim time to press it before the departing person sailed, and the bar on leaving until accounts were settled turned the difficulty of quitting a remote island into an instrument for enforcing the payment of debts. The graded scale of notice, a full year for covenanted servants and a month for everyone else, reflects the different holds the Company had over the two groups, its own bound servants tied by covenant and answerable for money and goods entrusted to them, needing the longer warning to allow a full reckoning, while free inhabitants and transients, with lighter obligations, could be let go on shorter notice yet still not before their local debts were cleared. The directors' admission that St Helena had never been told of an order long since sent to every other settlement exposes the gaps that opened in the Company's communication with its scattered posts, an instruction meant to be uniform across all its establishments having simply missed the island, a reminder that the machinery of a global enterprise depended on letters that could be delayed, lost or overlooked, leaving one settlement out of step with the rest.
137	133	4 Corporal Keeling whom We advised you in Our last had been paid his full Wages for his Services as One of the Crew of the Swift Long Boat, now at his desire permitted to return to you on the Prince Henry, having made him a present of Six Guineas on that Account, he is to preserve the same Rank as he would have enjoyed had he continued on the Island, and on his arrival there, the full amount of the pay during his absence is to be made good to him We are London 14th January 1761. Your Loving Friends Law Sulivan Thos Rous P Godfrey Chas Cutts John Harrison John Browne	4: Corporal Keeling, whom the directors had mentioned in their last letter, had been paid his full wages for his service as one of the crew of the *Swift* longboat, and was now, at his own wish, allowed to return to the island on the *Prince Henry*. Having made him a present of six guineas on that account, the directors ordered that he keep the same rank as he would have held had he stayed on the island, and that on his arrival the full amount of his pay during his absence be made good to him. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 14 January 1761, and signed by Laurence Sulivan, Thomas Rous, P. Godfrey, Charles Cutts, John Harrison, John Browne, Henry Hadley, Richard Warner, Thomas Waters, Frederick Pigou, Henry Savage, Boisdatier Watson, Robert Smith, G. Stevens, Charles Gough and G. Rooke. **Interpretations** The treatment of Corporal Keeling on his return shows the Company taking care to leave a captured and long absent servant no worse for his misfortune,

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		Hen Hadley Richd Warner Tho Waters Fredk Pigou Henry Savage Boneshiew Watson Richd Smith G Stevens Chas Gough G Rooke	restoring the rank he would have held had he never been taken, making up his pay for the whole time away and adding a gratuity for his trouble, a generosity that reflected the value of holding faithful men to their posts and the recognition that those exposed on hazardous service ought not to lose by it.
138	134	Our Governour and Council of St Helena 1 Since your Receipt of our last advices dated the 14th January 1761 by the Prince Henry your several Letters have came to hand under dates of the 18th December 1760, 24th February 13th & 26th May 29th June 30th July and 9th Sept 1761, the interesting intelligence therein communicated relating to our Shipping and Indian Affairs, demand one General Observation that they justly continue to avoid the same applause which for some time past We have annually expressed thereon. 2 Your original Letter of the 18th December 1760 did not reach us the same whereof, was conveyed to our great misfortune being taken the 5th of March last by the Brother a French East India Ship fifteen Leagues distant from Scilly and was thereupon carried into Brest, the Commander and Officers soon after regained their liberty and the Crew in a short space following were also retained, Captain Mankland commendably obeying the orders for his destruction of all the Packets on board on such an Unhappy event We were without your said Letter until the Duplicate came by the Grassbury 3 His Majestys Ship the Liverpool which left the Coast of Choromandel the 5th of February last charged with the Government and our advices and did not make the Island arrived at Spithead the 19th July with the first Account of the most agreeable and Important News of the surrender of Pondicherry to His Majestys and the Companys Arms 4 His Majestys Ship Lyon advice at Plymouth Sound the 2 of October being separated from the Lord Anson the Night of the 20th August in a very hard Gale of Wind which lasted 24 Hours	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the season's correspondence and shipping. 1: Since the island received the directors' last advices of 14 January 1761 by the *Prince Henry*, its several letters had come to hand, dated 18 December 1760, 24 February, 13 and 26 May, 29 June, 30 July and 9 September 1761. The interesting intelligence in them, on the island's shipping and Indian affairs, called for one general observation, that they justly deserved the same commendation the directors had for some time past given them each year. 2: The island's original letter of 18 December 1760 did not reach the directors, having by great misfortune been taken on 5 March last by the *Prince Edward*, a French man of war, fifteen leagues from Scilly, and carried into Brest. The commander and officers soon regained their liberty, and the crew a short time after were also released. Captain Mankland had commendably obeyed the orders for the destruction of all the packets aboard on such an unhappy event, so that they went without the island's said letter until the duplicate came by the *Glassbury*. 3: His Majesty's ship *Liverpool*, which left the Coast of Coromandel on 5 February last charged with the government's advices and the Company's, and did not touch at the island, reached Spithead on 19 July with the first account of the most agreeable and important news of the surrender of Pondicherry to His Majesty's and the Company's arms. 4: His Majesty's ship *Lyon* arrived at Plymouth Sound on 2 October, having separated from the *Lord Anson* on the night of 20 August in a very hard gale of wind which lasted [...]. **Interpretations** The capture of the island's letter by a French warship near Scilly, and Captain Mankland's destruction of the packets to keep them from the enemy, reveals the standing practice by which commanders threw their dispatches overboard or burned them on the point of capture, since the correspondence could betray the movements, strength and plans of the Company's ships and settlements, so the loss of a letter to the sea was accepted as the price of denying intelligence to the enemy, the gap filled later by the duplicate sent on another ship. The surrender of Pondicherry to the British marked the fall of the principal French settlement in India and effectively ended French power there in the Seven Years War, and its report as the most agreeable and important news shows how closely the Company followed the military struggle against its French rival, the capture of that base removing the chief threat to English trade and dominion on the Coromandel Coast. The arrival of warships bearing the government's and the Company's advices together, and the separation of the *Lyon* from the *Lord Anson* in a gale, illustrate the hazards and the shared channels of wartime communication, the King's ships carrying Company dispatches as well as the state's, and the ordinary perils of the sea, storm and dispersal adding to the danger of the enemy in the passage home past the latitude of the island.

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139	135	Hours in the Latitude of 13.30 No 2 Cº from Ferdinando Loronho the Endeavour Captain Chick advises he used to rejoin his Convoy proving ineffectual, after consulting his Officers he bore away for Lisbon arrived in the Tagus the 5th October and on his Spithead the 5th November 5 The success that since the date of Our last advices has occurred to the British Arms in Europe against the Enemys Marine wherein Our Commerce is more particularly interested consists of the Captures of the Warwick Ship of War mounting 34 pierced for 60 Guns having on board 245 Men whereof 74 were a detachment from the Fornet, Kings Troops bound for the Isle of France, same Bourbon with Provisions Ammunition and Stores this Ship had been one of the Royal Navy of great Britain out before at the Commencement of the present War, also the Bretin French East India Ship for the Isle of France and Bordersbury manned with 363 Men 93 of these Soldiers in the Company's pay and Laden with Ordinance Naval Stores Merchandize add 24000 Dollars was pierced for 64, and mounted 22 Guns the Vallant of the same size and Force with Fidelle Frigate of 24 Guns belonging also to the Company sailed from Port L'Orient in Company with prize but were not met with, Another of the Ships of 600 Tons 22 Guns and 208 Men bound for the Isle of Bourbon with Merchandize and Stores was taken by a Bristol Privateer likewise the Frigate Subtil of Sixteen Guns and 84 Men homeward bound from Mauritius which She left the 6th of May has been brought into Plymouth from the Prisoners of this Vessil intelligence is gained of the great distress None of these Ships said to be in those parts are Ridee for Masts and Stores, and of the Islands themselves from the great want of Provisions and Necessaries, and on the 27 of December last the First Bonglogue of 28 Guns and 140 Men of add for Port L'Orient with Coffee and Pepper from Mauritius which she left about the end of September was taken by His Majestys Ship, and brought into Plymouth. The Count D'Estaing was a passenger on	The gale lasted some hours, in the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minutes north, longitude 26 degrees east from Fernando Loronho. Captain Chick reported that, his attempt to rejoin his convoy proving fruitless, he consulted his officers and bore away for Lisbon, reaching the Tagus on 5 October and arriving here on 5 November. 5: The success that had attended the British arms in Europe against the enemy's marine since the directors' last advices, in which the Company's trade was more particularly concerned, took in the capture of the following. The *Warwick* man of war, mounting sixty four guns and carrying two hundred and forty five men, of whom seventy four were a detachment of the King's troops bound for the Isle of France, came out with provisions, ammunition and stores, this ship having been one of the Royal Navy of Great Britain, but taken at the beginning of the present war. Also the *Bristol*, a French East India ship for the Isle of France and Pondicherry, laden with three hundred and sixty three men, ninety three of them soldiers, in the Company's pay, and with ordnance, naval stores and merchandise and twenty four thousand dollars, was taken by a man of war and mounted twenty two guns. The *Valiant*, of the same size and force, with the *Fidelle* frigate of twenty four guns, belonging also to the Company, sailed from Port L'Orient in company with the prize, but were not met with. Another of the ships, of six hundred tons, twenty two guns and two hundred and eight men, bound for the Isle of Bourbon with merchandise and stores, was taken by a Bristol privateer. Likewise the *Subtile* frigate, of sixteen guns and eighty four men, homeward bound from Mauritius, which she left on 6 May last, had been brought into Plymouth. From the prisoners of these vessels it was learnt of the great distress of nine of these ships said to be in those parts, ready for masts and stores, and of the islands themselves, from the great want of provisions and necessaries. On 27 December last the *Bien Aquis*, of twenty guns and one hundred and forty men, bound for Port L'Orient with coffee and pepper from Mauritius, which she left about the end of September, was taken by His Majesty's ships and brought into Plymouth. The Count d'Estaing was a passenger [...]. **Interpretations** The long list of French East India ships taken as prizes reveals the collapse of French maritime trade to the Indian Ocean in the closing years of the Seven Years War, the ships bound for or returning from the Isles of France, Bourbon and Mauritius, the French bases in the western Indian Ocean, falling one after another to British warships and privateers, so that the enemy's whole line of communication with its eastern possessions was being cut, a matter of the keenest interest to the Company whose own trade stood to gain from its rival's ruin. The intelligence drawn from prisoners about the great distress of the French islands, short of provisions, masts and stores, shows how the capture of ships served not only to seize cargo but to gather knowledge of the enemy's weakness, since the crews of taken vessels could be questioned and their accounts of famine and want at Mauritius and its neighbours confirmed that the British command of the sea was starving the French settlements, information the Company valued for gauging the fortunes of the war in its own theatre. The dollars carried aboard the *Bristol*, taken as part of her lading, were the silver Spanish coins that served as the common currency of eastern trade, and their seizure illustrates how much specie the French, like the English, shipped east to finance their commerce, the loss of twenty four thousand dollars

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			in a single prize being a heavy blow to the enemy's trading capital as well as a windfall to the captors.
140	136	on board for whose breach of the Parole he gave on the Coast of Choromandel We are taking measures to obtain satisfaction but are hitherto Masters of no further intelligence from the Prize 6 For promoting the Re-establishment of the general Tranquillity of Europe the several Powers at War did in your last agree to the Assembly of a Congress at Augsbourg and is Named Plenipotentiaries accordingly, previous thereto it appears necessary to the Crowns of Great Britain and France to settle Preliminary Articles that a Treaty might be more readily concluded between the two Crowns, and a minister for that purpose was reciprocally sent to and received at each Court when after a Course of Negotiations, the Proposals of the French proving disagreeable to the British Court its Minister was recalled whereupon That from France returned thither, these Measures towards effecting the good work of Peace did not in the least slacken the Operations of War in any Part, as appears among others in the instance of the important Conquest of Belleisle by his Majestys Arms, nor does there seem any abatem in the Vigour of the proceeding for Obliging the Enemy to come to reasonable terms, should the Negotiation for Peace Now broken off be renewed or any clearer Lights present on the State of Publick Affairs before the Close of this Letter, you will find them in the Sequel of it 7 We are advised that the French have abandoned Our Settlements upon the West Coast of Sumatra, and there is reason to conclude our Servants have been re-established there either with or without the assistance of Part of his Majestys Naval Force in concurrence with our Presidencies agreable to the directions conveyed to them last Season but should any unforeseen accidents have prevented their carrying these Orders into execution, we have again enjoined them to proceed on that re-establishment with all possible expedition	The Count d'Estaing was aboard as a passenger, arrested for breaking the parole he had given on the Coast of Coromandel. The directors were taking measures to obtain satisfaction, but had so far learnt nothing further from the prize. 6: To promote the restoring of the general peace of Europe, the several warring powers had agreed the year before to the meeting of a congress at Augsburg, and named their plenipotentiaries accordingly. Before it met, it appeared necessary to the crowns of Great Britain and France to settle preliminary articles, so that a treaty might the more readily be concluded between the two crowns, and a minister for that purpose was sent to and received at each court. After a course of negotiation the French proposals proved disagreeable to the British court, and its minister was recalled, upon which the one from France returned home. These moves towards the good work of peace did not in the least slacken the operations of war anywhere, as appeared, among other things, in the important conquest of Belle Isle by His Majesty's arms, nor did there seem any easing in the vigour of the fighting to bring the enemy to reasonable terms, should the negotiation for peace now broken off be renewed. Any clearer light on the state of public affairs before the close of this letter the island would find in its sequel. 7: The directors were advised that the French had abandoned the Company's settlements on the west coast of Sumatra, and there was reason to conclude that its servants had been re-established there, either with or without the help of part of His Majesty's naval force, in line with the directions sent to them the year before. Should any unforeseen accidents have prevented their carrying those orders into effect, the directors again ordered them to proceed with that re-establishment with all possible dispatch. [...] **Interpretations** The arrest of the Count d'Estaing for breach of parole shows the seriousness with which the convention of the parole was regarded, since an officer freed on his sworn word not to serve again until exchanged had, by returning to arms, broken a solemn undertaking that the whole system of prisoner exchange depended upon, and the Company's pursuit of satisfaction reflects how a violation of that honour code was treated almost as gravely as an act of war itself. The account of the failed negotiations at Augsburg, with ministers exchanged and then recalled while the war went on unabated, illustrates the eighteenth century pattern of fighting and talking at once, since neither crown would ease its military effort while terms were in doubt, the conquest of Belle Isle off the French coast being pressed precisely to strengthen the British hand should talks resume, so that the pursuit of peace and the prosecution of war ran side by side. The reoccupation of the abandoned settlements on the west coast of Sumatra, ordered with all dispatch and if need be with naval help, shows the Company moving quickly to reclaim its pepper stations once the French threat withdrew, since an empty settlement left the trade and the ground open to rivals or to local powers, and the directors were anxious that their servants resume possession before any such gap could be exploited.
141	137	Expedition applying for the purpose for such aid from the Kings Squadron as shall be requisite it is upon the presumption of	The re-establishment was to be pressed with all dispatch, and the island was to apply for such help from the King's squadron as should be needed for the purpose. On the presumption of success in that

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		the ill Success of that Measure for restoring our affairs on the Island Sumatra that we have made no alteration in the Consignment of the three of the Ships for China mentioned in the Subsequent List hoping that they may safely import and be provided there with a quantity of Pepper for Canton It is further necessary that you should be informed that on the strictest enquiry into and from the Materials and Persons before us, we have thought proper to reinstate Govr Carter, the Councils and all the rest of the Companys Servants and Officers Civil and Military on the West Coast Establishment who have remained in India, and agreed to continue them as such unless from further information there arise be good and sufficient reasons to alter our opinion with the Conduct and behaviour of any Persons in particular, whereupon suitable directions will be accordingly given 8 In gratitude for that most important Service rendered to the Nation and Company by the Capture of Pondicherry under date the 30th September last we acknowledge the great merits of all Concerned in that Interprize directing our Presidency of Fort St George not only to return our Thanks in general, to the Officers, but also to the Private Men of all the Forces employed for their respective Services in that momentous, and interesting event but in a more particular manner to the Admr Stevens and Cornish and the Colonels Coote and Monson, We also gave Mr Pigot our most sincere and hearty Thanks for the great Share he took in contributing towards this Signal Success, If it should fall out that any of the abovenamed Officers have left India before these marks of our gratitude can have been given them, and shall on their return be at the Island, we would have you make them acquainted with the high opinion we entertained of their eminent desert and present them with our Thanks in the most respectful and polite Manner 9 The **Margin Notes:** NB The said Prince Henry have since the Signing of this Letter been ordered to China directly	measure for restoring the Company's affairs on the west coast of Sumatra, the directors had made an alteration in the consignment of three of the ships for China named in the following list, hoping they might safely load and be furnished there with a quantity of pepper for Canton. The island was further to be informed that, on strict enquiry into the conduct of the persons before them, the directors had thought proper to reinstate Governor Carter, the council and all the rest of the Company's servants and officers, civil and military, on the west coast establishment who had remained in India, and had agreed to continue them as such, unless from further information there arose good and sufficient reason to alter their opinion of the conduct and behaviour of any particular persons, whereupon suitable directions would be given. 8: In gratitude for the most important services rendered to the nation and the Company by the capture of Pondicherry on 30 September last, the directors acknowledged the great merits of all concerned in that undertaking, directing the presidency of Fort St George not only to return their thanks in general to the officers but also to the private men of all the forces employed, for their several services in that momentous and interesting event. In a more particular manner, to Admiral Stevens and Cornish, and the colonels Coote and Monson, the island was to give Mr Pigot their most sincere and hearty thanks for the great share he took in contributing towards this signal success. Should it fall out that any of the officers named above had left India before these marks of gratitude could reach them, the directors wished, on their return to England, that the island make them acquainted with the high opinion the directors held of their eminent desert, and present them with their thanks in the most respectful and polite manner. [...] **Interpretations** The reinstatement of Governor Carter and the whole west coast establishment after a strict enquiry into their conduct shows the Company weighing the behaviour of servants who had lived through the French attack before confirming them in their posts, since men who had abandoned or mishandled their trust during the crisis might have forfeited their places, and the directors reserved the right to revisit any individual case, a conditional restoration that kept the threat of accountability alive even as it restored the settlement's government. The alteration of three China ships' consignments in expectation of pepper from the recovered Sumatran settlements reveals how closely the Company's trading plans were tied to the fortunes of war, the directors betting on the successful reoccupation of the pepper stations by rerouting ships to load there for Canton, so that the tea trade at China depended in part on regaining the pepper of Sumatra, a chain of dependence running from a military recovery in one ocean to a commercial purchase in another. The elaborate direction to thank not only the admirals and colonels but every private soldier and sailor for the capture of Pondicherry, and to seek out any who had left India to convey the Company's gratitude in person, shows the value the directors placed on public recognition of service, since the goodwill of the forces mattered to a Company that depended on the crown's arms for its defence, and the careful courtesy extended even to men now scattered homeward reflects a deliberate cultivation of those who had secured its greatest gain of the war.
142	138	9 The Secret Committee for the present direction is	9: The Secret Committee for the present direction was made up of the following gentlemen,

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		composed of the following Gentlemen vizt Lawrence Sulivan Esqr Chairman of the Court, Thomas Rous Esqr Deputy John Boyd, Christopher Burrow, and Charles Cutts Esqrs whose Orders and Instructions or of any three of them are to be particularly attended to and observed 10 The undermentioned List contains the names of the Ships taken into our Service for the ensuing Season, the severals parts they are Consigned to and the times proposed for their dispatch if no unforeseen accidents prevents the same vizt Ships, Tons, Commander, Consignments, times proposed for dispatch Aldbury 499 Roger Mainwaring Coast and Bay dispatched Royal Charlotte 499 John Clements St Helena & China under dispatch Essex 499 George Jackson dispatched Houghton 499 Charles Newton Coast & China and to call at Madeira middle Feby Grosvenor 499 Wathin Partington Harcourt 499 Richard Morrison Do Hoxendon 499 William Werber China directly Do Elizabeth 499 George Steward Do Clinton 499 Nathaniel Smith Madeira & Coast & Bay dispatched Albion 499 William Larkins China Hardwicke 499 Brook Vamston Walpole 499 Parson Fennee Drake 499 John Smith Coast & Bay Beginning of March 499 Thomas Pearce to call at Madeira Winchelsea 499 Thomas Howe Bombay & Bengal back to Bombay Hector 499 John Williams Bombay Prince of Wales 499 William Roberts Clive 499 John Allen Adm Pocock 499 Thomas Riddell Do the End of March Britannia 499 Thomas Rous Bombay & China	Laurence Sulivan, chairman of the Court, Thomas Rous, deputy, John Boyd, Christopher Burrow and Charles Cutts. The orders and instructions of that committee, or of any three of them, were to be carefully attended to and observed. 10: The following list contained the names of the ships taken into the Company's service for the coming season, the several places they were consigned to and the times proposed for their dispatch, if no unforeseen accidents prevented it. *Aldbury*, 499 tons, Roger Mainwaring, Coast and Bay, dispatched *Royal Charlotte*, 499 tons, John Clements, St Helena and China, under dispatch *Essex*, 499 tons, George Jackson, dispatched *Houghton*, 499 tons, Charles Newton, Coast and China and to call at Madeira, middle of July *Grosvenor*, 499 tons, Wathin Partington, Coast and China and to call at Madeira, middle of July *Harcourt*, 499 tons, Richard Morrison, China directly, middle of July *Hoveden*, 499 tons, William Marber, China directly, middle of July *Elizabeth*, 499 tons, George Steward, China directly, middle of July *Clinton*, 499 tons, Nathaniel Smith, Madeira and Coast and Bay, dispatched *Albion*, 499 tons, William Larkins, China *Hardwicke*, 499 tons, Brook Vamson, Coast and Bay, to call at Madeira, beginning of March *Walpole*, 499 tons, Parson Fennee, Coast and Bay, to call at Madeira, beginning of March *Drake*, 499 tons, John Smith, Coast and Bay, to call at Madeira, beginning of March [...], 499 tons, Thomas Pearce, Coast and Bay, to call at Madeira, beginning of March *Winchelsea*, 499 tons, Thomas Howe, Bombay and Bengal back to Bombay *Hector*, 499 tons, John Williams, Bombay *Prince of Wales*, 499 tons, William Roberts, Bombay *Clive*, 499 tons, John Allen, Bombay, the end of March *Admiral Pocock*, 499 tons, Thomas Riddell, Bombay, the end of March *Britannia*, 499 tons, Thomas Rous, Bombay and China, the end of March **Interpretations** The uniform entry of 499 tons against every ship in the list reflects the Company's settled practice of registering vessels just below 500 tons, the point above which heavier regulation and a larger obligatory complement of men and guns took effect, so owners built and entered their Indiamen at that figure to escape the burden, the whole column standing as a monument to a commercial device rather than any true equality of size among the ships. The instruction that so many ships call at Madeira on the outward voyage points to the island's established place as the first watering and provisioning stop on the long route east, where ships took on the wine for which Madeira was famous, both as cargo and for their own use, along with fresh supplies, before the great southward passage, the frequency of the call showing how a single Atlantic island anchored the opening leg of the Company's whole eastern trade. The spread of destinations across the list, Coast and Bay for the textile trade of Coromandel and Bengal, China for tea, and Bombay for the western Indian trade, shows how a single season's shipping was distributed among the Company's principal fields, the routing of some ships back and forth between presidencies revealing the coordination required to move goods and tonnage around the whole span of Asian commerce in one year's sailings.

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143	139	11 Having refitted our Snow the London for returning that Vessel to its station on the Coast of Choromandel We dispatched her the 5th October last with the Advices which it was proper our presidencies should be acquainted with previous to the departure of Our Shipping of this Season and had not the want of Convoy and contrary Winds prevented, her departure would not have been retarded till the 11th Nov last when she not left Spithead for Fort St George subject to the Orders of our Governor and Council there 12 A particular account of the Outset of Our Shipping sailed and designed for the East Indies as well as of the import thereof, here you will find communicated to you very distinctly in a you List Signed by our Secretary in the accompanying Packet 13 As the Ships employed in our Service this Season, are taken up on the same terms and Conditions as those of the last you will find the Charterparty enclosed of this Ship the Royal Charlotte correspond with that of the Prince Henry which passed thro your Hands last year, wherefore it is needfull only to bespeak your attention thereto, and to what our advices by the last Ship acquainted you with on the Subject particulary with respect to short Deliveries and Damages 14 You will acquit yourselves much to Our satisfaction in giving this Ship the quickest dispatch towards delivering your Consignments with in the limited Time of Ten working days being duly sensible of the weight of Demorage at the present advanced Rate, with the importance of the Ships early arrival at Canton, We therefore persuade ourselves no diligence will be wanting for the furtherance of so material a Service, We observe your reasons for the Prince Henrys incurring one days demorage only with you & are content with the cause you assign for that extraordinary expence 15 We	11: Having refitted the Company's snow the *London* for returning that vessel to its station on the Coast of Coromandel, the directors dispatched her on 7 October last with the advices their presidencies should have before the departure of the season's shipping. Had the want of convoy and contrary winds not prevented, her departure would not have been delayed till 11 November last, when she left Spithead for Fort St George, subject to the orders of the Governor and Council there. 12: A full account of the outset of the Company's shipping sailed and meant for the East Indies, as well as of the cargoes, would be found clearly set out in a list signed by the secretary in the accompanying packet. 13: As the ships employed in the Company's service that season were taken up on the same terms and conditions as those of the last, the island would find the charter party of this ship the *Royal Charlotte* enclosed, corresponding with that of the *Prince Henry* which had passed through its hands the year before. It was therefore needful only to bespeak the island's attention to it, and to what the directors' advices by the last ship had told it, particularly on short deliveries and damages. 14: The island would much oblige the directors by giving this ship the quickest dispatch towards delivering her consignments within the fixed time of ten working days, being duly sensible of the weight of demurrage at the present advanced rate, together with the importance of the ship's early arrival at Canton. The directors persuaded themselves that no diligence would be wanting to further so material a service. They allowed the island's reasons for the *Prince Henry* incurring one day's demurrage only, and were content with the cause given for that extra expense. [...] **Interpretations** The snow *London*, refitted and sent back to her station carrying advices timed to precede the season's shipping, illustrates the deliberate scheduling of communication ahead of the main fleets, since the presidencies needed the directors' instructions in hand before the bulk of the ships arrived, and a small fast vessel was used to carry the word, her delay by want of convoy and foul winds showing how even the express dispatches were hostage to the wartime need to sail in company and to the weather. A snow was a two masted sailing vessel closely resembling a brig, square rigged with an additional small trysail mast behind the main, handy and reasonably fast, and its use here as a dispatch carrier reflects the Company's practice of employing such smaller craft for the swift conveyance of letters and light cargo between England and the east, distinct from the great Indiamen that carried the season's trade. The fixing of ten working days for unloading, backed by the pressure of demurrage at a raised wartime rate, shows the sharp financial discipline the charter party imposed on turnaround, since every day a ship lay beyond her time added to the Company's bill, and the acceptance of the *Prince Henry*'s single day's demurrage as reasonably explained reveals the close attention paid to each such charge, the directors auditing even one day's delay against the reasons the island gave.
144	140	15 We continue to urge it strongly to our Commanders to provide themselves with a sufficiency of Live Stock for their Voyage homeward that they may not encrease the	15: The directors continued to press their commanders strongly to provide themselves with enough livestock for the homeward voyage, so that they might not add to the difficulties the island lay under for those articles. Being more particularly mindful of the island's distress, as it appeared in the

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		difficulties the Island is under for those Articles, and more particularly observant of your distress, it appears in the Consultation of the 2d Febry for fuel it has been enforced to them to supply their Ships with a quantity that may serve not only for their returning consumption but to allow for an extraordinary stay with you this we hope will have its effect and free you from future distress for this particular 16 As the Instances of James Bechett a Mariner of the Walpole, and of the two Invalids from Bengal both of the name of William Brown Passengers on the Latham & ill left with you by the commanders of those two Ships, We remark the Trouble and Extraordinary Charges thereby incurred, which will be Charged to those Ships Accounts, the Charterparty Covenants with the Owners and Captains, and Our Instructions to the latter, are full and plain, in regard to the Penalties they expose themselves to, by such practices, not only in bringing People with you, but in being the means of the desertion of others from the Island in prevention whereof do you, when on the several Ships arrival you furnish their Commanders with the accustomary Standing Orders, not fail to inform them, how highly we shall resent their disobedience in those respects, and that we certainly shall with rigour exact all the Penalties they are liable to for it particularly enjoining them to give the Officers they shall leave in Charge the strictest Orders to be constantly vigilant in the examination of all Boats coming off to the	consultation of 2 February for fuel, the directors had enforced upon the commanders the supply of their ships with a quantity that would serve not only for their return but to allow for an extended stay at the island. This, the directors hoped, would have its effect and free the island from future distress on this head. 16: In the cases of James Bechell, a mariner of the *Walpole*, and of the two invalids from Bengal, both named William Brown, passengers on the *Latham*, all left at the island by the commanders of those two ships, the directors noted the trouble and extra charges thereby incurred, which would be charged to those ships. By the charter party covenants with the owners and captains, the directors were full and plain about the penalties the commanders exposed themselves to by such practices, not only in leaving people at the island but in being the means of the desertion of others from it. To prevent this, the island was, when the ships arrived, to furnish their commanders with the usual standing orders, and not fail to tell them how highly the directors would resent their disobedience in these respects, and that the penalties they were liable to would certainly be exacted with rigour. It was particularly enjoined that the officers of the ships be left in charge of the strictest orders to be constantly vigilant in the examination of all boats going off to [...]. **Interpretations** The renewed insistence that commanders victual their own ships with livestock enough for the homeward voyage and any delay shows the Company steadily shifting the burden of provisioning off the hard pressed island and onto the ships that called there, since St Helena could not both feed its garrison and supply every passing fleet, and the directors used the charter party to compel the captains to come stocked from India, treating the island as a reserve to be spared rather than a larder to be drawn down. The practice of dumping unwanted seamen and invalid passengers at the island, penalised here under the charter party, reveals a persistent abuse by which commanders rid themselves of the sick, the troublesome or the surplus by leaving them to become the island's charge, and the Company's response, charging the cost back to the offending ships and threatening the penalties in the owners' covenants, shows it defending the settlement's slender resources against being made the dumping ground for the fleet's human cast offs. The order that officers keep the strictest watch on all boats going off to the shipping ties directly to the standing problem of desertion, since the boats plying between shore and the anchored vessels were the means by which soldiers and slaves escaped the island, and the vigilance demanded of the ships' officers, as of the island's own guards, formed part of the wider effort to seal the crossing between land and sea against those seeking to slip away.
145	141	the Ships, to be assured when they depart, that none of the Persons who were in them shall be left and secreted on board, Capt Haggis his Obligation to be accountable for a Seaman left the 27 April with you from the Prince Henry, was regular and will serve for a proper Precedent in all such like Cases 17 It does not appear to us how John Melody should be stiled a Deserter from the Snow Mercury when he was in your	The officers were to be sure, when the ships left, that none of the people who came in them were left behind or hidden aboard. Captain Haggis had given a proper undertaking to be accountable for a seaman left with the island on 27 April from the *Prince Henry*, and this would serve as a fitting precedent in all such cases. 17: It did not appear to the directors how John Melody could be styled a deserter from the snow *Mercury* when he was still within the island's power and that vessel remained at the island. If he was really such, in breach of his contract, then far from being entitled to any allowance during his stay on the island, even his wages were forfeited.

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		your power, and that Vessel remained at the Island, if he was really such in breach of his Contract so far from being intitled to any allowance during his Stay on the Island even his Wages were forfeited 18 Peter Tea Master of the Fly Cutter, having requested an Allowance for his expences on shore while that Vessel continues in the Road, or in any port to which it may in future be Ordered, We do in consideration of the reasonableness of such request, and to encourage his best Services in our behalf direct that he be allowed Six Shillings a day for such time as he shall necessarily continue on shore while the Cutter is at the Island, or at any other Port, expecting he will not abuse our favour in enhancing the expence by absenting himself from on board without occasion; and if it shall appear requisit as he sets forth, We do admit of his Shipping another Seaman, to prevent the calling of all hands upon every slight matter when one is taken sick, For the above reasons and under the like Restriction the Commander of the Mercury Snow, is also to be allowed Six Shillings a day, while he is necessarely on shore at St Helena, or elsewhere, and the same allowances are to be understood to be assigned to the respective Masters for the time being of these Vessels, but no others belonging to them, are to form or be encouraged in expectations of any further considerations than their pay on such an account, but	18: Peter Fea, master of the *Fly* cutter, had requested an allowance for his expenses on shore while that vessel lay in the road, or in any port to which it might in future be ordered. In view of the reasonableness of the request, and to encourage his best services on the Company's behalf, the directors ordered that he be allowed six shillings a day for such time as he must stay on shore while the cutter was at the island or at any other port, trusting he would not abuse the favour by adding to the expense through absenting himself from on board without cause, and that if it appeared necessary he keep another seaman aboard, as he set out, to prevent the calling of all hands on every slight matter when one was taken sick. For the same reasons and under the like restriction, the commander of the *Mercury*, Brown, was also to be allowed six shillings a day while he must stay on shore at St Helena or elsewhere. The same allowance was to be understood as belonging to the masters for the time being of those vessels, but no others belonging to them were to have it or be encouraged to expect any further consideration than their pay on such an account. [...] **Interpretations** The reasoning over John Melody turns on the legal meaning of desertion, since a man could not have deserted while he remained within reach and his ship still lay at the island, yet if he had truly broken his contract he lost not only any allowance but his earned wages too, a distinction that shows the Company using the forfeiture of pay as the penalty for breach of a seaman's engagement, the label of deserter carrying real financial consequences that depended on whether the man had actually absconded. The shore allowance granted to the masters of the small vessels, hedged with cautions against abuse, reveals the careful calibration of the Company's payments to its servants, since a master obliged to spend time ashore on the Company's business had a fair claim to his expenses, yet the directors guarded against the allowance becoming a licence to idle on land or to swell the cost, tying it strictly to necessity and confining it to the master alone lest the whole crew come to expect the like. A cutter was a small, fast, single masted vessel, fore and aft rigged and much used for dispatches, revenue work and light duties, and the *Fly* cutter and the snow *Mercury* named here belonged to the class of minor craft the Company kept about the island for errands and communication, their masters the men whose modest allowances the directors here regulated, a glimpse of the small working vessels that served alongside the great Indiamen.
146	142	but let Mr Tea, and every one else know, that all such applications are in future to be made to us through you our through Governor and Council. 19 On the representation of the bad State of health, which Captain Slofield has for some time past laboured under, We have been induced to Consent to his resignation of the Command of our Snow the Mercury, that he may repair hither to seek the means for his recovery, although it would have been more agreeable to us, had his Case permitted to have availed ourselves further of his Services in that Station 20 Captain Slofield resigning as above, We do, in confidence	Mr Fea, and everyone else, was to know that all such applications were in future to be made to the directors through the Governor and Council. 19: On the account of the bad state of health Captain Harfield had for some time laboured under, the directors were led to consent to his resignation of the command of the Company's snow the *Mercury*, so that he might come home to seek the means of his recovery, though it would have suited them better, had his case allowed, to have kept the benefit of his services in that station. 20: With Captain Harfield resigning as above, the directors, trusting to a proper discharge of his duty, appointed Mr John Merryweather to command the *Mercury*, if the island thought him deserving of it, on the same terms his predecessor had enjoyed. The island was accordingly to invest him with the post, first administering to him in council the usual oath for the true and faithful discharge of it, in the form enclosed.

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		of a Suitable discharge of his Duty, appoint, Mr John Merryweather to Command the Mercury, if you shall think him deserving thereof, on the same Terms as his Predecessor enjoyed it, do you therefore accordingly invest him with that Post, previously administering to him in Council the accustomary Oath, for the true and faithful discharge thereof, according to the form enclosed 21 By the Desertion of three Persons from his Majestys Ships Rippon, and Yarmouth, we incurred an Expence of £12.2.7 for their Maintenance while they continued on the Island, besides Five pounds a head for their passage hither on the Ajace these People being on that Ships Capture made Prisoners we have been unable to discover how they have been Disposed of nor could an have Enquiry be made till after the receipt of the Duplicate of your advices which come by the Strasburg, relating to this transaction; when they were dispersed, hereby we shall probably be under the necessity of putting up with this Loss, but on a like case take Obligations from the Parties for such Expences, and if you are obliged to send the	21: By the desertion of three persons from His Majesty's ships *Ripon* and *Yarmouth*, the directors had run to an expense of twenty pounds two shillings and sevenpence for their maintenance while they stayed on the island, besides five pounds a head for their passage there on the *Ajax*. These people, being made prisoners on the capture of those ships, the directors had been unable to find out how they had been disposed of, nor could any enquiry be made until after this letter's duplicate came by the *Strasburg*, relating to the matter, by which time they were dispersed. The directors would probably be under the necessity of bearing this loss, but in a like case would take obligations from the parties for such expenses, and if the island were obliged to send [...]. **Interpretations** The appointment of Merryweather to the *Mercury*, made in London but conditional on the island's judgement of his fitness and completed only after an oath sworn in council, reveals the shared exercise of authority between the directors and their distant officers, since London named the man and set the terms yet left the final confirmation and the binding oath to the council on the spot, a division that gave the settlement a real voice in the appointment while keeping the ultimate choice with the proprietors. The tangle over the three deserters from the King's ships, whose maintenance and passage the Company had paid before losing track of them, shows how the movement of captured men through the wartime system defied even careful accounting, since prisoners taken when ships were captured, then landed and dispersed, left the Company out of pocket with no clear means of recovery, and the resolve to take written obligations in future reveals the directors learning from the loss to secure repayment before advancing such costs again. The requirement of a formal oath, administered in council in a set form, before an officer entered on his command illustrates the ceremonial and legal binding of servants to faithful service, the oath adding a solemn personal engagement to the written covenant and putting the man's conscience as well as his contract behind the honest discharge of his post, a customary safeguard the Company applied to those it placed in positions of trust.
147	143	them away, on one of our Ships, let the Commander be instructed to deliver them up to one of his Majestys Naval Officers, on his arrival at the first Port here, where he may find such, taking an acknowledgment of his having so done, and acquainted him, with what Sum may be due from them, although we shall rather chuse they might under the same rule be delivered directly by you, to some of his Majestys Officers when it is probable you may see a ship of War, and giving us the needful Advices thereon 22 You will seriously consider whether it may not be proper occasionally to Shift some of the Petty Officer, and Seamen, belonging to the Mercury Snow, and Fly Cutter, whom there may be reason to think uneasy in their Situation if so, we apprehend you may easily effect it, by Exchanging such against some of the Mariners of the homeward bound Shipping, under the approbation of the	Should the island be obliged to send such people away on one of the Company's ships, the commander was to be instructed to deliver them up to one of His Majesty's naval officers on his arrival at the first port here, where he might find such, taking an acknowledgement of his having done so, and telling him what sum might be due from them. The directors would rather, though, that under the same rule they be delivered directly by the island to some of His Majesty's officers, when it was probable a warship might be seen, and the needful advices given about them. 22: The island was to consider seriously whether it might not be proper to shift, from time to time, some of the petty officers and seamen belonging to the *Mercury* snow and *Fly* cutter who might have reason to be uneasy in their situation. This, the directors thought, might easily be done by exchanging such men against some of the mariners of the homeward bound shipping, with the approval of their commanders, since these might for a premium more readily engage for a year or two in the room of the discharged people. The directors gave leave to encourage them by paying the wages due to any who engaged from the Company's ships to the time of their entry with the island, or by giving them such gratuity as the island thought proper, noting that the directors were to be furnished in

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		Commanders thereof, and as these may by a premium none readily engage for a year or two, in the room of the discharged people, you have it in our permission to encourage them, by paying the Wages due to such as shall engage from our Ships, to the time of their Entry with you, or by giving them such Gratuity as you shall think proper, noting that we are to furnished in Duplicate with List of the Men that shall be exchanged from the Vessels the Wages due to them, and whether they have acted commendably or otherwise, in obtaining the Men you may be in want of, we should rather prefer your doing it, from his Majestys than our Ships, yet considering this is only a temporary Remedy, we shall leave it to you to throw out such reasonable Indulgences occasionally to the hands on board the two Vessels, as may make them easy and happy 23 On a comparison of your Indents, with the Accounts of Remains wherein We find no Charge made for the particular you Received by the Prince Henry such Articles have been provided as appear	duplicate with a list of the men exchanged from the vessels, the wages due to them, and whether they had acted commendably or otherwise. In obtaining the men the island might want, the directors would rather it took them from the King's ships than their own, yet since this was only a temporary remedy, they left it to the island to hold out such reasonable indulgences from time to time to the hands aboard the two vessels as might make them easy and content. 23: On a comparison of the island's requisitions with the accounts of remains, in which the directors found no charge made for the particular items received by the *Prince Henry*, such articles had been provided as appeared [...]. **Interpretations** The scheme for exchanging discontented crewmen of the island's small vessels against mariners from the homeward Indiamen reveals a flexible labour market at the anchorage, where men weary of their station could be swapped for others willing to engage for a year or two, tempted by a premium or a gratuity, so that the Company managed the manning of its permanent island craft by drawing on the transient pool of seamen passing through, keeping the boats crewed by fresh and contented hands. The directors' preference for drawing replacement seamen from the King's ships rather than their own exposes the competition for manpower between the Company and the navy, since taking men from a warship spared the Company's own vessels the loss of hands they needed, and the careful record required, a duplicate list of men exchanged with their wages and conduct, shows the accounting discipline applied even to this shifting of individual sailors between services. The instruction to keep the crews easy and content through reasonable indulgences reflects a practical understanding that discontented men on isolated duty were prone to desert or to serve poorly, so the directors authorised the island to smooth over grievances with small favours, treating the morale of the handful of seamen on its permanent vessels as worth a measure of expense to preserve, a quiet acknowledgement that willing service could not be had by compulsion alone.
148	144	Appear to us, will be fully sufficient for the ensuing Seasons Consumption and until you shall obtain a further Stock by the following Years Ship, you will find them Specified in the enclosed Invoice and Bill of Lading, the Bulk of the present Consignment to you consists of 20 Tons of Flour 40 Puncheons of English Beef 80 Tierces of Irish Beef making 172 Tons 330 Tierces of Irish Pork 20 Tons of Purbeck Stone 24 Your Providing a competency of Cash, by draughts upon us was very agreable, we hope you will be able to supply your occasions for the Current year, in the same manner, but lest you should be apprehensive of failing therein, Two Chests of Treasure are now consigned to you, under the persuasion that, if you shall have a prospect of receiving money sufficient for your use, for Bills upon us, you will not take this Silver into Cash, but Continue	Those articles would be fully sufficient for the coming season's consumption, and until the island obtained a further stock by the following year's ships, it would find them specified in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. The bulk of the present consignment consisted of the following. 20 tons of flour 40 puncheons of English beef 80 tierces of Irish beef, making 92 tons 330 tierces of Irish pork 20 tons of Purbeck stone 24: The island's providing a sufficiency of cash by draughts upon the directors was very agreeable, and they hoped it would be able to supply its needs for the current year in the same way. Lest it should fear falling short, two chests of treasure were now consigned to it, on the understanding that if it had a prospect of receiving money enough for its use through bills upon the directors, it would not turn this silver into cash, but keep the same, or any part it had no need of, aboard the *Royal Charlotte*, and consign it by invoice and bill of lading to the supercargoes in China, where it might be usefully employed for the Company's service. 25: The island's needs for the several particulars it requisitioned from China had been passed to the Company's agents there, with directions to comply, so that its expectations would be met by the

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		the same or any part of it that you shall not have occasion for, on board the Royal Charlotte, and consign it by Invoice of Bills of Lading to your Supra Cargos in China where it may be advantageously employed for our Services 25 We have communicated your occasions for the several Particulars you Indent for from China to our Agents there, with directions for their compliance therewith, so that your Expectations will be answered by the returning Ships of the Year 1763, if it shall appear necessary to make any alteration in these demands, you will apprize the Supra Cargos on board this Ship thereof, that you may be Supplied in a manner adequate to your real wants 26 The Indent for Stores is not fully complied with partly from want of room in this Ship, but more is from there appearing large quantities of some Articles on hand to which when	returning ships of the year 1763. Should it appear necessary to make any alteration in those demands, the island was to acquaint the supercargoes aboard this ship, so that it might be supplied in a manner suited to its real wants. 26: The requisition for stores was not fully met, partly for want of room in this ship, but more because large quantities of some articles appeared to be on hand, to which [...]. **Interpretations** The consignment of provisions, weighed in tons but shipped in puncheons and tierces of salt beef and pork, shows how a remote garrison was fed on preserved meat carried across the world, the English and Irish origins of the beef and pork reflecting the great victualling trade that supplied ships and colonies alike, and the flour and salt meat together forming the staple ration on which the island depended when its own cattle and crops fell short. The inclusion of twenty tons of Purbeck stone among the provisions reveals the island's need to import even building material of quality, since Purbeck stone, quarried in Dorset and long prized for durable construction and paving, had to be shipped out for works that the island's own resources could not furnish, a reminder that a mid-ocean settlement drew on distant England for stone as well as for food and manufactures. The renewed instruction to keep unneeded silver aboard for the supercargoes at China rather than land it as cash shows the constant steering of bullion toward the point of greatest commercial use, since the Company would rather its silver bought tea at Canton than lay idle at St Helena, and the island was to draw on London by bill for its own needs, keeping the metal moving eastward to the trade that turned it to profit, a principle the directors pressed at every opportunity. The tierce named here was a cask holding roughly forty two gallons, a standard measure for shipping salted provisions, and its use alongside the larger puncheon shows the graded system of casks by which bulk foodstuffs were packed and counted, the whole consignment reckoned finally in tons for the purpose of allotting the ship's burden.
149	145	when these are added which were sent on the Prince Henry there will be more than a Sufficiency for one Years consumption of these particular Species. We apprehend you had not the Account of Remains in view upon framing the Indent, as the Demands greatly exceed your usual occasions, but Allowing it was before you, it could not indeed have been of so much assistance, it being brought up only to the 31 March, and the Stores by the Prince Henry of course not included therein although that Ship arrived more than Six weeks before the Date of the Indent you are therefore in future to bring into your Account of Remains such Stores as shall be received prior to the Dates of the Indents 27 We have been assured by the Persons, for many years and who are Men of established Character Contracted with for Flour that it has been made of the best Wheat that could be procured, and that they have Constantly Endeavoured to avoid every cause of Complaint, We wish you	When those were added that were sent on the *Prince Henry*, there would be more than enough for one year's consumption of those particular articles. The directors supposed the island had not the account of remains before it when framing the requisition, as the demands greatly exceeded its usual needs, but even had it been to hand, it could not have helped much, being brought up only to 31 March, and the stores by the *Prince Henry* of course not included in it, though that ship arrived more than six weeks before the date of the requisition. The island was therefore in future to bring into its account of remains any stores received before the date of the requisitions. 27: The directors had been assured by the persons contracted with for flour for many years, and who were men of established character, that it had been made of the best wheat that could be got, and that they had constantly tried to avoid every cause of complaint. The directors wished the island had sent them some samples of the faulty part of it, which it must do in future, so that a judgement might be formed of its quality with more exactness. The best was contracted for, and every precaution taken in furnishing it and in removing the island's disappointment. Flour being so essential an article of life that it could not but claim particular attention, the directors would assuredly pursue every measure for the island's effectual relief in the matter, the more so as there was no ground, from what the

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		had sent us some Samples of the faulty part of it, which you must do in future, that a judgment might have been formed of its Qualities with more exactness, the best is agreed for, and every Precaution taking for furnishing such and to remove your disappointment as so essential an Article of life, that cannot but claim our particular attention we will assuredly pursue every measure for your affectual Redress therein, more especially as there are no Grounds from what you say to apprehend it received any prejudice from its Package, or otherwise in the Voyage. 28 The Salt Provisions in both your Indents are ordered the the principal part of the Articles for the Mercury, and Fly, the Sails are not sent, as the Quantity of Canvas to be consigned to you is Supposed Sufficient to answer your Demands for them 29 The Spice for the use of the Table, will go this Season, but you must Indent to India, for such as you may want hereafter. 30 The Wine provided for the Island cannot as you desire be sent in Chests, as it makes so considerable difference in the Tonnage	island said, to think it had suffered any harm from its packing or otherwise on the voyage. 28: The salt provisions in both the island's requisitions were ordered, being the principal part of the articles for the *Mercury* and *Fly*. The sails were not sent, as the quantity of canvas to be consigned was supposed enough to answer the island's demands for them. 29: The spice for the use of the table would go out that season, but the island must requisition from India for any it might want hereafter. 30: The wine provided for the island could not, as the island wished, be sent in chests, as it made so considerable a difference in the tonnage. [...] **Interpretations** The exchange over the account of remains reveals the difficulty of matching supply to need across the great distance and time lag between London and the island, since a requisition framed without an up to date reckoning of what was already in store led to over ordering, and the directors' instruction to bring all recently received stores into the account before requisitioning shows them tightening the procedure so that the island's demands would rest on a true picture of its stocks rather than a stale one. The handling of the complaint about faulty flour illustrates the Company's reliance on long standing contractors of established reputation and its method of adjudicating quality disputes, since the directors defended their suppliers yet demanded physical samples of the bad flour before they could judge, treating a grievance over so vital a staple with care but insisting on evidence, a businesslike balance between backing a trusted contractor and protecting the island's essential provision. The refusal to ship the wine in chests on account of tonnage shows the constant calculation of cargo space that governed every consignment, since packing wine in chests rather than in casks took up more room and reduced what a ship could carry, and the directors weighed the island's preference against the cost in tonnage, a small instance of the pervasive discipline by which the limited capacity of the ships shaped even the form in which goods were sent.
150	146	Tonnage accept the Claret which, according to the former practice comes to you in four Chest for the usual purposes. 31 The Gun Carriages consigned to you this Season, are made of Oak as desired, but it will be unpracticable to answer for the Wood being well Seasoned, unless you give at least one Years previous notice of what Carriages you shall be in want of 32 The Coals requested are now sent, in relief of your distress for Wood the Scarcity whereof we hope will be soon removed by the Commanders observance of our enforced directions to supply themselves so plentifully as not to call on you for any 33 The Deals and Timber are not provided as they take up so much Tonnage, and there are great Quantities in Store, nor are you furnished with any Tiles for want of room, those sent by the Prince Henry, which you complain of, where of the best Sort and we have been assured that it is the property of New Tiles to be soft, but that they will grow hard in time.	Given the difference in tonnage, the directors kept to the older practice, so the claret came to the island in four chests for the usual purposes. 31: The gun carriages consigned to the island that season were made of oak, as it had wished, but it would be impossible to answer for the wood being well seasoned unless the island gave at least one year's notice beforehand of what carriages it should want. 32: The coals requisitioned were now sent, in relief of the island's distress for want of wood, a scarcity the directors hoped would soon be removed by the commanders observing their enforced directions to supply themselves so fully as not to call on the island for any. 33: The deals and timber were not provided, as they took up so much tonnage and there were great quantities in store. Nor was the island furnished with any tiles, for want of room. Those sent by the *Prince Henry*, which it complained of, were of the best sort, and the directors had been assured that it was the nature of new tiles to be soft but that they would grow hard in time. 34: The island's purchases of salt provisions from the homeward bound commanders were noted to be made by the piece. This should in future be done by weight, so that a judgement might be formed whether they were reasonable or not.

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		34 Your purchases of Salt Provision from the homeward bound Commanders it is observed are made by the piece, this should in future be done by weight, that a judgment may be formed whether they are reasonable or not 35 You give a manifest proof of attention to our Service in the annual appointment of Inspectors of the Storehouse, in taking the Account of Remains, good Consequences must ensue from a perfect examination into their condition, in lessening the losses arising from wastage, and other Causes, an Instance whereof appears in the small Quantity of Articles damaged which agreable to our standing Orders for their sale, yielded £3.123 and it is from such Scrutiny that we are the more readily induced to acquiesce in the writing off the differences caused by Leakage, and various casualties, when it exceeds encommon Sums, such we find the £57.18.1 which you discharg'd yourselves of	35: The island gave clear proof of its attention to the Company's service by the annual appointment of inspectors of the storehouse, and by taking the account of remains. Good results must follow from a thorough examination into the condition of the stores, in lessening the losses arising from wastage and other causes. An instance appeared in the small quantity of articles damaged which, agreeable to the standing orders for their sale, yielded one hundred and twenty three pounds. It was from such scrutiny that the directors were the more readily led to allow the writing off of the deficiencies caused by leakage and various casualties, when it exceeded no common sum, such as the fifty seven pounds eighteen shillings and one penny the island had disallowed itself. [...] **Interpretations** The requirement of a full year's notice to guarantee well seasoned oak for gun carriages exposes the long lead times built into supplying a distant garrison with quality material, since timber needed time to season before it could be worked into durable carriages, and the directors could not promise properly seasoned wood on short demand, a reminder that the island's military supply depended on planning many months ahead against needs foreseen well in advance. The instruction to buy salt provisions from passing commanders by weight rather than by the piece reveals the Company's concern to guard against overpaying in its local dealings, since a purchase by the piece gave no sure measure of value while one by weight allowed the price to be judged against the quantity, a small reform aimed at bringing method and check to the island's transactions with the ships that called there. The approval of the storehouse inspections and the writing off of damaged goods shows the Company rewarding good administrative practice at the settlement, since regular inspection reduced the losses from waste and spoilage that plagued a remote depot, and the directors, satisfied by the evidence of careful scrutiny, were the readier to allow the modest sums lost to leakage and accident, treating sound stock keeping as the ground on which they would accept the inevitable small deficiencies of a distant store.
151	147	of the 3d November for the preceding Year and for the equitable reasons then assigned on that occasion. 36 We have considered the representations, you have from time to time made to be in force, whether you are invested with ample powers to punish Criminals, and as the Peace & good Order of the Island depend thereupon; We have Consulted our Council upon that Matter, and transmit you our sentiments and directions founded on their Opinion and Advices in a separate Letter which accompanies this, for the greater conveniency in case it may, as probable, be necessary to be produced before the Courts that shall be held on Criminal Cases for their inspection free and unencumbered from other matters. We hope to see from the upright and impartial discharge of the Powers you are invested with, That Quiet	The disallowance was for the preceding year, and for the fair reasons then given on the occasion. 36: The directors had considered the representations the island had made from time to time, whether it was invested with ample powers to punish criminals, since the peace and good order of the island depended on it. They had taken the matter up with their counsel, and sent their views and directions, founded on his opinion and advice, in a separate letter accompanying this, for the greater convenience should it probably be necessary to lay them before the courts held on criminal cases, free and unencumbered by other matters. The directors hoped to see, from the upright and impartial exercise of the powers the island held, that the quiet and good order so desirable in every community would be kept up at the island, and that justice would be tempered with mercy there. 37: The directors saw that no more prudent measure could have been taken, considering the great decrease of cattle from the disorders the place had been infected with, and that the breed was unusually small, than to send to the Cape of Good Hope for a fresh supply. It would be well to repeat the method until the island secured such supplies as should leave it in no fear of the calamities that a want of them might cause.

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		and Aeconomy so desireable in all Communities will be restored and maintained in our Island and that Justice will be tempered with Mercy there 37 We do not see a more prudent measure could have been fixed upon considering the large decrease of Cattle from disorders they have been infected with, and that the Breed was unusually small, than having recourse to the Cape of Good hope for a Recruit, and it will be well to repeat this method, until you procure such supplies as shall leave you under no apprehensions of the Calamities that a want of them may occasion. 38 No judgment could be passed here on the Grass called Canary, a Sample whereof being sent by the Yarmonly never reached Us, we should have such material particulars by two Conveyances at least, upon consulting with proper judges, it does not appear the species of Grass called Such	38: No judgement could be passed on the grass called Canary, a sample of which, being sent by the *Ajax* only, never reached the directors. The island was to send such material particulars by two conveyances at least. On consulting proper judges, it did not appear that the species of grass called [...]. **Interpretations** The recourse to the Cape of Good Hope for fresh cattle after disease and a run of small stock had thinned the island's herds shows how St Helena drew on the nearest substantial settlement to replenish a failing resource, since the Dutch colony at the Cape lay within reach and could furnish breeding animals, and the directors' wish to repeat the practice reveals a deliberate policy of restocking from outside to guard the island against the recurring threat of cattle shortage on which its provisioning depended. The care taken over criminal jurisdiction, referred to the Company's counsel and set out in a separate letter fit to be laid before the courts, illustrates the Company exercising and defining powers of justice over its island as a matter of law rather than mere administration, since the authority to try and punish criminals touched the foundation of ordered government, and the directors were anxious that the powers be clearly established and impartially used, with justice tempered by mercy. The instruction to send samples and important particulars by at least two separate ships reflects the hard experience of losing a single conveyance, since the grass sample sent only by the *Ajax* never arrived, and duplication across vessels was the standing remedy against the loss of anything valuable or informative in transit, a principle the Company applied to seeds and specimens as to letters and cargo, learning from each failure to spread the risk.
152	148	such here, has any noxious qualities, but as there seemed to you good reason at first to apprehend the distemper the Cattle were affected with, took its rise therefrom it was quite right to endeavour to extirpate it, Your last Letter gives us uneasiness to find the mortality had been great from a Sickness which differing in its appearance from the former was thought not to be infectious, We wish to hear, it has proved so, and that you have been eased of the inquietide such an alarming consideration must have excited, you make no further mention of the Grass, whence we conclude That is out of the question, but to give you all the satisfaction in our power, a Sample of Grass called Canary yielding the Seed of that name, and deemed quite inoffensive is enclosed in the Packet, for a comparison with that growing on the Island; it is produced in great quantities in the Isle of Thanet and there found from experience never to have any prejudicial effects on the Cattle there; however do you send by different opportunities some of that which grows on the Island when in Seed that we may obtain the opinion of Sufficient judges and convey you these Sentiments thereon. 39 The anxiety given us in your description of the	The grass called Canary had any harmful qualities, yet since there had seemed good reason at first to suspect the distemper the cattle were affected with took its rise from it, the island was quite right to try to root it out. The island's last letter gave the directors unease, to learn the death rate had been great from a sickness which, differing in its appearance from the earlier one, was thought not to be infectious. They wished to hear it had proved so, and that the island had been eased of the anxiety such an alarming matter must have caused. Since the island made no further mention of the grass, the directors concluded that was out of the question, but to give it all the satisfaction in their power, a sample of grass called Canary, yielding the seed of that name and thought quite harmless, was enclosed in the packet for comparison with that growing on the island. It was produced in great quantities in the Isle of Thanet, and there found by experience never to have any harmful effect on the cattle. The island was, however, to send by different opportunities some of that which grew on it when in seed, so that the directors might obtain the opinion of competent judges and convey their views on it. 37: The anxiety the island's description of the inflammatory disorder had caused, with which it had been afflicted in July, was largely removed by the pleasing news that it did not prove mortal and had abated, the directors supposing, as no further mention was made, that it had entirely ceased. They could not be indifferent on receiving such disagreeable accounts, for the health, plenty and prosperity of the island and its inhabitants were things they always took great delight in being well assured of. [...] **Interpretations** The careful investigation into whether the grass called Canary poisoned the cattle, with samples

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		inflamatory disorder, wherewith the Island has have been afflicted in July, was removed in a great degree by the pleasing information that it did not prove mortal and was abated supposing, as no further mention is made it had entirely ceased. We cannot be indifferent on the receipt of such disagreeable accounts for the health, plenty & prosperity of the Island and its Inhabitants are points that we always take great delight in being well assured of 4	exchanged both ways for comparison and the opinion of competent judges sought, reveals a methodical, almost experimental approach to a practical problem of animal husbandry, since the island's herds were vital and a suspected toxic plant had to be identified with certainty, the directors sending a known harmless variety from the Isle of Thanet to test against the island's own, treating the question as one to be settled by evidence rather than guesswork. The distinction drawn between two cattle sicknesses, one thought infectious and the earlier one not, and the anxiety over a high death rate, shows the seriousness with which disease among the island's stock was regarded, since the herds fed the garrison and the ships, and an epidemic that could not be understood or contained threatened the settlement's whole provisioning, the directors following the outbreak from afar with the concern of men whose distant enterprise depended on the island's animals. The Company's expressed delight in the health and prosperity of the island and its people reflects the enlightened self interest of a governing proprietor, since a thriving settlement served the Company's purposes better than a sickly one, and the directors' warmth, however sincere, rested on the understanding that the island's plenty was the foundation of its usefulness as a garrison and a place of refreshment for the homeward fleets.
153	149	40 The Lenity intended here to Grewer a deserting Slave returned last Season appears, from your representations, to have been misapplied and may be productive of bad consequences, We knew he had been an offender and severely punished for the Crime but his Contrition, when before us, appeared so real and he implored Pardon with such fervency and promises of amendment we were inclined to make this single experiment in what manner the Clemency shewn him would operate, it not having answered our expectations, no future reliance will be had on the gratitude of these people, and if any shall hereafter appear here, which we hope you will take care to prevent, they shall be returned, if they come within our power to receive the punishment due to their offences, you prescribe the sending them on Ship board in Irons, we do not know there is such a power to be exercised here or to imprison them, therefore pursue the salutary measures you have taken in hand to put a Stop to this evil desertion for none must be left untried, to effectually cure it. 41 Attentive to your request for replacing the Soldiers your Garrison has lost by mortality, expiration of Contract and other causes, We have directed the Sixty Recruits wanting for it to be raised, and altho it is very difficult at this time to procure Men, we hope our endeavours will succeed, and refer you to the	40: The leniency shown to Brewer, a deserting slave returned the season before, appeared from the island's account to have been misapplied and might lead to bad consequences. The directors knew he had been an offender, severely punished for the crime, but his contrition before them had seemed so real, and he had begged pardon with such fervour and promises of amendment, that they had been inclined to make this single trial of how the mercy shown him would work. It not having answered their expectations, no future reliance would be placed on the gratitude of these people. If any should appear here hereafter, which the directors hoped the island would take care to prevent, they would be returned, if they came within reach, to receive the punishment due for their offence. The island advised sending them aboard ship in irons, but the directors did not know of any such power to be exercised here, or to imprison them, and so they pressed on with the wholesome measures the island had taken to stop this evil of desertion, none of which must be left untried to cure it effectually. 41: Attentive to the island's request for replacing the soldiers its garrison had lost by death, expiry of contract and other causes, the directors had ordered the sixty recruits wanting for it to be raised. Though it was very hard at that time to procure men, they hoped their efforts would succeed, and referred the island to the enclosed list for the further necessary particulars about them. 42: The directors appointed Thomas Lambert, at present in their military service at St Helena, to succeed to the first lieutenant's commission that should fall vacant there, after the receipt of this, provided his behaviour to that time had proved satisfactory to the island. 43: John Welch, who had served as a non commissioned officer in the Buckinghamshire militia, now took his passage [...]. **Interpretations** The reversal of the Company's earlier softness toward the returned runaway Brewer marks the abandonment of a deliberate experiment in leniency, since the directors had once spared him on his show of contrition to see whether mercy would answer

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		enclosed List, for the further necessary particulars relating to them 42 We hereby appoint Thomas Lambert at present in our Military Service at St Helena, to succeed to the first Lieutenants Commission that shall be come vacant in there Garrison, after the Receipt hereof, provided his behaviour to that period shall have proved satisfactory to you 43 John Welch who has served as a Non Commissioned Officer in the Buckinghamshire Militia, now takes Passage to	better than severity, and his relapse now hardened them against trusting such displays of gratitude, a candid admission that the milder policy had failed and that deterrence, not clemency, would govern their treatment of escaping slaves thereafter. The directors' uncertainty over whether slaves could lawfully be shipped in irons or imprisoned at the island, doubting their own power to authorise such measures, reveals the limits and ambiguities of the Company's legal authority over the enslaved, since even a body that treated slaves as property could not simply assume every coercive power, and the question of what punishments might lawfully be inflicted, and by whom, remained unsettled beneath the harsh practice of recovery and control. The difficulty of raising sixty recruits, acknowledged as very hard at that time, points to the competition for military manpower during the war, since the crown's own forces absorbed the available men and the Company had to struggle to fill its distant garrisons, the drain on St Helena from death and expiring contracts meeting a shrunken supply at home, so that keeping a remote island defended depended on a recruiting effort that the wartime demand for soldiers made increasingly difficult. **Speculations** Confronted with Brewer's relapse, the directors dropped the trial of clemency they had earlier chosen over punishment and resolved that no reliance would henceforth be placed on such shows of gratitude. The page sets the abandoned course directly against the new one, recalling that they had spared him to test how mercy would operate and now declaring the experiment a failure, so that the earlier decision to temper severity with pardon is shown being consciously reversed because it had not produced the obedience they sought, though their concern throughout lay in the effective control of valuable slaves and not in any question of justice toward them.
154	150	to the Island on this Ship, in the Station of a Cadet, with the allowance of Twenty pence a day from the time of his arrival, and on his good behaviour, to succeed the next Lieutenants Commission that shall fall after Thomas Lambert has been provided for as abovementioned 44 We are not sufficiently informed as to the circumstances of the respective Cases of the Invalids returned hither for your Garrison, let it therefore be a Constant rule with you to send us Lists of them, in Duplicate with a particular account of the cause of each persons inability, the term of his Service, and in what manner he has behaved, further if you value an account of the Military you discharge, with the reasons for so doing, and the conduct while in our imploy it will be very satisfactory 45 Men so improper to bear our Commission as Lieut Price, and Giffing, from your Consultations appear we can never approve, of your giving any countenance to, therefore send hither Charles Giffing the Surveior by the first conveyance that shall prevent, and it is expected, you will Shew the same resentment to all Officers, who shall render themselves incapable of Duty by being	John Welch took his passage to the island on this ship, in the station of a cadet, with an allowance of twenty pence a day from the time of his arrival. On his good behaviour, he was to succeed to the next lieutenant's commission that should fall after Thomas Lambert had been provided for, as mentioned above. 44: The directors were not sufficiently informed of the circumstances of the several cases of the invalids returned to them for the island's garrison. It was therefore to be a constant rule with the island to send them, in duplicate, a list of the men, with a particular account of each person's disability, the term of his service, and how he had behaved. Further, if the island sent an account of the military it discharged, with the reasons for doing so and their conduct while in the Company's employ, it would be very satisfactory. 45: The directors could never approve of the island giving any countenance to men so unfit to bear the Company's commission as Lieutenant Price and Gessing, who appeared such from its own consultations. Charles Gessing, the surveyor, was therefore to be sent home by the first conveyance, and the island was expected to show the same resentment to all officers who rendered themselves incapable of duty by being given over to liquor, or who should thereafter misbehave in any other way. The directors could not expect a well disciplined soldiery when the men were under officers incapable of command, or set such a bad example before them. 46: When Captain Clark left the island, agreeable to his wish signified to the island on 13 June last, Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick was to take command

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		abandoned to Liquor or who shall hereafter misbehave, in any other manner, for how can we expect a well disciplined Soldiery when they are under Officers incapable of Command, or have such a bad example before them. 46 When Captain Clark shall leave the Island, agreeable to his intention signified to you the 13 of June last, Capt Thos Kirkpatrick is to take the command of Capt Clarkes Company with the usual Pay, and Allowances, and in consequance of our Orders under date of the 7 December 1759, is to succeed to a Seat in the Council next under Mr Twiting, if you have no Objections to his abilities, and behaviour whereupon they are to be allowed the Salaries respectively annexed to those Stations in Council which are to Mr Twiting Third £60. and to Captain Kirkpatrick Fourth £30. a Year 47 The Instructions for rendering the Gunners Capable to	of Captain Clark's company, with the usual pay and allowances, and in consequence of the directors' orders of 7 December 1759 was to succeed to a seat in the council next under Mr Twitling, if the island had no objection to his abilities and behaviour. They were then to be allowed the salaries respectively annexed to those stations in council, which were to Mr Twitling three pounds and to Captain Kirkpatrick thirty pounds a year. 47: The instructions for rendering the gunners [...]. **Interpretations** The requirement of a full duplicate account for every invalid soldier returned home, giving his disability, length of service and conduct, reveals the Company's need to control the flow of unfit men back from its garrisons, since without such records it could not judge who was genuinely disabled, who deserved further provision and who was merely being unloaded, the paperwork turning the discharge of worn out soldiers into an accountable process rather than a convenient way for the island to be rid of them. The insistence on removing drunken and incapable officers, and the demand that the island show resentment toward them, reflects the Company's understanding that discipline flowed downward from the officers, since men could not be held to good order under commanders given over to liquor or setting a bad example, and the directors treated the fitness of officers as the foundation of a reliable garrison, worth the trouble of sending an unfit surveyor home rather than letting his conduct corrupt the whole. The graded salaries attached to seats in council, thirty pounds to one man and three to another, show how rank and reward were carefully tiered within the small governing body, the council seat carrying a fixed emolument that varied with the place a man held, so that promotion up the order brought a measured increase in pay, the whole a miniature hierarchy of office and income within the island's administration.
155	151	the use and firing of Ordnance, is a Branch of the Duty of the Master Gunner, and must be exercised by him, the appointment therefore of Thirty Pounds a Year assigned to Captain Clark for that Service is, when he shall leave the Island, to cease. 48 We received Lieutenant General Lallys Draught on Mr Rehewin the French India Companys Cashier for one Hundred Pounds, in our favour, acceptance, or Payment whereof, having been severally refused by both, your making any future advances of our Cash on such a precarious security is forbid, and we do the same in respect to advances of money to French Officers, Passengers of War on our returning Ships, observing you have furnished several who came on them this season with near Three Hundred Pounds on their respective Receipts, it is apprehended they do not look upon themselves as accountable for such Sums and how we shall be reimbursed does not appear, it is sufficient that their Passage hither, is fixed by us, and they must be content therewith, On a late occasion the French Company	The use and firing of ordnance was a branch of the master gunner's duty, and must be exercised by him. The allowance of thirty pounds a year given to Captain Clark for that service was therefore to cease when he left the island. 48: The directors had received Lieutenant General Lally's draught on Mr Roberr in the French East India Company's cashier for one hundred pounds, in their favour, for acceptance or payment, which both had refused. The island's making any future advances of the Company's cash on such precarious security was forbidden, and the directors did the same in respect of advances of money to French officers, prisoners of war, on the returning ships. It appeared the island had furnished several who came on them that season with near three hundred pounds on their receipts. These men did not look on themselves as accountable for such sums, and how the directors were to be reimbursed did not appear. It was enough that their passage was fixed by the directors, and they must be content with it. On a late occasion the French Company, on demanding them, were paid the charges they had incurred for Mr Pitt and Collett, second mate of the *Caernarvon*, made prisoner of war. Such friendly compromises, whether through the inability of the French or otherwise, being uncertain, no extraordinary issue of the Company's cash was to be made to these unfortunate gentlemen, whom it would otherwise give the directors pleasure to help. In future the island was by no means to suffer any

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		demanding them were paid the Charges they incurred for Mr Pitt Collett, second Mate of the Caernarvon made Prisoner of when War, such amicable compromises, thro inability on their part, or otherwise, being are extend, so must any extraordinary Issue of our Cash be to these unfortunate Gentlemen, whom it would otherwise give us pleasure to assist, and in future, you are by no means to suffer any Prisoners, Officers, as well as private Men to come ashore, unless in case of Sickness only. 49 How commendable have you acted in that agreable Proof of your particular Obedience of our Orders for accomodating the Gentlemen dispatched last year by the Royal Society for making observations towards the advancement of Astronomical knowledge, the President and Council of that Society have very politely owned, and thanked us for the Civilities Services that Messrs Maskelyne, and Waddington received at St Helena the former still remaining there, and as you may probably see the two other Gentlemen our former advices mentioned on	prisoners, officers as well as private men, to come ashore, except in case of sickness only. 49: The island had acted very commendably, in proof of its obedience to the directors' orders, by accommodating the gentlemen sent out the year before by the Royal Society for making observations towards the advancement of astronomy. Mr Waddington, the president and council of that society, had very politely acknowledged and thanked the directors for the civilities Mr Maskelyne and Mr Waddington received at St Helena, the former still remaining there, and as the island might probably see the two other gentlemen, the directors' former advices mentioned [...]. **Interpretations** The refusal of Lally's draught and the ban on further advances to French officers exposes the risk the Company ran in extending credit across enemy lines in wartime, since bills drawn on the French Company's cashier could be dishonoured, as this one was, and the sums lent to prisoners against their mere receipts might never be recovered, so the directors closed off a generosity that had already cost them dearly and left the reimbursement uncertain, treating charity to the enemy as a hazard the Company could no longer afford. The instruction to keep prisoners of war aboard ship and off the island except in sickness reveals a tightening of control over enemy captives, since letting them ashore had generated expenses and complications the Company struggled to recover, and confining them to the vessels reduced both the cost and the disorder, a shift from a looser hospitality to a stricter containment as the war's burdens accumulated. The naming of the prisoner exchange for Mr Pitt and Collett, settled by the French Company paying the charges incurred, illustrates the reciprocal accounting that governed captives between the two trading companies, since each bore the cost of the other's men and settled the balance on exchange, a businesslike arrangement that treated prisoners almost as a ledger to be squared, and whose very uncertainty, depending on the French Company's willingness or ability to pay, prompted the directors to stop advancing money against so unreliable a return.
156	152	on their return from India, you are to continue to fulfill the Directions therein given by making their residence with you as agreable to them as may be, and furthering their return with all convenience when they shall have compleated the society purposes tended towards the improvement of a Science from which such valuable Benefits may be derived. 50 The War that, agreable to the enclosed Declaration has been proclaimed against Spain, there are good reasons to conclude will be as vigorously carried on as that which is and hath been maintained against the French, with whom an Accomodation at this period seems far distant, The Enemies of these Kingdoms being thus encreased, it will be highly incumbent on you not only to communicate this event in the most extensive manner, that all Parties may as far as possible, be prepared for it, but also to conttinue yourselves,	On the astronomers' return from India, the island was to go on fulfilling the directions given, making their stay as agreeable as it could and furthering their return with all convenience once they had completed the several purposes touching the advancement of a science from which such valuable benefits might be derived. 50: The war that, agreeable to the enclosed declaration, had been proclaimed against Spain, there were good reasons to conclude would be carried on as vigorously as that maintained against the French, with whom any accommodation at this period seemed far distant. The enemies of these kingdoms being thus increased, it would be highly incumbent on the island not only to communicate the event as widely as possible, so that all parties might be prepared for it, but also to keep itself more vigilantly on guard and better prepared for its defence than before, while the nation was in contest with France only. The island was accordingly to have the declaration proclaimed at St Helena, with the usual ceremonies on such an occasion. 51: The directors had received complaints that the sick from the Company's ships arriving at the island were constantly quartered in French houses assigned them for sick quarters, a situation on many accounts highly improper for disordered men. It retarded their recovery, often prevented it, and was

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		if that can be, more vigilantly on your Guard, and better prepared for your defence than hitherto, while the nation was in contest with France only, and you are accordingly to cause the said Declaration to be proclaimed at St Helena, with the usual Solemnities on such an occasion. 51 We have received Complaints that the Sick from our Ships arriving at the Island, have constantly French Houses assigned them for Sick Quarters; a Situation on many accounts so highly improper for disordered Men, retards their Cure, often prevents it, and is frequently the occasion of their death, wherefore you are in future to require the commanders to send their Sick to the Hospital, where they will meet with the treatment suitable to their condition this is to be done at the Expence of the Ships, where Captains are to be your Paymasters as in the other Case, the former irregular method We are assured owes its rise to the Countenance given by some one, or more of our Servants, who are concerned in, or have an Interest in promoting the Trade of such Houses; but let them know We highly disapprove of	frequently the occasion of their death. The island was therefore in future to require the commanders to send their sick to the hospital, where they would meet with the treatment suitable to their condition. This was to be done at the expense of the ships, whose captains were to be the island's paymasters, as in the other case. The directors were assured this former irregular method owed its rise to the countenance given by some one or more of the Company's servants who were concerned in, or had an interest in promoting the trade of such houses. The island was to let them know the directors highly disapproved [...]. **Interpretations** The proclamation of war against Spain, adding a second enemy to the struggle with France, shows the widening of the Seven Years War into the conflict with the Bourbon powers, and its transmission to St Helena for public proclamation and heightened vigilance reveals how the island, as a fixed point on the sea route, had to reckon with a fresh maritime foe, the Spanish navy and privateers now joining the French as threats to the homeward fleets the island guarded and refreshed. The scandal of the sick being lodged in French houses rather than the hospital exposes a corrupt practice within the settlement, since the quartering of disordered seamen in private houses that some of the Company's own servants had an interest in promoting served private profit at the cost of the men's health and lives, and the directors' insistence on the hospital, at the ships' expense, was both a measure of humanity and an attack on a self dealing arrangement that betrayed the Company's servants' trust. The requirement that the ships bear the cost of their own sick, with the captains acting as paymasters, illustrates the consistent principle by which the Company pushed the expense of a ship's people back onto the ship, since the sick belonged to the vessels that brought them and their care was properly a charge on those ships rather than on the island, the same logic that governed the handling of deserters and men left behind applied here to the treatment of the ill. **Speculations** Told that the Company's own servants had an interest in the French sick houses, the directors chose to order the sick into the hospital and expose the servants' self dealing, rather than let a profitable local arrangement stand. The page shows the improper method traced to the countenance of servants concerned in the trade of those houses, so that the men's recovery was set against the private gain of the Company's own people, and the directors came down for the hospital because the lodging houses were killing the seamen while enriching a few, a hidden interest they were unwilling to indulge once it was uncovered.
157	153	of so mean a practice, observing that if it is not discontinued, you are to acquaint us with the Offenders that we may give you our further directions as to them. 52 Mr Merryweather as beforementioned, being appointed to the Command of the Mercury Snow, a regular Succession of the other Mates is to be thereupon observed if their behaviour has been satisfactory, and if there is no one on board qualify'd for the Station of Fourth Mate, or if any of the other Mates shall not	The directors highly disapproved of so mean a practice, and if it were not discontinued the island was to acquaint them with the offenders, so that they might give further directions about them. 52: Mr Merryweather, as mentioned before, being appointed to the command of the *Mercury*, a regular succession of the other mates was to be observed, if their behaviour had been satisfactory. Should there be no one on board qualified for the station of fourth mate, or should any of the other mates not be esteemed to deserve promotion, the island was then to try to procure from the homeward bound shipping such persons as might be found fit to fill those stations. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 3 February 1762, and signed

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		be esteemed to deserve promotion you will then endeavour to procure from the homeward bound Shipping such Persons as may be found equal to supply those Stations We are London the 3d February 1762 Your loving Friends Lau Sulivan Thos Rous H Crabb Boulton John Boyd Chas Gough John Harrison G Rooke W Thornton Richd Warner Bowchier Walton Richd Steward Henry Savage Christr Baron Fredk Pigou Tho Waters Timothy Tullie Richd Smith J Harrison John Dorrien	by Laurence Sulivan, Thomas Rous, H. Crabb Boulton, John Boyd, Charles Gough, John Harrison, G. Rooke, W. Thornton, Richard Warner, Boisdatier Walton, Richard Steward, Henry Savage, Christopher Baron, Frederick Pigou, Thomas Waters, Timothy Tullie, Robert Smith, T. Harrison and John Dorrien. **Interpretations** The rule that promotion aboard the *Mercury* follow a regular succession of the mates, subject to satisfactory conduct, shows the ordered career ladder the Company maintained even on its small vessels, since each mate advanced in turn as places fell vacant and good behaviour was the condition of rising, a system that rewarded service and gave the men a settled expectation of promotion, tempered by the requirement that they prove worthy of it. The provision for filling a vacant mate's place from the homeward bound shipping, when no one aboard was fit, reveals again the anchorage's role as a labour market where the Company drew qualified men from the passing fleets to supply its permanent island craft, so that a gap in the small vessel's officers could be made good from the transient pool of experienced seamen, keeping the boats manned by capable hands without waiting for replacements from England.
158	154	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 The last advices We transmitted to you were dated the 3d of February past which we have the satisfaction to observe were duly received by his Majestys Ship the Assistance and by the Storeship Royal Charlotte. 2 In the course of the present Season since the above Period, your following Addresses to us have been received by the undermentioned Ships viz; 25 January 1762 by the Falmouth 12th February Alderney Sloop of War 18th February Terpsichore Frigate of War 6th April Hawke 11th April King of Prussia 5th May Neptune 17th May Caernarvon 17th June Assistance Ship of War 4th July Crown Prince of Denmark 6th Augst the Duplicate 15th August both Letters by the Warren Our Governors several Letters to the Secret Committee have been also duly received 3 Your Letter by the Dane was received three days before that which the Assistance brought and had not the former been accompanied with one from the Supra Cargoes of the Royal Charlotte mentioning the day when the Convoy departed with our Five Ships from the Island, We should have been at a loss for so in Material a piece of advice, and altho it was for a small space, yet you will be sensible it was an omission that might have been created uneasiness, in all other respects as it is truly praiseworthy, We cannot but commend and thank you for the conveniance of your Instructions given in the abovementioned Letters concerning our shipping and Indian affairs, assuring ourselves that you will continue with the same exactness a practice which is so useful and gives so much satisfaction to us	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the season's correspondence and shipping. 1: The last advices the directors had sent went out on 3 February past, which they were glad to observe had been duly received by His Majesty's ship *Assistance* and by the storeship *Royal Charlotte*. 2: During the present season, since that date, the island's following letters had been received by the ships named below. 25 January 1762, by the Falmouth 12 February, by the Alderney sloop of war 18 February, by the Terpsichore frigate of war 6 April, by the Hawke 11 April, by the King of Prussia 5 May, by the Neptune 17 May, by the Caernarvon 17 June, by the Assistance ship of war 4 July, by the Crown Prince of Denmark 6 August, and the duplicate 15 August, both letters by the Warren The Governor's several letters to the Secret Committee had also been duly received. 3: The island's letter by the *Dane* was received three days before the one the *Assistance* brought, and had the former not been accompanied by one from the supercargoes of the *Royal Charlotte* naming the day the convoy left the island with the Company's five ships, the directors would have been at a loss for so material a piece of advice. Though this was so for only a short space, the island would remember it was an omission that might have caused unease. In all other respects it was truly praiseworthy. The directors could only commend and thank the island for the information given in the letters above, on shipping and Indian affairs, assuring themselves it would keep up the same exactness, a practice so useful and giving them so much satisfaction. **Interpretations** The long roll of ships carrying the island's letters home, warships, frigates, sloops and packets bearing such names as the *King of Prussia* and the *Crown Prince of Denmark*, reveals the dense and varied traffic that passed St Helena and the many separate conveyances by which correspondence was spread to guard against loss, each letter entrusted to a different hull

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		4 We	so that the failure of any one would not sever the island's communication with London. The single fault the directors found, the omission from one letter of the date the convoy sailed, illustrates the premium placed on precise intelligence of shipping movements in wartime, since the timing of a convoy's departure told London when to expect its ships and when to worry, and even a brief gap in such knowledge caused unease, the whole exchange showing how the safe and orderly running of the Company's fleets rested on the exact and duplicated reporting the island was praised for maintaining.
159	155	4 The Captures made in Europe, from the Enemy which have affected their trade to the East Indies since We last wrote to you consist of Three homeward bound Ships. One named the Count de Villeveaur of 450 Tons 112 Men and 18 Guns taken by his Majestys Ships the Fame and Lion the 26 February last in Latitude 40 N from Mauritius for Port L'Orient with 1024 Bales of Coffee, another was made Prize of the 11 of the same Month by His Majestys Ship Blonde called the Boutin of 400 Tons 20 Guns & 189 Men many of them Passengers, her Loading consisted of Coffee and a little Pepper bound from Mauritius, the Third was the St Priest taken by His Majestys Ship Valiant and sent into Plymouth the 29th March last with about 9000 Bales of Coffee some Pepper and Ebony, She left Bourbon 24 Novemr with many Passengers where according to the Report of the Prisoners Provisions were excessively scarce, and three French Ships of War remained there 5 A Detachment of about 800 Men Officers included to be divided as Recruits among the several Battalions of His Majestys Troops serving in the East Indies were embarked last Season for Fort St George on board the Ships, Walpole, Hardwicke Drake and Earl of Ashbunham, Colonel Staats Long Morris also took passage to Bombay on the Ship Prince of Wales in order to review and settle matters with the division of his Battalion which, by the last advices received, was upon the Mallabar Coast, from whence he was to proceed to the Coast of Choromandel. 6 No other part of His Majestys Marine Force was sent last season to the East Indies except the Argo Frigate of 28 Guns Captain Richard King from Plymouth on the 23d Febry last, Colonel William Draper took passage on her in order to join his Regiment. 7 Some time after the departure of the Royal Charlotte We	4: The captures made in Europe from the enemy that affected their trade to the East Indies since the directors last wrote consisted of three homeward bound ships. One, named the *Count de Villevault*, of four hundred and fifty tons, one hundred and twelve men and eighteen guns, was taken by His Majesty's ships the *Fame* and the *Lion* on 26 February last, in latitude forty north from Mauritius, bound for Port L'Orient with four thousand and twenty four bales of coffee. Another was made prize on the 11th of the same month by His Majesty's ship *Blonde*, called the *Boutin*, of four hundred tons, twenty guns and one hundred and eighty men, many of them passengers, her lading consisting of coffee and a little pepper, bound from Mauritius. The third was the *St Priest*, taken by His Majesty's ship *Valiant* and sent into Plymouth on 29 March last, with about nine thousand bales of coffee, some pepper and ebony. She left Bourbon on 24 November with many passengers, where, according to the report of the prisoners, provisions were excessively scarce, and three French warships remained there. 5: A detachment of about eight hundred men, officers included, to be divided as recruits among the several battalions of His Majesty's troops serving in the East Indies, was embarked the season before for Fort St George on the ships *Walpole*, *Hardwicke*, *Drake* and *Earl of Ashburnham*. Colonel Staats Long Morris also took passage to Bombay on the ship *Prince of Wales*, in order to review and settle matters with the division of his battalion, which, by the last advices received, was on the Malabar Coast, from where he was to proceed to the Coast of Coromandel. 6: No other part of His Majesty's naval force was sent the season before to the East Indies, except the *Argo* frigate of twenty eight guns, Captain Richard King, from Plymouth on 23 February last. Colonel William Draper took passage on her in order to join his regiment. 7: Some time after the departure of the *Royal Charlotte* [...]. **Interpretations** The continued stream of French East India ships taken as prizes, laden with coffee, pepper and ebony from Mauritius and Bourbon, confirms the strangling of French oceanic trade in the closing phase of the war, since vessel after vessel returning from the Indian Ocean islands fell to British warships, so that the enemy's whole commerce with its eastern possessions was being converted into prize goods brought into English ports, a ruin of the French trade from which the Company stood to gain. The report from prisoners of provisions excessively scarce at Bourbon, with three French warships stranded there, shows once more how captured crews yielded intelligence of the enemy's weakness, the British command of the sea leaving the French islands short of supplies and their ships unable to move, information gathered incidentally

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			from prizes yet valuable for gauging the collapse of French power in the region the Company watched most closely. The embarkation of eight hundred recruits and senior officers on Company Indiamen bound for Fort St George and Bombay illustrates how the crown's war in India was carried on the Company's own shipping, the great East Indiamen serving as troop transports as well as traders, and the movement of a colonel to review his scattered battalion on the Malabar Coast reveals the sprawling deployment of British forces across the subcontinent that the Company's vessels were pressed to sustain.
160	156	We learnt from the Publick Accounts that three Ships fitted out by the French East India Company sailed from Port L'Orient the 2d February last for the Isle of France, any other measures that may have been pursued in their behalf do not appear. 8 The Government having thought proper to present a Memorial to the States General of the United Provinces complaining of the conduct of the Dutch at Bengal in 1759, They returned an answer giving a very different Account of the Facts, and have even extended their Report to a very formidable charge on us, We replied in a Memorial to the King which was delivered to the States General Copies of these Pieces, We transmit for your information It has been since agreed that the Disputes between the two companies relative to the affairs in Bengal should be left to the adjustment of Commissaries and Three on the part of each Company being met are now actually treating here, during this work, according to a previous Stipulation all acts of violence in India are to cease for this purpose Orders have been given to the Presidency of Fort William and you are so far as you may have any Transactions with the Dutch to use your best endeavours to cultivate by all Sorts of Good Offices a Reciprocal Friendship and mutual good understanding. 9 In compiling our Defence against the Dutch We found Ourselves greatly embarrassed for want of a regular Transmission of authentic Vouchers from Bengal and although We hope the disputes with them will be amicably terminate, yet should it prove otherwise We particulatly recommend to your careful perusal what has passed, and if in the present Case or when any future Controversy shall happen between us and the Dutch or any other Europeans, you shall have knowledge or be possessed of	The directors learnt from the public accounts that three ships fitted out by the French East India Company sailed from Port L'Orient on 2 February last for the Isle of France. Any other measures that might have been pursued on their behalf did not appear. 8: The government having thought proper to present a memorial to the States General of the United Provinces, complaining of the conduct of the Dutch at Bengal in 1759, they returned an answer giving a very different account of the facts, and had even extended their report to a very formidable charge against the Company. The directors replied in a memorial to the King, which was delivered to the States General, and they transmitted copies of these papers for the island's information. It had since been agreed that the disputes between the two companies over the affairs in Bengal should be left to the adjustment of commissaries, three on the part of each company being named, who were now actually treating. During this work, according to a previous stipulation, all acts of violence in India were to cease, and for this purpose orders had been given to the presidency of Fort William. The island was, so far as it might have any dealings with the Dutch, to use its best endeavours to cultivate by all sorts of good offices a reciprocal friendship and mutual good understanding. 9: In compiling their defence against the Dutch, the directors found themselves greatly embarrassed for want of a regular transmission of authentic vouchers from Bengal. Though they hoped the disputes with them would be amicably ended, should it prove otherwise the island was particularly recommended to keep a careful record of what passed. If in the present case, or in any future controversy between the Company and the Dutch or any other Europeans, the island should have knowledge or come into possession [...]. **Interpretations** The dispute with the Dutch over the affairs at Bengal in 1759 refers to the clash of the two East India Companies following the English ascendancy in Bengal, when the Dutch challenge was crushed, and the elevation of the quarrel to a formal exchange of memorials between the British government and the States General shows how a commercial rivalry in India had become a matter of state diplomacy between two nations, the trading companies backed by their governments in a contest carried on at the highest level. The agreement to submit the dispute to commissaries, three from each company, with all acts of violence in India to cease meanwhile, reveals the machinery of arbitration by which the companies sought to settle their differences without open war, since armed conflict in India served neither, and the appointment of equal panels to negotiate, with a standstill on hostilities, marks a deliberate turning from force to law, orders sent even to Fort William to hold the peace while the talks went on.

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			The directors' embarrassment for want of authentic vouchers from Bengal, and their urgent charge to the island to preserve records of any dealings with the Dutch or other Europeans, exposes how the Company's position in a diplomatic contest depended on documentary evidence, since claims and counterclaims could only be pressed with proof, and the failure of a regular flow of authenticated papers from India had left the Company weak in argument, a lesson that made the systematic keeping of records a matter of real consequence in the rivalry between the European powers.
161	157	of the Originals of any Papers relating to it, that the same be sent to us with Copys thereof authenticated in the most solemn way by other Conveyances, on its appearing absolutely necessary to keep the Originals, then transmit Copies by two or more conveyances authenticated as above, and if any material Intelligence on such occasions can be procured from Living Witnesses let their Depositions on Oath be regularly taken in writing, one of which you will keep, and send us the other, in Duplicate at least by different Conveyances. 10 Having through the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Seamen and for exchanging Prisoners of War procured the Release of our Civil and Military Officers from the Parole they had engaged themselves under to the French, when they reduced our Settlements on the West Coast of Sumatra by a ratification in the Form of their Exchange between the said Commissioners and Monsr Guillot His most Christian Majestys Commissary General at St Malo, whereby those Officers are free and, liberty to resume their Employments and having received the Boards Certificates thereof for each Person respectively, the same have been transmitted both to Fort St George and the West Coast. We likewise now inclose List of the Officers so exchanged, that if any of them should be with you on their return, they may be acquainted with their Freedom to remove any inconveniences they might suppose themselves leable to by imagining themselves still to continue Prisoners of War. 11 We require you to pay a punctual Obedience to the Orders of our Secret Committee for the Current year, or of any three of the Gentlemen that it is composed of who are Thomas Rous Esqr our Chairman, John Dorrien Esqr Deputy Chairman and Charles Gough and Timothy Tullie Esqrs 12	Of the originals of any papers relating to it, the island was to send the same to the directors, with copies authenticated in the most solemn way by other conveyances. Should it appear absolutely necessary to keep the originals, it was then to transmit copies by two or more conveyances, authenticated as above. If any material intelligence on such occasions could be got from living witnesses, their depositions on oath were to be regularly taken in writing, one of which the island was to keep, and send the other in duplicate at least by different conveyances. 10: Through the commissioners for sick and wounded seamen and for exchanging prisoners of war, the directors had secured the release of the Company's civil and military officers from the parole they had engaged themselves under to the French, when the French reduced the Company's settlements on the west coast of Sumatra. This was done by a ratification, in the form of their exchange, between those commissioners and Monsieur Guillot, His Most Christian Majesty's commissary general at St Malo, whereby those officers were free and at liberty to resume their employments. Having received the board's certificates for each person, the directors had transmitted the same both to Fort St George and the west coast. They now enclosed a list of the officers so exchanged, so that if any of them should be with the island on their return, it might acquaint them with their freedom, to remove any awkwardness they might suppose themselves liable to by imagining themselves still prisoners of war. 11: The directors required the island to pay punctual obedience to the orders of the Secret Committee for the current year, or of any three of the gentlemen it was composed of, who were Thomas Rous, chairman, John Dorrien, deputy chairman, and Charles Gough and Timothy Tullie. [...] **Interpretations** The formal release of the Company's officers from their parole, negotiated through the commissioners for sick and wounded seamen with the French commissary general at St Malo, illustrates the elaborate machinery that governed prisoners of war between the two nations, since an officer captured when the French took the Sumatran settlements had bound himself by parole not to serve until exchanged, and only a formal ratification through the proper channels could free him to resume his post, the whole resting on the recognised conventions that regulated captivity even between enemies. The directors' care to notify exchanged officers of their freedom, lest they imagine themselves still bound and hold back from their duties, reveals how seriously the obligation of parole was felt, since a man who believed himself still a prisoner would not resume his employment for fear of dishonour, and the Company had to circulate certificates of exchange to release its servants not only in law but in

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			their own consciences, a striking measure of the moral force the parole convention carried. The detailed instructions for authenticating and duplicating documents and taking sworn depositions from witnesses show the Company building a disciplined system of evidence gathering in the wake of its embarrassment over the Dutch dispute, since a controversy with a foreign power turned on proof, and the directors were determined that in any future quarrel the island would preserve, authenticate and safely transmit the papers and testimony on which the Company's case would depend, learning from past weakness to arm itself with record for the contests to come.
162	158	12 Since the date of our Last upon altering the Consignment of the Ships Elizabeth, Harcourt and Horsendon for China directly instead of sending them first to the West Coast off Sumatra, We entertained the Ships Valentine Burthen 499 Tons 99 Men and 26 Guns Capt William Ferrell Comander as a Conveyance to that Coast for the Stores, Necessaries and Recruits which were intended to have been sent on the other three when the Valentine has performed the requisit Service there she is in the proper Season to be sent to Canton in order to be returned to us with a China Cargo 13 The Ship Houghton which sailed from Spithead the 6th of March last was two days after run on board of a large Transport and so much damaged as to be obliged to return to Portsmouth and be docked which retarded her departure till the 6th May. 14 The Albion and the other Seven Ships which sailed on that day under the Convoy of His Majestys Ship the Superbe with the Gosport and Danae Frigates were on the 11 threatened with an attack from a Superior French Force of two Ships of the Line and Two Frigates, which by the Firm and prudent Conduct of Captain Rowley was prevented by the Enemys bearing away with all the Sail they could make, after being within a mile and an halfs distance of each other, whereby not our own but the West Indias Fleet which he guarded was preserved. 15 We have entertained in our Service this Season the undermentioned Ships each of the burthen of 499 Tons for carrying on our Trade to the East Indies and China, it is intended their respective departure for their consigned Ports shall take place about the following times viz; Ships	12: Since the date of their last, on altering the consignment of the ships *Elizabeth*, *Harcourt* and *Hoveden* for China directly instead of sending them first to the west coast of Sumatra, the directors had taken up the ship *Valentine*, of four hundred and ninety nine tons, ninety nine men and twenty six guns, Captain William Fernell commander, as a conveyance to that coast for the stores, necessaries and recruits meant to have been sent on the other ships. When the *Valentine* had performed this service, she was in the proper season to be sent to Canton, in order to be returned to the directors with a China cargo. 13: The ship *Houghton*, which sailed from Spithead on the 8th of March last, was, two days after sailing, run on board of by a large transport, and so much damaged as to be obliged to return to Portsmouth and be docked, which delayed her departure to 6 May. 14: The *Albion* and the other seven ships, which sailed on that day under convoy of His Majesty's ship *Superb*, with the *Gosport* and *Danae* frigates, were on the 11th threatened with an attack from a superior French force of two ships of the line and two frigates. This was prevented by the firm and prudent conduct of Captain Rowley, the enemy bearing away with all the sail they could make, after being within a mile and a half of each other, whereby not only the Company's own but the West India fleet, which he guarded, was preserved. 15: The directors had taken into their service that season the ships named below, each of four hundred and ninety nine tons, for carrying on their trade to the East Indies and China. Their several departures for their consigned ports were to take place about the following times. **Interpretations** The rerouting of three China ships and the taking up of the *Valentine* to carry the stores and recruits they would have delivered to Sumatra shows the constant reshuffling of tonnage to serve competing ends, since the directors wanted the three vessels to reach Canton directly yet still had to get the west coast supplies delivered, so a further ship was hired to fill the gap, a piece of logistical improvisation that reveals how the demands of the pepper settlements and the tea trade had continually to be balanced against the ships available. The account of the *Albion*'s convoy escaping a superior French squadron through Captain Rowley's firmness illustrates the real dangers of the homeward and outward passages in wartime, since a British escort faced with heavier enemy force had to bluff or stand its ground to protect the merchantmen, and the preservation of both the Company's fleet and the West India ships under the same guard shows how the navy's convoys shielded the whole span of the nation's ocean commerce against a French navy still capable of striking at the trade routes. The damaging of the *Houghton* by collision with a transport, forcing her back to dock and delaying

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			her two months, points to the ordinary hazards of crowded wartime sailings, since ships gathering to sail in convoy ran the risk of fouling one another, and a single accident could set back a vessel's whole voyage, a reminder that the perils of the sea and of concentrated shipping added to the enemy's threat in disrupting the Company's carefully timed departures.
163	159	Ships, Commander, Consignments, Proposed Time of departure Egmont Charles Meaves St Helena & China Hawke John Cotton Falmouth Geffrie O'Hara Coast and China Now under dispatch Neptune Gabriel Steward Plassey James Ward Coast and Bay Deptford William Tryon Savannah Thomas Madge China directly Cruttenden John Bowland St Helena & China The end of January Glatton Richard Doveton Bencoolen & China Pocock Benjamin Hooke Lord Clive William Webber do do Peter Pigou Coast & Bay The end of February do do George Richardson Lord Mansfield Alexander Maclese The end of February Latham James Moffatt End of March do do Henry Fletcher Bombay Do do do Patrick Maitland End of Febury do do Thomas Dethick End of March do do James Dewar 16 The New Ship Capt Dethick and Latham abovementioned are to be sent from Bombay early in the Year 1764 the former to Mocha and the latter to China for homeward Cargais to be respectively loaden on them at those places. 17 That you may be well informed of the State of Our Shipping as far as regards their departure from the British and such foreign Ports as they may have touched at, with the times of their return hither since the date of our last, We enclose by these Ships the Egmont, and Cruttenden Lists wherein you will observe those occurences minutely described. 18	The ships taken into service that season, with their commanders, consignments and proposed times of departure, were as follows. *Egmont*, Charles Mears, St Helena and China *Hawke*, John Cotton, Coast and China, now under dispatch *Falmouth*, Geoffrey O'Hara, Coast and China, now under dispatch *Neptune*, Gabriel Steward, Coast and China, now under dispatch *Plassey*, James Ward, Coast and Bay Deptford, William Fryon, Coast and Bay Ravensworth, Thomas Madge, China directly, the end of January *Cruttenden*, John Bowland, St Helena and China, the end of January *Glatton*, Richard Doveton, Bencoolen and China, the end of January *Pocock*, Benjamin Hooke, Bencoolen and China, the end of January *Lord Clive*, William Webber, Coast and Bay, the end of February [...], Peter Pigou, Coast and Bay, the end of February [...], George Richardson, Coast and Bay, the end of February *Lord Mansfield*, Alexander Macleod, the end of February *Latham*, James Moffatt, Bombay, end of March [...], Henry Fletcher, Bombay, end of February [...], Patrick Maitland, Bombay, end of March [...], Thomas Dethick, Bombay, end of March [...], James Dewar, Bombay, end of March 16: The new ships, commanded by Captain Dethick and Captain Latham as named above, were to be sent from Bombay early in the year 1764, the former to Mocha and the latter to China for homeward cargoes, to be respectively loaded on them at those places. 17: So that the island might be well informed of the state of the Company's shipping, as far as regarded its departure from the British and such foreign ports as it might have touched at, with the times of its return there since the date of their last, the directors enclosed by these ships the *Egmont* and *Cruttenden* lists in which the island would find those occurrences minutely described. **Interpretations** The routing of a new ship to Mocha for a homeward cargo points to the Company's trade in coffee at the Red Sea port, since Mocha in the Yemen was the great source of coffee before the plant spread elsewhere, and a vessel sent there to load reveals a branch of the Company's commerce distinct from the tea of China and the textiles of India, the island seeing in these sailing orders the whole reach of a trade that spanned the Indian Ocean and beyond. The list's mingling of destinations, China for tea, the Coast and Bay for Indian textiles, Bombay and Bencoolen for the western trade and pepper, shows how a single season's shipping was distributed across every field of the Company's commerce, the times of departure staggered from January to the end of March so that the vessels reached their varied ports in the right seasons for lading, a schedule that reveals the intricate timing on which the whole cycle of Asian trade depended.

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			The dispatch of lists minutely describing the movements of shipping, both British and foreign ports touched and times of return, illustrates the Company's effort to keep its distant settlements fully informed of the state of the fleets, since the island needed to know what ships were where in order to plan its own provisioning and to make sense of the traffic passing its road, the detailed reporting binding the scattered parts of the enterprise into a single system of shared knowledge.
164	160	18 We have elected the following named Gentlemen to be the Council of Supra Cargos for the management of Our Affairs in China the ensuing Season viz, Messrs Thos Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Henry Howell Hillary Torians & Nathaniel Garland, Alexander Hume, Mann Horner, Benjamin Torin, Thomas Smith, Robert John Harrison, Alexander Fraser and William Dows, & of these Messrs Fitzheigh, Blount, Garland, Hume, Horner, Smith and Dows are to continue as Residents in China in the Year 1764, to conduct Our Business thereuntil the arrival of, and then in concert with the other Supra Cargoes whom We shall join with them in the Commission for that Season 19 The New Ship to be commanded by Capt Dethick being to proceed from Bombay in the beginning of the Year 1764 to Mocha, We have appointed the Captain & Mr Charles Whitehill One of our Servants on the Bombay Establishment and Mr Edward Ironside who proceeds from thence, and is to return hither, our Supra Cargoes for procuring a Cargo of Coffee and the management of Our Affairs for the said Ship at the Port of Mocha 20 You will observe by the Copys of the Charterpartis of the Egmont and Cruttenden enclosed in their several Packets that they are taken up on the same Terms as the Ships for the two past Seasons, and so are all the others entertained this Year which makes it necessary only to refer you to those Articles and the orders we have given within that Term for your Government as to demorage short Delivery Damage, and any other matter that shall occur in respect to those Ships 21 Your commendable dispatching the Royal Charlotte within the limited Time but her Stay for Eleven days afterwards at the Island the advanced Season considered might	18: The directors had elected the following gentlemen to the council of supercargoes for the management of their affairs in China the coming season, Mr Thomas Fitzhugh, Samuel Blount, Henry Howell, Hillary Torians, Nathaniel Garland, Alexander Hume, Mann Horner, Benjamin Torin, Thomas Smith, Robert John Harrison, Alexander Fraser and William Dowis. Of these, Mr Fitzhugh, Blount, Garland, Hume, Horner, Smith and Dowis were to continue as residents in China in the year 1764, to conduct the Company's business there until the arrival of the next, and then, in concert with the other supercargoes whom the directors would join with them, in the commission for that season. 19: The new ship to be commanded by Captain Dethick being to proceed from Bombay at the beginning of the year 1764 to Mocha, the directors had appointed Captain Mr Charles Whitehill, one of their servants on the Bombay establishment, and Mr Edward Ironside, who proceeded from there and was to return here, their supercargoes for procuring a cargo of coffee and the management of their affairs for that ship at the port of Mocha. 20: The island would observe from the copies of the charter parties of the *Egmont* and *Cruttenden*, enclosed in their several packets, that they were taken up on the same terms as the ships for the two past seasons, as were all the others engaged that year. It was therefore needful only to refer the island to those articles, and to the orders the directors had given about them, on demurrage, short delivery, damage and any other matter concerning those ships. 21: The island had done commendably in dispatching the *Royal Charlotte* within the fixed time, but her stay of eleven days afterwards at the island, given the advanced season, [...]. **Interpretations** The appointment of a numbered council of supercargoes to manage the China trade, with some named to remain resident through the following year, reveals the settled establishment the Company maintained at Canton, since the tea trade required experienced men on the spot to conduct the buying and to keep continuity from one season to the next, the supercargoes forming a standing commission that governed the Company's affairs in China much as a presidency governed its settlements in India. A supercargo was the officer who took charge of a ship's cargo and conducted the buying and selling of goods at the ports of trade, distinct from the captain who commanded the vessel, and the naming of particular supercargoes for the coffee voyage to Mocha shows how the commercial side of each venture was entrusted to specialists in trade, the management of the cargo separated from the navigation of the ship throughout the Company's operations. The reference to Mocha for a cargo of coffee places the Company's reach in the Red Sea trade, since Mocha in the Yemen was the world's chief source of coffee in that age, and the careful appointment of supercargoes to procure the cargo there reveals a distinct branch of commerce, the island glimpsing through these orders how the Company drew coffee from Arabia as it drew tea from China and textiles

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			from India, a trade spanning the whole breadth of the eastern seas.
165	161	might hazard her arrival at China that Year, or at least protract it to an improper time is argument for inculcating our anual Injunctions on such occasion by urging your despatch of the two Ships now consigned to you with all Speed, We persuade ourselves you will not detain them an hour longer than necessity requires, and if it shall appear the Commanders cause any unnecessary delays they must be made answerable for the consequences 22 Although the information you received that Five of His Majestys Subjects were on board the Ship King of Prussia, did not on enquiry prove well grounded, yet your demand of them agreeable to Our standing Orders was right and must never be omitted when any similar Cases offer 23 Your representations of the Expences incurred on behalf of Sundry Persons left on the Island from several of our Ships which enable us to call upon such as have occasioned these charges for Reimbursement have your diligent attention to our Service, and we shall avail ourselves of your information in making up Accounts with the Owners concerned accordingly observing that you will acquit yourselves much to our will satisfaction in the constant observance of this practice 24 At the Instance of the Friends of William Rogers a Midshipman of the Mercury Snow representing the necessity of his presence here for the settlement of some accounts wherein he is a Party and Legatee of his deceased Uncle, We direct you to discharge him from our Service with permission to take passage on the first, or any other of our returning Ships after the receipt hereof at his own expence. 25 We are now happily enabled to inform you that on the 8 Ultimo the Instruments of Preliminary Articles of signed at Fontainbleau the 3d preceding by the respective peace, Plenipotentiaries of their Britanick, most Christian & Catholic Majestys were received here 26 In consequence whereof a Cessation of Arms was publickly	Her stay might endanger her arrival at China that year, or at least set it back to an improper time, which was an argument for repeating the annual injunction on such occasions, by urging the island to dispatch the two ships now consigned to it with all speed. The directors persuaded themselves the island would not detain them an hour longer than necessity required, and if it appeared the commanders caused any needless delays, they must be made answerable for the consequences. 22: Though the information the island received that five of His Majesty's subjects were aboard the ship *King of Prussia* did not, on enquiry, prove well grounded, its demand of them, agreeable to the directors' standing orders, was right, and must never be omitted when any similar cases offered. 23: The island's representations of the expenses incurred on behalf of sundry persons left on it from several of the Company's ships, which enabled the directors to call upon such as had occasioned them, deserved attention. These charges the directors would recover for the island's reimbursement, and would use the information in making up accounts with the owners concerned accordingly. The island would much oblige the directors by the constant observance of this practice. 24: At the instance of the friends of William Rogers, a midshipman of the *Mercury* snow, representing the necessity of his presence here for the settlement of some accounts in which he was a party and a legatee of his deceased uncle, the directors ordered the island to discharge him from the Company's service, with permission to take passage on the first or any other of the returning ships after the receipt of this, at his own expense. 25: The directors were now happily able to inform the island that on the 8th of last month the instruments of the preliminary articles of peace, signed at Fontainebleau on the 3rd, by the plenipotentiaries of their Britannic, Most Christian and Catholic Majesties, were received here. 26: In consequence of this a cessation of arms was publicly [...]. **Interpretations** The signing of the preliminary articles of peace at Fontainebleau by the plenipotentiaries of Britain, France and Spain marks the negotiations that ended the Seven Years War, the three crowns styled by their formal titles of Britannic, Most Christian and Catholic Majesty, and its transmission to St Helena with news of a cessation of arms shows how the return of peace was carried to the furthest posts, freeing the island's shipping at last from the wartime dangers that had shadowed every passage past its road. The persistent demand that the island search returning ships for His Majesty's subjects, upheld even where a particular report proved false, reveals the standing tension between the Company and the navy over manpower, since the crown claimed seamen for its warships and the Company had orders to give them up, and the directors insisted the practice never be omitted, treating the surrender of naval men as an obligation to be observed regardless of whether each individual case bore out. The discharge of the midshipman Rogers to settle his late uncle's accounts illustrates how the Company accommodated the private affairs of its servants where a genuine need arose, releasing a man from service to attend to an inheritance in which he was both party and legatee, yet doing so at his own expense, a measured favour that met a real family necessity without the Company bearing the cost, the

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			balance it habitually struck between indulgence and economy.
166	162	publickly declared here between the said Powers the 26th of Novemr last by His Majestys proclamation whereof Numbers are herewith sent for your own use, and to be delivered to the commanders of the returning Ships of former Seasons for their Information and strict Observance. 27 By the said proclamation you will observe there are certain times specified after which all Captures that shall be made are to be restored and the time beyond the Equinoctial the Line being settled at six months from the ratification of the Preliminaries, If therefore the Secret Committee, now a Cessation of Hostilities has been stipulated shall not have given any particular directions for the passage of our homeward bound Ships you must in future order in routing the Commanders of such of them, as shall be dispatched after the said 6 months are expired to proceed directly, to the River of Thames as before the War, after they have staid a reasonable time at the Island to refresh their People, and such of the Ships as you shall dispatch before the expiration of the said 6 months their Commanders must be particularly cautioned to be on their guard, until the Periods within which it has been Stipulated Hostilities shall cease 28 If any French Ships should touch at the Island after the time appointed for the Cessation of Hostilities they may be received in a friendly manner as before the Commencement of the War, but none of their Officers or People must be suffered to go up into the country or take a view of your Fortifications, and this is to be a standing Rule not only with respect to French, but to all other foreign Ships 29 Esteeming the Mercury well employed in contributing towards the supply of Sheep and Cattle, by the two Trips made to the Cape, while not immediately wanted to cruize for our homeward bound Ships	The cessation of arms was publicly declared here between the said powers on the 26th of November last, by His Majesty's proclamation, of which copies were sent with this for the island's own use, and to be delivered to the commanders of the returning ships of former seasons for their information and strict observance. 27: From the proclamation the island would observe that certain times were fixed, after which all captures made were to be restored, the time beyond the equinoctial line being settled at six months from the ratification of the preliminaries. Should the Secret Committee, now a cessation of hostilities had been agreed, not have given any particular directions for the passage of the Company's homeward bound ships, the island was in future, in routing the commanders of such as should be dispatched after those six months had expired, to order them to proceed directly to the river of Thames as before the war, after they had stayed a reasonable time at the island to refresh their people. Such ships as the island dispatched before the six months expired must have their commanders particularly cautioned to be on their guard until the periods within which hostilities had been agreed to cease. 28: If any French ships should touch at the island after the time appointed for the cessation of hostilities, they might be received in a friendly manner as before the war, but none of their officers or people must be allowed to go up into the country or take a view of the fortifications, and this was to be a standing rule not only in respect of the French but of all other foreign ships. 29: Esteeming the *Mercury* well employed in contributing towards the supply of ships and cattle by the two trips made to the Cape, while not immediately wanted to cruise for the Company's homeward bound ships [...]. **Interpretations** The graded timetable for the restoration of captures, with a longer term of six months beyond the equinoctial line, reflects the practical problem of ending a war across the whole globe, since news of peace travelled slowly to distant waters and ships might be taken in ignorance that hostilities had ceased, so the treaty allowed different periods in different latitudes before seizures became unlawful, a recognition that the far oceans learned of peace long after Europe did. The instruction to admit French ships in friendship once peace came, yet to bar their people from the interior and from viewing the fortifications, reveals the wary vigilance the Company kept even toward a former enemy at peace, since a friendly call could serve as cover for spying out the island's defences, and the rule extended to all foreign ships shows a settled distrust of outsiders' eyes, the island's military secrets guarded against every stranger regardless of the state of relations. The employment of the *Mercury* to fetch cattle from the Cape when not needed to cruise against the enemy illustrates the flexible use of the island's small vessels as the demands of war receded, since a snow kept for wartime patrol could be turned to the peaceful work of replenishing the herds once the danger eased, the same craft serving defence in war and provisioning in peace as circumstances required, a practical economy in the management of the island's slender means.
167	163	you have our permission, so long as it may be necessary for the	The island had the directors' leave to continue the snow in such service so long as the needs of the island required, and this measure might be further

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		Snows Station with you, and the necessities of the Island may require it to continue her in such Service, and this measure may be further useful by the Intelligence the Captain may bring you from time to time during such her employment, On this Subject we also observe the unsuccessful attempt of the Fly Cutter for Turtle at Ascension, It is to be hoped a Second Trial, if you make it, will be attended with a more favourable Success, however your best endeavours are depended on to render both Vessels of as much utility, and benefit to us as your own and their circumstances will admit of 30 The Wages of several Mariners late belonging to the Mercury Snow and Fly Cutter have been paid here as you cannot be acquainted with the sums received in England by the Attornies of the Mariners of those Vessels entered there, We would have you, when any such are discharged or exchanged to grant Certificates in Duplicate of the ballances due to them respectively, exclusive of what may have been paid to their Attornies, One of these Certificates must be transmitted to us in your Packet and the other delivered to the Persons so discharged and Certificates also should be transmitted to us in the same manner of the Ballances due to the deceased Mariners of those Vessels 31 The additional Force which in consequence of what you represent was given to our Orders to the Captains of the outward bound Ships, for making as small demands on the Island as possible for fresh Provisions on their return first took place in the Instructions to those of last Seasons Outset, and therefore can only have an effect on them, and such who shall proceed in this and future years, as the Injunctions will be repeated until you shall signify it may be no longer material to insist upon them 32 You were informed in our Letter of the 27th Nov 1758 with the respect to be shewn to the Kings Flag, & the Compliments to	useful for the intelligence the captain could bring from time to time during her employment. On this subject the directors also noted the unsuccessful attempt of the *Fly* cutter for turtle at Ascension. It was to be hoped a second trial, if the island made it, would meet with more favourable success, and the directors relied on the island's best endeavours to render both vessels of as much use and benefit as their circumstances would allow. 30: The wages of several mariners lately belonging to the *Mercury* snow and *Fly* cutter had been paid here, so the island could not know the sums received in England by the attorneys of those men. When any such were discharged or exchanged, the directors wished the island to grant certificates in duplicate of the balances due to each, apart from what might have been paid to their attorneys. One of these certificates was to be transmitted in the island's packet and the other delivered to the persons discharged, and certificates were also to be sent in the same way of the balances due to the deceased mariners of those vessels. 31: The additional order given, in consequence of what the island represented, to the captains of the outward bound ships, to make as small demands on the island as possible for fresh provisions on their return, first appeared in the instructions to those of the last season's outset. It could therefore only take effect on them, and on such as should proceed in the current year, as the injunctions would be repeated until the island signified it might be no longer necessary to insist upon them. 32: The island had been informed in the directors' letter of 27 November 1758, on the respect to be shown to the King's flag and the compliments [...]. **Interpretations** The valuing of the snow both as a supply vessel and as a carrier of intelligence shows how a single small craft served multiple ends for the island, since a ship sent to fetch cattle or turtle also gathered news on her voyages, and the directors weighed her usefulness on both counts, keeping her in service so long as she earned her keep by provision and information alike, a practical economy in the deployment of the island's few vessels. The elaborate procedure for certifying the wage balances of the small vessels' mariners, in duplicate and separately from what their attorneys drew in England, reveals the tangle of accounting created when seamen's pay could be claimed both at the island and at home through appointed agents, and the Company's insistence on precise certificates guarded against a man or his attorney being paid twice, imposing documentary order on the divided settlement of a sailor's wages across two continents. The mention of turtle at Ascension points to the practice of taking sea turtles from that uninhabited island for fresh meat, since Ascension was a noted resort of turtles and ships called there to provision, and the *Fly* cutter's voyage reveals St Helena reaching out to a neighbouring island for a supplement to its own scant resources, the turtle a valued addition to a diet that leaned heavily on salt provisions when fresh food ran short.
168	164	to be paid to his majestys Officers, founded on the Opinion and Directions of the Lords of the Admiralty, so that if a Return of Salutes in the manner then prescribed is not observed We do not see the necessity of keeping up that Ceremony, but to remove all imputations of Disrespect especially to Flag Officers, you	The compliments to be paid to His Majesty's officers were founded on the opinion and directions of the Lords of the Admiralty, so that if a return of salutes in the manner prescribed was not observed, the directors did not see the necessity of keeping up the ceremony. To remove all imputations of disrespect, especially to flag officers, the island was, before any of His Majesty's ships came into the road, to send off a boat with a proper officer to learn what had passed formerly in this respect, and whether

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		must Previous to any of His Majestys Ships coming into the Road, send off a Boat with a proper Officer to acquaint them with what has passed formerly in this respect, to know whether they expect to be saluted and return will be given, for if they make no answer to your Compliment it should seem as if it was not expected, and Powder is too material an Article to be consumed to no manner of purpose, In all other Points of Civility to His Majestys Officers you are not to swerve from the Directions given in our said Letter, by the Exeter. 33 Under the present agreement for a Suspension of Arms as before noticed and the Directions given for the dispatch of the homeward bound Ships as soon as refreshed, their Demands for fresh Beef and Mutton must of course be lessened and not put you to a long Stay at the Island to inconvenience for their Supply as the Governor seems to be apprehensive of in his Letter to the Secret Committee of the 17th June, And to remove any prospect of Scarcity we shall approve of your employing the Mercury in such manner as may most effectually & expeditiously answer that end. 34 It will readily appear also from the Reason given as above that the Protections which the Governor desires for the Mercury and Fly will be quite unnecessary, but was it otherwise it is uncertain that they could be obtained as the Lords of the Admiralty do not grant any longer Term than three months nor could deserters from the Kings service be held under them 35 Captain Tea frequently addressing Us, giving accounts of the Employ of the Fly Cutter and representing the necessity	they expected to be saluted and a return given. For if they made no answer to the compliment, it would seem it was not expected, and powder was too valuable an article to be consumed to no purpose. In all other points of civility to His Majesty's officers the island was not to depart from the directions given in the said letter, by the *Exeter*. 33: Under the present agreement for a suspension of arms, and the directions for dispatching the homeward bound ships as soon as refreshed, the demands for fresh beef and mutton must of course be less, and not put the island to a long stay to inconvenience it for their supply, as the Governor seemed to fear in his letter to the Secret Committee of 17 June. To remove any prospect of scarcity, the directors would approve of the island employing the *Mercury* in such manner as might most effectively and quickly answer that end. 34: It would readily appear also, from the reason given above, that the protections the Governor wished for the *Mercury* and *Fly* would be quite unnecessary. But were it otherwise, it was uncertain that they could be obtained, as the Lords of the Admiralty did not grant any longer term than three months, nor could deserters from the King's service be held under them. 35: Captain Fea frequently addressing the directors, giving accounts of the employment of the *Fly* cutter and representing the necessity [...]. **Interpretations** The careful protocol over saluting the King's ships, sending a boat ahead to learn whether a salute was expected, reveals the delicate courtesies that governed relations between the Company and the navy, since a salute withheld gave offence while one fired needlessly wasted powder, and the island had to feel its way through the etiquette of flag and gun, the Lords of the Admiralty's directions setting the standard the Company was anxious neither to breach nor to exceed at the cost of its scant munitions. The remark that powder was too valuable to be consumed to no purpose exposes the real scarcity behind the ceremony, since every charge fired in salute depleted a store the island needed for its defence, and the directors weighed the demands of naval courtesy against the cost in a commodity that had to be shipped from England and husbanded against attack, a small but telling instance of how a remote garrison counted even the powder spent on politeness. The matter of protections for the small vessels' crews, which the Admiralty granted only for three months and which could not shield deserters, reveals the limits of the exemptions that kept seamen from being pressed into the navy, since a protection sheltered a man from the press gang for a fixed term only, and the Company found that in peacetime such safeguards for its island craft were both hard to obtain and of little reach, the return of peace easing the competition for men that had made them necessary in war.
169	165	necessity of the various Articles for the use of that vessel, you may let him know that those matters will come more properly through you as our Representatives, and that thereby the particulars necessary for the Cutter will accordingly become part of your indent, with the observations that may be requisit in respect to the same 36 In order to give you a supply of Stores and Provisions adequate to the demands made which requiring an	The island might let Captain Fea know that the necessity of the various articles for the use of the *Fly* cutter would come more properly through the island as the directors' representatives, and that the particulars needed for the cutter would accordingly become part of the island's requisition, with the observations that might be needful about them. 36: To give the island a supply of stores and provisions equal to the demands made, which, requiring extra tonnage, had made it necessary to employ two ships to the island that season, the directors had ordered all its requisitions to be met at large. For the particulars the island was referred to the invoices of the *Egmont* and *Cruttenden*. The bulk

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		extraordinary Tonnage has made it necessary to employ two Ships this Season to the Island by which We have ordered all your Indents to be complyed with at large for the particulars you are referred to the Invoices of the Egmont & Cruttenden the Bulk of the articles Principally by those Ships consist off Beef and Pork 103 Tons Flour 75 Tons, Deals Timbers, Glass, and Glass and Earthen Ware 99 Tons 37 As some of His Majestys Ships may propably touch at St Helena homeward bound now the War is concluded, and have occasion for Fresh Provisions, We have supplied you with a Quantity of Twenty Tons of Beef and Pork, more than you desired, that you may in a bee Condition to answer their demands 38 The Egmont being ordered afloat so soon as the 3d Octr it became necessary to Salt the Meat intended to be laden on her for your use, rather too Early in the Season, which we observe to you that the Beef and Pork by that Ship may be first expended 39 Several concurring circumstances had certainly prevented the departure of the Royal Charlotte from hence so soon as was at first designed or this Ship had not found your Stock of Provisions in the reduced State represented under the 17th June, it is observed you had recourse to the homeward bound Captains for near Three Thousand Pieces of Beef and Pork, and in four Tons of Rice, this was a seasonable Supply and might have been encreased by y	of the articles sent by those ships consisted chiefly of the following. Beef and pork, 103 tons Flour, 75 tons Deals, timbers, glass and earthenware, 99 tons 37: As some of His Majesty's ships might touch at St Helena homeward bound now the war was concluded, and have need of fresh provisions, the directors had supplied the island with a quantity of twenty tons of beef and pork more than it had asked for, so that it might be in a condition to answer their demands. 38: The *Egmont* being ordered afloat as soon as the 3rd of October, it became necessary to salt the meat meant to be laden on her for the island's use rather too early in the season, which the directors noted so that the beef and pork by that ship might be used first. 39: Several concurring circumstances had certainly prevented the departure of the *Royal Charlotte* from here so soon as was first meant. Had this ship not found the island's stock of provisions in the reduced state set out in the letter of 17 June, when the island had recourse to the homeward bound captains for near three thousand pieces of beef and pork and four tons of rice, this was a seasonable supply and might have been increased by [...]. **Interpretations** The need to employ two ships to carry the season's stores, on account of the extra tonnage the island's demands required, shows how a settlement's growing needs could outstrip the capacity of a single vessel, and the directors' willingness to add a second ship reveals the priority placed on keeping the island fully supplied, since a shortfall in provisions threatened both the garrison and the fleets that depended on the island for refreshment. The addition of twenty tons of beef and pork against the expected calls of homeward King's ships now that peace had come illustrates the island's function as a victualling station for the navy as well as the Company, since warships returning from distant service would look to St Helena for fresh provisions, and the directors provisioned the island ahead of that demand, treating it as a supply point serving the nation's whole maritime effort and not the Company alone. The recourse to homeward bound captains for near three thousand pieces of beef and pork and four tons of rice, when the island's own stock ran low, reveals the reciprocal provisioning that went on at the anchorage, since the island could draw on the passing ships in an emergency just as they drew on it, the fleets serving as a floating reserve from which a hard pressed settlement could replenish its stores, a mutual dependence that ran in both directions between the island and the vessels that called there.
170	166	y successive arrival of others, We hope so far as to have obviated distress. Our Resolutions are to keep you always well in Store, but it is apprehended an Extraordinary years consumption in Stock of Articles of this kind may by the lenghth of time they must necessarily continue on hand render them liable to decay, and perish and more especially as we hope from the happy circumstances of the times you will not now stand in need of so large a Quantity 40 You acquaint us that as little Money is expected to be received in 1763 for Bills of Exchange Three Chests of	The stock might have been increased by the successive arrival of other ships. The directors hoped so far to have prevented distress. Their resolution was to keep the island always well in store, but they thought an extraordinary year's consumption in stock of articles of this kind might, through the length of time they must necessarily remain on hand, render them liable to decay and perish, and the more so as they hoped, from the happy circumstances of the times, the island would not now stand in need of so large a quantity. 40: The island advised that, as little money was expected to be received in 1763 for bills of exchange, three chests of treasure at least would be wanted. Though the directors were unaware of the grounds of such expectations, three chests of silver were consigned for its use accordingly, in confidence that

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		Treasure at least will be wanted, and although we are unapprized of the grounds of such your expectations, Three Chests of Silver are consigned for your use accordingly in confidence that if the Sums that may be paid in for Drafts shall exceed your Calculation, as we hope they will, such parts of the said Treasure only as may be suited to your reals wants, will be taken into Cash and what you shall not have occasion for will be forwarded to China, and in such case it must be consigned by Invoice and Bill Lading to our Council at Canton, as was approvedly done by what the Royal Charlotte brought you 41 The China Council are instructed to comply with the Request you have made for the several Articles from thence by the Ships returning in 1764 if any cause appears for the alteration of those demands, you will have opportunities by the two Ships now consigned to you of making our Agents in China acquainted therewith, that they may act accordingly. 42 The annual Expence of Medicines Drugs and Utensils to appear so considerable, that it is necessary to recomend to your particular examination the manner of their Issue and application, and that no more are Indented for than shall be necessary for the Garrisons use 43 The Surgeons Instruments desired for the Mercury Snow	if the sums paid in for draughts should exceed the island's calculation, as the directors hoped they would, such part of the treasure only as was suited to its real wants would be taken into cash, and what it had no need of would be forwarded to China. In such case it must be consigned by invoice and bill of lading to the Company's council at Canton, as had approvedly been done with what the *Royal Charlotte* brought. 41: The China council were instructed to comply with the request the island had made for the several articles from there by the ships returning in 1764. Should any cause appear for altering those demands, the island would have opportunities by the two ships now consigned to it of acquainting the Company's agents in China, so that they might act accordingly. 42: The annual expense of medicines, drugs and utensils appeared so considerable that the directors thought it necessary to recommend to the island's particular examination the manner of their issue and application, and that no more were requisitioned than should be necessary for the garrisons. 43: The surgeons' instruments desired for the *Mercury* snow [...]. **Interpretations** The renewed instruction on the disposal of unneeded treasure, keeping only what the island's real wants required and forwarding the rest to Canton, shows the settled principle by which the Company steered its silver toward the point of greatest commercial use, since bullion bought tea at China and cash needs at the island could be met by bills on London, so the metal was kept moving eastward to the trade that turned it to profit rather than lying idle in an island chest, a policy the directors pressed at every consignment. The concern over the considerable cost of medicines and drugs, with the call for close examination of their issue and use, reveals the Company's attention to the expense of keeping its distant garrisons in health, since medical stores were dear and easily wasted or misapplied, and the directors sought to curb over ordering and loose distribution, treating the surgeon's supplies as another charge to be disciplined by careful accounting and honest use. The directors' worry that a year's excess consumption of perishable stores might leave goods to decay on hand exposes the perennial difficulty of provisioning a remote depot, since supplies held too long against uncertain need spoiled and were lost, and with the return of peace easing the island's demands, the directors judged that so large a reserve was no longer wanted, balancing the danger of shortage against the waste of stock that sat too long unused.
171	167	Snow are sent on a Supposition that the late Surgeon on his discharge took his Instruments with him which he certainly was entitled to do, as on the Vessels departure from hence he was paid a consideration for the use of them only, Care must be taken of those now sent and as being our property they must be delivered to the proper Officers if the present Surgeon or his Successor should be discharged 44 No Dimensions being given of the Gun Carriages wanted those now sent are of the same size as the last, the same method	The instruments were sent on a supposition that the late surgeon, when discharged, took his instruments with him, which he certainly was entitled to do, as on the vessel's departure he was paid a consideration for the use of them only. Care must be taken of those now sent, and as they were the Company's property they must be delivered to the proper officers should the present surgeon or his successor be discharged. 44: No dimensions being given of the gun carriages wanted, those now sent were of the same size as the last, and the same method must of course be observed for those to be provided against next year. The island saw how necessary it was to have the sizes of the guns transmitted in the usual manner, to prevent mistakes, and therefore it must not omit to acquaint the directors accordingly.

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		must of course be observed for those to be provided against next year, hence you see how necessary it is to have the sizes of the Guns transmitted in the usual manner, to prevent Mistakes and therefore you must not omit acquainting us therewith 45 Two Barrels of Composition Stuff are sent this year in consequence of your desire, you must not hereafter ask for this Article not only on account of its being expencive, but as our Surveyor Shipping is very clearly of oppinion that Rosin which turns out so much cheaper will equally answer all the purposes of the other 46 Five thousand Plain and one thundred Ridge Tiles of the best Sort that can be provided, will be consigned to you by the Cruttenden 47 Blacking packed in little Barrels takes up so much Tonnage as to make it necessary to discontinue that method of Package, and half an hundred Weight is now sent instead of the 300 Barrels indented for by the Warren, the 200 Barrels desired by the Caernarvon are indeed sent accordingly, but hereafter this Article Will be sent in Bulk, as it is conceived no no other can cause more trouble there from than that of its space by trouble weight, instead of the single Barrel 48 Your Indents for some years past have only described the thickness of the Deals, Elm, and Wainscoat boards Oak, Ash, and Elm Plank wanted, but their lengths and Breadths have been omitted which must in future be particularly	45: Two barrels of composition stuff were sent that year, in consequence of the island's wish. The island must not hereafter ask for this article, not only on account of its being expensive, but because the Company's surveyor of shipping was very clearly of opinion that rosin, which turned out much cheaper, would equally answer all the purposes of the other. 46: Five thousand plain and one hundred ridge tiles of the best sort that could be provided would be consigned to the island by the *Cruttenden*. 47: Blacking packed in bottles took up so much tonnage as to make it necessary to discontinue that method of packing, and half a hundredweight was now sent instead of the three hundred bottles the island had requisitioned by the *Warren*. The two hundred bottles desired by the *Caernarvon* were indeed sent accordingly, but hereafter this article would be sent in bulk, as it was thought no other course could arise there from than that of its space, by weight instead of the single bottle. 48: The island's requisitions for some years past had only given the thickness of the deals, elm and wainscot boards, oak, ash and elm plank wanted, but their lengths and breadths had been omitted, which must in future be [...]. **Interpretations** The substitution of rosin for the costly composition stuff, on the surveyor's opinion that the cheaper material would serve as well, illustrates the Company's constant search for economy in its stores, since a settlement's demands could always be met by the dearest article or by a serviceable substitute, and the directors preferred the cheaper where it answered the purpose, referring the choice to expert judgement and closing off the island's call for the more expensive kind. The change from shipping blacking in bottles to sending it in bulk by weight exposes again the tyranny of tonnage over every consignment, since bottles took up far more room than the substance warranted, and the Company reformed the packing to save space, weighing the island's habitual manner of ordering against the cost in cargo capacity, a small instance of the relentless attention to how goods were packed that governed the loading of every ship. The repeated demand that the island give the full dimensions of the timber and gun carriages it wanted, lengths and breadths as well as thickness, reveals how imprecise requisitioning bred error and waste across so great a distance, since goods made or cut to guessed measurements might not fit their purpose, and the directors pressed for exact specification so that what was sent from England would answer the island's real need, the accuracy of the order being the only safeguard against mistakes that months of sailing made costly to correct.
172	168	particularly attended to, as for want of such necessary Information some of the above articles may be of proper Sizes for the uses they may be intended for 49 Your accounts of Receipts, Issues and remains of Stores specify only the number of Anchors, the Weight of each Sort of Cordage, and the Number of Pieces of Canvas, Let it hereafter Shew the Weight of each Anchor, the Quantity of each Number of Canvas and the number of Coils and Sizes of Cordage 50 The Encrease appearing in the Sum annually wrote off from the Books as arising from the real and unavoidable Causes you allege must be submitted to, under	The lengths and breadths must be particularly attended to, since for want of such necessary information some of the above articles might be of a size unfit for the uses they were intended for. 49: The island's accounts of receipts, issues and remains of stores specified only the number of anchors, the weight of each sort of cordage and the number of pieces of canvas. Let it hereafter show the weight of each anchor, the quantity of each number of canvas and the number of coils and size of cordage. 50: The increase appearing in the sum written off from the books each year, as arising from the real and unavoidable causes the island alleged, must be submitted to, under a dependence on its particular application to reduce that yearly charge within the narrowest bounds. To this end its appointment on 15 September 1760 of inspectors of the stores, the

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		a dependence on your particular application to Reduce this yearly charge with in the narrowest Bounds, and to this end your appointment on the 15 Septr 1760 of Inspectors of the Stores We last year judged would have had a more Salutary Effect 51 The most Serious attention has been given to your Representations of the dreadful Calamity you labour under from the distemper on which the Cattle have been, and while are afflicted with, all means of its prevention and cure proving ineffectual; On this melancholy Account recourse has been had to the most experienced Persons, in these kinds of matters from whom we are assured that the following has proved a very Efficacious Remedy in the like instance here, and as such recommend it to your use, in hopes of its having the desired Effect, it is composed of Spanish Angelica One part Salt of Nitre purified Two parts To be reduced into Powder of which give and ounce and half twice a day in any Liquor let the Cattle be first plentifully blooded 52 It may be proper to sow the Seeds of English Angelica in the Long Wood, both that the Cattle may eat the young Plants and for a supply of the Roots of this Method	directors judged, would the year before have had a more wholesome effect. 51: The most serious attention had been given to the island's representations of the dreadful calamity it laboured under from the distemper among the cattle, and while it remained afflicted with it, all means of prevention and cure proving fruitless. On this melancholy account recourse had been had to the most experienced persons in these kinds of matters, from whom the directors were assured that the following had proved a very effective remedy in the like case here, and as such they recommended it to the island's use in hopes of its having the desired effect. It was composed of the following. Spanish angelica, one fourth part Salt of nitre purified, two fourths This was to be reduced into powder, of which an ounce and a half was to be given twice a day in any liquor, the cattle being first plentifully blooded. 52: It might be proper to sow the seeds of English angelica in the Long Wood, both that the cattle might eat the young plants and for a supply of the roots of this [...]. **Interpretations** The prescribed remedy for the cattle distemper, a powder of Spanish angelica and purified saltpetre given after bleeding the beasts, reveals the state of veterinary practice in the age, resting on herbal preparations and the bleeding common to the medicine of both men and animals, and the directors' recourse to experienced persons and their careful transmission of the recipe show a genuine effort to save the herds on which the island depended, applying the best knowledge available against a disease that had defeated every local attempt. Angelica was an aromatic plant valued in the period as a medicinal herb, and the suggestion to sow English angelica at Long Wood both as fodder and for its roots shows the Company trying to establish on the island a supply of the very ingredient its cattle cure required, a piece of practical husbandry that reveals the effort to make the remote settlement more self sufficient in the materials of its own needs rather than dependent on what could be shipped from Europe. The pressure to reduce the sums annually written off the books, tied to the appointment of inspectors of stores, illustrates the Company's steady discipline over the losses inevitable at a distant depot, since goods spoiled, leaked and went astray, and while the directors accepted that real and unavoidable causes accounted for much, they insisted the charge be kept to the narrowest bounds through diligent inspection, treating the control of waste as a duty owed by the island's officers and measured year on year in the accounts.
173	169	Method should prove beneficial. The English Angelica which propagated in so warm a climate and Soil will be equal in strength to the Spanish the Plant being the same and the difference only in the place of Growth 53 We have under the oppinion of that excellent Botanist Mr Miller sent you by the Cruttenden some Seeds of Angelica in Earth, for if kept out of the ground until Spring it might hazard their Growth They are to be bear in a moist Soil and in Shade, the Plants must be transplanted young and at four feet distance in a moist place and if kept clean from weeds will require no other	Should this method prove beneficial, the English angelica, propagated in so warm a soil, would be equal in strength to the Spanish, the plant being the same and the difference only in the place of growth. 53: On the opinion of that excellent botanist Mr Miller, the directors sent the island by the *Cruttenden* some seeds of angelica in earth, since if kept out of the ground until spring their growth might be endangered. They were to be sown in a moist soil and in shade, and the plants transplanted young and at four feet distance in a moist place. Kept clean of weeds, they would need no other cultivation. As the plant was biennial, more seeds would be sent the next season, if from the island's advices they appeared needful. The island would also receive by the present conveyances some plants in tubs of earth, as these might answer better than the seeds.

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		Culture As this Plant is Biennial, more Seeds of it will be sent next Season, if from the circumstances of your advices they shall be requisit, you will also receive by the present Conveyances Some Plants in Tubs of Earth as they may answer better than the Seeds 54 Mr Miller apprehends that the distemper reigning among the Cattle may proceed from insects in the Ground which infect the Grass in the manner as was the case a few years past in different parts of Europe and was in many places stopped by rolling the Ground with a Weighty Roller, which we mention, that you may make Trial also of so simple a Remedy, and for your Instruction & improvement in Botany and Agriculture with other branches dependent on those Sciences, you will find Millers Dictionary & Kalendar in the Packet by the Egmont 55 By the Cruttenden we send one hundred Weight of Lucerne Seed, for the Culture whereof the Gardeners Dictionary will give you every Instruction, from six to Eight Pound as Sufficient to sow an Acre, It is recommended to you to make an Experiment in this branch of Husbandry for the encrease of Fodder being well assured that a Gentleman near Chertsey entirely kept Ten Cart Horses upon about	54: Mr Miller thought the distemper among the cattle might come from insects in the ground which infected the grass, as had happened a few years before in different parts of Europe, and was in many places stopped by rolling the ground with a weighty roller. The directors mentioned this so that the island might make trial of so simple a remedy. For its instruction and improvement in botany and agriculture, with other branches depending on those sciences, it would find Miller's dictionary and calendar in the packet by the *Egmont*. 55: By the *Cruttenden* the directors sent one hundredweight of lucerne seed, for the cultivation of which the gardener's dictionary would give every instruction, from six to eight pounds being sufficient to sow an acre. The island was recommended to make an experiment in this branch of husbandry for the increase of fodder, being well assured that a gentleman near Hackney entirely kept ten cart horses upon [...]. **Interpretations** The reliance on the botanist Philip Miller, whose gardener's dictionary and calendar were sent out for the island's guidance, shows the Company drawing on the leading horticultural expertise of the day to improve its distant settlement, since Miller, curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden, was the foremost authority on plants and cultivation in England, and his advice on angelica, on rolling the ground against insects and on growing lucerne reached the island as the best knowledge that could be had, applied to the practical needs of a remote agriculture. Lucerne, the fodder crop later widely known as alfalfa, was recommended for trial as a means of increasing the island's feed, since a deep rooted and productive forage could sustain more animals on less ground, and the example of a gentleman near Hackney keeping ten cart horses on a small acreage of it reveals the directors promoting an improving agriculture, importing not only the seed but the method and the evidence of its success to strengthen the island's slender capacity to feed its stock. The suggestion that the cattle distemper might spring from insects in the ground, curable by rolling with a heavy roller as in parts of Europe, illustrates the empirical and observational approach brought to bear on the island's crisis, since the cause of the disease was unknown and remedies were sought by analogy with experience elsewhere, the directors passing on a simple mechanical trial alongside the herbal cure in the hope that one or another might answer where all the island's own efforts had failed.
174	170	about an Acre of it from the begining of May to the end of September, It is to be cut as wanted and the Cattle fed with it in another place 56 The many Enormities which several of the Inhabitants and Blacks had been guilty of and yours Governor and Council, had, according to former usage inflicted suitable Punishments on the Delinquents, give us much concern to find there had been such occasions for them, our observations hereupon are confined to the period previous to the Receipt of Our Orders for the Re-establishment of Civil and Courts Criminal the Steady and impartial exercise of whose Jurisdiction we trust will produce the Happy and intended Effects, but as this subject is reserved for our separate	About an acre of it from the beginning of May to the end of September. It was to be cut as wanted, and the cattle fed with it in another place. 56: The many enormities several of the inhabitants and slaves had been guilty of, and which the Governor and Council had, according to former usage, punished suitably on the offenders, gave the directors much concern to find there had been such occasions for them. Their observations on the matter were confined to the period before the receipt of their orders for the re-establishment of civil and criminal jurisdiction, the steady and impartial exercise of which they trusted would produce happy and intended effects. As this subject was reserved for a separate letter, the island would have their views apart, and they only added that from the instructions and precedents it was already, and would now be, furnished with, and considering that the proceedings before the courts would not be so numerous or intricate as to require a qualified person to be sent from here to assist in them, the directors judged it both improper and unnecessary to

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		Sentiments you will have them apart, therefore we only add that from the Instructions, and Presidents you are already and will now be furnished with as well as considering that the Proceedings to be had by the Courts will not either be so numerous or intricate as to require a person to be sent from hence qualified to assist therein, We judge it both improper and unnecessary to entertain such a one for this Service hoping a Spirit of controversy or vexatious & frivolous Pretences will be discountenanced by every prudent measure in your power 57 The Orders given last year by the Royal Charlotte did forbid the sending hither Malefactors as was done in the case of John Huffman charged with the murder of another Soldier in confinement with him, and both represented to be disordered in their Senses, this made them very improper Objects for the least Communication while imprisoned, and we have further to remark, to you that this man on his arrival here being rent to the proper Hospital was soon discharged as under no insanity, of which therefore in consequence of the above Orders Criminals must be tried on the spot, for in such like cases, not written, but Personal Evidence only can be received in the Courts here	entertain such a one for this service. They hoped a spirit of controversy on vexatious and frivolous pretences would be discountenanced by every prudent measure in the island's power. 57: The orders given the year before by the *Royal Charlotte* forbade the sending home of malefactors, as had been done in the case of John Huffman, charged with the murder of another soldier in confinement with him, both being reported to be disordered in their senses. This made them very improper objects for the least communication while imprisoned. The directors further remarked that this man, on his arrival here, being sent to the proper hospital, was soon discharged as under no insanity. Therefore, in consequence of the above orders, criminals must be tried on the spot, for in such cases not written but personal evidence only could be received in the courts here. [...] **Interpretations** The refusal to send a qualified legal officer to the island, judging the court business too slight to warrant it, reveals the Company's reluctance to add expense where it thought the need did not justify it, since a settlement's justice could be administered by its own officers under the instructions and precedents supplied, and the directors preferred to equip the island with written guidance rather than a paid expert, trusting the council to manage its courts without a specialist sent at the Company's charge. The insistence that criminals be tried on the spot, because the courts at home could receive only personal and not written evidence, exposes a real difficulty in administering justice across so great a distance, since a case removed to England lost the living witnesses whose testimony alone the courts would accept, and the practice of shipping accused men home, as with Huffman, was both futile and disruptive, the law requiring that crimes be judged where the witnesses were rather than at the end of a long voyage. The case of Huffman, sent home as a murderer thought mad yet found sane and soon discharged, illustrates the disorder that followed from the earlier practice of transporting the accused, since a man shipped across the world on a grave charge could arrive to find no forum able to try him and no evidence to convict, and the episode reinforced the directors' resolve that such matters be settled at the island, where the facts were known and the witnesses at hand, rather than exported to a jurisdiction that could not deal with them.
175	171	58 The Rent Roll of our Estate with you cannot certainly be compleat, otherwise how could the payment of £14.4 Arrears of Mary Mason, discovered on looking over some old Leases have continued Outstanding for some time past without notice, or the other short payment not have been made good, though indeed for a small matter from John Robinson, Such omissions will of themselves point out to you the importance of a nice Scrutiny and care in this Branch, lest more makical ones should ensue 59 Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick according to our Orders, being admitted into the Civil Service as a Member of Council Covenants for him as such are transmitted for his execution in the Egmonts Packet, and thereupon to be	58: The rent roll of the Company's estate could not be complete, or how else could the payment of the small arrears of Mary Mason, discovered on looking over some old leases, have stayed outstanding for some time past without notice, or the other short payment not have been made good, though indeed a small matter, from John Robinson. Such omissions would themselves point out to the island the importance of a close scrutiny and care in this branch, lest more serious ones should ensue. 59: Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, agreeable to the directors' orders, being admitted into the civil service as a member of council, covenants for him as such were transmitted for his execution in the *Egmont*'s packet, and were then to be returned with the names of two persons resident on the island to be security to the directors in one thousand pounds for the faithful performance of those covenants. 60: Britannicus Wright was also, at the island's recommendation, taken on as a writer at St Helena on the usual terms, his time and allowance to commence from 1 July last, when he was first employed. He too was to execute the accompanying

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		returned with the names of two Persons Resident here to be security to us in £1000 for the faithful performance of those Covenants. 60 Britannicus Wright, is also at your Recommendation entertained a Writer at St Helena on the usual Terms, his time and allowance are to commence from the 1 July last, when he was first employed, he is also to execute the accompanying Covenants to be returned hither and named Securities as above in £500 61 The least Resentment you could shew John Boland Master Mason for his Insolent behaviour in assaulting Mr Barclay our Surgeon, and Captain Clark, was his Dismission, which it appears you took of some time afterwards, on the assurances of Sorrow for his past and promises of more circumspection in his future Behaviour, if he does not mend, you will give timely information that we may supply you with as good a Workman of a better disposition, But we hope he will do Justice to your Lenity as well as to the Inhabitants opinion in their making Choice of him as the Officer to keep the Peace, though himself, in this above Instance	covenants, to be returned here, and name securities as above in five hundred pounds. 61: The least resentment the island could show John Bland, master mason, for his insolent behaviour in assaulting Mr Barclay the surgeon and Captain Clark, was his dismissal, which it appeared the island took off some time afterwards, on his assurances of sorrow for his past conduct and promises of more circumspection in his future behaviour. Should he not mend, the island was to give timely information, so that the directors might supply it with as good a workman of a better disposition. They hoped, though, he would do justice to the island's lenity, as well as to the inhabitants' opinion in their making choice of him as the officer to keep the peace, though himself, in this instance [...]. **Interpretations** The discovery of small unpaid arrears in the rent roll, and the directors' warning that such omissions pointed to the need for close scrutiny, reveals the Company's management of St Helena as a landed estate whose leases and rents required careful accounting, since the island's ground was let to tenants and the payments formed part of the Company's income, and even trifling lapses were flagged as symptoms of a laxity that, unchecked, might grow into serious loss. The requirement that the newly admitted councillor and the writer both execute covenants and find securities bound in a thousand and five hundred pounds respectively shows the layered system by which the Company secured the honesty of its servants, since the covenant set out their duties and the bonded sureties, local men who stood to lose their money if the servant defaulted, gave the Company a further hold, spreading the risk of misconduct onto persons on the spot who would vouch for the man's good behaviour. The case of Bland, the master mason dismissed for assault and then reinstated on his contrition, exposes the tension between discipline and the island's dependence on skilled men, since a settlement short of craftsmen could ill afford to lose a good workman, and the very man who kept the peace had himself broken it, so the directors accepted his restoration while reserving the right to replace him, weighing the value of his skill against the example of his violence in a community where able hands were scarce.
176	172	Instance, has given so little regard to its preservation 62 The Licence granted Martin Harper a Cadet to proceed to India, and William Baddam late Serjant Major on the West Coast to return thither on the Royal Charlotte was improper, We disapprove of Passengers for India being allowed to embark on ships consigned to China from the Island, which may not be able to land them elsewhere than at Canton, and therefore forbid that practice 63 We have, as requested, given directions for the Levy of 70 Recruits for your Garrison which if they can be raised 30 will be embarked on the Egmont, and the rest on the Cruttenden the Lists in those respective Ships Packets will fully apprize you of the necessary particulars concerning them. 64 In reply to the observations made the 15 August	The instance had given so little regard to its preservation. 62: The leave granted to Martin Harper, a cadet, to proceed to India, and to William Baddam, late sergeant major on the west coast, to return there on the *Royal Charlotte*, was improper. The directors disapproved of passengers for India being allowed to embark from the island on ships consigned to China, which might not be able to land them elsewhere than at Canton, and therefore forbade the practice. 63: The directors had, as requested, given directions for raising seventy recruits for the island's garrison, of whom thirty, if they could be got, would be embarked on the *Egmont* and the rest on the *Cruttenden*, the lists in those ships' packets fully acquainting the island with the necessary particulars about them. 64: In reply to the observations made on 13 August on the difference of the recruits sent by the *Royal Charlotte*, the directors could only say that in the exigency of the times they were the best that could be got, even at a very heavy expense. 65: It was a good precaution, by a small premium, to engage a good part of the seventy soldiers whose times would expire in April next to

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		on the difference of the Recruits sent pr Royal Charlotte We can only tell you that in the exigency of the times they were the best that could be provided, even at a very heavy Expence 65 It was a good precaution by a small Premium in part of the future Bounty to engage great part of 70 Children whose times will expire in April next, to relist as it seems improbable there can be any other Loss than by mortality, which makes it necessary that this measure should be taken at no great distance from the time of their Contracts Expiration 66 Considering the great expence of your Numerous Garrison at the full complement in time of War, and the Probability that the conclusion of a solid and lasting Peace is at no great distance on such an happy Event, We may think it requisit to reduce the number of our Forces on the Island to the Quota they consisted of before the present War, it will from this prospect be prudent except in respect to such as stand already recommended from us, not to create any new Commission Officers of your Four Companies of Infantry	re-enlist, as it seemed improbable there could be any other loss than by death, which made it necessary that this measure be taken at no great distance from the expiry of their contracts. 66: Considering the great expense of the island's numerous garrison at the full complement in wartime, and the probability that the conclusion of a solid and lasting peace was at no great distance, so happy an event, the directors thought it needful to reduce the number of the island's forces to the quota they had consisted of before the present war. It would from this prospect be prudent, except in respect of such as stood already recommended by the directors, not to create any new commissioned officers of the island's four companies of infantry. [...] **Interpretations** The bar on shipping India bound passengers from the island on China ships reveals a practical hazard of the Company's sailing pattern, since a vessel consigned to Canton could not readily set a passenger down at an Indian port, and a man meant for India might find himself carried on to China with no way back, so the directors forbade the practice to prevent travellers being stranded far from their intended destination by the fixed routing of the ships. The move to reduce the garrison to its pre war quota, and to create no new officers, shows the Company trimming its military establishment as peace approached, since a large garrison was a heavy charge justified only by the danger of war, and with hostilities ending the directors sought to return the island's forces to their peacetime footing, weighing the cost of soldiers against a threat that was receding, the reduction of a swollen wartime establishment being a natural economy once the emergency passed. The re-enlistment of soldiers by a small premium just before their terms expired illustrates the Company's method of retaining trained men at the least cost, since a bounty paid to renew an engagement was cheaper and surer than recruiting and shipping fresh men from England, and timing the offer to the moment of expiry kept the garrison up with experienced soldiers, a calculated economy in a place where every man had to be brought across the world at heavy expense.
177	173	Infantry more than necessity and discipline shall require until you receive our further directions 67 The several Bills of Exchange drawn in our favour, on the Navy & Victualling Boards, as well as others for money advanced out of our Cash, have all received the due Honor. 68 We have paid the Legal Representative here of the deceased Adjutant William Hayes Twelve Pounds, eight Shillings and two pence, the Balance of the account of the Produce of his Estate, wrote off your books ending the 30 Septr 1751 We are London 17th December 1762 Your Loving Friends signed Thos Rous John Dorrien Chas Gough Timothy Tullie G Stevens Geo Dudley Bowchier Walton W Thornton	No new officers of infantry were to be created beyond what necessity and discipline required, until the island received the directors' further orders. 67: The several bills of exchange drawn in the directors' favour on the Navy and Victualling Boards, as well as others for money advanced out of their cash, had all been duly honoured. 68: The directors had paid the legal representative here of the deceased adjutant William Hayes twelve pounds eight shillings and twopence, the balance of the account of the produce of his estate, written off the island's books ending 30 September 1751. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 17 December 1762, and signed by Thomas Rous, John Dorrien, Charles Gough, Timothy Tullie, G. Stevens, George Dudley, Boisdatier Walton, W. Thornton, Richard Steward, F. W. Barrington, Henry Savage, John Brown, Henry Hadley, Richard Warner, William Webber, Richard Smith, Thomas Waters, Robert Bowron, Christopher Baron, T. Harrison and William Snell. **Interpretations** The honouring of the bills drawn on the Navy and Victualling Boards points to the financial links between the Company and the crown's own supply departments, since the Company advanced money and goods recoverable from those boards through

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		Richd Steward F W Barrington Henry Savage John Brown Hen Hadley Richd Warner Wm Webber Richd Smith Tho Waters Robert Bowron Christr Baron J Harrison Wm Snell	bills of exchange, and their due payment shows the settled machinery by which sums owed between the great institutions of the state and the Company were cleared, the bill of exchange serving as the common instrument of account across the whole system. The settlement of the late adjutant Hayes's estate in London, paying his legal representative the balance owed from the produce written off the island's books, illustrates how the Company closed the affairs of a servant who died in its service, since a man's estate at the island was realised and the balance remitted to whoever lawfully claimed it at home, the long interval between the writing off in 1751 and the payment revealing how slowly such distant accounts could be brought to a final reckoning.
178	174	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 Our last Letters under date of the 17th Decembr have been dispatched by the Egmont Duplicates whereof you will receive herewith by the Cruttenden Ship 2 The Ship Calcutta, prevented by contrary Winds from entering the English Channel, was obliged to bear away for and put the 8th Ultimo into Kinsale, from whence on the 25 of that month your Letter of the 2d October came to our hands to the Material parts whereof we shall now speak, adding some other directions in consequence of your former Advices whereon we have been under the necessity of postponing our sentiments 3 When the Commanders of our Ships have occasion for Money on account of their Owners, and you are Satisfied it is requisite for the Ships use, your taken, on the Advance an Acknowledgment from them of its receipt, and making their Owners and themselves accountable for the Amount to us, on Charterparty Terms, will be fully sufficient for our adjusting with them thereupon, observing to transmit by the respective Ships the Obligations which peculiarly relate to them 4 It is to be observed, in addition to the 28th Paragraph of Our last Letter, on the Subject of the Fly Cutter, that as Mr Tea has sent us a very minute and long account of the condition of that Vessel with the Repairs that were then necessary and would thereafter be wanting, these matters should be laid before you for the Issue of proper Vouchers to put the Cutter in good condition, & then his Representations will come properly before Us in your advices or Registers otherwise between the time of his setting forth the Defects the return of Our Orders, the Vessel may be in an Useless State, you should therefore during the presence of the	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the season's correspondence and shipping. 1: The directors' last letters, dated 17 December, had gone out by the *Egmont*, and duplicates of them the island would receive with this by the *Cruttenden*. 2: The ship *Calcutta*, prevented by contrary winds from entering the English Channel, was obliged to bear away and put into Kinsale on the 5th of last month. From there, on the 23rd of that month, the island's letter of 2 October came to the directors' hands, the material parts of which they would now speak to, adding some other directions in consequence of the island's former advices, on which they had been under the necessity of postponing their views. 3: When the commanders of the Company's ships had occasion for money on account of their owners, and the island was satisfied it was needful for the ships' use, its taking an acknowledgement of the receipt from them on the advance, and making their owners and themselves accountable to the directors for the amount on charter party terms, would be fully sufficient for the directors' settling with them thereupon. The island was to send by the respective ships the obligations that particularly related to them. 4: In addition to the twenty eighth paragraph of the directors' last letter, on the subject of the *Fly* cutter, it was to be observed that, as Captain Fea had sent a very minute and long account of the condition of that vessel with the repairs then and thereafter needed, such matters, to put the cutter in good condition, should be laid before the island with proper vouchers, and would then come properly before the directors in the island's advices or registers. Otherwise, between the time of her setting forth on the dispatch and the return of the directors' orders, the vessel might be in an unfit state. The island was therefore, during the presence of the shipping [...]. **Interpretations** The arrangement for advancing money to ships' commanders against acknowledgements, with owners and captains made accountable to the directors on charter party terms, reveals the system of credit that supported the Company's shipping across the world, since a captain far from home might need cash for his ship's use and the island could furnish it against a documented obligation, the whole recovered later in London from the owners, a mechanism that kept the vessels supplied without carrying coin for every contingency. The instruction that Captain Fea's accounts of the *Fly* cutter's condition pass through the island as intermediary, laid before the council with vouchers before reaching the directors, illustrates the chain of authority the Company insisted upon, since a subordinate officer was not to deal directly with

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		Shipping	London but through the island as the directors' representatives, so that requests and reports were checked and endorsed at the settlement before being forwarded, preserving the ordered hierarchy of command. The *Calcutta*'s forced diversion to Kinsale, unable to make the Channel against contrary winds, and the arrival of the island's letter by that roundabout route, shows the persistent grip of wind and weather on the movement of ships and correspondence, since even a homeward vessel might be driven to an Irish port and her letters delivered long after and far from where intended, the sailing ship's dependence on the wind shaping the whole timing of the Company's communications.
179	175	Shipping at the Island, consult the Captains in this respect and cause strict and accurate Surveys to be taken by their Carpenters, that, on the Reports that shall be made thereon, you may from time to time direct such repairs as shall be requisit to be seasonably and effectually compleated 5 The Agent of Captain Harrold having presented us his Account of Disbursements as Commander of the Mercury Snow from February 1760 to June 1762, on examination thereof, We have directed the Balance to be paid here, being Ninety six pounds nineteen shillings and two pence, after deducting an expence which properly belongs to himself only, of Four Pounds Nineteen shillings Pounds and Six pence, and you are to make good to him such further reasonable Disbursements as he may have made in the same behalf since the close of the said account, to the time of the receipt of this Letter 6 From which Period as he has been at an extraordinary expence in Fresh provisions for himself and Officers, and it is usual to make a consideration on the like occasions, the allowances both to him, and Captain Tea of Six Shillings a Day are to cease and determine, and that thereupon the former be allowed one Hundred and fifty Pounds a year in full for keeping a Constant Table for himself and Officers, and his own expences when onshore, and that the Latter be paid One Hundred Pounds a year, on the same account, under the like Conditions 7 In return to your Question, to know what Wages you may pay to the Crews of the Snow and Cutter, as the Sums you have liberty to advance are insufficient for their Support, Our Orders are to pay them up to within Six Months of the time due to them respectively after deducting the Wages the Parties, or their Attornies on their Account, have received at St Helena, and	During the presence of the shipping at the island, the council was to consult the captains and have strict and accurate surveys taken by their carpenters, so that on the reports made it might from time to time direct such repairs as should be needful to be seasonably and effectively completed. 5: The agent of Captain Harrold having presented his account of disbursements as commander of the *Mercury* snow from February 1760 to June 1762, the directors, on examining it, had directed the balance to be paid here, being ninety six pounds nineteen shillings and twopence, after deducting an expense of four pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence that properly belonged to himself alone. The island was to make good to him any further reasonable disbursements he might have made on the same account since the close of that account to the time this letter was received. 6: From that period, as he had been at an extraordinary expense in fresh provisions for himself and officers, and it being usual to make a consideration on the like occasions, the allowances to both him and Captain Fea of six shillings a day were to cease and determine. Thereupon Harrold was to be allowed one hundred and fifty pounds a year in full for keeping a constant table for himself and officers, and his own expenses when on shore, and Fea was to be paid one hundred pounds a year on the same account, under the like conditions. 7: In answer to the island's question, to know what wages it might pay to the crews of the snow and cutter, as the sums it had liberty to advance were insufficient for their support, the directors ordered that they be paid up to within six months of the time due to them respectively, after deducting the wages the men, or their attorneys on their account, had received at St Helena and in England. For the *Mercury* this was two months' impress and one month's absent money, in respect of such as sailed in her from here, and for the *Fly* two months' [...]. **Interpretations** The shift from a daily shore allowance to a fixed yearly sum for the masters of the small vessels, one hundred and fifty pounds to one and one hundred to the other for keeping a constant table, reveals the Company regularising a payment that had grown uncertain, since a daily rate depended on counting the days ashore and invited dispute, while a settled annual figure covering the officers' table and the master's own expenses brought predictability to the account and fixed the Company's liability in advance. The intricate rules for paying the crews' wages, up to within six months and net of what the men or their attorneys had already drawn at the island and in England, expose the tangle created when a sailor's pay could be claimed in two places through appointed agents, and the Company's careful deductions guarded against a man being paid twice over, the withholding of a portion until the term ran

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		in England, which for the Mercury is Two Months Imprest, and one Months Absent Money in Six, to such as sailed in her from hence, and for the Fly two Months Imprest	out serving also to hold the seaman to his engagement to the end. The system of impress and absent money, sums advanced against wages and amounts withheld for time away, illustrates the customary mechanics of maritime pay, since seamen commonly received part of their wages in advance on entering a ship and forfeited pay for unauthorised absence, and the Company applied these usages to its island vessels, the whole a miniature of the elaborate wage accounting that governed the manning of ships throughout the age of sail.
180	176	Imprest and One Months absence only, for those who were Shipped from England, also for both Vessels two Months pay in Six advance them by you and let care be taken to transmit to us Accounts of your payments from time to time, in pursuance of these directions for our observation 8 Your Complaints of the Quantity of the last Export of Salt Provisions with the Improper Weight of the Pieces, and the more than usual Quantity of Bone cut with the English Beef and Irish Pork, are observed, to remedy them, every precaution shall be hereafter taken; In the mean time you will acquaint us, how the like Articles now Shipped for your use shall turn out, that if Faulty We may do ourselves Justice with the Contractors, and to prevent the murmurring you are apprehensive of the Soldiery by from a decrease in the weight of Flesh of their Weekly allowances your prudence will dictate what reasonable compensation should be made to quiet them 9 The agreable Account that the Distemper among the Cattle is greatly ceased gave us so much pleasure as could only have been exceeded by the Intelligence of its entire disappearance which it is hoped your next Letters will bring, that we may be perfectly freed from the uneasiness this Calamity occasioned The Sample of your Canary Grass by the Calcutta having been inspected by Skilful Persons they declare it is the same Sort as is produced here, and harmless 10 From your Description of the particular Merits and Pretensions of Master Gunner Hall, the importance of the services of the Artillery people for the preservation of the Island if attached, as well as on the consideration, that all other Corps of Artillery are commanded by Captains, that the four Companies of Infantry with you are under the like Command and that Mr Hall was formerly on a footing with Superior Officers thereof before their promotion in 1759, We are induced at your desire to appoint him Captain of the Company of Artillery, and on the	This was two months' impress and one month's absence only for those shipped from England, and for both vessels two months' pay in advance. The island was to advance them and take care to transmit accounts of its payments from time to time, in pursuance of these directions, for the directors' observation. 8: The island's complaints of the quantity of the last export of salt provisions, with the improper weight of the pieces and the more than usual quantity of bone cut with the English beef and Irish pork, were noted. To remedy them, every precaution would be taken hereafter. In the meantime, the island was to acquaint the directors how the like articles now shipped for its use should turn out, so that if faulty the directors might do themselves justice with the contractors. To prevent the murmuring the island feared from the soldiery at a decrease in the weight of the meat in their weekly allowance, its own prudence would suggest what reasonable compensation should be made to quiet them. 9: The agreeable account that the distemper among the cattle was greatly ceased gave the directors as much pleasure as could be, save for the news of its entire disappearance, which they hoped the island's next letters would bring, so that they might be perfectly freed from the unease this calamity had caused. The sample of the island's Canary grass by the *Calcutta*, having been inspected by skilful persons, they declared it the same sort as produced here, and harmless. 10: From the island's description of the particular merits and pretensions of Master Gunner Hall, the importance of the artillery people's services for the preservation of the island being considered, as well as that all other corps of artillery were commanded by captains, that the four companies of infantry on the island were under the like command, and that Mr Hall was formerly on a footing with superior officers before their promotion in 1759, the directors were induced, as the island wished, to appoint him captain of the company of artillery. On the further allegations of the necessity of adding another officer [...]. **Interpretations** The handling of the faulty salt provisions, with the island directed to report how the fresh consignment proved so the directors could seek redress from the contractors, reveals the Company's method of policing the quality of goods supplied by its victuallers, since salt meat cut with excess bone or short in weight cheated both the Company and the soldiers who ate it, and the directors used the island's reports as evidence to hold the contractors to their bargain, the distant settlement serving as the point where the quality of home supplies was finally tested. The concern to compensate the soldiers for any shortfall in their meat ration, lest murmuring arise, exposes the delicate management of a garrison's contentment, since the weekly allowance of food was a matter the men watched closely, and a reduction in its weight could breed discontent in an isolated

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		further Allegations of the necessity of adding another Officer to	force, so the directors left it to the island's prudence to quiet the grievance with fair compensation, treating the soldiers' satisfaction as worth a measured cost to preserve order and morale. The promotion of Master Gunner Hall to captain of the artillery, justified by the importance of the artillery to the island's defence and by parity with the infantry captains, illustrates how rank was adjusted to match responsibility and to maintain equity among the officers, since the man commanding the guns on which the island's protection so heavily depended ought not to stand below those commanding foot, and the directors yielded to the island's case for raising him, aligning his rank with the weight of his charge.
181	177	to the same Corps, We do consent to the nomination of a Lieuten of it accordingly instead of a Chief Mate, agreeable to the present form, these preferments are to take place from the receipt hereof and they are each to receive the Pay assigned to those respective Stations on your Establishment 11 When from Two to Twelve pr Cent, can be saved in the Purchase of Provisions at the Cape for the use of the Island by paying for them in Bills upon Us rather than in Specie, you cannot take a properer Step on this point than directing Captain Harrold to draw upon Us for the purchases he shall make there in consequence of your Directions at eight pr Cent, that indeed being the common and allowed Advance which we have Constantly paid on Sums taken up there 12 Since the date of Our last Letter some particular circumstances have occurred with respect to that part of the Treaty with France, which relates to our affairs and there being a several Report that a large number of Ships are fitting out from thence designed for the East Indies, and altho we are in hopes the Ministry will settle matters with the Court of France to our Satisfaction, yet nothing can be absolutely depended on until the definitive Treaty is Signed; You are therefore until we have some Explanation on these points to be well on your guard, and every watchful of any injustifiable steps the French may endeavour to take before you can have Notice of the said Treaty being ratified and exchanged, by the several Powers, A Copy of the Preliminary Articles as Published by Authority, were enclose by the Egmont, and We take the opportunity of this additional Packet to send another for your information We are London 12th January 1763 signed Your Loving Friends Thos Rous John Dorrien	Since another officer was needed for the same corps, the directors consented to the nomination of a lieutenant of it accordingly, instead of a chief mate, agreeable to the present form. These preferments were to take place from the receipt of this, and each man was to receive the pay assigned to those respective stations on the island's establishment. 11: When from two to twelve per cent could be saved in buying provisions at the Cape for the island's use by paying in bills upon the directors rather than in specie, the island could take no better step on this point than directing Captain Harrold to draw upon the directors for the purchases he made there, in consequence of the island's directions, at a light per cent. That indeed was the common and allowed advance the directors had constantly paid on sums taken up there. 12: Since the date of their last letter, some particular circumstances had occurred with respect to that part of the treaty with France relating to the Company's affairs, and there being a strong report that a large number of ships were fitting out from there for the East Indies. Though the directors hoped the ministry would settle matters with the court of France to their satisfaction, nothing could be absolutely depended on until the definitive treaty was signed. The island was therefore, until there was some explanation on these points, to be well on its guard and watchful of any unjustifiable steps the French might try to take before it could have notice of the treaty being ratified and exchanged by the several powers. A copy of the preliminary articles, as published by authority, had been enclosed by the *Egmont*, and the directors took the opportunity of this additional packet to send another for the island's information. The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, dated London, 12 January 1763, and signed by Thomas Rous, John Dorrien and Timothy [...]. **Interpretations** The saving of two to twelve per cent by paying for Cape provisions in bills rather than silver reveals the real advantage the Company drew from its credit, since a bill on London was worth more to a Cape seller than coin, saving the difference and sparing the Company its bullion, and the directors preferred this method wherever it saved money, treating the small premium on such bills as a settled cost well worth bearing for the provisions and the silver it preserved. The warning to remain on guard against French moves until the definitive treaty was signed exposes the uncertainty of the interval between preliminary and final peace, since the preliminary articles were not binding until confirmed, and a report of French ships fitting out for the East Indies raised the fear that the enemy might steal a march before the peace was sealed, so the directors kept the island watchful, aware that a war formally ending on paper might still hold dangers until every power had ratified and exchanged the treaty.

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		Timothy	The Company's close attention to that part of the treaty touching its own affairs shows how far its interests had become entangled with national diplomacy, since the settlement between the crowns would fix the terms on which French and English trade and possessions stood in the east, and the directors followed the negotiations anxiously, their commercial fortunes hanging on articles agreed by ministers of state, a measure of how a trading company had come to depend on the outcome of a war concluded far above its own counting house.
182	178	Timothy Tullie Cha Gough Richd Warner Wm Snell Geo Dudley Richd Steward Hen Hadley Thos Waters Bowchier Walton G Stevens Richd Smith W Thornton John Manship J Harrison Christr Baron Wm Webber F W Barrington Rot Burrow John Brown	The letter's signatories continued with Timothy Tullie, Charles Gough, Richard Warner, William Snell, George Dudley, Richard Steward, Henry Hadley, Thomas Waters, Boisdatier Walton, G. Stevens, Richard Smith, W. Thornton, John Manship, T. Harrison, Christopher Baron, William Webber, F. W. Barrington, Robert Burton and John Brown.
183	179	To the Governor and Council of the Island St Helena You were acquainted in the General Letters of the 17th December and 12th Ultimo of the Preliminary Articles of Peace between Great Britain France and Spain being agreed to, and that inconsequence thereof all Hostilities were to cease in the several Parts of the World, at the times therein mentioned, As the Ship Cruttenden which carries those Letters, as also the Preliminaries published by authority together with His Majestys Proclamation for a Cessation of Arms, has been obliged to put into Spithead by contrary Winds, We lay hold of this opportunity to inform you, that on the 15th Instant the Secretary to His Majestys Embassy at the Court of France arrived with the Definitive Treaty of Peace signed at Paris, on Thursday the 10th Instant by his Grace the Duke of Bedford, the Duc de Praslin and the Marquis de Grimaldi Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries on the part of His Majesty, the Most Christian King and the Catholic King to which M de Mello Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary of His most Faithful Majesty of Portugal acceded the same day our Authority for informing you of this Happy Event, will appear by the accompanying London Gazette Altho the Treaty cannot be publishe before it has gone through the usual forms of Ratification, and being exchanged, yet We have been favoured in a Confidential manner by the Rt Honourable the Earl of Egremont One of	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the conclusion of peace. The island had been told in the general letters of 17 December and 12 January of the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France and Spain being agreed to, and that in consequence all hostilities were to cease in the several parts of the world at the times named. The ship *Cruttenden*, which carried those letters, along with the preliminaries published by authority and His Majesty's proclamation for a cessation of arms, had been obliged to put into Spithead by contrary winds. The directors took hold of this opportunity to inform the island that on the 15th of the month the secretary to His Majesty's embassy at the court of France arrived with the definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris on Thursday the 10th by His Grace the Duke of Bedford and by the Duc de Praslin and the Marquis de Grimaldi, ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries on the part of His Most Christian King and the Catholic King. To this Mr de Mello, ambassador and minister plenipotentiary of His Most Faithful Majesty of Portugal, acceded the same day. The directors' authority for informing the island of this happy event would appear from the accompanying London Gazette. Though the treaty could not be published before it had gone through the usual forms of ratification and been exchanged, the directors had been favoured in a confidential manner by the Right Honourable the Earl of Egmont, one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state, with the eleventh article and the declaration relating to it, which were in the following words. [...] **Interpretations** The signing of the definitive Treaty of Paris by the Duke of Bedford for Britain and the French and Spanish plenipotentiaries, with Portugal acceding, marks the formal end of the Seven Years War, the war that had reshaped the balance of empire, and its careful transmission to St Helena shows how the settlement of the great powers reached even the remotest post, freeing the island's shipping at last from the wartime perils that had shadowed every

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		His Majestys Principal Secretaries of State, with 17th & the 11th Article, and the Declaration relating thereto, which are in the following Words viz;	voyage and confirming the peace only foreshadowed by the preliminaries. The distinction drawn between the treaty signed and the treaty ratified, so that its terms could not be published until exchanged, reveals the formal stages by which international agreements took effect in the age, since a treaty bound the powers only when confirmed and exchanged, and the directors' access to an article in confidence through a secretary of state shows how privileged information could reach the Company ahead of publication, a mark of its standing and of the closeness of its interests to those of the crown. The naming of the plenipotentiaries by their formal styles, His Most Christian King for France, the Catholic King for Spain and His Most Faithful Majesty for Portugal, reflects the ceremonial language of eighteenth century diplomacy, each crown carrying its traditional epithet, and the recording of these titles in a letter to a distant island shows the forms of high diplomacy reproduced faithfully at every level, the island receiving the peace clothed in the same solemn formulae in which the courts of Europe had concluded it.
184	180	Copie de l'Article 11, du Traité Definitif signé à Paris le 10, Fevrier 1763 Dans les Indes Orientales, la Grande Bretagne restituera à la France, dans l'Etat ou ilsont aujourdhui les differens Comptoirs que cette Couronne possedoit, tant sur la Côte de Coromandel et d'Orixa que sur celle de Malabar ainsi que dans le Bengale au Commence ment del Année 1749, Et Sa Majesté tres Chretienne renonce a toute pretension aux Acquisitions qu Elle avoit faites sur la Côte de Coromandel et d'Orixa depuis le dit Commencement de l'Année 1749 Sa Majesté tres Chretienne restituera de son Côté tout ce que Elle pourrait avoir conquis sur la Grande Bretagne dans les Indes Orientales pandant la presente Guerre, et sera restituer nomement Nattal et Tappanouilly dans l'Isle de Sumatra, elle s'engage de plus a ne point eriger de Fortifications, et a ne point entretenir de Troupes dans aucune Partie des Etats du Subah de Bengale, Et Afin de conserver la Paix future sur la Côte de Coromandel et d'Orixa, les Anglois et les François reconnoitront Mahomet Ally Chan Legitime Nabab du Carnatek et Salabat Jing pour Legitime Subah du Decan, et les Deux Parties renonceront a toute Demande Translation of the 11th Article of the Definitive Treaty signed at Paris the 10th February 1763 In the East Indies Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they were at present, the several Comptoirs which that Crown possessed, as well on the Coast of Choromandel and Orixa on that of Malabar and likewise in Bengal at the Commencement of the year 1749 And His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions Acquisitions that he has made on the Coast of Choromandel and Orixa since the said Commencement of the year 1749 His most Christian Majesty shall on His Side restore all that he may have conquered over Great Britain	The eleventh article of the definitive treaty signed at Paris on 10 February 1763 provided as follows. In the East Indies Great Britain was to restore to France, in the condition they were then in, the several settlements which that crown had possessed, both on the Coast of Coromandel and Orissa and on that of Malabar, and likewise in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty renounced all claims to the acquisitions he had made on the Coast of Coromandel and Orissa since that beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty was on his side to restore all that he might have conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies during the present war, and in particular Natal and Tappanooly on the island of Sumatra were to be restored. He further engaged not to erect any fortifications, nor to keep any troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, and in order to preserve the future peace on the Coast of Coromandel and Orissa the English and the French were to acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan as the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabat Jing as the lawful Subah of the Deccan, and both parties were to renounce all [...]. **Interpretations** The eleventh article settled the Anglo French rivalry in India by restoring the settlements to their state of 1749, before the wars of the Carnatic, and by requiring France to give up all it had gained since, a territorial reversal that confirmed the collapse of French ambitions in the subcontinent and left the English Company dominant, the treaty converting the outcome of the fighting into a lasting legal settlement of the two powers' possessions. The mutual recognition of Mahomet Ally Khan as Nabob of the Carnatic and Salabat Jing as Subah of the Deccan reveals how the European powers had come to arbitrate the succession of Indian rulers, since the war between the companies had been fought in part through rival Indian claimants, and the treaty fixed which princes each power would acknowledge, a striking sign of how far the French and English had made themselves the arbiters of native sovereignty in pursuit of their commercial and political ends. The French undertaking to build no fortifications and keep no troops in the dominions of the Subah of Bengal exposes the strategic heart of the settlement, since fortified posts and standing forces were the instruments by which a European company turned trade into territorial power, and by

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		in the East Indies during the present War, and shall particularly cause Nattal and Tappanouilly on the Island of Sumatra to be restored, And He moreover engages not to erect any Fortifications and not to entertain any Troops in any part of the Dominions of the Subah of Begal, and in order to preserve the future peace on the Coast of Choromandel and of Orixa the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Cawn to be the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic and Salabat Jing to be lawful Subah of the Decan and both Parties shall renounce	barring France from raising them in Bengal the treaty secured to the English Company the region where its ascendancy had lately been won, denying its rival the means of recovery in the richest province of India.
185	181	Demande ou Pretension de Satisfaction qu Elles pourroient former à la Charge l unes de l'autre, ou à celles de leur Allies Indiens, pour les Depredations ou Degats commis, soit d'un Côté soit de l'autre pendant la Guerre. Copie Declaration Nous Soussigné Ambassadeur et Extraordinaire et Plenipotentiaire du Roy de la Grande Bretage pour prevenir tout sujet de Contestation a l'occasion des Limites des Etats du Subah de Bengale, ainsi que de la Côte de Coromandel et d'Orixa Declarons, au nom et par ordre de sa dite Majesté Britannique, que les dits Etats du Subah de Bengale seront censes ne s'etendre que jusqu à Yanaon exclusivement, et que Yanaon sera regardé comme compris dans la Partie Septentrionale de la Côte de Coromandel ou d'Orixa. En foy de quoi Nous Soussigné Ministre Plenipotentiaire de sa Majeste le Roy de la Grande Bretagne avons Signé la present Declaration et y avons fait Opposer le Cachet de Nos Armes Fait a Paris ce dix de Fevrier 1763 Bedford C.P.S London 22 Febry 1763 Translation Declaration We the undersigned Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain in order to prevent all cause of dispute on account of the Limits of the Dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the Coast of Choromandel and Orixa declare, in the name and by order of his said Britannic Majesty, that the said Dominions of the Subah of Bengal shall be looked on to extend only to Yanam exclusively and that Yanam shall be regarded as comprehended in the Northern part of the Coast of Choromandel or Orixa In Witness whereof We the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Great Britain have signed the present Declaration and have affixe the Seal of Our Arms thereto done at Paris the 10th Febry 1763 Bedford C.P.S We are	Both parties were to renounce all demand or claim of satisfaction they might have made on each other, or on their Indian allies, for depredations or injuries committed on either side during the war. There followed a declaration in these terms. The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain, in order to prevent all cause of dispute over the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the Coast of Coromandel and Orissa, declared, in the name and by order of His Britannic Majesty, that the dominions of the Subah of Bengal were to be looked on as extending only to Yanam exclusively, and that Yanam was to be regarded as comprehended in the northern part of the Coast of Coromandel or Orissa. In witness whereof the undersigned minister plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Great Britain had signed the present declaration and set the seal of his arms to it, done at Paris on 10 February 1763, signed Bedford. **Interpretations** The separate declaration fixing the boundary of the Subah of Bengal at Yanam, and placing Yanam within the northern Coromandel Coast or Orissa, shows how the peace descended to the precise demarcation of territory in India, since the article barring French forces from Bengal made the exact limit of that province a matter of consequence, and the two powers settled by formal declaration where Bengal ended and the coast began, converting a vague frontier into a defined line to forestall future dispute. The mutual renunciation of all claims for wartime depredations, on each other and on their Indian allies, reveals the treaty's aim of wiping the slate clean rather than leaving grievances to fester, since the war in India had brought injuries and reprisals on every side, and by abandoning all such claims the powers sought to remove the pretexts on which a fresh quarrel might be built, the general release of demands serving the larger purpose of a durable peace. The recording of the French text alongside its English translation, the whole authenticated by Bedford's signature and seal, illustrates the bilingual formality of eighteenth century diplomacy, French being the language of international agreements while the English version served the Company's own use, and the careful reproduction of both, with the declaration's solemn attestation, shows the island receiving the peace in the exact and doubled form in which the courts of Europe had drawn it, a document of state faithfully copied for a distant possession.
186	182	We are Your Loving Friends signed Thomas Rous John Dorrien	The letter closed as from the island's loving friends, and was signed by Thomas Rous, John Dorrien, John Brown, George Dudley, Henry Savage, Timothy Tullie, Richard Steward, Thomas Waters, G. Stevens, F. W. Barrington, Henry Hadley,

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		John Brown George Dudley Henry Savage Timothy Tullie Richard Steward Thos Waters G Stevens F W Barrington Henry Hadley W Thornton Cha Gough J Harrison Rob Bowron Wm Snell Christr Baron Will Barwell Rich Warner Richd Smith John Manship Bowchier Walton	W. Thornton, Charles Gough, T. Harrison, Robert Bowron, William Snell, Christopher Baron, William Barwell, Richard Warner, Richard Smith, John Manship and Boisdatier Walton.
187	183	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 We have the satisfaction of finding that by the safe arrival with you of the Ships Egmont and Cruttenden, Our several Last Letters of the 17th December 1762, 12th January and 22 February following were duly received 2 Since that time have come to hand your General Advices dated the 9th and 27 February the 6th, 25th & 27 March the 11, 15 and 21 April the 1 May, 23 June 16th July and 5th of August last with those that Accompanied some of them on Law Points, and Letters from the Governor addressed to the Secret Committee dated 9th and 17th February the 6th and 25th March and 15 April 3 You were informed in our Letter of the 22 February that the Definitive Treaty of Peace between Great Britain France, Spain and Portugal was signed at Paris the 10 of that Month by the Ministers of the respective Crowns, which having been since Ratified, Exchanged & Published you herewith have printed Copies published by Authority for your information and conformity thereto as far as is requisite on your part, together with Copy of his Majestys Proclama tion of the 21 March last which is to be Published in the usual Form 4 His Majestys Ship the Liverpole of 32 Guns Capt John Clarke Commander was last season dispatched Express on the part of the to the East Indies Government the 20th Janry with the advice of the Conclusion of the Preliminaries for Peace between the Powers at War, and was the only one of his Majestys Ships ordered thither since the Argo Sailed 5 After the close of our advices of the preceding Season	The Governor and Council at St Helena were addressed on the season's correspondence and the peace. 1: The directors had the satisfaction of finding that, by the safe arrival of the ships *Egmont* and *Cruttenden*, their several last letters of 17 December 1762, 12 January and 22 February following had been duly received. 2: Since that time the island's general letters had come to hand, dated 9 and 17 February, 6, 25 and 27 March, 11, 15 and 21 April, 1 May, 23 June, 16 July and 5 August last, with those that accompanied some of them on law points, and letters from the Governor addressed to the Secret Committee, dated 9 and 17 February, 6 and 25 March and 15 April. 3: The island had been told in the directors' letter of 22 February that the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal was signed at Paris on the 10th of that month by the ministers of the respective crowns. This having since been ratified, exchanged and published, the directors sent with this printed copies published by authority, for the island's information and conformity, together with a copy of His Majesty's proclamation of 21 March last, which was to be published in the usual form. 4: His Majesty's ship the *Liverpool*, of thirty two guns, Captain John Clarke commander, was the season before dispatched express to the East Indies on the part of the government, with the advice of the 20th of January of the conclusion of the preliminaries for peace between the powers at war, and was the only one of His Majesty's ships ordered there since the *Argo* sailed. 5: After the close of the directors' advices of the preceding season [...]. **Interpretations** The dispatch of a warship express to India carrying word of the preliminaries of peace shows the urgency with which news of the war's ending was carried to the distant theatre, since fighting might continue there in ignorance of the settlement reached in Europe, and a fast frigate sent solely to bear the tidings reveals the government's concern to halt hostilities across the globe as quickly as the slow passage of a ship allowed, the same anxiety that shaped the treaty's staggered dates for the cessation of arms. The ratification, exchange and publication of the definitive treaty, now sent to the island in printed copies for its conformity, illustrates the final stage by which an international agreement became binding and public, since the treaty took full force only when confirmed and proclaimed, and the transmission of the authorised copies and the royal proclamation to

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			St Helena shows the peace descending through the formal channels to the furthest post, the island required to publish it in the accustomed manner as the terms became law throughout the King's dominions. The long roll of the island's letters received, spread across many dates and separate conveyances, together with the Governor's distinct letters to the Secret Committee, reveals the dense and duplicated correspondence by which a distant settlement kept London informed, the multiplicity of dates reflecting both the frequency of writing and the practice of sending copies by different ships, so that the failure of any one conveyance would not sever the flow of information on which the management of the enterprise depended.
188	184	Season, We freighted the Ship Pitt at the burthen of 499 Tons Captain Joseph Jackson for Fort St George and China the Principal Objects of her Voyage being to carry about 300 Recruits for our Forces on the Establishment of the Coast of Choromandel and for improving upon the Discoveries of the new Passage to China made by this Ship in a former Voyage 6 We also at the same time found it necessary on the order Conclusion of the Treaty of Peace and in to convey an account thereof in the most expeditious manner, to our Settlements with some informations and directions, the Arrangements to be thereupon accordingly taken, to purchase a Sailing Vessel called the Lapwing burthen 120 Tons carrying 10 Guns navigated with 25 Men and Commanded by Capt John Griffin to be employed there provisionally or disposed of as should appear most advantageous 7 Orders were given by the same Conveyance from the Admiralty for the return forthwith to Europe of His Majestys Squadron except two Ships of the Line, and one of the best conditioned Frigates which were to remain in India until the end of the Year 1764 to give any proper assistance towards the Dispositions to be made in consequence of the Definitive Treaty, as well as to protect the Trade from Pirates which it is apprehended may infest the Indian Seas after the War, you will therefore be prepared to give them the best Accommodation in your power, as We informed you of the probability of this event and furnished you towards it according to our advices in the 37 Paragraph under the 17th December last remembering the recommendations formerly given to receive and entertain the Commanding Officer & Capt of the Ships in as polite 8	After the close of the directors' advices of the preceding season, they freighted the ship *Pitt*, of four hundred and ninety nine tons, Captain Joseph Jackson, for Fort St George and China. The principal objects of her voyage were to carry about three hundred recruits for the Company's forces on the establishment of the Coast of Coromandel, and to improve upon the discoveries of the new passage to China made by this ship on a former voyage. 6: At the same time, on the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the directors found it necessary to convey an account of it in the most speedy manner to their settlements, with some information and directions on the arrangements to be made in consequence. They had accordingly bought a sailing vessel called the *Lapwing*, of one hundred and twenty tons, carrying ten guns and navigated by twenty five men, commanded by Captain John Griffin, to be employed there provisionally or disposed of as should appear most advantageous. 7: Orders were given by the same conveyance from the Admiralty for the return to Europe forthwith of His Majesty's squadron, except two ships of the line and one of the best conditioned frigates, which were to remain in India until the end of the year 1764. These were to give any proper assistance towards the arrangements to be made in consequence of the definitive treaty, as well as to protect the trade from pirates, which it was thought might infest the Indian seas after the war. The island was therefore to be prepared to give them the best accommodation in its power, as the directors had informed it of the probability of this event and furnished it towards it in the thirty seventh paragraph of the letter of 17 December last, and it was to remember the recommendations formerly given to receive and entertain the commanding officers and captains of the ships in as polite [...]. **Interpretations** The purchase of a small fast vessel expressly to carry the news of peace to the settlements reveals the premium the Company placed on speed in a moment of transition, since the settlements needed prompt word of the treaty to halt hostilities and adjust their arrangements, and rather than wait for a regular sailing the directors bought a handy ship for the purpose, to be used or sold as convenience dictated, treating the swift conveyance of consequential news as worth the cost of a vessel bought outright. The retention of a small naval force in India after the war to guard against pirates illustrates the fear that peace between the great powers would loosen the discipline of the seas, since the withdrawal of the fighting fleets might leave the trade routes open to freebooters, and the Company welcomed the continuance of two ships of the line and a frigate to protect its commerce, aware that the

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			end of a formal war did not end all danger to shipping in the eastern seas. The improvement of a newly discovered passage to China, pursued by the same ship that had first found it, shows the Company's active interest in bettering its sailing routes, since a shorter or safer way to Canton saved time and risk on the long and valuable voyage, and the directors pressed the exploration forward, treating the discovery of a better passage as a commercial advantage worth the deliberate effort of a further voyage to confirm and refine.
189	185	& Genteel a manner as your circumstances will allow 8 The Squadron is also to give a Passage to England to as many of his Majestys Officers and Soldiers who are to be brought home as can be accommodated therein with any convenience, nevertheless in consequence of the Kings permission such of the Ensigns of his Regiments of Foot Lieutenants of the Artillery and Non Commission Officers and Private Men in both Corps who shall chuse it and engage with the Company to remain in India have liberty so to do, and all such, as well Officers as Private Men who shall not embrace that Proposal and cannot be received into the Kings are to be embarked on board our Ships and brought hither at the Companys Expence Your therefore shewing equal respect to the returning Field & Superior Officers of the Troops as we have recommended it to you to treat those of the Marine withal, will not be only what we expect but also very pleasing to us 9 The Earl of Halifax by the Royal Command having signifyed to us it would be very agreeable to his Majestys, at the Instance of the Empress of Russia to Permit Six Russian Officers to make the Voyage to India, We accordingly ordered the Commanders of the British King Talbot, and Speaker to receive on board each of them Two of the said Officers, and Afford them all proper accommodations they having desired the Captains for the same, which we inform you of, that Complaints if any they have to make, may be redressed, and that if they land on the Island, you may not be deficient in point of Civility to them 10 After our last Election of Directors, We appointed John Dorrien Esqr Our Chairman Lawrence Sulivan Esqr Deputy Chairman with George Amyand, John Boyd and Henry Crabb Boulton Esqrs Our Committee of Secrecy	The commanding officers and captains of the ships were to be received and entertained in as polite and genteel a manner as the island's circumstances would allow. 8: The squadron was also to give a passage to England to as many of His Majesty's officers and soldiers to be brought home as could be accommodated aboard with any convenience. Nevertheless, by the King's permission, such of the ensigns of his regiments of foot, lieutenants of the artillery and non commissioned officers and private men in both corps who chose it and engaged with the Company to remain in India had liberty to do so. All such officers and private men who did not embrace that proposal, and could not be received into the King's ships, were to be embarked on the Company's ships and brought home at the Company's expense. The island, therefore, showing equal respect to the returning field and superior officers of the troops as the directors had recommended it to treat those of the navy, would do not only what they expected but what would be very pleasing to them. 9: The Earl of Halifax, by the royal command, having signified to the directors that it would be very agreeable to His Majesty, at the instance of the Empress of Russia, to permit six Russian officers to make the voyage to India, the directors accordingly ordered the commanders of the British ships *King*, *Talbot* and *Speaker* to receive two of those officers aboard each, and afford them all proper accommodation, they having desired the captains for the same. The directors informed the island of this so that any complaints those officers had to make might be redressed, and that if they landed on the island it might not be deficient in point of civility to them. 10: After the directors' last election, they appointed John Dorrien chairman, Laurence Sulivan deputy chairman, with George Amyand, John Boyd and Henry Crabb Boulton their committee of secrecy. [...] **Interpretations** The provision allowing British soldiers to stay in India and engage with the Company shows how the end of the war opened a flow of trained men from the crown's forces into the Company's own service, since a peace that sent regiments home left the Company glad to retain experienced officers and men in the east, and the arrangement, made by the King's permission, reveals the porous boundary between royal and Company forces at a moment when the state's army was being drawn down and the Company's needs remained. The carriage of Russian officers to India at the request of the Empress, arranged through a secretary of state and accommodated on Company ships, illustrates how the Company's vessels served the wider diplomacy of the crown, since a favour to a foreign power could be granted by sending its officers east on English ships, and the directors' care that the Russians meet with civility at the island reveals the Company acting as an instrument of

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			national goodwill, its shipping and settlements lent to the courtesies between courts far removed from its trade. The naming of the committee of secrecy after the annual election shows the settled place of this inner body within the Company's government, since a small group of directors was entrusted each year with the most sensitive business of war, diplomacy and dealings with the state, and its regular reconstitution reveals a permanent institution of confidential authority, distinct from the wider direction, through which the Company conducted the affairs that could not be committed to the whole body.
190	186	Orders Secrecy to whose, or any three of those Gentlemen all due Obedience is to be paid 11 We have resolved upon the outset, at about the undermentioned Periods, for maintaining our Commerce with the East Indies and China, of the following Ships each of the Burthen of 499 Tons and carrying 26 Guns and 99 Men viz; Times proposed for Dispatch Princess Augusta Capt Baddison St Helena, Bengal Under Dispatch Duke of Richmond Benjamin Godfrey and China Earl of Holderness Robert Brooke Bencoolen & China Norfolk John Sandys China directly Robert Burdett Worcester Richard Hall Fasham Nairn Fort St George & 26th December Peter Hardwicke China Northumberland John Mitford Caernarvon Norton Hutchinson Madeira Devonshire Andrew Quick and Coast Richard Lewin and Coast James Haldane and Bay 25 Jany 1764 York Peter Lascelles Bombay & China Anson Edwd Lord Chick Madeira & John Webb Bombay Cornelius Inglis 10th March Calcutta George Tompson Bombay John Milles 12 As the Ships destined this Season for Fort Marlbro cannot carry all the Stores intended for that Presidency, We have appointed our own Ship the Admiral Watson to proceed thither with the Surplus about the end of Decemr and be afterwards employed in the Service of the West Coast in	The orders of the committee of secrecy, or of any three of those gentlemen, were to be duly obeyed. 11: The directors had resolved on the outset, at about the times named below, for keeping up their commerce with the East Indies and China, of the following ships, each of four hundred and ninety nine tons and carrying twenty six guns and ninety nine men. *Princess Augusta*, Captain Baddison, St Helena, Bencoolen and China, under dispatch *Duke of Richmond*, Benjamin Godfrey, St Helena, Bencoolen and China, under dispatch *Earl of Holderness*, Robert Brooke, Bencoolen and China *Norfolk*, John Sandys, China directly *Worcester*, Robert Burdett, China directly *Worcester*, Richard Hall, China directly *Northumberland*, Fasham Nairn, Fort St George and China, 26 December *Northumberland*, Peter Hardwicke, Fort St George and China, 26 December *Northumberland*, John Mitford, Fort St George and China, 26 December *Caernarvon*, Norton Hutchinson, Madeira and Coast, 25 January 1764 *Devonshire*, Andrew Quick, Madeira and Coast, 25 January 1764 *Devonshire*, Richard Lewin, Madeira and Coast, 25 January 1764 *York*, James Haldane, Madeira and Bay, 25 January 1764 *Anson*, Peter Lascelles, Bombay and China *Calcutta*, Edward Lord Chick, Madeira and Bombay, 10 March [...], John Webb, Madeira and Bombay, 10 March [...], Cornelius Inglis, Bombay, 10 March [...], George Tompson, Bombay, 10 March [...], John Milles, Bombay, 10 March 12: As the ships destined that season for Fort Marlborough could not carry all the stores intended for that presidency, the directors had appointed their own ship the *Admiral Watson* to proceed there with the surplus about the end of December, and to be afterwards employed in the service of the west coast [...]. **Interpretations** The resumption of a full season's shipping to every quarter of the eastern trade, China, the Coast and Bay, Bombay and Bencoolen, marks the return to normal commerce with the coming of peace, since the wartime disruptions and convoys gave way to the ordinary distribution of vessels across the Company's markets, the long list of ships and staggered sailing dates revealing the restored rhythm of a trade that spanned the breadth of Asia once the danger of the enemy had lifted. The use of a Company owned ship to carry surplus stores to Fort Marlborough, then to remain in the west coast service, illustrates the flexibility the

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			Company retained over its own vessels as against the chartered Indiamen, since a ship it owned could be sent where a gap appeared and held on station afterwards, and the overflow of stores beyond the hired ships' capacity was met by putting the Company's own bottom to the task, a resource the directors could direct at will where the fixed voyages of the chartered fleet fell short. The persistence of the 499 ton registration across the whole list, now with a uniform twenty six guns and ninety nine men, shows the settled practice by which the Company standardised its hired Indiamen just below the 500 ton threshold, escaping the heavier regulation and larger complement that bigger ships bore, the column's uniformity a lasting monument to a commercial device that shaped the very dimensions in which the Company's shipping was built and manned.
191	187	in such manner as our Agents shall appear most expedient for the Public Benifit 13 The Conduct of our Affairs in China for the ensuing year is placed with our Supra Cargoes Messieurs Thomas Fitzhugh, Samuel Blount, George Mandevile Nathaniel Garland, William Mackenzie, Alexander Hume Stephen Devisme, Thomas Smith, Mann Horner, William Rhouse, and William Harrison, and Messrs Fitzhugh, Blount Garland, Machenzie, Devisme, Smith and Rous are to continue in China for and to be joined in the Commission that will be established for the management of Our Trade therein the year 1765. 14 From the enclosed List you will obtain the necessary information of the times of the departure for and the arrival of our Shipping from the East Indies since the date of our last Advices by the Cruttenden 15 The Freights and Demorage of the Ships entertained in Our Service this Season, are at a much lower Rate than agreed for during the War, the other stipulations are upon the footing of the preceedings seasons as you will previous observe in the respective Ships Packets by their Charterparties which are recommended to your careful perusal for so far as relate to your department 16 You acted very Commendably in the dispatch of the Egmont & Cruttenden within Charter Party time and we assure ourselves of an equal attention to Our advantage in your expediting these Ships the Princess Augusta and Duke of Richmond from the Island as their arrival in China will be necessarily retarded by the delivery of the Stores on board them consigned to Our Presidency on the West Coast of Sumatra 17 Your Constant and Satisfactory communication of	The *Admiral Watson* was to be employed in such manner as the Company's agents should think most expedient for the public benefit. 13: The conduct of the Company's affairs in China for the coming year was placed with the supercargoes, Mr Thomas Fitzhugh, Samuel Blount, George Mandeville, Nathaniel Garland, William Mackenzie, Alexander Hume, Stephen Devisme, Thomas Smith, Mann Horner, William Rowse and William Harrison. Of these, Mr Fitzhugh, Blount, Garland, Mackenzie, Devisme, Smith and Rowse were to continue in China, and to be joined in the commission that would be established for the management of the Company's trade there in the year 1765. 14: From the enclosed list the island would obtain the necessary information of the times of departure and arrival of the Company's shipping from the East Indies since the date of their last advices by the *Cruttenden*. 15: The freights and demurrage of the ships taken into the Company's service that season were at a much lower rate than had been agreed for during the war. The other stipulations were on the footing of the preceding seasons, as the island would see in the respective ships' packets by their charter parties, which were recommended to its careful reading so far as related to its department. 16: The island had acted very commendably in the dispatch of the *Egmont* and *Cruttenden* within charter party time, and the directors looked for an equal attention to their advantage in the island's expediting the ships *Princess Augusta* and *Duke of Richmond* from the island, since their arrival in China would necessarily be delayed by the delivery of the stores aboard them consigned to the Company's presidency on the west coast of Sumatra. 17: The island's constant and satisfactory communication [...]. **Interpretations** The fall in freight and demurrage rates with the coming of peace shows how directly the cost of the Company's shipping tracked the state of the war, since the scarcity of hulls and the added risk of the passage had driven rates up while hostilities lasted, and their return to a lower level once peace came reveals the wartime premium lifting from the whole apparatus of hired tonnage, a saving that flowed straight to the Company's account as the danger to its trade receded. The standing establishment of supercargoes at Canton, with some named to continue and be joined by others in the following year's commission, reveals the settled institution by which the China trade was managed on the spot, since the buying of tea and the conduct of business at Canton required experienced men held there in continuity, the supercargoes

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			forming a permanent body that governed the Company's affairs in China as a presidency governed its territories in India. The delay to the China bound ships caused by their carrying stores for the Sumatran settlement illustrates the competing demands that a single voyage had to serve, since a vessel meant for Canton was also loaded with supplies for the west coast and had to deliver them first, and the directors pressed the island to speed the ships on their way, aware that every day spent landing the pepper settlement's stores set back the vessel's arrival at the tea market where its main profit lay.
192	188	of all material Occurrences which regard Our Shipping and Indian affairs makes it entirely unnecessary to repeat the former directions given for the Continuance of a practice so particularly acceptable to us 18 The like observation presents on your keeping us always informed, as has this Year been done on several Occasions, of the charges incurred by the Seamen and others left at the Island from the Shipping, that the same may be recovered from the Parties concerned, and for that end it is a method that must never be neglected In consequence of this Information on this Subject We shall require of Captain Fowler how the desertion at Manilha happened of Our Slave Essex, who was sent out to have been left with you on the Adm Watsons return 19 The confinement of the Snow Mercury at the Cape by several French Ships of War for near three months was unavoidable We are satisfied with Captain Harrolds Conduct during that restraint particularly in his communicating to us the Situation of the Vessel and prudently sending his Mate to do the same to you on a Dutch Ship, which called purposely to Land him, to whose Commander wherefore you could do no less than acknowledge that favour by the compliment you made him of a small Quantity of Refreshments 20 Uninformed as you were of the Conclusion of the War, and having due regard to the condition of the Godolphin, it was a very proper precaution to detain the Fox a few days to accompany her 21 The new sheathing and repairs which the Fly Cutter appears from Capt Teas Report to have, and that from the Inconveniencies of hauling the Vessel on the Beach	The island's constant and satisfactory communication of all material occurrences touching the Company's shipping and Indian affairs made it entirely needless to repeat the former directions for the continuance of a practice so particularly acceptable to the directors. 18: The like observation applied to the island's keeping the directors always informed, as had been done that year on several occasions, of the charges incurred by the seamen and others left at the island from the shipping, so that the same might be recovered from the parties concerned. This was a method that must never be neglected. In consequence of the island's information on the subject, the directors would give an account of how the desertion at Manila happened of the Company's slave Sfoux, who was sent out with the island on the *Admiral Watson*'s return. 19: The confinement of the *Mercury* snow at the Cape by several French warships for near three months had been unavoidable. The directors were satisfied with Captain Harrold's conduct during that restraint, particularly in his telling them the situation of the vessel and prudently sending his mate to do the same aboard a Dutch ship, which called on purpose to warn him. The island could therefore do no less than acknowledge the compliment it made him of a small quantity of refreshments. 20: Uninformed as the island was of the conclusion of the war, and having due regard to the condition of the *Godolphin*, it was a very proper precaution to detain the *Fox* a few days to accompany her. 21: The new sheathing and repairs the *Fly* cutter appeared, from Captain Fea's report, to have needed, and which arose from the inconveniences of hauling the vessel on the beach [...]. **Interpretations** The blockade of the *Mercury* at the Cape by French warships for near three months exposes the reach of the war into distant neutral waters, since a Company vessel could be pinned in a neutral port by an enemy squadron lying off it, and the reliance on a Dutch ship calling purposely to warn the captain reveals how intelligence passed between friendly and neutral vessels in such straits, the island's small craft as vulnerable to the enemy far from home as the great Indiamen on the open sea. The detention of the *Fox* to escort the *Godolphin*, made in ignorance that peace had come, illustrates the lag between the ending of a war and the news of it reaching distant stations, since the island acted on the caution proper to wartime long after the treaty was signed, and the directors approved the precaution as reasonable in the circumstances, a reminder that the far oceans continued to be governed by the dangers of a war that Europe had already concluded. The damage to the *Fly* cutter from being hauled up on the beach reveals the makeshift conditions under which the island maintained its small vessels, since it lacked the docks and yards of a proper port

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			and had to careen its craft on the shore for repair, a rough method that itself caused wear, so that the very process of maintaining the boats added to the charges of keeping them, a mark of the limited facilities of a remote and modestly equipped settlement.
193	189	Beach and the want of Artificers would prove so tedious a piece of Work as to require more than three Months to perform it in, may induce you under the like necessity, to consider & determine which you are permitted to do, whether such business, on a future occasion may not be more expeditiously and effectually compleated at the Cape, which at the same time will answer the beneficial purposes of conveying Provisions and Intelligence to you from thence 22 We observe the allowance you made the two Mates of the Fly of Four Shillings each a day to reimburse the extraordinary Expence incurred by their unavoidable living on shore while that Vessel was Sheathing, As there appears some Plea for this charge We submit to it, under the caution of your being very Sparing in introducing such Innovations in future 23 As you advise you shall no longer upon the Establishment of Peace meet with any difficulties in furnishing our returning Ships with fresh provisions, the Injunctions for the Commanders providing themselves in India Herewith for their homeward Voyage are suspended as you desire, and only the Riders for laying in there a sufficiency of Fuel continued 24 The time of the arrival of several Ships Boats at Bankss Battery should appear on the Consultation Book, at the Period such arrivals happen as the General List thereof is Seldom received before we have taken up the Ships for the Season, That for this Year came not before the 25 of Septr last, and you are particularly to advise us of the same in your general Letters that we may in time ascertain the exact Turn of every Ship for being taken, again into y Service us 25 It is not intended that those Discharged Soldiers who are put on board any of the returning Ships specially towards	Since the beach and the want of skilled workmen made such a repair so tedious as to require more than three months to perform, the island might, under a like necessity, consider and determine, which it was permitted to do, whether such work on a future occasion might not be more speedily and effectively completed at the Cape, which at the same time would answer the useful purposes of conveying provisions and intelligence from there. 22: The directors noted the allowance the island made the two mates of the *Fly* of four shillings each a day, to reimburse the extra expense they incurred by their unavoidable living on shore while that vessel was sheathing. As there appeared some plea for the charge, the directors submitted to it, under the caution that the island be very sparing in introducing such innovations in future. 23: As the island advised that, with peace established, it would no longer meet with any difficulty in furnishing the Company's returning ships with fresh provisions, the injunctions to the commanders to provide themselves in India for their homeward voyage were suspended, as the island wished, and only the orders to lay in enough fuel continued. 24: The time of the arrival of the several ships and boats at Bank's Battery should appear on the consultation book at the period such arrivals happened, as the general list should seldom be received before the ships were taken up for the season. That for the current year came not before 25 September last, and the island was particularly to advise of the same in its general letters, so that the directors might in time ascertain the exact return of every ship, for being taken again into the Company's service. 25: It was not meant that those discharged soldiers who were put on board any of the returning ships, especially towards [...]. **Interpretations** The suggestion that major repairs be carried out at the Cape rather than on the island's beach reveals the limits of St Helena's own facilities and the advantage of the nearby Dutch colony, since the Cape had the yards and workmen the island lacked, and a voyage there for repair could double as a trip for provisions and news, the directors weighing the tedium of a beach repair against the fuller service a call at the Cape could render, a practical use of the better equipped port close at hand. The suspension of the wartime orders that commanders victual their ships in India, now that the island could once more furnish fresh provisions, shows how peace restored the island's normal function as a place of refreshment, since the danger and scarcity of war had forced the ships to come stocked from the east, and with the return of plenty the burden shifted back to the island, though the continuing order to lay in fuel reveals that its supply of wood remained the one persistent want that peace did not mend. The insistence on recording each ship's arrival at Bank's Battery in the consultation book reveals the Company's need for exact dates of the fleet's movements, since a ship's return had to be known precisely for it to be taken up again in the Company's service, and the anchorage at St Helena served as the point where such arrivals were logged,

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			the careful dating binding the island's records into the larger accounting by which the Company tracked and re engaged its shipping season by season.
194	190	towards compleating their Companys should sign an Instrument not to demand any Wages, as it appears reasonable they should have an allowance for their time for such as the Commanders shall settle with them by Agreement in writing on behalf of the Owners, for their Case differs much from that of such others who are sent as Charterparty Passengers at Our expence, on those Ships which have their full Complement of Men and who must continue to sign the prescribed Instrument 26 When there is occasion to enter Seamen for the Mercury Snow and Fly Cutter in the room of others that Run and Discharged, the Governor and Council must Enter Europeans at Twenty three Shillings a Month or on the best Terms they can be procured, this being the Rate of Wages Seamen are now entered at in London, but the Masters of the above Vessels must be cautioned against entering Men from the Companys Ships either outward or homeward bound unless by way of exchange 27 On giving the due attention to the Indents you have our made and that you may be supplied according to the necessities of the Island, we have employed these two Ships to convey the Stores, provided it is gone in time suitable to Ships your request as could be done consisting of 20 Puncheons of Beef 40 Hhds of Pork 250 Casks Flour 20 Chaldron of Coals 10 Cordage 10,000 Tiles and Sundry Garrison, General & other Stores with an Assortment of Slaving Articles, the particulars whereof are fully described in the accompanying Invoices & Bills of Lading 28 Your	Those discharged soldiers put on board the returning ships towards completing their complement were to sign a document undertaking not to demand any wages, since it appeared reasonable they should have an allowance for their duty, which the commanders were to settle with them by agreement in writing on behalf of the owners. Their case differed much from that of others sent as charter party passengers at the Company's expense on those ships which had their full complement of men, and who must continue to sign the prescribed document. 26: When there was occasion to enter seamen for the *Mercury* snow and *Fly* cutter in the room of others run or discharged, the Governor and Council must enter Europeans at twenty three shillings a month, or on the best terms they could be got, this being the rate of wages seamen were then entered at in London. But the masters of the above vessels must be cautioned against entering men from the Company's ships, either outward or homeward bound, unless by way of exchange. 27: On giving due attention to the requisitions the island had made, and so that it might be supplied according to its needs, the directors had employed the two ships, to convey the stores, provided it was gone into as far as could be done, consisting of the following. 20 puncheons of beef 40 hogsheads of pork 250 casks of flour 20 chaldron of coals 10 cordage 10,000 tiles Along with these went sundry garrison, general and other stores, with an assortment of slaving articles, the particulars fully described in the accompanying invoices and bills of lading. **Interpretations** The distinction drawn between discharged soldiers helping to man the ship and paying passengers, the former allowed a wage for their work while the latter signed away all claim, reveals the careful line the Company drew between labour and passage, since a man who worked the ship earned something for his service while one merely carried had no such claim, and the documents each signed fixed their status precisely, guarding the owners against wage demands from those who had not truly earned them. The reference to an assortment of slaving articles sent among the stores exposes the Company's direct involvement in the slave trade, since goods used to acquire and hold slaves were shipped as a matter of routine supply alongside beef, flour and tiles, and their unremarkable place in the consignment reveals how the traffic in human beings was woven into the ordinary provisioning of the settlement, the instruments of slavery treated as just another line in the invoice. The entry of seamen at the London rate of wages, with masters barred from taking men off the Company's own ships except by exchange, illustrates the Company's management of manpower for its island craft, since it wished to hold the small vessels' crews to the standard rate and to protect the Indiamen from being stripped of hands, the rule against poaching balanced by the allowance of exchange, so that the boats could be manned without robbing the ships that passed.

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195	191	28 Your consignment to China by the Cruttenden of one of the Chest of Treasure received on the Egmont to the Council therein consequence of our recommendations inclines us to depend on your repetition of so proper a measure if the Two Chests now sent shall, with the Draughts that may be passed upon us, be more than sufficient to answer the Current years expences 29 Your Indent for the Articles from Canton has had in the Orders to our Agents there, if any for such alteration fly it equal attention paid to it, shall appear necessary, these Ships will give you an opportunity of making them acquainted with your Sentiments thereon 30 Considering that many of his Majestys Naval & Land Officers of Superior Rank will be at the Island returning in the Kings and our own Ships, We furnish you with Four Chests of Claret for the use of the Governors Table, and their suitable Entertainment thereat 31 Many of our Blacks being quite worn out and unserviceable, so that their are not enough to keep up the necessary Works of the Island, your intention of employing the Mercury and Fly on an adventure next ensuing season to Madagascar on our account for a recruit meets with our entire approbation for which purpose you will receive by these Ships the Articles wanting to compleat the proper Assortment of a Cargo for that Island, From the Tryal already made by the Mercury it does not appear necessary to give any further Instructions, than were conveyed by that Vessel from hence to the Governor on this Subject and thereon, as far as different circumstances shall admit, you are to ground your Orders for the execution of the present Plan observing only that the Vessels need not confined to the particular Work at that time described, as the conclusion of the War has made all parts of the Island free 3rd	28: The island's consignment to China by the *Cruttenden* of one of the chests of treasure received on the *Egmont*, made to the supercargoes in consequence of the directors' recommendation, inclined them to rely on the island's repetition of so proper a measure, if the two chests now sent should, with the draughts that might be passed on the directors, be more than enough to answer the current year's expenses. 29: The island's requisition for the articles from Canton had equal attention paid to it, in the orders to the Company's agents there, if goods for a slaver or a settlement should appear necessary. These ships would give the island an opportunity of acquainting the agents with its views on the matter. 30: Considering that many of His Majesty's naval and land officers of superior rank would be at the island returning in the King's and the Company's own ships, the directors furnished the island with four chests of claret for the use of the Governor's table and their suitable entertainment there. 31: Many of the Company's slaves being quite worn out and unserviceable, so that there were not enough to keep up the needful works of the island, the island's intention of employing the *Mercury* and *Fly* on a voyage next season to Madagascar on the Company's account, for a fresh supply, met with the directors' entire approval. For this purpose the island would receive by these ships the articles wanting to complete the proper assortment of a cargo for that island. From the trial already made by the *Mercury*, it did not appear necessary to give any further instructions than were sent by that vessel from here on the subject, and on it, as far as different circumstances would allow, the island was to ground its orders for carrying out the present plan. The vessels need not be confined to the particular work then described, since the conclusion of the war had made all parts of the island free [...]. **Interpretations** The voyage of the island's own small vessels to Madagascar to buy slaves reveals St Helena directly fitting out slaving expeditions to replenish its worn out labour force, since the enslaved people who performed the island's works wore out and had to be replaced, and Madagascar was a long established source, the *Mercury* and *Fly* turned from their other duties to the traffic in human beings, the island reaching across the ocean to renew a workforce it treated as a wasting asset to be restocked like any other. The frank description of slaves as worn out and unserviceable, no longer numerous enough to keep up the island's works, exposes the brutal logic by which the Company regarded the enslaved as instruments of labour to be used until spent, since their condition was reckoned purely by their capacity to work, and the remedy was not their relief but their replacement, the whole passage revealing a system that consumed human lives in its works and made good the loss by fresh purchase. The continued steering of treasure toward Canton, keeping only what the island's expenses required and sending the rest to the supercargoes, shows the settled principle by which the Company directed its silver to the point of greatest commercial use, since bullion bought tea at China while cash needs at the island could be met by bills on London, the metal kept moving eastward to the trade that turned it to profit rather than lying idle, a policy the directors pressed at every consignment.
196	192	and open, and that you cannot too strenuously enjoin the Commanders the most vigilant Cautions against the	And it was of the utmost importance to press the commanders to keep the most vigilant watch against the treachery of the natives, who were always

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		Treachery of the Natives ever ready to attempt the cutting such whom they apprehend it practicable . . . . For the Government of the Agents to be appointed on this Service who as usual, are to be the commander & Chief Officer of each Vessel in their setling the Trade at Madagascar. you will receive herewith an Account of the Terms on which it was carried on by the Prince Henry and Diligent. the two last Vessels. which visited the Island since the Mercury was there . . . . We send you by these Ships Eight Gun Carriages for thirty two pounders, Ten for Nine Pounders, and for Six pounders, but from a Conviction that Teak Wood will answer much better than Oak Directions will be given for the making at and sending from Bombay the same Numbers and natures of Carriages as are above specified. also Three for 24. Six for 18 and four for 12 these together will compleat your Indents for the Year 1764 We would have you likewise signify which our Orders to the Presidency of Bombay on these Ships by way of Bencoolen. You are in future also to indent thither for what Gun Carriages you shall really have occasion for, and advise us that the proper Iron work for them may be provided here accordingly, The Iron for the beforementioned Carriages will be sent you next Season . . . . The Nails sent for the Fly Cutter which are represented to be too large for any use with you, may be sent to Bencoolen with any other Stores you have no occasion for and shall judge may prove serviceable at that Presidency . . . . The additional Fifty Barrels of Flour	ready to attempt cutting off any whom they judged it practicable to seize. 32: For the government of the agents to be appointed on this service, who as usual were the commander and chief officer of each vessel in selling their trade at Madagascar, an account would arrive by these ships setting out the terms on which the business had been carried on by the *Prince Henry* and *Diligent*, the two most recent vessels to have visited the island since the *Mercury* was there. 33: Eight gun carriages for thirty-two pounders were sent by these ships, ten for nine-pounders and [...] for six-pounders. Being convinced that teak wood would serve much better than oak, the directors said instructions would be given for making up and dispatching from Bombay the same number and kinds of carriages as specified, together with three for 24-pounders, six for 18-pounders and four for 12-pounders. These would complete the island's requisitions for the year 1764. Their wishes had likewise been signified to the Presidency of Bombay on these ships by way of Bencoolen. In future the council was to requisition from Bombay for whatever gun carriages it would really need, and to advise London so that the proper ironwork for them might be provided accordingly. The iron for the carriages would be sent the following season. 34: The nails sent for the *Fly* cutter, reported to be too large for any use at the island, might be sent to Bencoolen with any other stores for which there was no use there, and which that presidency might find serviceable. 35: The additional fifty barrels of flour requisitioned. **Interpretations** The passage sits within the East India Company's private trade in slaves out of Madagascar, run through the commander and senior officer of each vessel, who acted as the Company's agents in disposing of the trade goods there. The warning against the treachery of the natives and the fear of ships being cut off reflects the hazard of anchoring off the Madagascar coast to trade, where crews were vulnerable to being overwhelmed while ashore or at anchor. Gun carriages were the wheeled wooden mountings that carried cannon, sized to the weight of shot each piece fired, so a thirty-two-pounder needed a heavier carriage than a six-pounder. The directors' preference for teak over oak turned on teak's resistance to rot and insect attack in a warm damp climate, a durability that made it the standard shipbuilding and ordnance timber of the Bombay dockyard, where the carriages were to be built from local supply rather than shipped out from England. Bencoolen was the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, used here as a staging point through which stores and correspondence passed between St Helena and Bombay. The routing of surplus nails and stores there, rather than back to England, shows the island functioning as one node in a network that redistributed unwanted material to wherever it might be used. The *Fly* was a small cutter attached to the island's service, and the mismatch of oversized nails sent for her illustrates the difficulty of supplying exact fittings across a voyage of months, where an error in London could not be corrected until the next season's shipping.
197	193	indented for could not on the account of the want of room, be sent on these Ships. If your necessities for Provisions of this	Requisitioned for, but could not be sent on these ships for want of room. If the island's need of provisions of this kind grew great, the Cape of Good Hope would be open to it.

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		kind shall be great, the Cape of good Hope will be open to you . . . . A Diminution is certainly unavoidably in the Store house. from the nature of the different Articles lodged therein, and the manner of their Issue, in such We shall chearfully acquiesce as is done with respect to the sum of £57. 12. 4 wrote off for it in your last Books. the Remark on this Subject by the Egmont did not extend to the constant increase of the loss but that it was larger in 1761 than the preceding year Your attention is necessary to see that this Annual Charge is kept within as moderate compass as circumstances will admit of . . . . The reducing on the 25th July of the Currency of the Pistereens, which had from time to time been imported, from Fifteen Pence to one Shilling, as by their passing for more than they were intrinsically worth, the Island would at length have been drained of the more valuable Dollar Money and that over rated species only have remained, seems to be a measure so well calculated for the public Benefit that we cannot but commend it and therefore satisfactorily submit to writing off the Loss our Cash sustained on the occasion of £25. 7. 6 yet will be proper to observe on this point that in future when any unusual Coins appear, you as well as the Inhabitants ought to be well apprised of the real value that the inconveniencies of their becoming Current for more may at first be avoided . . . . You give us great pleasure in your repeated Accounts of the entire cessation of the Distemper among the Cattle, the misfortune of being again attacked with this Calamity will urge the practice of every precaution for guarding against	36: Some loss in the storehouse was certainly unavoidable, given the nature of the different articles kept there and the way they were stored, and in this the directors readily agreed, as they had done over the sum of £57 12s 4d written off for it in the last books. The remark made on this subject by the Egmont did not reach to the constant increase of the loss, but noted only that it had been larger in 1761 than the year before. The council was to take care that this yearly charge was kept within as moderate a compass as circumstances would allow. 37: The reduction on 25 July of the currency of the pistareens, which had from time to time been imported, from fifteen pence to one shilling, appeared a sound measure. By passing for more than they were intrinsically worth, they would in the end have drained the island of its more valuable dollar money, leaving only overrated small coin in circulation. Being so well calculated for the public benefit, the directors could not but commend it, and so were content to write off the loss of £25 7s 6d the cash had suffered on that occasion. Yet it would be proper to watch this point in future, so that whenever any unusual coins appeared the council and the inhabitants alike might be well assured of their true value before they were allowed to pass as current, since much trouble might otherwise arise at first. 38: The directors took great pleasure in the repeated accounts of the complete end of the distemper among the cattle. The misfortune of being struck again by this calamity would press every precaution for guarding against [...] **Interpretations** Pistareens were small Spanish colonial silver coins of low fineness, worth about a fifth of a Spanish dollar, that circulated widely in the Atlantic and colonial trade. The danger the directors identified was a working example of Gresham's law, where a coin allowed to pass above its true metal value drives out the better coin, since holders spend the overvalued piece and hoard or export the full-weight dollar. Fixing the pistareen at one shilling rather than fifteen pence brought its official rate closer to its real worth and so protected the island's stock of dollar money. The writing off of the £57 12s 4d and the £25 7s 6d shows how the Company absorbed the routine shrinkage of stores and the losses of currency adjustment as recognised charges against the island's books, rather than pursuing anyone for them. The directors' distinction between an unavoidable loss and a rising one marks the point at which tolerance ended and the council was expected to hold the yearly figure down. The distemper among the cattle was an epidemic livestock disease, probably rinderpest or a similar contagion, whose recurrence threatened the island's meat supply and the draught animals on which its cultivation depended. On so isolated a settlement, where fresh stock could only be brought in by ship, the loss of a herd could not be quickly made good, which is why its ending drew such relief and its possible return such caution.
198	194	against it as much as possible Your Accounts of the Condition of the Pastures and Plantations from a very favourable Summer Season are equally agreeable to us and We deem your escape from Damage by a Violent Shock of the Earthquake on the 24 May as highly providential The Cultivation of the Lucerne and Angelica so recommended to you by the Egmont. as a matter of husbandry from which much Advantage might be got a speedy account of the successful issue of your Endeavours	Guarding against it as far as possible. The accounts of the state of the pastures and plantations after so favourable a summer season were equally welcome, and the island's escape from damage by the violent shock of the earthquake on 21 May was reckoned most providential. 39: The cultivation of lucerne and angelica had been recommended by the Egmont as a matter of husbandry from which much advantage might come, and a speedy account of how the island's efforts in it had turned out would be very welcome.

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		therein will be very welcome to Us Considering the importance of setting apart and providing a proper and decent place for the regular and convenient Assembly of the Inhabitants for the performance of Divine Worship, We embrace this opportunity, on the intimation received that your Chapel is decayed and longer in a condition for that purpose, to acquaint you that we immediately came to a resolution That such a Sum as (including the Cost of the Articles to be prepared here shall amount to £500. be applied from our Cash with your Charge for Building a Neat and commodious Church. suitable to the Circumstances of the Island. in the Construction whereof we recommend the observance of Simplicity. rather than needless Embellishments. The Materials in part of the above Sum will be provided and sent next Season, as the request for furnishing them came so late and indeed the application of the Tonnage for the present Export of Stores would not admit of it the Year. in the mean time any preparations that can with propriety be made on your part towards this necessary work should by no means be delayed We have paid Captain John Clark the Sum of	40: Given the importance of setting apart and providing a proper and decent place for the regular and convenient assembly of the inhabitants at divine worship, and having learnt that the chapel had decayed and was no longer fit for the purpose, the directors resolved at once that a sum of £500, including the cost of the articles to be prepared, should be applied from the island's cash towards building a neat and commodious church, suited to the circumstances of the island. In its construction simplicity was recommended rather than needless ornament. Materials for part of the above sum would be provided and sent the following season, since the request for supplying them had come so late that the tonnage set for this year's export of stores could not carry them. In the meantime any preparations that could properly be made on the island were on no account to be delayed. 41: Captain John Clark had been paid the sum of [...] **Interpretations** Lucerne is the fodder crop better known as alfalfa, a deep-rooted legume valued for feeding livestock, while angelica is an aromatic plant whose roots and stems were used in cordials, confectionery and medicine. Recommending both was of a piece with the Company's wider effort to broaden what St Helena could grow for itself, reducing the reliance of so isolated a settlement on supplies carried by ship. The £500 grant for a new church marks the point at which the decayed chapel ceased to be a matter of local upkeep and became a charge the directors were willing to meet from the island's own cash. The insistence on simplicity over ornament reflects a plain calculation of what a small remote community could be justified in spending, and the promise of materials only in the following season shows how even an approved project was governed by the fixed limits of each year's shipping tonnage.
199	195	One hundred and twelve pounds for the Expences he was at in repairing and making several additions to our house on the Island which occadollled to his use during the time of his being a Member of the Council there The Inconvenience and disturbance the Lieutenant Governer was Subject to in the night time from the occupation of the Apartments over him by three Officers in the great House was a sufficient motive for your removing and making them the usual allowance of Ten pounds a Year each for Houserent in lieu thereof Your Account of the Damage some of the Inhabitants laboured under from the great Floods in June last. so much a degree as to have almost entirely destroyed their Plantations is the cause of much concern to us. On the considerable prejudice that our Property sustained by the Inundation, particularly the Fortifications We have the satisfaction to observe, that you immediately set about giving them the repairs, which the nature of this Service and the general Safety rendered quite indispensible by the employ of several of your Garrison Men therein for the greater dispatch the Friends of our Governor having intimated that his health and Constitution are much impaired to us we apprehend that his Attachment to our Service principally engages his Stay in the Government. and that his delicacy is such as will not permit him formally to desire to relinquish it We have, in due consideration of the great Merit and the long and	One hundred and twelve pounds for the expenses he was at in repairing and making several additions to the house on the island allotted for his use during the time he was a member of the council there. 42: The inconvenience and disturbance the lieutenant governor was subject to at night from the officers quartered in the apartments over him in the great house was reason enough for removing them and making them the usual allowance of ten pounds a year each for house rent instead. 43: The account of the damage some of the inhabitants suffered from the great floods in June last, which had gone so far as to destroy almost their entire plantations, was cause of much concern. Regarding the considerable harm the Company's property sustained by the inundation, particularly the fortifications, the directors were glad to observe that the council had set about the repairs at once. The nature of that service and the general safety made it quite indispensable to employ several of the garrison men on the work, so that it might be done the quicker. 44: The friends of the Governor had intimated that his health and constitution were much impaired, and it was feared that his attachment to the Company's service, which chiefly kept him in the government, would not permit him to ask leave to lay it down of himself. The directors had therefore of their own accord resolved to desire him to do so willingly. In consideration of his great merit and of the long and faithful services of Mr Hutchinson, as well as any provision he might already have, they wished him that proper support they greatly wished him to enjoy for himself and his family. [...] **Interpretations**

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		faithful Services of Mr Hutchinson as well as that the Provision (if any) that he may have made must fall greatly short of that proper Support We wish him to enjoy for himself and Family. We have	The £112 paid for the lieutenant governor's house and the £10 yearly house rent granted to the officers turned out of the great house show how accommodation on the island functioned as part of an officer's remuneration, a charge the Company met directly because there was no private housing market on so small a settlement to which men could be left to resort. The employment of garrison soldiers on repairing the flood-damaged fortifications marks the point where military labour was diverted to public works, a diversion the directors judged indispensable because the island held no separate body of labourers who could be set to the task and the safety of the works could not wait. The passage records the delicate business of easing an ailing governor out of office. The directors' judgement that his loyalty to the service would keep him at his post longer than his health allowed explains why they resolved to press retirement on him rather than wait for him to request it, the concern for his support and his family softening what was in effect a removal. **Speculations** The obvious course with a governor too unwell to serve was to wait for him to ask for leave, as an officer normally would, and the directors record exactly why they did not take it. Judging that his very attachment to the service would stop him from stepping down of his own motion, they chose instead to take the first step themselves, dressing a removal as an invitation and cushioning it with assurances about his merit and his family's support so that a man who would not quit could be brought to go without disgrace.
200	196	resolved, that whenever he shall quit his Government (which. he is hereby at full liberty to do when he himself shall think most proper and convenient) and upon his arrival here to settle upon him £300. a Year for his life as a particular Mark of that favour which such a valuable & distinguished Servant is so perfectly entitled to At such time as Governor Hutchinson shall think proper to make it his election to resign our Service It is Our Order that the Government of St Helena be conferred upon your Lieut. Governor John Skottowe with the same Salary and Appointment as his Predecessor enjoyed. And that the other Members of the Council do continue to act in their present Stations with the Emoluments annexed thereto. untill we shall give further directions on this Subject upon being informed of Mr Hutchinson's resignation as beforementioned Upon the request of your Chaplain Mr Lee to resign our Service from the Indifference of his health We have appointed the Reverend John Thackeray a Gentleman of whom we have universsreceived the most favourable Recommendation to succeed him at the yearly salary of One hundred Pounds. and sixty pounds a Year for it, with an apartment or an allowance for it, and the other usual Emoluments annexed to that Office to commence on his arrival at the Island. not doubting but he will render himself worthy of that consideration with which we are desirous he should be treated. he takes his Passage on the St. Augusta As we suppose Mr Lee will leave the Island by one of the first returning Ships after the	Resolved that whenever he should give up his government, which he was hereby at full liberty to do whenever he himself thought most proper and convenient, a sum of £300 a year would be settled upon him on his arrival here for the rest of his life, as a particular mark of the favour to which so valuable and distinguished a servant was so perfectly entitled. 45: Whenever Governor Hutchinson should think fit to make it his choice to resign the Company's service, it was ordered that the government of St Helena be conferred upon the lieutenant governor John Skottowe, with the same salary and appointments as his predecessor had enjoyed, and that the other members of the council continue to act in their present stations with the emoluments annexed to them, until further directions should be given on this subject once Mr Hutchinson's resignation had been made known as mentioned above. 46: On the request of the chaplain Mr Lee to give up the Company's service on account of his health, the Reverend John Thackeray had been appointed to succeed him, a gentleman of whom the most favourable recommendation had been received. He was to have the yearly salary of one hundred pounds a year, with an apartment or an allowance for it, and the other usual emoluments annexed to the office, to begin on his arrival at the island. There was no doubt he would render himself worthy of the consideration with which the directors wished him to be treated. He took his passage on the Princess Augusta. 47: Since Mr Lee would presumably leave the island by one of the first ships returning after the receipt [...] **Interpretations** The settlement of £300 a year for life on the retiring governor, set beside the £300 a year salary his successor was to draw, shows the Company

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			pensioning a long servant at the full rate of the office he was leaving, a generous provision that reflected both his standing and the difficulty of persuading an ailing man to relinquish a post he would not quit of his own accord. The arrangement for the succession fixed the whole council in place at once, moving Skottowe up to the government while leaving every other member in his present station, so that the transfer of authority on so isolated a settlement could proceed by a single standing order rather than waiting on fresh instructions with each vacancy. The replacement of the chaplain turned on the same practical constraint that governed every appointment to the island: a clergyman leaving for his health could not simply be released, but had to be matched by a named successor sent out with a fixed salary, housing and passage arranged in advance, since no substitute could be found locally once the incumbent had gone.
201	197	receipt hereof. in Order to shew our regard for his Service & Character, We do admit of your continuing the payment of his appointments untill that time For the very particular reasons Assigned in your Letter of the 15th April We do accept of two responsible Persons on the Island under your approval as Security for Britanicus Wrights faithful performance of his Covenant with Us the contrary to Our Established Rules. as the Persons bound ought to be resident and amesnable to the jurisdiction here. The Bond for the execution of Mr Wright's Security is inclosed in one of these Ships Packet and is thereafter to be returned to us by the first Conveyance The Securities which you at the same time advise would proposed in behalf of Capt. Kirkpatrick having not yet been offered he must observe that the Bond which they are to sign is a compact necessarily attending his Civil Station in Our Council and required accordingly On the expiration of Richard Law's Term of Five years as Writer. and his satisfactory discharge of that station the raising him to the Degree of Factor with the allowances proper to that rank. We look upon as an Encouragement which appear to you due to his merit We shall supply you With forty Recruits you advise the Garrison is in want of. having issued the necessary orders for that purpose. and hope to engage better Men than, from the circumstances of former Seasons it was possible to obtain, in the Lists which accompany the Men on the respective Ships, you will find the further particulars proper for your information in respect to them Although we observe that in the course of the last Season the Number of the Military retired exceeds That of those discharged, yet it would have better pleased if the latter	Of this, in order to show the Company's regard for his service and character, the payment of his appointments was allowed to continue until that time. 48: For the very particular reasons given in the council's letter of 15 April, the directors agreed to accept two responsible persons on the island, under the council's approval, as security for Britannicus Wright's faithful performance of his covenant, the contrary being against the Company's established rules, since the persons bound ought to be resident and answerable to the jurisdiction there. The bond for the execution of Mr Wright's security was enclosed in one of these ships packets and was thereafter to be returned by the first opportunity. 49: The securities which the council had at the same time advised were proposed on behalf of Captain Kirkpatrick had not yet been offered, and it was to be observed that the bond they were to sign was a compact necessarily attending his civil station in the council and required accordingly. 50: On the expiry of Richard Law's term of five years as writer and his satisfactory discharge of that station, the raising of him to the degree of factor with the allowances proper to that rank was looked upon as an encouragement that appeared to the council due to his merit. 51: The forty recruits the council advised the garrison wanted would be supplied, the necessary orders having been issued for that purpose. There was a hope of engaging taller men than the circumstances of former seasons had made it possible to obtain. In the lists which accompanied the men on the respective ships the further particulars for information about them would be found. 52: Although in the course of the last season the number of the military who had died exceeded that of those discharged, yet it would have better pleased the directors had [...] **Interpretations** The distinction the directors drew over Britannicus Wright marks the ordinary rule of the Company's bonds: a surety had to be a resident of the place, within reach of the jurisdiction that would enforce the covenant, so that admitting two local persons in his stead was a deliberate exception made only for the particular reasons the council had set out. The bond for Kirkpatrick is treated as inseparable from his seat in the council, an instrument that came with the civil office rather than a private undertaking, so that holding the station and signing the bond were one and the same. The career ranks named here belonged to the Company's fixed ladder of civil service on the island,

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			ascending from writer, the junior clerical grade, to factor, each step carrying its own settled allowances. Advancing Law from the one to the other on the completion of five years and a clean discharge shows promotion used as a calculated encouragement, a reward measured against merit rather than a matter of course. The wish for taller recruits reflects the plain preference of eighteenth-century garrisons for men of greater stature, thought to make more effective soldiers, a preference the Company could rarely satisfy because the men it could enlist for so distant a station were drawn from whatever circumstances allowed. The bare fact that deaths among the garrison had outrun discharges over the season points to the heavy mortality of the island's military establishment, a drain that made the steady supply of fresh recruits a matter of keeping the garrison in being rather than enlarging it.
202	198	had been less Numerous, as they cannot be replaced but at a great expence. and therefore earnestly recommend it to you to prevail on all you can who have compleated the time of their service and are able and good men to renew their Term which we think the Bounty of ten pounds a Sufficient Encouragement for them Voluntarily to do as if the Experiment you made in 1762 by the advance of a small share of it to several who had only some short time to fulfil of their Term was attended with success. it will be very right to fall again upon the same advantageous measure Many of the returning Military have on their arrival applied to us for Relief. which could not be granted as they were discharged at their own request and by their having no Title thereto as Invalids. under such circumstances they should be discouraged from the expectation of any gratuity on their return. There being no Fund with Us applicable towards the assistance of such Persons The Demise of his late Majesty having rendered it necessary for Us to obtain his present Majesty's Warrant empowring Us to Issue the proper Commissions under our Seal relative to the holding of Courts Martial In pursuance of such warrant, We now transmit to you by these Ships our Commissions authorizing you to appoint Courts Martials and to empower the Commander in Chief of Detatched Parties to hold such Courts. although it does not appear you have occasion to make use of this Last the advices We gave you under the 27th November 1754 on the Point of the Mutiny Act make any fresh Instruct. on this respect at present needless Agreeable for the Reasons assigned in your 9th of by the Hardwicke on the Governors report in Consultation	Been fewer, since the men could not be replaced but at great expense. The directors therefore earnestly recommended that the council prevail on all it could who had completed the time of their service, and were all able and good men, to renew it, for which the bounty of ten pounds was thought a sufficient encouragement to do so willingly. The experiment made in 1762, by advancing a small share of pay to several who had only a short time left to serve of their term, had met with success, and it would be very right to fall again upon the same advantageous measure. 53: Many of the returning military had on their arrival applied for relief, which could not be granted, since they had been discharged at their own request and had no title to it as invalids. In such circumstances they were to be discouraged from expecting any gratuity on their return, there being no fund with the Company applicable towards the assistance of such persons. 54: The death of his late Majesty having made it necessary to obtain his present Majesty's warrant empowering the Company to issue the proper commissions under its seal for the holding of courts martial, in pursuance of such warrant the directors now transmitted by these ships their commissions authorising the council to appoint courts martial, and to empower the commander in chief of detached parties to hold such courts. Although it did not appear the council would have occasion to make use of this last power, the advices given under 27 November 1754 on the point of the Mutiny Act made any fresh instruction on this head needless for the present. 55: Agreeable to the reasons given in the council's letter of 9 [...] by the Hardwicke, on the Governor's report in consultation, the [...] **Interpretations** The bounty of ten pounds for re-engagement and the advance of part-pay to men near the end of their term were two levers the Company used to keep soldiers on so distant a station, where a discharged man lost to the passage home could only be replaced at heavy cost. The refusal of relief to those who had taken their discharge at their own request, set against the title an invalid held, marks the sharp line the Company drew between a man broken in its service, to whom something was owed, and one who had simply chosen to go, to whom nothing was, there being no fund provided for the latter. The fresh commissions for holding courts martial followed from the demise of the Crown, since the authority to try soldiers flowed from the royal warrant and lapsed with the sovereign who had granted it, so that each new reign required the whole

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			apparatus to be issued afresh under the Company's seal. The reference back to the earlier instructions on the Mutiny Act shows the island's military discipline resting on the same statutory foundation as the army at home, carried out to St Helena by the Company's own commissions. **Speculations** The directors held a power in their hands they judged the council would not need, the authority to let the commander of a detached party hold courts martial in the field, and chose to send it out all the same. The obvious course was to withhold what had no evident use, yet they transmitted it against the bare possibility that a party might one day be detached beyond the reach of the ordinary court, preferring to arm the council with an idle commission now rather than leave it wanting the instrument in some future circumstance the passage does not foresee.
203	199	the 23 May that our Artillery Company is not at present on a proper Military Plan for the necessary Regulation of this important Corps. which you observe will not be attended with Additional Expency. We direct that the Establishment thereof (under a Capt. as at present) be as follows. Vizt 1 First Lieut. with the usual pay and Allowances 1 Second Lieut. to each of those Ranks 4 Serjeants at Two Shillings a Day each 4 Corporells. One Shilling & Six pence 4 Bombardiers One Shilling & Six pence 8 Gunners. One Shilling and four pence 2 Drummers One Shilling 42 Matross. One Shilling In acknowledgment of the Long Services and your repeated notice of the Merits of Mr Nathan Sampell the late Gunners Mate, We do appoint him First Lieut. of the said Company. and Mr John Welch Cadet. Supposing his Qualifications particularly adapted to this Branch of our Service. whose promotion we recommended to you in our Letter of the 23d February to be the Second Lieut. thereof and that their respective pay and allowances as such do commence from the 17th May being the day the Crittenden arrived with our Advices to you for regulating the Officers of that Company Captain Haribld has drawn upon Us from the Cape for several Sums of Money taken up there for the Purchase of Flour. Cattle. and Sheep for the Island and Necessarys for the Snow Mercury as well appear by an Account herewith transmitted for your information. and that If he has not satisfied you therein he may be called upon for regular Accounts of his Receipts and Disbursements in our behalf. that after a strict examination thereof the	The council's letter of 23 May had observed that the artillery company was not at present on a proper military footing for the necessary regulation of so important a corps, and that setting it right would not involve additional expense. The directors therefore ordered that its establishment, under a captain as at present, be as follows: 1 first lieutenant, with the usual pay and allowances to each of those ranks 1 second lieutenant, with the usual pay and allowances to each of those ranks 4 sergeants at 2s a day each 4 corporals at 1s 6d 4 bombardiers at 1s 6d 8 gunners at 1s 4d 2 drummers at 1s 42 matrosses at 1s 56: In acknowledgement of the long services and the council's repeated notice of the merit of Mr Nathan Sampoll the late gunner's mate, he was appointed first lieutenant of the company, and Mr John Welch, cadet, supposing his qualifications to be particularly suited to this branch of the service and whose promotion the directors had recommended in their letter of 23 February, was made second lieutenant. Their respective pay and allowances as such were to begin from 17 May, the day the Cri[...]den arrived with the directors advices for regulating the officers of that company. 57: Captain Harribel had drawn on the Company from the Cape for several sums of money taken up there for the purchase of flour, cattle and sheep for the island, and necessaries for the snow Mercury, as would appear by an account transmitted for the council's information. If he had not satisfied the council in it, he might be called upon for regular accounts of his receipts and disbursements on the Company's behalf, so that after a strict examination the amount [...] **Interpretations** A matross was the lowest grade of artillery soldier, a private who assisted the gunners in loading, firing and moving the pieces and stood next below a gunner in rank and pay. The establishment set out here fixed the whole artillery company as a graded body, each rank at its own daily rate from the two shillings of a sergeant down to the shilling of a matross, so that the corps could be regulated and paid by a single settled scale rather than by particular arrangement. The backdating of the two officers' pay to 17 May, the day the Crittenden reached the island with the directors instructions, shows how appointments made in London took effect not from the date of the order but from the moment the authorising ship

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			arrived, the voyage itself marking the point at which a distant decision became operative. Captain Harribel's drawing of bills at the Cape to buy flour, cattle and sheep illustrates how the island's provisioning reached beyond its own shipping, a commander empowered to raise money on the Company's credit at the Cape of Good Hope to secure supplies and fit out the Mercury, subject afterwards to a strict audit of what he had received and spent.
204	200	amount may be brought upon the Books, and as he has occasioned us much trouble in the Negotiation of Draughts by making them payable in Holland. you are to inform him thereof & forbid that practice as heretofore experience. here can be no doubt but he may procure Cash sufficient for such purposes on his Bills payable in London You are hereby directed to make a careful Survey of the true State of all the Fortifications and Works upon the Island. the Guns and every thing relative to the defence thereof. and you are to send the same to Us as soon as you have compleatted it. together with your opinion upon the whole. wherein you are particularly to describe all defects and inform us what is necessary to be done and what assistance & Military Stores of all every kind We can give and send you. being determined altho we are now in Peace. and not under any immediate apprehensions of Danger. that the Island shall be at all times in a proper and respectable State of Defence. We now give these directions. because in times of Peace We shall be better able to send you the necessary Supplies The Two Chests of Silver mentioned to be sent in the preceding 28th Paragraph are divided on these Ships. as the Inclosed Invoices and Abstracts in each of their Packets will fully shew London the 16th Novr 1763 We are Your loving Friends signed Rich. Warner Timothy Fuller Charles Chambers William Webber John Brown Geo. Amyand John Manship Rich. Seward G Brooke Hen Hadley John Harrison Willm Snell Christr Barow John Dorrien Lau. Sulivan Fredk Pigou Rob Burrow W. Thornton J Purling	The amount might be brought upon the books, and as he had caused the Company much trouble in the negotiation of his drafts by making them payable in Holland, the council was to inform him of this and forbid the practice in future, as had been done before. Experience left no doubt he could procure cash enough for such purposes on his bills payable in London. 58: The council was directed to make a careful survey of the true state of all the fortifications and works upon the island, the guns and everything relating to its defence, and to send an account of it as soon as it was completed, together with its opinion on the whole. In this the council was particularly to describe every defect, to state what needed to be done and what assistance and military stores of every kind the directors could give and send. Although the Company was now at peace and under no immediate apprehension of danger, it was determined that the island should at all times be in a proper and respectable state of defence. These directions were given now because in time of peace the Company would be the better able to send the necessary supplies. 59: The two chests of silver mentioned to be sent in the preceding 28th paragraph were divided on these ships, as the enclosed invoices and abstracts in each of their packets would fully show. *London*, 16 November 1763. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by Richard Warner, Timothy Fuller, Charles Chambers, William Webber, John Brown, George Amyand, John Manship, Richard Seward, G. Brooke, Henry Hadley, John Harrison, William Snell, Christopher Barrow, John Dorrien, Laurence Sulivan, Frederick Pigou, Robert Burrow, W. Thornton and J. Dorrien. **Interpretations** The objection to bills drawn payable in Holland turned on the added difficulty and cost of negotiating them there, when the same commander could readily raise cash on bills payable in London, the seat of the Company's own credit. Directing that the practice be forbidden shows the directors channelling the island's borrowing back through the one market where their paper was surest and cheapest to honour. The order for a full survey of the fortifications, made expressly in time of peace, reflects a deliberate calculation that the moment to arm and repair was when no enemy pressed, since the shipping and stores needed for the work could be spared then far more easily than in war. The insistence that the island stand always in a respectable state of defence marks the strategic value the Company placed on St Helena as the one secure refreshment and rendezvous on the homeward route from the East.
205	201	Our Governor and Council of St Helena By the arrival the 28th Instant of the Ship Clive off the Isle of Wight. the Prince of Wales reaching the Downs the same day, We received your Letter of the 4th September last	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: By the arrival on 28 September of the ship Clive off the Isle of Wight, the Prince of Wales reaching the Downs the same day, the directors received the council's letter of 4 September last.

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		The detention in the Downes of the Ships Princess Augusta and Duke of Richmond by contrary Winds affords us the opportunity of sending by them the Grain, Annexed you desire towards composing the Medecine for the distemper Cattle, as We have the uneasiness to find you were under the apprehensions of the return of the Malady, they were lately afflicted with, in the removal whereof if it shall prove such We earnestly hope for the best of its effects from the means your prudence suggest to you for that end At the entreaty of the Friends of John Allen a Recruit whom we furnished, you with by the Ship Crittenden. We direct that you grant him his discharge from Our Garrison. with liberty to proceed hither at his own expence. by the first Ship on which he can obtain a passage. under your Order for it. We are Your loving Friends London 30th Novr 1763 (signed) G Brooke Robt Burrow John Manship John Harrison Rich. Warner Charles Chambers John Dorrien Chs Cutts John Brown Hen Hadley J Purling W. Thornton Fredk Pigou Wm Webber	2: The detention in the Downs of the ships Princess Augusta and Duke of Richmond by contrary winds afforded the opportunity of sending by them the grain the council desired towards preparing the medicine for the distemper among the cattle. The directors had felt uneasy on learning that the council was under apprehension of the return of the malady it had lately been afflicted with. If the medicine should prove effective in removing it, they earnestly hoped for the best result from the means the council's prudence suggested to that end. 3: At the entreaty of the friends of John Allen, a recruit whom the directors had furnished by the ship Crittenden, they directed that the council grant him his discharge from the garrison, with liberty to proceed home at his own expense by the first ship on which he could obtain a passage, under the council's order for it. *London*, 30 November 1763. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by G. Brooke, Robert Burrow, John Manship, John Harrison, Richard Warner, Charles Chambers, John Dorrien, Christopher Cutts, John Brown, Henry Hadley, J. Purling, W. Thornton, Frederick Pigou and William Webber. **Interpretations** The chance detention of two homeward ships by contrary winds in the Downs was turned to account by loading them with grain for the island, a reminder that supply to St Helena depended not only on planned sailings but on seizing whatever vessel wind and tide happened to hold within reach. The grain was wanted as an ingredient in a medicine against the cattle distemper, showing how the recurring livestock disease drove the council to remedies compounded on the island from imported materials it could not itself produce. The discharge of the recruit John Allen at the entreaty of his friends, granted only on condition that he bear the cost of his own passage home, marks the limit of such favours: the Company would release a man before his term at the intercession of those at home, but would not carry the charge of returning him, leaving that burden to fall on the soldier or those who pleaded for him.
206	202	Our Governor and Council of St Helena By the Ship Clinton which arrived at Portsmouth the 6th December last, We received your Advices of the preceding 7th October Our last Letter to you was dated the 30th Novr Our Secretary also wrote to You under our Orders on the 13th of the same Month. the 13th December and 3d Instant the latter Advising the Princess Augusta's Springing a Leak. and return to Plymouth The detention of the Augusta by that Accident will make it indispensibly necessary on your part. in consequence of our former recommendations. to give that Ship the quickest dispatch from the Island that there may be as little danger as possible of the loss of her Passage to China There will be no necessity as our Secretary signified by Our Order for your making any provision for the receipt of a Large number of Slaves at the Island as We have since altered our intention for purchasing any from the Coast of Africa. and agreed to employ the Ships Success Capt. David Chrichton and the Fort William Edward Moche in them to Madagascar to procure them there. for the Service of the West Coast	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: By the arrival on 28 September of the ship Clive off the Isle of Wight, the Prince of Wales reaching the Downs the same day, the directors received the council's letter of 4 September last. 2: The detention in the Downs of the ships Princess Augusta and Duke of Richmond by contrary winds afforded the opportunity of sending by them the grain the council desired towards preparing the medicine for the distemper among the cattle. The directors had felt uneasy on learning that the council was under apprehension of the return of the malady it had lately been afflicted with. If the medicine should prove effective in removing it, they earnestly hoped for the best result from the means the council's prudence suggested to that end. 3: At the entreaty of the friends of John Allen, a recruit whom the directors had furnished by the ship Crittenden, they directed that the council grant him his discharge from the garrison, with liberty to proceed home at his own expense by the first ship on which he could obtain a passage, under the council's order for it. *London*, 30 November 1763. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by G. Brooke, Robert Burrow, John Manship, John Harrison, Richard Warner, Charles Chambers, John Dorrien, Christopher Cutts, John Brown,

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		We are greatly Concerned to inform you that the Ship Holdernesse in her way to the Downes run ashore and was stranded near Deale the 11 Instant. yet We are not without hopes that part of the Cargo will be saved. as all the Treasure has been. It is Our intention	Henry Hadley, J. Purling, W. Thornton, Frederick Pigou and William Webber. **Interpretations** The chance detention of two homeward ships by contrary winds in the Downs was turned to account by loading them with grain for the island, a reminder that supply to St Helena depended not only on planned sailings but on seizing whatever vessel wind and tide happened to hold within reach. The grain was wanted as an ingredient in a medicine against the cattle distemper, showing how the recurring livestock disease drove the council to remedies compounded on the island from imported materials it could not itself produce. The discharge of the recruit John Allen at the entreaty of his friends, granted only on condition that he bear the cost of his own passage home, marks the limit of such favours: the Company would release a man before his term at the intercession of those at home, but would not carry the charge of returning him, leaving that burden to fall on the soldier or those who pleaded for him.
207	203	intention to employ one of the Ships already taken up on the Voyage the Earl of Holdernesse was designed. to be dispatched in about a Month or Six Weeks, and to entertain afresh another Ship in the room of that whose Station shall by such means be diverted We are Your loving Friends (signed) London 13th January 1764 John Dorrien Lau. Sulivan John Browne John Harrison J Purling Wm Webber John Manship G Brooke Rich. Warner Henry Hadley George Amyand Charles Chambers Richard Seward Timothy Fuller Christr Barron Robt Burrow W. Thornton Wm Snell	Since the directors intended to employ one of the ships already taken up for the voyage, the Earl of Holdernesse was meant to be dispatched in about a month or six weeks, and another ship engaged afresh in the room of the one whose station would by such means be diverted. *London*, 13 January 1764. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by John Dorrien, Laurence Sulivan, John Brown, John Harrison, J. Purling, William Webber, John Manship, G. Brooke, Richard Warner, Henry Hadley, George Amyand, Charles Chambers, Richard Seward, Timothy Fuller, Christopher Barrow, Robert Burrow, W. Thornton and William Snell.
208	204	Our Governor and Council of St Helena We have the pleasure to find that by the Duke of Richmond and Prince Augusta's safe arrival with you. our several Letters of last Season were duly received Since which we have received your several Advices of the 5th December 1763. 12 and 23 March 11 and 25 April. 5. 12 and 31 May: 10 and 17 June 8 July. 8 and 25 August His Majesty's Ships the Dolphin Commanded by the Honoble Commodore Byron, and the Tamar sailed from Plymouth for the East Indies the 3 July last Since the close of our least Advices. the Earl of Holdernesse was unfortunately lost in her passage to the Downes on the Brake Sand. the Treasure and good part of her Cargo were saved, in whose room the Ship Earl of Elgin Captain	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: The directors had the pleasure to find that by the safe arrival of the Duke of Richmond and Princess Augusta the several letters of last season had been duly received. 2: Since then the directors had received the council's several advices of 5 December 1763, of 2 and 23 March, 11 and 25 April, of 5, 12 and 31 May, of 10 and 17 June, of 3 July and of 3 and 23 August. 3: His Majesty's ships the Dolphin, commanded by the Honourable Commodore Byron, and the Tamar sailed from Plymouth for the East Indies on 3 July last. 4: Since the close of the last advices the Earl of Holdernesse was unfortunately lost on her passage to the Downs on the Brake Sand, though the treasure and a good part of her cargo were saved. In her room the ship Earl of Elgin, Captain Thomas Cooke, was taken up, and with the same consignment she sailed on her voyage on 4 May from Torbay.

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		Thomas Cooke was taken up. and with the same Consignment she sailed on her Voyage the 4 May from Erbay We also took up the Ships Fort William Captain Edward Stock. the Success Capt. Henry Gardiner; Prince of Wales Capt. Burnet Abercromby. and the Lord Anson Capt. George Galbreath each 499 Tons. 70 Men and 26 Guns for the run to India to carry an additional Military Recruit to Bengal. on receiving the disagreable news of the Troubles breaking out there We likewise took up the Ships Salebay Captain William Richardson and Beckenham Capt. Thomas Mattack Burthen each 350 Tons. 70 Men and 26 Guns for the run to India. to proceed first to Madagascar	5: The directors also took up the ships Fort William, Captain Edward Stock, the Success, Captain Henry Gardiner, Prince of Wales, Captain Burnet Abercromby and the Lord Anson, Captain George Galbreath, each of 499 tons, 70 men and 26 guns, for the run to India, to carry an additional military recruit to Bengal on receiving the disagreeable news of the troubles breaking out there. 6: The directors likewise took up the ships Aylesbury, Captain William Richardson and Beckenham, Captain Thomas Matlack, of 350 tons, 70 men and 26 guns each, for the run to India, to proceed first to Madagascar. **Interpretations** The loss of the Earl of Holdernesse on the Brake Sand, a shoal off the entrance to the Downs, with her treasure and most of her cargo recovered, shows the particular hazard of the final approach to the English coast, where a ship that had crossed from the East could still be wrecked within sight of home. The swift substitution of the Earl of Elgin under the same consignment marks how the Company kept a season's shipping to its schedule by replacing a lost vessel at once rather than letting the goods and voyage fall through. The dispatch of four hired ships with an additional military draft for Bengal, prompted by the news of troubles there, ties St Helena's routine correspondence to the wider crisis of the Company's affairs in India, where the fighting that followed the disputes over Bengal was drawing reinforcements out from England. The two further ships routed first to Madagascar were bound for the slave trade there, the same private traffic in which the commanders acted as the Company's agents before continuing to India.
209	205	to procure a sufficient number of Slaves for Our Settlements on the West Coast of Sumatra Since the last Election for Directors. We appointed Thomas Rous Esqr. Vice Chairman; Henry Crabb Boulton Esqr Deputy Chairman. with John Boyd. Chas Cutts. Henry Savage and Laurence Sulivan Esqrs Our Committee of Secrecy who are empowered to take the necessary precautions for the safety of the outward and homeward bound Ships. the Orders therefore they or any three of them shall give for this purpose are to be obeyed by the Governer and any other Person or Persons to whom they are directed The Ships taken up this Season are upon the same Terms and Conditions as those of last year their Consignments, proposed times of departure and other particulars being as follows. first premising that they are each let for 499 Tons. Men and Guns answerable as will appear by the respective Charterparties vizt Ships Dutton. Salisbury. Essex. Tilbury. Royal Captain. Albion. Howsendon. Thames. Grosvenor.	To procure a sufficient number of slaves for the Company's settlements on the west coast of Sumatra. 7: Since the last election for directors, Thomas Rous had been appointed chairman, Henry Crabb Boulton deputy chairman, with John Boyd, Charles Cutts, Henry Savage and Laurence Sulivan as the committee of secrecy. These were empowered to take the necessary precautions for the safety of the outward and homeward bound ships, and the orders they or any of them should give for this purpose were to be obeyed by the Governor and any other person or persons to whom they were directed. 8: The ships taken up this season were upon the same terms and conditions as those of last year, their consignments, proposed times of departure and other particulars being as follows. It was first noted that each was let at 499 tons, with men and guns to match, as would appear by the respective charter parties: Ship *Dutton*, commander David Rea, consigned to St Helena and China, proposed time for dispatch under days, end of November Ship *Salisbury*, commander John Wynne, consigned to St Helena and China, end of November Ship *Essex*, commander Francis Reed, consigned to China directly, end of November Ship *Tilbury*, commander Roger Mainwaring, consigned to Madras and China, under days Ship *Royal Captain*, commander Nathaniel Sanner, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Albion*, commander William Larkins, consigned to the Coast and China, end of December Ship *Howsendon*, commander William Marter, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Thames*, commander Charles Haggis, consigned to Bencoolen and China

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		Ankerwyke. Commanders David Rea John Wyche Francis Reed Roger Mainwaring Nathaniel Sunner Willm Larkins Willm Marter Charles Haggis David Saunders Andrew Ross Robert Brooke Consignment St Helena & China China directly Madt & China Coast & China Bencoolen & China China directly Coast & Bay Time proposed for dispatch inner days End of Novemr End of Novr inner days End of Decemr In Decr	Ship *Grosvenor*, commander David Saunders, consigned to Bencoolen and China Ship *Ankerwyke*, commander Andrew Ross, consigned to China directly, end of December commander Robert Brooke, consigned to Madras, Coast and Bay, in December **Interpretations** The committee of secrecy was a small standing group of directors entrusted with the confidential management of the Company's shipping in time of danger, empowered to route vessels and issue sailing orders that bound even the Governor of St Helena. Vesting this power in a handful of named men reflected the need, in a period of war and predatory cruisers, to keep the movements of richly laden East Indiamen out of wider knowledge, so that the timing and course of the outward and homeward fleets could not leak to an enemy. The uniform letting of every ship at 499 tons was a deliberate device rather than a coincidence of size. Vessels of 500 tons and above were required to carry a chaplain by the Company's standing rules, so entering each ship one ton short of that mark was the standard means of avoiding the obligation, a small evasion practised fleet-wide and visible in the repetition of the exact figure down the list. The consignments show the structure of the season's trade, the ships bound variously for St Helena, the Coast of Coromandel, Bencoolen, Madras and the Bay of Bengal, but nearly all ending at China, the tea trade at Canton being by this date the great object to which the outward voyages were ultimately directed.
210	206	Parson Sunner Charles Berkley John Payne Coast & Bay end of Janry Clive. Fox. Royal Charl. True Briton. Hardwicke. John Allen Alex Hume John Clemente Thoms Crichton Brook Sampson Collingwood Roddam Made & Bombay Bombay & China Bombay & Mocha Bombay End of Febry The following Gentlemen are appointed Supra Cargoes to conduct our Affairs in China vizt Messrs Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount, John Burrow, Nathl Garland William Mackenzie, John Searle, Stephen De Visme; Thomas Smith. Thomas Thomas. William Rous, John Walton. and Thomas Bevan. and Messrs Fitzhugh, Garland. Mackenzie. De Visme. Smith. Rous and Bevan are to continue in China for and to be joined in the Commission that will be established for the management of our Trade there in the Year 1766 The inclosed Lists of the arrival & departure of Shipping will inform you of all particulars since the Princess Augusta's saeling The Company's Ship Royal George Captain	The consignment of the season's remaining ships stood as follows: Ship commander Nathaniel Sanner, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship commander Charles Berkley, consigned to the Coast and Bay, end of January Ship commander John Payne, consigned to the Coast and Bay, end of January Ship *Clive*, commander John Allen, consigned to Madras and Bombay Ship *Fox*, commander Alexander Hume, consigned to Bombay and China Ship *Royal Charlotte*, commander John Clements, consigned to Bombay and Mocha, end of February Ship *True Briton*, commander Thomas Crichton, consigned to Bombay, end of February Ship *Hardwicke*, commander Brook Sampson, consigned to Bombay Ship commander Collingwood Roddam, consigned to Bombay 9: The following gentlemen were appointed supercargoes to conduct the Company's affairs in China: Thomas Fitzhugh, Samuel Blount, John Burrow, Nathaniel Garland, William Mackenzie, John Searle, Stephen De Visme, Thomas Smith, Thomas Thomas, William Rous, John Walton and Thomas Bevan. Of these, Fitzhugh, Garland, Mackenzie, De Visme, Smith, Rous and Bevan were to remain in China, and to be joined in the commission that would be established for the management of the Company's trade there in the year 1766. 10: The enclosed lists of the arrival and departure of shipping would inform the council of all particulars since the Princess Augusta sailed. 11: The Company's ship Royal George, Captain Nicholas Skottowe, of 400 tons, 60 men and 20 guns, was fitting out for a voyage to the coast of Guinea to purchase as many slaves as she could conveniently accommodate. She would soon be ready to proceed on her voyage. She was to call first at St Helena and leave some of them for the

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		Nicholas Skottowe of 499 Tons. 66 Men and 20 Guns is fitting out for a Voyage to the Coast of Guinea to purchase as many Slaves as She can conveniently accommodate. and will be soon ready to proceed on her Voyage. she is to call first at St Helena and leave some of them for the Company's Service there. and is then to make the best	Company's service there, and then to make the best of [...] **Interpretations** Supercargoes were the officers who travelled with the ships and took charge of buying and selling the Company's goods at the far end of the voyage, the commercial counterpart to the commander who worked the ship. The naming of a body of them for China, with a portion to stay resident and form a standing commission from 1766, marks the point at which the Canton trade was passing from the hands of officers who came and went with each ship to a permanent establishment on the spot, a fixed council of supercargoes managing the tea trade continuously through the year. The voyage of the Royal George to the coast of Guinea to buy slaves, calling at St Helena to leave a portion of them, shows the island drawing its bound labour from the Atlantic traffic of West Africa as well as from Madagascar, the vessel dropping some of her cargo for the Company's service on the island before carrying the rest onward. This was slave labour destined to work the Company's ground and fortifications, delivered as an incident of a voyage whose main object lay beyond.
211	207	of her way to Fort Marlborough, We give you this Notice, that you may be ready to receive them and also to give the necessary Refreshment to the others We recommend the dispatcheing these Ships the Dutton and Salisbury within the Charterparty time, and a careful perusal of their Charterparties that you may in all things conform thereto We have continued. agreable to your Request. Our injuctions for the Commanders supplyeing themselves in India with what Jewel they may want in their homeward Voyage We are glad to find by your Letter of 31st May that the Princess Augusta's leak was stopt. which after a most diligent search her could not be affected As there is no further occasion for employing any Vessels upon the St Helena Station. and it appears in particular by your Advices. that the Fly Cutter will be unfit for Service upon her return from Madagascar; you are therefore to break up the Cutter and make what use you think fit of the Materials in any of your Works. and you are forthwith to dispatch the Mercury for England after furnishing her with whatever may be necessary for the Voyage. As to the Fly's Crew some may come in the Mercury and others in any of the homeward bound Ships It has been for a long time a very good and satisfactory Custom for our Governer and Council upon the arrival of every Ship at the Island to collect from the Captain. Officers and Passengers any material Circumstances relative to the Company's Affairs	Of her way to Fort Marlborough. The directors gave this notice so that the council might be ready to receive them, and also to give the necessary refreshment to the others. 12: The directors recommended dispatching the ships Dutton and Salisbury within their charter party time, and a careful perusal of their charter parties so that the council might in all things conform to them. 13: The directors had continued, agreeable to the council's request, their instructions for the commanders supplying themselves in India with whatever fuel they might want on their homeward voyage. 14: The directors were glad to find by the council's letter of 31 May that the Princess Augusta's leak had been stopped, which after a most diligent search could not be found. 15: Since there was no further occasion for employing any vessel upon the St Helena station, and since it appeared in particular by the council's advices that the Fly cutter would be unfit for service upon her return from Madagascar, the council was to break up the cutter and make what use it thought fit of the materials in any of its works. The council was forthwith to dispatch the Mercury for England after furnishing her with whatever might be necessary for the voyage. As to the crew of the Fly, some might come home in the Mercury and others in any of the homeward bound ships. 16: For a long time it had been a very good and satisfactory custom for the Governor and council, upon the arrival of every ship at the island, to collect from the captain, officers and passengers any material circumstances relating to the Company's affairs in India. This, to the directors great disappointment, had been omitted in [...] **Interpretations** The order to break up the Fly cutter and turn her timbers to use in the island's works shows how a vessel worn out in service was not simply discarded but salvaged for a place with a chronic shortage of building material, her fabric passing into the fortifications or other structures once she could no longer swim. With no further need of a dedicated vessel on the station and the Mercury to be sent home, the council was left without a standing ship of its own, its remaining crews dispersed among the homeward Indiamen. The custom of debriefing every arriving ship's captain and officers for intelligence of the

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		in India. This you have to our great disappointment omitted	Company's affairs in India made St Helena a listening post on the homeward route, the one fixed point where news carried by scattered vessels could be gathered and forwarded to London. The directors sharp notice of its lapse marks how much weight they placed on this flow of information, the island's value lying not only in refreshment and defence but in the reports it collected and relayed.
212	208	in your Letter by the Glatton. for notwithstanding the Deptford arrived Seven days before the Glatton sailed. you have not mentioned one word of the Situation of Affairs upon the Coast of Choromandel; We are anxious to hear. what progress had bin made in the Expedition against Woff Cawn. and you might certainly have furnised us with some information thereupon from Colonel Monson who We find was a Passenger in the Deptford. you will take care not to be guilty of such an omission again. but comply with the repeated Directions we have given you on this head We have given due Attention to your several Indents that the Necessities of the Island may be fully supplied. these two Ships are employed to carry the Stores provided as nearly conformable to your Request as could be done consisting of Beef and Pork about. 60 Tons. Coals 20 Chaldrons Flour. 37 Tons Cordage. 6 Do Iron Work for Carriages expected from Bombay 20 Do and several Garrison. General and other Stores for the particulars whereof you are referred to the accompanying Invoices. and Bills of Lading Your sending the Chest of Treasure received. by the Princess Augusta on Twt to China agreable to our recommendation. makes us hope you will continue so proper a measure. if the two Chests now sent. one on each Ship shall with the Bills you may draw on us be more than sufficient	The council's letter by the Glatton had omitted this. For although the Deptford had arrived seven days before the Glatton sailed, the council had not mentioned one word of the situation of affairs upon the coast of Coromandel. The directors were anxious to hear what progress had been made in the expedition against Uloor Cawn, and the council might certainly have furnished some information on it from Colonel Monson, who the directors found had been a passenger in the Deptford. The council was to take care not to be guilty of such an omission again, but to comply with the repeated directions given on this head. 17: The directors had given due attention to the council's several requisitions, so that the necessities of the island might be fully supplied. These two ships were employed to carry the stores provided, as nearly conformable to the council's request as could be done, consisting of: Beef and pork, about 60 tons Coals, 20 chaldrons Flour, 37 tons Cordage, 6 tons Iron work for carriages, expected from Bombay Together with several garrison, general and other stores, for the particulars of which the council was referred to the accompanying invoices and bills of lading. 18: The council's sending the chest of treasure received by the Princess Augusta on to China, agreeable to the directors recommendation, gave them hope the council would continue so proper a measure. The two chests now sent, one on each ship, together with the bills the council might draw, would be more than sufficient [...] **Interpretations** The reproach over the silence on Coromandel shows how heavily the directors leaned on St Helena as a relay for military intelligence from India, expecting the council to question every passing officer, here the failure to draw anything from Colonel Monson of the Deptford about the campaign then in progress being treated as a real dereliction. The island's obligation was not merely to refresh and forward ships but to extract and transmit whatever news of the war those ships carried. A chaldron was a fixed measure for coal, so the twenty chaldrons of coals stood as a settled quantity of fuel rather than an approximate weight. Coal had to be shipped to St Helena in bulk because the island produced none of its own, and its inclusion among the beef, flour and cordage marks the extent to which even the most basic domestic necessities of the settlement depended on supply carried out from England. The routing of chests of treasure onward to China rather than holding them at the island reflects the direction in which silver flowed in the Company's trade, bullion being the means by which tea and other China goods were bought at Canton. St Helena served here as a staging point in that flow, the council forwarding the specie eastward under the directors approval rather than letting it lie idle in its own coffers.
213	209	sufficient for your Current years Expences Your China Indent has been carefully attended	Sufficient for the current year's expenses.

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		to in our Orders to the Council there. if any Amendments shall appear necessary. these Ships will give you an opportunity to acquaint them with your Sentiments On account of the present high price of Pork the quantity Indented for is lessened; but the decrease in this Article is fully made up in the Beef In the Account of Remains you have only given the number of Pieces of Canvas in Store without distinguishing the amount of each number. which must not be omitted in future The Flour we send this Year is bought of a Person with whom we have never before contracted. you are therefore directed to report to us. whether it is equal or superior in goodness to what has heretofore been sent The Garden Seeds we sent last year were of that Summers Growth. and the best that could be procured. the only cause that can be assigned for their proving so bad when delivered. is their long continuance on board the Princess Augusta which was partly owing to her being obliged to dock at Plymouth We are concerned to find that the Lucerne Seed sent you last year had not succeeded. but we hope to hear it throve better the following Season as we observe you intended to make another Tryal of it. we now send you a further quantity of Seed We observe by your Letter of the 11th April last that the	19: The council's China requisition had been carefully attended to in the directors orders to the council there. If any amendments should appear necessary, these ships would give the council an opportunity to acquaint them with its views. 20: On account of the present high price of pork the quantity requisitioned for had been lessened, but the reduction in this article was fully made up in the beef. 21: In the account of remains the council had given only the number of pieces of canvas in store, without distinguishing the amount of each number, which was not to be omitted in future. 22: The flour sent this year was bought of a person with whom the directors had never before contracted. The council was therefore directed to report whether it was equal or superior in goodness to what had been sent before. 23: The garden seeds sent last year were of that summer's growth and the best that could be procured. The only cause that could be assigned for their proving so bad when delivered was their long continuance on board the Princess Augusta, which was partly owing to her being obliged to dock at Plymouth. 24: The directors were concerned to find that the lucerne seed sent last year had not succeeded, but hoped to hear it throve better the following season, and observing that the council intended to make another trial of it, now sent a further quantity of seed. 25: The directors observed by the council's letter of 11 April last that [...] **Interpretations** The adjustment between pork and beef, the one cut back for its high price and the other raised to fill the gap, shows the directors managing the island's provisioning against the London market, substituting one salt meat for another so that the total supply held steady while the cost was contained. The instruction that future accounts of remains distinguish each grade of canvas by amount marks the Company's insistence on precise stock records, since sailcloth came in numbered weights and a bare count told the directors nothing of what the island actually held. The failure of the garden and lucerne seed, traced to the length of the voyage and the ship's enforced stop at Plymouth, illustrates the particular difficulty of carrying living material to St Helena, where seed that would have grown if planted fresh lost its virtue over months at sea. The persistence with the lucerne, a fresh quantity sent after the first had failed, reflects the steady effort to establish fodder crops on the island and reduce its dependence on imported supply, an aim pursued across seasons despite repeated disappointment.
214	210	the Oxsley Captain Vincent brought you some Sheep from the Cape of Good Hope by orders from the President and Council of Bengal; As this appears to us to be a very useful measure. if therefore more are wanted you will signify the same to the several Presidencies. that they may desire the Commanders if they call at the Cape to bring you what Cattle or other Necessaries you may want from thence. the Expences incurred on these Services. you are either to discharge. or refer the payment to us if the Commanders rather choose it In your Letter of the 11th April last we are informed	The *Osterley*, Captain Vincent, had brought some sheep from the Cape of Good Hope by orders from the President and council of Bengal. As this appeared to the directors a very useful measure, if more were wanted the council was to signify the same to the several presidencies, so that they might desire the commanders, if they called at the Cape, to bring whatever cattle or other necessaries the council might want from there. The expenses incurred on these services the council was either to discharge, or to refer the payment to the directors if the commanders rather chose it. 26: The council's letter of 11 April last had informed the directors that the fortifications required the inspection of an engineer, and gave it as the council's opinion that sending one out would be the cheapest and most effectual method to have them put in a proper condition for the security and

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		the Fortifications require the inspection of an Engineer. and you give it as your opinion that the sending one out would be the cheapest and most effectual method to have them put in a proper condition for the security and the defence of the Island, We should have been glad to have had notice sooner. for the longer Works of this kind are deferred. the heavier the Expence must unavoidably be. however to prevent as much as possible the increase of Charges we have agreeable to your Request appointed an Engineer for our Island St Helena vizt Mr Archibald Ritchell or Lieutenant of his Majesty's Artillery a Gentlemen recommended to us as well qualified for that Employ. who accordingly proceeds to his Station in the Salisbury with the rank of Captain as hereafter mentioned As you inform us only in general terms that the Fortifications in your Opinion required the inspection of an Engineer as before noticed. we can only lay down some General	defence of the island. The directors should have been glad to have had notice sooner, since the longer works of this kind were deferred, the heavier the expense must unavoidably be. To prevent as much as possible the increase of charges, they had, agreeable to the council's request, appointed an engineer for the island of St Helena, namely Mr Archibald Mitchell, a lieutenant of His Majesty's artillery, a gentleman recommended as well qualified for that employment, who accordingly proceeded to his station in the Salisbury with the rank of captain as thereafter mentioned. 27: Since the council informed the directors only in general terms that the fortifications in its opinion required the inspection of an engineer as before noted, they could only lay down some general [...] **Interpretations** The arrangement for homeward commanders to lift cattle and other necessaries from the Cape of Good Hope when they called there shows the Company knitting St Helena into a wider provisioning circuit, the ships that touched at the Cape on their passage serving to carry livestock on to the island. The choice offered to commanders, either to be reimbursed on the spot or to refer the charge to London, marks the flexible accounting by which such incidental services were settled, the cost falling where it was most convenient to bear it. The dispatch of a serving artillery officer as engineer, sent out with the enhanced rank of captain to survey and repair the fortifications, reflects the specialised skill the works demanded and the difficulty of finding it on the island. The directors observation that delay only raised the expense, since decaying works cost more to restore the longer they were left, captures the calculation behind acting in peacetime, when both the man and the materials could be spared to set the defences in order before any emergency arose.
215	211	General Instructions and Directions on this occasion. You are to observe then That Captain Mitchell is to act entirely under your Directions. and is to follow your Orders accordingly That he be accordingly directed immediately upon his arrival to take a Survey and make a Plan or Plans of the Island. also Plans or Sketches of all the Fortifications, Buildings and Works. and lay before you a true Statement of their Condition and what is necessary to be done to them. with such Observations upon the whole and every part as shall be thought proper for the better understanding the same That he do in like manner take a Survey of all the Ordnance, Ammunition and Military Stores of all kinds. and Report their Condition. and Whether any. and what additional Supplies are wanting That Copies of such Surveys and Plans be transmitted to us as soon as possible by two Conveyances That you are to consult with Captain Mitchell what Works require to be repaired or done immediately. and give him Orders to proceed upon them accordingly. but you are not to set about any expensive Works. until you have fully and clearly represented to us the necessity of them. together with the time they	General instructions and directions on this occasion. The council was to observe the following: 28: Captain Mitchell was to act entirely under the council's directions, and to follow its orders accordingly. 29: He was to be directed, immediately upon his arrival, to take a survey and make a plan or plans of the island, also plans or sketches of all the fortifications, buildings and works, and to lay before the council a true statement of their condition and what needed to be done to them, with such observations upon the whole and every part as should be thought proper for the better understanding of them. 30: He was in like manner to take a survey of all the ordnance, ammunition and military stores of every kind, and report their condition, and whether any, and what, additional supplies were wanting. 31: Copies of such surveys and plans were to be transmitted to the directors as soon as possible by two conveyances. 32: The council was to consult with Captain Mitchell what works required to be repaired or done immediately, and give him orders to proceed upon them accordingly. The council was not to set about any expensive works until it had fully and clearly represented to the directors the necessity of them, together with the time they would take, and made as near an estimate as possible of what they would amount to. The council was then to wait for the directors orders, which they would send by the first conveyance after. 33: Captain Mitchell was to lay before the council from time to time by letter an account of his progress in the several works, together with

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		will take up. and make as near an Estimate of what they will amount to as possible. You are then to wait for our Orders which we shall send by the first conveyance. after Captain Mitchell is to lay before you from time to time by Letter. an account of his progress in the several Works together with whatever else may be necessary for our Information	whatever else might be necessary for the directors information. Copies [...] **Interpretations** The instructions set out a strict chain of authority over the new engineer, placing his technical skill wholly under the council's civil command while reserving to London every decision of real cost. He might be set at once to survey and to the repairs that could not wait, but no expensive work could begin until the necessity, the time and a close estimate had been laid before the directors and their sanction returned, a sequence that kept the purse firmly in England while the labour proceeded on the island. The demand for full surveys and plans of the fortifications, buildings, ordnance and stores, sent home by two separate conveyances, reflects both the directors wish to see the island's defences plainly set out on paper and the standing precaution against loss at sea, duplicate copies dispatched by different ships so that the failure of one voyage would not destroy the record. The requirement marks the point at which the management of St Helena's works was drawn into a documented routine, the engineer reporting his progress by letter so that a distant board could follow and control building it could not see.
216	212	Copies whereof and your Observations upon them are to be transmitted to us by the earliest Conveyances Our late Governor Mr Hutchinson has laid before us a Paper containing his Sentiments upon the Fortifications. a Copy whereof we now send in duplicate for your Information and guidance. in adopting any part consistently with the beforegoing directions If the Castle which is represented in your Letter of the 8th July to be much out of Repair is not finished. before Captain Mitchell's arrival. nor the Plantation house mentioned in the said Letter. they will in course be objects of his attention The Estimate or Account of Materials for building the Church is so very incorrect that we have ordered the Roof to be framed here agreeable to the Plan you sent. which with the Materials for the Ceiling floor will be sent next Season; what other Articles will be wanting for compleating this work must be particularly described. for instance. the Scantlings and length of the Oak. the same of the Fir exclusive of what will be provided here for the Roof and Ceiling Floor) also the length of each Purbeck Step. the size of the Iron Bars. whether flat or square. with every other Information which may be necessary for procuring the several Articles remaining to be provided. this year only the Purbeck Pavement and Pan-tiles are sent of the several materials mentioned in the estimate We send on these Ships Eighty Tons of Lime Stones to be made use of in the Repairs of the Fortifications and	Copies of these, together with the council's observations upon them, were to be transmitted to the directors by the earliest conveyances. 34: The late governor Mr Hutchinson had laid before the directors a paper containing his views upon the fortifications, a copy of which they now sent in duplicate for the council's information and guidance, in adopting any part consistent with the foregoing directions. 35: If the castle, which the council's letter of 8 July represented to be much out of repair, was not finished before Captain Mitchell's arrival, nor the plantation house mentioned in the same letter, they would in course be objects of his attention. 36: The estimate or account of materials for building the church was so very incorrect that the directors had ordered the roof to be framed in England agreeable to the plan the council sent, which with the materials for the ceiling floor would be sent next season. Whatever other articles would be wanting for completing this work must be particularly described, for instance the scantlings and lengths of the oak, the same of the fir, exclusive of what would be provided in England for the roof and ceiling floor, also the length of each Purbeck step, the size of the iron bars, whether flat or square, with every other information that might be necessary for procuring the several articles remaining to be provided. This year only the Purbeck pavement and pantiles were sent of the several materials mentioned in the estimate. 37: The directors sent on these ships eighty tons of limestone, to be used in the repairs of the fortifications and [...] **Interpretations** The framing of the church roof in England, ordered because the island's own estimate of materials was too faulty to work from, shows how a major structure was in effect prefabricated at home and shipped out ready-made, the roof and ceiling floor built to the plan sent over and carried in a later season. The detailed schedule the directors demanded in return, exact scantlings, timber lengths, the size and shape of every iron bar, reflects the impossibility of correcting any error once the goods had sailed, so that everything had to be specified to the inch before a single article was procured. Purbeck stone and pantiles carried out from England for the church point to the island's lack of

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			suitable building material of its own, the steps and paving cut from a particular English limestone and the roofing tiles both shipped across the world for want of a local substitute. The eighty tons of limestone sent for the fortifications tells the same story from the other side, since without native stone of the right kind even the raw material for mortar and repair had to be brought in by sea, a heavy and continuing charge on the Company's shipping.
217	213	Works. and as the Owners have received them in lieu of Ballast. we have promised that their Ships shall be furnished at the Companys Expence with the same quantity of Ballast if the Commanders shall think it necessary. you are therefore to give them all possible Assistance and Dispatch in taking the Lime Stones out of the Ships. and you are to pay them for the extraordinary expences incurred on this occasion. as also for taking on board ballast in lieu of the said Lime Stones We have long borne with the bad Behaviour of John Bland your present Mason. and for the reasons given in your Letter of the 8th July we think him undeserving of being employed any longer. you are therefore to dismiss him immediately from the Company's Service. and send him to England by the first Ship We have upon the Resignation of Charles Hutchinson Esqr Constituted and Appointed John Skottowe Esqr. to succeed him as Governer and Chief in Council of our Island St Helena who is to act and manage all the Company's Affairs by and with the Advice and Concurrence of the Deputy Governer Daniel Corneille Esqr. Mr Matthew Purling and Capt. Thomas Kithpatrick who are hereby appointed and directed to be of Council in the order they are named. and in case they shall at any time be equally divided in opinion Our Governer is to have the determening Vote We have also Constituted and Appointed Daniel Corneille Esqr to be Lieutenant Governer of the Companys Island of St Helena	The repairs of the works. Since the ships owners had received the limestone in lieu of ballast, the directors had promised that their ships would be furnished at the Company's expense with the same quantity of ballast if the commanders thought it necessary. The council was therefore to give all possible assistance and dispatch in taking the limestone out of the ships, and to pay them for the extraordinary expenses incurred on this occasion, as also for taking on board ballast in lieu of the limestone. 38: The directors had long borne with the bad behaviour of John Bland, the council's present mason, and for the reasons given in the council's letter of 8 July thought him undeserving of being employed any longer. The council was therefore to dismiss him immediately from the Company's service and send him to England by the first ship. 39: Upon the resignation of Charles Hutchinson the directors had appointed John Skottowe to succeed him as Governor and chief in council of the island of St Helena, who was to act and manage all the Company's affairs by and with the advice and concurrence of the deputy governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, who were hereby appointed and directed to be of council in the order they were named. In case they should at any time be equally divided in opinion, the Governor was to have the casting or determining vote. 40: The directors had also appointed Daniel Corneille to be lieutenant governor of the Company's island of St Helena [...] **Interpretations** The promise to replace the limestone with ballast at the Company's charge reflects the plain physics of the voyage, since a ship needed weight low in her hold to sail safely and the stone had been carried in that stead. Once it was unloaded at the island the vessel would ride too light, so the council had to make good the ballast and meet the extra cost, the stone thus serving a double purpose as both cargo and trim on the outward passage. The dismissal of the mason John Bland, borne with over a long period before the council's report finally settled the matter, shows the limited hold the Company had over a skilled tradesman on so remote a station, where a difficult man could not simply be replaced from a local pool and had instead to be shipped home before another could be sent. His trade made his conduct a matter for the directors themselves rather than a local disciplinary question. The settlement of the succession fixed not only the new governor but the whole order of the council beneath him, each member ranked in a named sequence with the governor holding the casting vote in any tie. This careful arrangement of precedence and deadlock shows the directors legislating in advance for the government of a place they could reach only twice a year, leaving as little as possible to be resolved on the spot.
218	214	Helena. also Second in Council and Viewer of the Plantations with the same Appointments as were enjoyed by our present Governer. Mr	Corneille was also made second in council and viewer of the plantations, with the same appointments as the present governor Mr Skottowe had enjoyed when in those stations, namely a salary

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		Skottowe when in those Station vizt. for Salary. Two hundred and fifty pounds. and Diet Money One hundred pounds a year both to commence upon his arrival. he is to be accommodated with regard to his Appartments both in the House in the Valley and the rooms in the Longwood in all respects the same as Mr Skottowe enjoyed. and to have the use of some of our Slaves In case of the Death or Absence of John Skottowe Esqr. Our said Lieutenant Governer Daniel Corneille Esqr. is to succeed as provisional Governer untill our further pleasure is known Our said Lieutenant Governer Mr Corneille takes his Passage on the Salisbury on which Ship we send a Commission under the Companys Seal constituting the Governer and Council in the manner beforementioned Having taken into Consideration the long and faithful Services of Mr Matthew Purling. and being willing to give him all fitting Encouragement. We therefore direct that he be paid a Gratuity of Sixty pounds a year to commence from the receipt of this Letter over and above all the Allowances he at present enjoys. but as this Gratuity is intended as a favour to Mr Purling for his said Services. it is not to be made a precedent of for any Person who shall in future fill. his Stations as one of the Council. and Accountant Upon the Representation given in your Letter of the 23 August last of the Character and Behaviour of Richard	of two hundred and fifty pounds and diet money of one hundred pounds a year, both to begin on his arrival. He was to be accommodated with regard to his apartments both in the house in the valley and the rooms at Longwood, in all respects the same as Mr Skottowe had enjoyed, and to have the use of some of the Company's slaves. 41: In case of the death or absence of John Skottowe, the lieutenant governor Daniel Corneille was to succeed as provisional governor until the directors further pleasure was known. 42: The lieutenant governor Mr Corneille took his passage on the Salisbury, on which ship the directors sent a commission under the Company's seal constituting the governor and council in the manner mentioned above. 43: Having taken into consideration the long and faithful services of Mr Matthew Purling, and being willing to give him all fitting encouragement, the directors directed that he be paid a gratuity of sixty pounds a year, to begin from the receipt of this letter, over and above all the allowances he at present enjoyed. But as this gratuity was intended as a favour to Mr Purling for his services, it was not to be made a precedent for any person who should in future fill his stations as one of the council and accountant. 44: Upon the representation given in the council's letter of 23 August last of the character and behaviour of Richard [...] **Interpretations** The lieutenant governor's remuneration was built from several distinct parts, a salary of £250, diet money of £100, quarters in both the valley house and at Longwood, and the labour of a number of the Company's slaves, showing how a senior post on the island was paid partly in cash and partly in kind. The provision of housing and slave labour as fixed appurtenances of the office reflects a settlement where a market in neither existed, so that the Company supplied directly what an officer elsewhere might have hired. The care taken to grant Purling his gratuity while barring it as a precedent shows the directors distinguishing a personal reward for long service from a permanent charge on the office. By fixing that no future holder of his place could claim the same, they kept control of the establishment's standing cost, allowing themselves to recognise an individual without raising the settled value of the post for all who came after. The rule that the lieutenant governor should step up as provisional governor on the death or absence of Skottowe, holding only until the directors pleasure was known, marks the standing arrangement for continuity of command in a place months distant from London. Authority passed automatically to the next in line, but only on an acting footing, the final confirmation always reserved to the board at home.
219	215	Richard Law one of Our Factors upon the Island We think him unfit to be employed any longer in the Companys Service. he is accordingly to be immediately dismissed. and sent to England In order to fill up the Vacancy occasioned by the said dismission we have at your recommendation appointed Jonathan Doveton now upon the Island to succeed as Youngest Factor. upon the usual Terms and Conditions. he is to execute the Covenants now transmitted which are then to be returned to us. and he is to name	Richard Dunn, one of the Company's factors upon the island, the directors thought unfit to be employed any longer in the service, and he was accordingly to be immediately dismissed and sent to England. 45: In order to fill up the vacancy occasioned by the dismissal, the directors had at the council's recommendation appointed Jonathan Doveton, now upon the island, to succeed as youngest factor upon the usual terms and conditions. He was to execute the covenants now transmitted, which were then to be returned to the directors, and to name two persons in England to be security for his faithful performance of them in the sum of one thousand pounds.

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		two Persons in England to be Security for his faithful performance thereof in the Sum of One thousand pounds As David Moel one of the Writers in our Service has given notice of leaving the Island as appears by your Letter of the 8th August. We do hereby appoint John Goodwin to succeed who is to rank as youngest Writer accordingly. he is to execute the Covenants sent for that purpose and name Securities in England for £300 in like manner. as directed with respect to Mr Doveton We should have had a regard to your recommendation of Richard Powell. had we not been informed he is too young at present to be appointed a Writer We send this Year Sixty Recruits for the Service of your Garrison. the Lists in the Ships Packets will inform you of further particulars The Friends of William Hibert a Soldier belonging to your Garrison having desired he may be discharged. and engaging to defray here all the Expences which may be incurred thereby You are accordingly to discharge and suffer him to return to England	46: Since David Mitchell, one of the writers in the Company's service, had given notice of leaving the island as appeared by the council's letter of 8 August, the directors hereby appointed John Goodwin to succeed, who was to rank as youngest writer accordingly. He was to execute the covenants sent for that purpose and name securities in England for £500 in like manner, as directed with respect to Mr Doveton. 47: The directors should have had a regard to the council's recommendation of Richard Powell, had they not been informed he was too young at present to be appointed a writer. 48: The directors sent this year sixty recruits for the service of the garrison. The lists in the ships packets would inform the council of further particulars. 49: The friends of William Hibert, a soldier belonging to the garrison, having desired he might be discharged and engaging to defray all the expenses which might be incurred thereby, the council was accordingly to discharge him and suffer him to return to England [...] **Interpretations** The graded bonds required of the two new appointments, £1,000 from the factor and £500 from the writer, show the Company scaling the security it demanded to the rank and the money each man would handle, the more senior post carrying the heavier surety. Requiring the guarantors to be resident in England, within reach of the courts there, marks the same principle seen throughout these appointments, that the persons answerable for a servant's honesty had to stand where the Company could enforce the bond, whatever distant station the servant himself occupied. The refusal to appoint Richard Powell on the sole ground of his youth shows the Company applying a settled expectation of age to entry into its civil service, declining a recommendation the council had made rather than admit a boy thought too young for even the junior grade. The writer's place was the bottom rung of a career ladder, and the directors guarded the point of entry accordingly. The discharge of the soldier Hibert at his friends request and their charge illustrates once more the fixed limit on such favours, the Company willing to release a man before his time at the intercession of those at home but never to bear the cost of returning him. The burden of the passage fell on the petitioners, the release granted only once they had undertaken to meet every expense it entailed.
220	216	England upon the receipt of this Captain Mitchell is to continue at St Helena in the Station of the Company's Engineer so long as it may be necessary to inspect and put in a proper condition the Fortifications and Works. in the manner beforementioned His Appointments for the said Service is to be Two hundred pounds a year for Salary or Pay. One hundred pounds a year for Diet Money. And an Allowance of Ten pounds a year for House Rent. to be paid quarterly according to the usual Custom of the Island. all which are to commence upon his arrival Upon his arrival he is to take Rank as Captain though without any Emoluments as such) next below the Captain who shall be the youngest at the time of his said	To England upon the receipt of this. 50: Captain Mitchell was to continue at St Helena in the station of the Company's engineer so long as it might be necessary to inspect and keep in a proper condition the fortifications and works, in the manner mentioned above. 51: His appointments for that service were to be two hundred pounds a year for salary or pay, one hundred pounds a year for diet money, and an allowance of ten pounds a year for house rent, to be paid quarterly according to the usual custom of the island, all to begin upon his arrival. 52: Upon his arrival he was to take rank as captain, though without any emoluments as such, next below the captain who should be the youngest at the time of his arrival. In case any captain or captains should be appointed after that time, he was to take rank of such newly constituted captain or captains. 53: When Captain Mitchell had completed the business he was to execute at St Helena, the directors had promised to employ him as an engineer or artillery officer at any of the Company's

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		arrival. and in case any Captain or Captains shall be after that time appointed. he is to take Rank of such new constituted Captain. or Captains When Captain Mitchell has compleated the Business he is to execute at St Helena. we have promised to employ him as an Engineer or Artillery Officer at any of the Company's Settlements in the East Indies. where his Services may be necessary. You are therefore to give us timely notice when the said Business is finished. or at least when he shall not be further wanted upon the Island. that we may comply with our said promise We have made the usual Allowance to the Owners of the Salisbury for his passage to St Helena & presented him with Fifty pounds to settle with the Commander for Fresh	settlements in the East Indies where his services might be necessary. The council was therefore to give timely notice when the business was finished, or at least when he should not be further wanted upon the island, so that the directors might comply with their promise. 54: The directors had made the usual allowance to the owners of the Salisbury for his passage to St Helena, and presented him with fifty pounds to settle with the commander for fresh [...] **Interpretations** Mitchell's pay was assembled from the same distinct elements that made up the lieutenant governor's, a salary, diet money and a housing allowance, each set as a separate annual figure and settled quarterly by the island's usual practice. Granting his ten pounds for house rent in cash, rather than lodging him directly as more senior officers were lodged, reflects his standing below the governing ranks, paid to find his own quarters where they were furnished theirs. The grant of captain's rank without a captain's pay, and his careful placing just below the junior serving captain, shows the Company giving its engineer the standing his work among the garrison required while withholding the additional cost. Rank here was a matter of authority and precedence over the men and works rather than of remuneration, the fixed position in the order of seniority mattering for command even where it carried no extra money. The undertaking to move Mitchell on to any Indian settlement once his work at St Helena was done marks the treatment of a scarce technical officer as a mobile asset across the whole of the Company's eastern establishments. His skill was too valuable to release at the end of a single posting, so the directors reserved his future service in advance and required the council to give warning the moment the island could spare him, that no interval be lost before he was set to work elsewhere.
221	217	Fresh Provisions. and to furnish himself with other Necessaries. therefore you are to pay him nothing on the said Accounts The Instruments we send out for his use has been paid for by us. and consequently belong to the Company We have lent to Captain Mitchell the Sum of One hundred and fifty pounds upon his Bond which is to be repaid out of his growing Salary. at such time and in such proportions as may be convenient to him; and as his Circumstances will best admit of. when the whole is discharged you will deliver him the Bond which you will receive in the Salisbury Packet We do for the reasons given in your Letter of the 10th June. dispense with your sending the List of Officers and Servants. only by every other conveyance We approve your Proceedings against Robert Ballard and John Baptist Kitchland. and we hope others will be prevented from committing the like Offences. and be the means of maintaining Good Order. and due Respect and Obedience being paid to your Authority It has been intimated to us that there are some Persons who having served their Contracted Time as Soldiers and refused to enter	Fresh provisions and to furnish himself with other necessaries, so the council was to pay him nothing on those accounts. 55: The instruments sent out for his use had been paid for by the directors, and consequently belonged to the Company. 56: The directors had lent Captain Mitchell the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds upon his bond, which was to be repaid out of his growing salary, at such times and in such proportions as might be convenient to him and as his circumstances would best admit. When the whole was discharged the council was to deliver him the bond, which it would receive in the Salisbury packet. 57: For the reasons given in the council's letter of 10 June the directors dispensed with the council's sending the list of officers and servants except by every other conveyance. 58: The directors approved the council's proceedings against Robert Ballard and John Baptist Kitchland, and hoped others would be prevented from committing the like offences. This would be the means of maintaining good order, and of due respect and obedience being paid to the council's authority. 59: The directors had been informed that certain persons who, having served their contracted terms as soldiers and refused to enter again into the Company's service, lived idle and profligate lives upon the island. As such persons were prejudicial to the community, the council was to send them to England by the first ships. 60: Mr Charles Hutchinson Purling, whom the directors had appointed a writer upon the Bengal establishment, had their permission to take his

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		again into our Service. live Idle and Profligate Lives upon the Island; as such Persons are prejudicial to the Community. you are to send them to England by the first Ships Mr Charles Hutchinson Purling whom we have appointed a Writer upon the Bengal Establishment. has our permission to take his Passage on the Salisbury bound first to St Helena. and from thence to China upon his arrival at	passage on the Salisbury, bound first to St Helena and from there to China, upon his arrival at [...] **Interpretations** The loan of £150 to Mitchell on his bond, repayable from his salary as his means allowed, shows the Company advancing money to establish a servant in a distant post and then recovering it gradually from his own pay, a arrangement that both eased his settling in and bound him further to the service until the debt was cleared. The care to note that his tools and instruments, bought at the Company's charge, remained the Company's property marks the same accounting instinct, drawing a clear line between what was lent, what was paid for and what belonged to whom. The order to ship home former soldiers who had refused re-engagement and fallen into idle living reveals the Company's view of the island as a controlled community in which no idle population could be tolerated. A man who would neither serve nor work was seen as a positive danger to good order on so small a settlement, and the remedy was removal, the discharged soldier who did not re-enlist being put aboard the first ship rather than left to drift ashore. The approval of the proceedings against Ballard and Kitchland, framed expressly as a deterrent to others, shows the directors backing the council's disciplinary authority as the foundation of order on the island. Punishment was valued not only for its effect on the offenders but for the example it set, the maintenance of respect and obedience to the council's power being treated as essential to governing a place so far beyond the reach of any other authority.
222	218	at Canton. he is at his own expence to take the opportunity of the first good Conveyance to make the best of his way to his Station in Bengal We are Your loving Friends (signed) London 21st Novemr 1764 Thos Rous H. Crabb Boulton Cha Cutts John Harrison John Manship Peter Du Cane. junr Fredk Pigou Geo. Dudley Wm Snell G Brooke Hen. Savage Purling Wm Webber Hen Hadley Christ. Baron Charles Chambers George Cuming Robt Burrow W. Snostong John Roberts Rich. Smith	At Canton he was at his own expense to take the opportunity of the first good conveyance to make the best of his way to his station in Bengal. *London*, 21 November 1764. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by Thomas Rous, Henry Crabb Boulton, Charles Cutts, John Harrison, John Manship, Peter Du Cane junior, Frederick Pigou, George Dudley, William Snell, G. Brooke, Henry Savage, Purling, William Webber, Henry Hadley, Christopher Barrow, Charles Chambers, George Cuming, Robert Burrow, W. Thornton, John Roberts and Richard Smith.
223	219	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Our last Letter to you was under date of the 21st Instant by the Ship Dutton. a Duplicate whereof comes enclosed We informed you in Our last that we had Ordered the Ship	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: The directors last letter to the council was dated 21 of this month, by the ship Dutton, a duplicate of which came enclosed. 2: The directors had informed the council in their last that they had ordered the ship Royal George to the coast of Guinea to supply the council and the Company's settlements on the west coast

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		Royal George to the Coast of Genea for to supply you and our Settlements on the West Coast with a sufficient number of Slaves We have consigned to you for their use Thirty Canks of Pias of Eight Bushals each on these Ships the Dutton. and Salisbury. such part that may not be wanted is to be put on board the Royal George if the Commander desires it. also Jackets Breeches Shirts and Blankets are now sent for their use London 23th Novemb. 1764 We are Your loving Friends signed Wm Webber William Snell John Harrison John Roberts Peter Dubane junr Hen Hadley Charles Chambers Christ. Baron Robt Burrow Thos Rous H. Crabb Boulton Cha Cutts Fredk Pigou Hen Savage John Manship Geo. Dudley J Purling G Brooke George Cumming Rich. Snell	with a sufficient number of slaves. They had consigned to the council for their use thirty casks of peas of eight bushels each on the ships Dutton and Salisbury, such part as might not be wanted to be put on board the Royal George if the commander desired it. Also jackets, breeches, shirts and blankets were now sent for their use. *London*, 23 November 1764. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by William Webber, William Snell, John Harrison, John Roberts, Peter Du Cane junior, Henry Hadley, Charles Chambers, Christopher Barrow, Robert Burrow, Thomas Rous, Henry Crabb Boulton, Charles Cutts, Frederick Pigou, Henry Savage, John Manship, George Dudley, Purling, G. Brooke, George Cuming and Richard Snell. **Interpretations** The peas shipped in thirty casks, with the surplus to be transferred to the Royal George if her commander wished, were sent partly as provisions for the slaving voyage itself, dried peas being a staple of the food carried to feed slaves on the Atlantic passage to the west coast settlements. The clothing sent in the same consignment, the jackets, breeches, shirts and blankets, was the coarse apparel issued to the Company's slaves on the island, supplied from England because St Helena produced no cloth of its own and the labour force had to be clothed as well as fed at the Company's charge.
224	220	Our Governour and Council of St Helena Since the close of our short Letter of the 2d Ultimo Captain Mitchell recommending William Seelbrook as a very capable Person for Master Mason of our Island St Helena. we have accordingly entertained him as such for the term of five years at the Salary of one hundred and twenty pounds a year. in full for Wages. Diet Money. House Rent and all other Allowances whatsoever to commence on his arrival. We have given him a Gratuity of Fifteen Guineas and permitted him to take his Wife and Child the Company having paied the Owners for their passage. Several Tools for the Masons use at St Helena are now sent as will appear by the Salisbury's Invoice As we have determined to send a large Reinforcement of Troops to our Presidencies of Fort St George and Bengal we have taken up the Ship Hector to assist in transporting the same. having hired her for the run to India only We have also entertained Thomas Riely as a Mason for St Helena at Seventy eight pounds a year in full for Wages & all other Allowances whatsoever. to commence on his arrival. he takes passage on the Salisbury London 5 Decemb 1764 We are Willm Darwell	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: Since the close of the directors short letter of 2 last month, Captain Mitchell having recommended William Colebrook as a very capable person for master mason of the island of St Helena, they had accordingly engaged him as such for the term of five years at the salary of one hundred and twenty pounds a year, in full for wages, diet money, house rent and all other allowances whatever, to begin on his arrival. They had given him a gratuity of fifteen guineas and permitted him to take his wife and child, the Company having paid the owners for their passage. Several tools for the mason's use at St Helena were now sent, as would appear by the Salisbury's invoice. 2: Since the directors had determined to send a large reinforcement of troops to the presidencies of Fort St George and Bengal, they had taken up the ship Hector to assist in transporting the same, having hired her for the run to India only. 3: The directors had also engaged Thomas Piety as a mason for St Helena at seventy eight pounds a year, in full for wages and all other allowances whatever, to begin on his arrival. He took his passage on the Salisbury. *London*, 5 December 1764. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by William Dawney, Charles Cutts, George Cuming, Robert Burrow, Christopher Barrow, John Harrison, John Manship, Charles Chambers, Peter Du Cane junior, William Webber, Thomas Rous, Henry Crabb Boulton, Henry Savage and Frederick Pigou. **Interpretations** The engagement of two masons in quick succession, Colebrook as master at £120 a year and Piety under him at £78, followed directly from the

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		Cha Cutts George Cuming Robt Burrow Christ Baron John Harrison John Manship Charles Chambers Peter Dubane. Junr Wm Webber Your loving Friends (signed) Tho. Rous H. Crabb Boulton H. Savage Fredk Pigou	dismissal of the troublesome John Bland and the great programme of stone building then in prospect on the island. With a new church to raise and the fortifications to repair, skilled stoneworkers were the trade most in demand, and the directors filled the gap at once, engaging both men in England on fixed five-year terms because no such craftsmen could be found on St Helena itself. The permission granted to the master mason to bring his wife and child at the Company's charge, set against the plain hiring of his subordinate, shows how the Company used family passage as an inducement to secure a valued man for a long posting to a remote island. Carrying a servant's family across the world was a real expense, extended here to bind a capable tradesman to a five-year engagement, the difference in treatment between the two masons reflecting the difference in the value placed on each.
225	221	Our Governor and Council of St Helena In consequence of the Intimations we gave you in our Letter of the 21 of last month the Ship Royal Geore is now under dispatch for the Coast of Angola. to purchase a number of Slaves for the use of our Island St Helena. and our Settlements upon the West Coast of Sumatra. under the management of Captain Nicholas Skottowe and the Chief Mate Mr John Tolme. or the Captain and Chief Mate for the time being. who we have appointed Agents for that purpose The Agents are ordered to purchase Two hundred and fifty Slaves or such part thereof as the Ship can conveniently accommodate which are to be consigned to you by Invoice and Bills of Lading; One hundred whereof are intended for our Island St Helena and one hundred and fifty for our Settlements on the West Coast. but if our Agents shall not be able to procure the whole number. you are hereby positively ordered and directed to consign One hundred and fifty to our President and Council at Fort Marlborough and the difference between One hundred and fifty and the number procured. are to be left with you We have agreed to allow Our Agents the following Commissions or Rewards vizt To Captain Nicholas Skottowe Seven Shillings. and five Shillings to Mr John Tolme a head for so many Slaves as shall be shipped on the Coast of Angola; also for every one delivered at St Helena the said Commander is to be further paid Seven Shillings and sixpence. and the Chief Mate	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: In consequence of the intimations the directors gave in their letter of 21 last month, the ship Royal George was now under dispatch for the coast of Angola, to purchase a number of slaves for the use of the island of St Helena and the Company's settlements upon the west coast of Sumatra, under the management of Captain Nicholas Skottowe and the chief mate Mr John Tolme, or the captain and chief mate for the time being, whom the directors had appointed agents for that purpose. 2: The agents were ordered to purchase two hundred and fifty slaves, or such part as the ship could conveniently accommodate, which were to be consigned to the council by invoice and bills of lading. One hundred of these were intended for the island of St Helena and one hundred and fifty for the settlements on the west coast. But if the agents should not be able to procure the whole number, the council was positively ordered and directed to consign one hundred and fifty to the President and council at Fort Marlborough, and the difference between one hundred and fifty and the number procured was to be left with the council. 3: The directors had agreed to allow their agents the following commissions or rewards, namely to Captain Nicholas Skottowe fifteen shillings, and five shillings to Mr John Tolme a head, for as many slaves as should be shipped on the coast of Angola. Also for every one delivered at St Helena the commander was to be further paid seven shillings and sixpence and the chief mate [...] **Interpretations** The order of priority the directors fixed between the two destinations reveals which claim they held the more pressing. Should the full complement fall short, the island was to yield first, its hundred cut back so that the west coast settlements received their hundred and fifty entire, Fort Marlborough's need for labour on the Sumatran pepper coast being treated as the firmer commitment and St Helena taking only the remainder. The council's own share was thus made the residual figure, whatever the voyage returned above the settlements portion. The scale of commissions payable to the commander and mate shows the slaving voyage run on a system of piece rewards that turned the ship's officers into interested agents of the trade. A payment per head on every slave shipped at Angola, with a further and larger sum for each landed alive at St Helena, tied the officers earnings directly to the number they carried and the number they kept alive across the passage, the higher delivery rate placing a

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			plain premium on bringing the cargo through the voyage rather than merely embarking it. **Speculations** Faced with the likelihood that the ship might not procure the whole two hundred and fifty, the directors had to decide where any shortfall should fall, and chose to protect the settlements rather than the island. The obvious division would have held both allocations in proportion, each losing a share if the number came up short, yet they ordered instead that Fort Marlborough receive its full hundred and fifty and St Helena absorb the entire deficiency, the positive and emphatic wording of the instruction marking how deliberately the island was subordinated to the labour needs of the west coast pepper trade.
226	222	Mate Two shillings and sixpence which Rewards you are to pay in the following manner vizt The Commission of fifteen Shillings to the Captain and five shillings to the Chief Mate is to be paid them by you for the whole number purchased at Angola as well those for St Helena as those for Fort Marlborough. and the Commission of Seven Shillings and six pence to the Captain and Two shillings and six pence to the Chief Mate you are to pay them for those only that shall be kept with you You are hereby also directed to pay to the Surgeon of the Ship Ten shillings a head for so many of the said Slaves as shall be delivered at your Island We enclose for your fuller Information Copies of Captain Skottowe's Covenants with the Company His Instructions as Commander of the Royal George. also those to the Agents for providing a Cargo of Slaves. and several other papers relating to this Ship. all which you are to forward on her to our President and Council of Fort Marlborough You are to call upon the Captain for the Original Diary and Accounts Signed by the Commander and Chief Mate for the time being. as also Copies of the same signed in like manner which you are to send to us by two different Conveyances You are as soon as the Slaves are properly refreshed and the Ship compleately furnished with Provisions and Necessaries for the Voyage to dispatch her directly to Fort Marlborough You are to send Accounts of the Quantities and Value	The chief mate was to be paid two shillings and sixpence, which rewards the council was to pay in the following manner. The commission of fifteen shillings to the captain and five shillings to the chief mate was to be paid for the whole number purchased at Angola, as well those for St Helena as those for Fort Marlborough. The commission of seven shillings and sixpence to the captain and two shillings and sixpence to the chief mate the council was to pay for those only that should be kept with it. 4: The council was hereby also directed to pay to the surgeon of the ship ten shillings a head for as many of the slaves as should be delivered at the island. 5: The directors enclosed, for the council's fuller information, copies of Captain Skottowe's covenants with the Company, his instructions as commander of the Royal George, also those to the agents for providing a cargo of slaves, and several other papers relating to this ship, all which the council was to forward on her to the President and council of Fort Marlborough. 6: The council was to call upon the captain for the original diary and accounts signed by the commander and chief mate for the time being, as also copies of the same signed in like manner, which it was to send to the directors by two different conveyances. 7: As soon as the slaves were properly refreshed and the ship completely furnished with provisions and necessaries for the voyage, the council was to dispatch her directly to Fort Marlborough. 8: The council was to send accounts of the quantities and value [...] **Interpretations** The inclusion of the ship's surgeon in the scale of head payments, ten shillings for every slave landed alive at the island, shows the medical man drawn into the same system of piece rewards as the commander and mate. Tying his pay to the number delivered living gave him a direct stake in keeping the slaves alive across the Atlantic passage, the Company using the surgeon's self-interest to reinforce the survival of a cargo whose loss to disease and confinement was otherwise heavy. The instruction to pause at St Helena so the slaves might be properly refreshed before the ship sailed on to Fort Marlborough marks the island's function as a recovery station in the middle of a long and deadly voyage. Slaves worn down by the Atlantic crossing were rested and fed there before the further passage to Sumatra, the stop serving to restore a human cargo much as the island refreshed the crews and provisions of the Company's ordinary Indiamen. The demand for the ship's diary and accounts, signed by both officers and sent home in duplicate by separate ships, reflects the close scrutiny the directors kept over a voyage run on commission. Since the officers were paid by the head, their own

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			record of numbers embarked, died and delivered was the basis on which they would be rewarded, so the Company required the original and a copy by different conveyances, guarding both against loss at sea and against any single unverified account of the trade.
227	223	Value of all you supply the Ship with as well Goods as Stores properly Authenticated to our President and Council at Fort Marlborough As the Ship Royal George is the Company's. she is to be employed so long upon the West Coast as the President and Council shall think proper. then they are directed to send her to Bombay where she is to be disposed of on the Company's Account We are Your Loving Friends London 12th Decem. 1764 (signed) Tho. Rous Cha Cutts Henr. Savage Christ. Baron Fredk Pigou George Cumming Willm Boswell Robt Burrow Charles Chambers Wm Webber Peter DuCane Junr John Harrison J Purling Hen Hadley John Roberts William Snell Rich. Smith	The value of everything the council supplied the ship with, both cash and stores, properly authenticated, was to be sent to the President and council at Fort Marlborough. 9: Since the ship Royal George was the Company's own, she was to be employed as long upon the west coast as the President and council thought proper, and then they were directed to send her to Bombay, where she was to be disposed of on the Company's account. *London*, 12 December 1764. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by Thomas Rous, Charles Cutts, Henry Savage, Christopher Barrow, Frederick Pigou, George Cuming, William Boswell, Robert Burrow, Charles Chambers, William Webber, Peter Du Cane junior, John Harrison, Purling, Henry Hadley, John Roberts, William Snell and Richard Smith. **Interpretations** The disposal of the Royal George at Bombay once her work on the west coast was done shows the Company treating a vessel it owned outright as a realisable asset rather than a permanent fixture. Unlike the hired Indiamen taken up for a single season and returned to their owners, a Company-owned ship could be sent on from one service to another and finally sold at an eastern port, her value recovered on the Company's own account when she was no longer wanted for the trade she had been built or bought to carry.
228	224	Our Governor and Council of St Helena The Dutton and Salisbury having safely arrived with you inclosure our several Letters of last Season were duly received vizt 21st and 28 November and the 5 and 12 December 1764 We are to acknowledge the receipt of your several Letters of the 20 January; & 25 March; 2 7 and 21 April. 2. 6. 12 and 31 May. 10 and 25 June. 14 July. 4. 17 & 26 Aug. Try. left and also Letters from our Governor under date of the 30 May. 25 June and 1 August 1765 The following Gentlemen are our Secret Committee for the present Year vizt Henry Crabb Boulton Esqr. Chairman. George Dudley Esqr. Deputy Chairman. with Charles Cutts. Robert Jones. Thomas Rous and Henry Savage Esqrs who are empowered to take the necessary precautions for the safety of the Outward and Homeward bound Ships. their Orders therefore or those of any three of them. are to be obeyed by the Governor or any other Person or Persons to whom they may be directed We have taken up the following Ships for this Season's	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: The Dutton and Salisbury having safely arrived, the directors several letters of last season were duly received, namely of 21 and 28 November and of 5 and 12 December 1764. 2: The directors acknowledged the receipt of the council's several letters of 20 January, of 23 March, of 2 and 21 April, of 2, 6 and 12 and 31 May, of 10 and 25 June, of 1 and 6 July, of 4, 17, 19 and 26 August, and also letters from the Governor dated 30 May, 25 June and 1 August 1765. 3: The following gentlemen were the secret committee for the present year, namely Henry Crabb Boulton chairman, George Dudley deputy chairman, with Charles Cutts, Robert Jones, Thomas Rous and Henry Savage, who were empowered to take the necessary precautions for the safety of the outward and homeward bound ships. Their orders, or those of any three of them, were to be obeyed by the Governor or any other persons to whom they might be directed. 4: The directors had taken up the following ships for this season's export, their consignments, proposed times of departure and other particulars being as follows. It was first noted that each was let at 499 tons, with men and guns to match, as would appear by the respective charter parties: Ship *Ramsay*, commander William Peters, consigned to St Helena and China, under dispatch Ship *Earl of Ashburnham*, commander Thomas Pearce, consigned to St Helena and China, under dispatch

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		Export. their Consignments. proposed times of departure and other particulars are as follows. first premising that they are each let for 499 Tons. Men and Guns answerable as will appear by the respective Charterparties Ships Rodney Adm of Trades Earl of Ashburham Neptune Grafton Commanders William Peters Jonathan Court Thomas Pearce Gabriel Steward Richard Doreton Consignments St Helena & China Coast & China Proposd times departure Under Dispatch about the middle December	Ship *Nottingham*, commander Gabriel Steward, consigned to the Coast and China, about the middle of December Ship *Stanton*, commander Richard Doveton, consigned to the Coast and China, about the middle of December **Interpretations** The uniform letting of each ship at 499 tons was again the deliberate device it had been in earlier seasons, entering every vessel one ton below the 500-ton line at which the Company's rules required a chaplain to be carried. The exact repetition of the figure down the list marks a fleet-wide practice rather than any real measure of the ships, the odd single ton shaved off each to escape the obligation. The renewal of the secret committee, a small group of named directors empowered to route the outward and homeward fleets and to bind even the Governor of St Helena by their orders, points to the continuing danger to the Company's shipping in these years. Concentrating the confidential direction of sailings in a handful of hands was the standing precaution against the movements of richly laden Indiamen becoming known to an enemy, the committee's authority reaching out to every officer through whose hands the ships passed.
229	225	Speres. William Larkins Hampshire John Smith Duke of Kingston Richard Morrison Coast & China about end December Brittannia Thomas Deeks Rous. Madeira and Coast & Bay about middle Decembr Clifford Jelliam Hayen Duke of Cumberland. Alphonus Glover China abt the beginning Janury Hanannah Thomas Medge Hawke John Cotton Bencoolen & China middle of January Crittenden. John Rowland Madeira and Coast and Bay Pigot George Richardson Teneniffe and Coast and Bay Lord Camden Nathaniel Smith. Coast and Bay beginning February Speaker James Denvar. Madeira and Bombay Duke of Albany James Haldane Nottingham Thomas Howe Anson Edward Lord Chick Bombay beginning of Febry beginning of march Devonshire Andrew Wyche Osterley Frederick Vincent Bombay and China The Ships taken up this Season are on the same Terms and Conditions. as those of last year excepting that the Freights are twenty shillings per Ton less and the rate of Demorage is proportionaly lowered The Charterparties enclosed in the Packets will inform you of the Terms and Conditions on which the Rodney and Prince of Wales are taken up. to which you are carefully to attend and comply with particularly as to dispatching them within time We have appointed the following Gentlemen to be	The season's further ships stood as follows: Ship *Grosvenor*, commander William Larkins, consigned to the Coast and China, about end December Ship *Hampshire*, commander John Smith, consigned to the Coast and China, about end December Ship *Duke of Kingston*, commander Richard Morrison, consigned to the Coast and China, about end December Ship *Britannia*, commander Thomas Deeks, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and Bay, about middle December Ship *Stafford*, commander William Hayes, consigned to China, about the beginning of January Ship *Duke of Cumberland*, commander Alphonsus Glover, consigned to China, about the beginning of January Ship *Hawannah*, commander Thomas Madge, consigned to Bencoolen and China, middle of January Ship *Hawke*, commander John Cotton, consigned to Bencoolen and China, middle of January Ship *Crittenden*, commander John Rowland, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and Bay, middle of January Ship *Pigot*, commander George Richardson, consigned to Tenerife, the Coast and Bay, beginning of February Ship *Lord Camden*, commander Nathaniel Smith, consigned to the Coast and Bay, beginning of February Ship *Speaker*, commander James Dewar, consigned to Madeira and Bombay, beginning of February Ship *Duke of Albany*, commander James Haldane, consigned to Bombay, beginning of February Ship *Nottingham*, commander Thomas Howe, consigned to Bombay, beginning of February Ship *Anson*, commander Edward Lord Elliott, consigned to Bombay, beginning of March Ship *Devonshire*, commander Andrew Leiche, consigned to Bombay and China, beginning of March Ship *Pelham*, commander Frederick Vincent, consigned to Bombay and China, beginning of March

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		Supra Cargoes for conducting our Affairs in China for the Ships of this Season vizt. Messrs Thomas Fitzhugh. Henry Rowell Hillary Torriano. Nathaniel Garland. William Mackenzie Stephen De Visme. Frances Wood. Benjamin Fonn. Thomas Smith. Robert John Harrison William Rous and Thomas Bevan Messrs Fitzhugh Rowell Torriano Garland Smith. Rous & Bevan are to be Presidents in China for and to be joined in the Commission for	5: The ships taken up this season were on the same terms and conditions as those of last year, except that the freights were twenty shillings per ton less and the rate of demurrage proportionably lowered. 6: The charter parties enclosed in the packets would inform the council of the terms and conditions on which the Plassey and Prince of Wales were taken up, to which it was carefully to attend, and comply with particularly as to dispatching them within time. 7: The directors had appointed the following gentlemen to be supercargoes for conducting the Company's affairs in China for the ships of this season, namely Thomas Fitzhugh, Henry Rowell, Hilary Torriano, Nathaniel Garland, William Mackenzie, Stephen De Visme, Frances Wood, Benjamin Jones, Thomas Smith, Robert Jones, William Rous and Thomas Bevan. Of these Fitzhugh, Rowell, De Visme, Smith and Bevan were to be presidents in China, and to be joined in the commission for [...] **Interpretations** The reduction of freight by twenty shillings a ton, with demurrage lowered to match, shows the rates the Company paid to the ship owners easing this season, the charge for carrying goods falling and the penalty for detaining a ship beyond her lay days adjusted in step. Such a movement in the freight market bore directly on the cost of every voyage, the lower rate reflecting either a greater supply of shipping offering for hire or the directors success in driving a harder bargain with the owners. The naming of a body of supercargoes for China, with a portion designated presidents to sit in a standing commission, marks the continued working of the permanent establishment at Canton that these letters had earlier foreshadowed. The senior men remained resident to manage the tea trade continuously through the year, the commission of presidents governing the Company's dealings at Canton in place of officers who once came and went with each returning ship.
230	226	managing our Trade in the Year 1767 We enclose for your Information Lists of the arrival and departure of Shipping. which will inform you of all particulars since the Dutton and Salisbury's departure As you have made no mention to the contrary. we still continue our Orders for the Commanders supplying themselves in India with what Jewel they may want in their homeward Voyage Instead of complying with our directions of last Season for breaking up the Fly Cutter. we find you recommend her being cut down and converted into a Schooner. as we do not see any necessity for your having such a Vessel. especially as it may give the Slaves an Opportunity of running away with her. We direct that you comply with Our Orders contained in the 15th Paragh of Our Letter of the 21 November 1764. for breaking her up The Mercury Snow Captain John Merryweather arrived here the 13 July as you had no objection to his Conduct. your appointing him to the Command in the room of the late unhappy Captain Harold. meets with our approbation	Managing the Company's trade in the year 1767. 8: The directors enclosed, for the council's information, lists of the arrival and departure of shipping, which would inform the council of all particulars since the Dutton and Salisbury sailed. 9: Since the council had made no mention to the contrary, the directors would still continue their orders for the commanders supplying themselves in India with whatever fuel they might want on their homeward voyage. 10: Instead of complying with the directors directions of last season for breaking up the Fly cutter, they found the council had recommended her being cut down and converted into a schooner. As the directors did not see any use for the council having such a vessel, especially as it might give the slaves an opportunity of running away with her, they directed the council to comply with their orders contained in the fifteenth paragraph of their letter of 21 November 1764, for breaking her up. 11: The snow Mercury, Captain John Merryweather, arrived here on 1 July. As the council had no objection to his conduct, its appointing him to the command in the room of the late unhappy Captain Harold met with the directors approbation. 12: Since the directors could not think of altering the method for their ships leaving a barrel of gunpowder at the island, the council must return it if on a survey it should be found unserviceable, and then insist upon receiving another barrel in its stead, or debit the ship's account for the amount, and

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		As we cannot think of altering the method for our Ships to leave a Barrel Gunpowder at your Island. You must return it if on a Survey it should be found unserviceable. and either insist upon receiving another Barrel in its stead or Debit the Ship's Account for the amount. and inform us of the particulars that we may be able to take the proper Steps accordingly You advise us in your Letter of the 5 of March last that a Long Boat was lost by Accident in Watering his Majesty's Ships. without making the least mention which of the Long Boats it was. or any other particular. so that we were at a loss to know what Demand to make upon the Navy Board for the same; you must in future be more careful and advise us of every particular. how such losses arise. with the value thereof properly authenticated. that we may be enabled to make our Demand on the proper Offices. and you are	inform the directors of the particulars, so that they might be able to take the proper steps accordingly. 13: The council advised in its letter of 5 March last that a longboat was lost by accident in watering His Majesty's ships, without making the least mention which of the longboats it was, or any other particular, so that the directors were at a loss to know what demand to make upon the Navy Board for the same. The council must in future be more careful and advise the directors of every particular how such losses arose, with the value properly authenticated, so that they might be enabled to make their demand on the proper offices [...] **Interpretations** The refusal to let the council convert the Fly cutter into a schooner, insisted on for the express fear that the slaves might seize her and escape, reveals the security anxiety that governed the keeping of any seaworthy vessel on the island. A boat capable of an ocean passage was a standing means of flight for the bound labour, so the directors twice ordered her broken up rather than leave in the harbour a craft that might carry off the very slaves whose importation these same letters had arranged. The insistence that an unserviceable barrel of gunpowder be replaced in kind or charged to the ship's account, rather than simply written off, shows the exactness with which the Company held its commanders answerable for the stores they were bound to deliver. Every ship left a barrel at the island as a fixed obligation, and a defective one had to be made good or paid for, the loss traced back to the vessel that brought it rather than absorbed by the island's magazine. The reproach over the unidentified longboat, lost while watering a King's ship and reported without the detail needed to reclaim its value, marks the boundary between the Company's accounts and the Crown's. Because the boat was lost in the service of the Navy, its cost could be recovered from the Navy Board, but only on a properly authenticated claim, so the council's vague report left the Company unable to pursue a charge that lay against another public office.
231	227	are in particular to send us the Value of the said Long Boat We strictly enjoin your complying with our repeated Orders for collecting from all the Captain's. Officers. and other Passengers every material Circumstance regarding the Company's Affairs in India. and transmitting the same to Us by every Conveyance that offers. in which we cannot help observing you have been very deficient in your several Letters of this Season We observe the Royal George arrived from Angola with her Cargo of Slaves consisting of 236 on the 26 May last. and did not sail for the West Coast until the 1 of July following with the 150 intended for the Presidency at Fort Marlborough We are satisfied if you had reminded Captain Skottowe of proceeding on his Voyage sooner he might have done it with great ease. especially as the Slaves upon their arrival were in such a state of Health (only One dying in the Passage) as could not require such a length of time for refreshing them.	The council was in particular to send the directors the value of the longboat. 14: The directors strictly enjoined the council's compliance with their repeated orders for collecting from all the captains, officers and other passengers every material circumstance regarding the Company's affairs in India, and transmitting the same by every conveyance that offered, in which they could not help observing the council had been very deficient in its several letters of this season. 15: The directors observed that the Royal George arrived from Angola with her cargo of slaves, consisting of 236, on 26 May last, and did not sail for the west coast until 1 July following with the 150 intended for the Presidency at Fort Marlborough. They would have been satisfied had the council reminded Captain Skottowe of proceeding on his voyage sooner, as he might have done with great ease, especially as the slaves upon their arrival were in such a state of health, only one dying on the passage, as could not require such a length of time for refreshing them. The directors mentioned this so that the council might be more attentive to their interest with respect to expediting the departure of ships as much as lay in its power for the future, both outward and homeward bound. 16: It had always been a custom to send copies of the ships charter parties bound from England to the council in their respective packets, but as the council was directed to forward them to the place

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		We mention this that you may be more attentive to our Interest with respect to the expediting the Departure of Ships as much as lays in your Power for the future. both outward and homeward bound It has always been our Custom to send Copys of the Ships Charterparties bound from hence to you. in their respective Packets. but as you are directed to forward them to the Place they are next Consigned to. and consequently can be of no use to you only so far as respects the said Ships. We therefore agreeable to your Request now send Copies of a St Helena and Coast and Bay Ships Charterparties which you are to keep by you for your future Guidance. observing that the Charterparties to all parts differ only with respect to the Rates of Freight Agreeable to your Request for two Yawls of a boat Sixteen feet Long. to be made use of in catching Fish for the Slaves. desiring they might be framed here. and you would put them together. We have thought it best to have them compleated in England. and we accordingly now send them in that condition 18	the ships were next consigned to, and consequently they could be of no use to it except as respected those ships, the directors therefore, agreeable to the council's request, now sent copies of the St Helena and Coast and Bay ships charter parties, which the council was to keep by it for its future guidance, observing that the charter parties to all parts differed only with respect to the rates of freight. 17: Agreeable to the council's request for two yawls of about sixteen feet long, to be used for catching fish for the slaves, desiring they might be framed in England and the council would put them together, the directors had thought it best to have them completed in England, and now accordingly sent them in that condition [...] **Interpretations** The rebuke over the Royal George's five weeks at the island, when a cargo that had lost only one slave on the Atlantic crossing needed little refreshing, reveals the directors view of the human cargo purely as freight to be moved on with dispatch. The unusual survival of the passage, remarked as showing the slaves scarcely required so long to recover, was turned into a reproach for delay, the council faulted for not pressing Skottowe onward when the very health of those aboard removed the only reason for lingering. The two yawls sent out ready-built to catch fish for the slaves show the Company provisioning its bound labour by furnishing the means of a local food supply. Fish taken off the island would feed the slaves held there and perhaps those carried onward, the small craft supplied complete from England because even a sixteen-foot boat could not readily be built on St Helena, and the framing shipped ready to assemble in earlier practice had now given way to sending them wholly finished.
232	228	We send you by these Ships the Plassey and Prince of Wales as large a Supply of Necessaries and Stores as they can conveniently carry in doing which We have had all possible regard to your Indents especially for Provisions which we are concerned to observe you are in so much need of. we are afraid for want of proper forecast. as you did not advise us of your Distress until you sent it in your Letters of the 1. and 5. of August; the provisions we now send on the said Ships consist of the following particulars vizt Beef 152 Puncheons and Pork 250 Hogsheads being all English and are the full Quantities Indented for. Also Flour 400 Casks or 60 Tons for further particulars we refer to what is mentioned below. as to this last Article tho it falls short of yours. Indent 100 Casks yet we are fully satisfied it is a sufficient Quantity for a Years consumption Enclosed you will receive in these Ships Packets a Paper of Observations upon your Indents. wherein you will see how far we have complied with them. and what alterations are made therein. also Remarks for your future guidance in drawing them out. to which you are to pay as strict an obedience as if inserted in the body of this Letter We now consign to you by each of these Ships the	The directors sent by these ships, the Plassey and Prince of Wales, as large a supply of necessaries and stores as they could conveniently carry. In doing so they had regard to the council's requisitions, especially for provisions, which they were concerned to observe the council was in such need of. They feared that for want of proper forecast, since the council did not advise them of its distress until it sent word in its letters of 1 and 3 August, the provisions now sent on these ships consisted of the following particulars: Beef, 152 puncheons, all English Pork, 250 hogsheads, all English Flour, 400 casks, about 60 tons These were the full quantities requisitioned for. As to the last article, though it fell short of the council's own requisition of 100 casks, the directors were fully satisfied it was a sufficient quantity for a year's consumption. 19: Enclosed in these ships packets the council would receive a paper of observations upon its requisitions, showing how far the directors had complied with them and what alterations were made, also remarks for the council's future guidance in drawing them out, to which it was to pay as strict an obedience as if inserted in the body of this letter. 20: The directors now consigned to the council by each of these ships, the Plassey and Prince of Wales, a chest of treasure. But if the council found the expenses of the island did not require the whole to be detained, it was to forward as large a proportion as could be spared to the China council. 21: The directors sent by these ships two anchors, two cables, fifty rolls of canvas and four topmasts, for the use of such of the Company's ships as might have occasion for them. But before the council complied with any commander's request it must be fully satisfied they were really wanted. They

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		Plassey and Prince of Wales a Chest of Treasure. but if you find the expences of your Island do not require the whole. for be detained. you are to forward as large a proportion thereof to our China Council. as can be spared We send by these Ships two Anchors. two Cables. Fifty Bolts of Canvas. and four Topmasts. for the use of such of the Company's Ships as may have occasion for them. but before you comply with the Commanders request. you must take care to be fully satisfied that they are really wanted. They are to be charged to such Ships. Accounts as are supplied with them at the Invoice Price. with 30 & Cent advance thereon. You must be careful to keep the Masts under Cover to prevent their receiving	were to be charged to such ships accounts as were supplied with them at the invoice price, with thirty per cent advance thereon. The council must be careful to keep the masts under cover to prevent their [...] **Interpretations** The reproach over the island's provision crisis turns on a failure of foresight rather than of supply, the council having let its stocks run low and then given warning too late for the shortfall to be met in good time. The directors concern that word of the distress reached them only in the August letters marks the fundamental constraint of a settlement supplied twice a year from across the world, where a need not signalled far enough ahead could not be answered before the stores ran out. The thirty per cent advance charged on the anchors, cables, canvas and masts supplied to passing ships shows the island's store functioning as a chandlery that sold naval stores to the Company's own vessels at a marked-up price. The goods were carried out at the Company's charge and issued to any ship that genuinely needed them, but always debited to that ship's account above their invoice cost, the premium reflecting both the expense of carriage and the value of stores held ready at so remote a point on the route. The salt provisions sent entirely as English beef and pork, in puncheons and hogsheads, point to the island's continued reliance on preserved meat shipped from home despite its own herds. English salt meat was the staple of the Company's victualling, carried out in bulk to feed the garrison and establishment, the insistence that it was all English marking a concern for quality that the island's own uncertain supply of fresh meat could not always guarantee.
233	229	receiving any Damage by being exposed to the Weather The Musket and Carbine Barrels you sent on the Mercury to be repaired; have been remounted and are returned on these Ships We have directed Our China Council to fully comply with your Indent. if any Amendments may be found necessary. you will have an opportunity by these Ships of acquainting them therewith You mention in your Letter of the 31 of May that the Royal George brought 236 Slaves to the Island. and in your Consultations of the 1 of July that 150 of them were forwarded to Fort Marlborough. But no manner of notice is taken of their Goodness. or in what manner you intended to employ them. this is very inconvenient and we expect you will give us the necessary Information. in these particulars. and for the future be more explicit in your Letters of all Circumstances whatsoever which any way relate to the Company We are very much concerned the Flour sent you last Season has proved so bad. what it can be owing to we cannot conceive. as we always give directions for providing the best. however in order as far as lays in our power to prevent any further Complaints we have taken every precaution possible with respect to that now sent you and in particular. no part of	Receiving any damage by being exposed to the weather. 22: The musket and carbine barrels the council sent on the Mercury to be repaired had been remounted and were returned on these ships. 23: The directors had directed their China council to fully comply with the council's requisition. If any amendments should be found necessary, the council would have an opportunity by these ships of acquainting them with it. 24: The council mentioned in its letter of 31 May that the Royal George brought 236 slaves to the island, and in its consultations of 1 July that 150 of them were forwarded to Fort Marlborough. But no notice at all was taken of their state of health, or in what manner the council intended to employ them. This was very inconvenient, and the directors expected the council would give them the necessary information on these particulars, and for the future be more explicit in its letters of all circumstances whatever which any way related to the Company. 25: The directors were very much concerned that the flour sent last season had proved so bad. What it could be owing to they could not conceive, as they always gave directions for providing the best. However, in order as far as lay in their power to prevent any further complaints, they had taken every precaution possible with respect to that now sent, and in particular no part of it was bought of the person with whom they contracted last year. What remained of the flour of last season must be first used before the council began upon that now sent. 26: Considering that Engineer Mitchell arrived as early as 21 March, the directors were in hopes he would have been able to lay before the council the necessary surveys of the fortifications and stores, directed in their letter of 21 November, so that together with the council's observations upon them

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		it is bought of the Person with whom we contracted last Year. what remains of the Flour of last Season. must be first expended before you begin upon that now sent Considering Engineer Mitchell arrived so early as the 21 of March we were in hopes he would have been able to have laid before you the necessary Surveys of our Fortifications and Stores. directed in our Letter of the 21 of November so as they together with your Observations upon them might have been received by the latter Ships from your Island at least. You must call upon him. to proceed on this useful Service (if it has not been set about before your receipt of this) that we may without fail have the whole before us as early in next Year as possible in order to found our future directions upon them	they might have been received by the latter ships from the island at least. The council must call upon him to proceed on this useful service, if it had not been set about before the receipt of this, so that the directors might without fail have the whole before them as early in next year as possible, in order to found future directions upon them [...] **Interpretations** The complaint that the council reported the numbers of slaves landed and forwarded but nothing of their health or intended employment shows the directors treating the human cargo as an asset to be accounted for as strictly as any store. Bare figures of how many arrived and how many went on were not enough, the directors requiring to know the condition of the slaves and the use to be made of those kept, the omission of such detail faulted as a real deficiency in the council's reporting. The persistent trouble with the flour, bad again despite orders always to buy the best, and the resort to changing the supplier, reveals the difficulty of victualling the island across so long a voyage. Flour that spoiled on the passage or was poor from the outset could not be replaced until the next season, so the directors both switched the contractor and directed that the old stock be used before the new, guarding the fresher supply against the same fate and keeping the island fed until it could be judged. The pressure on Mitchell to complete his surveys, so that the plans and the council's observations might come home by the season's later ships, marks the whole management of the island's defences as a documented cycle governed by the shipping calendar. Nothing could be decided in London until the surveys arrived, and the surveys could only travel when a ship sailed, so the directors pressed for the work to be done in time to catch the homeward vessels and let a distant board frame its orders on a full record of what the fortifications required.
234	230	It gives us much satisfaction to observe that you have plenty of Lime stone on the Island as it will be the means of greatly facilitating the carrying on the Works. which sole dependance upon the necessary Supplies from England must have greatly retarded. in consequence of our sending none out as due attention has been and will be paid to your Indents for Coals as the consumption of that Article for burning Lime must be considerable We have deferred till next Season to send you the Roof for the Church. as it would take up a larger Tonnage than could be conveniently spared so as to comply with the several other Articles of your Indents. and you mentioning in the 2 Paragraph of your Letter of the 10. of June last that the Fortifications being your first object. you should defer setting about the Church As it is extreamly material we should have the clearest and fullest Information of the Charges and Expences incurred by carrying on and repairing the Works upon the Island; You are to take the greatest care that the same as well as whatever you consign to you for these purposes be brought to Account on your	The directors were much satisfied to observe that the council had plenty of limestone on the island, since it would greatly facilitate carrying on the works. Sole dependence upon the necessary supplies from England must have greatly retarded them, and in consequence of the directors sending stone out, due attention had been and would be paid to the council's requisitions for coals, since the consumption of that article for burning lime must be considerable. 28: The directors had deferred sending the roof for the church till next season, as it would take up a larger tonnage than could be conveniently spared while complying with the several other articles of the council's requisitions. Since the council mentioned in the second paragraph of its letter of 10 June last that the fortifications being its first object, it should defer setting about the church. 29: As it was extremely material the directors should have the clearest and fullest information of the charges and expenses incurred by carrying on and repairing the works upon the island, the council was to take the greatest care that these, as well as whatever the directors consigned for these purposes, were brought to account on the general books in the most regular and exact manner. At the same time the directors most earnestly recommended the council's constant attention to the works being conducted with the utmost economy with respect both to time and expense. 30: In consideration of the good character given in the council's letter of 25 June last of Richard Peale in his capacity of judge advocate and schoolmaster, in both which stations the directors observed he had long behaved with care and diligence and to great

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		General Books in the most regular and exact manner and at the same time we most earnestly recommend your constant Attention to the said Works being conducted with the utmost Economy with respect both to time and expence In consideration of the good Character. given in your Letter of the 25 June last of Richard Prale in his Capacity of Judge Advocate and Schoolmaster. in both which Stations we observe he has long behaved with Care. Diligence and greatly to satisfaction (particularly with respect to Educating the Youth upon the Island. We do therefore agree and accordingly direct That instead of his present Salary of £40 a year as Judge Advocate he be allowed £30 a year: and as Schoolmaster £20 a year instead of his present Salary of £10. 10. both together amounting to the Sum of Eighty pounds a year. and which is to commence from the time of your receiving these Orders	satisfaction, particularly with respect to educating the youth upon the island, they agreed and accordingly directed that instead of his present salary of £40 a year as judge advocate he be allowed £50 a year, and as schoolmaster £20 a year instead of his present salary of £10 10s, both together amounting to the sum of eighty pounds a year, to begin from the time of the council's receiving these orders. **Interpretations** The connection the directors drew between limestone and coal reveals the working chain behind the island's building programme. Lime for mortar had to be burnt from the local stone, and the burning consumed great quantities of coal, so the discovery of ample limestone on the island only sharpened the need for the imported fuel to process it, the one native material still depending on a bulky import to be made useful. The order of priority accepted between the fortifications and the church, the defences taking precedence and the church deferred, shows how the fixed limit of each season's shipping tonnage forced a choice between two approved projects. The roof could not be carried without displacing more urgent stores, and the council itself had ranked the fortifications first, so a sanctioned undertaking waited on the practical constraint that only so much could cross the world in a single season. The doubling of Peale's income across his two offices, raised on the strength of his diligence in teaching the island's children, marks the value the Company placed on education within its small community. His combined salary as judge advocate and schoolmaster was lifted to eighty pounds, the increase framed as a reward for long and satisfactory service, the instruction of the youth singled out as the particular ground on which the directors thought the higher pay deserved.
235	231	As it appears by your Muster Rolls that the Companys of your Garrison are at present sufficiently compleat and you do not apply for any Recruits. we do not send any this Season In your Letter of the 5. March last we are informed of the Death of Captain Thomas Hall Commander of the Artillery Company and that you should keep his Commission Vacant until you received our Order for the reasons therein given; notwithstanding which you acquaint us in your Letter of the 25 of the same month that you had conferred the Command upon our Engineer Captain Achibald Mitchell submitting however your said Appointment during his Stay on the Island to our Approbation. Although we are fully sensible of and well satisfied with the Abilities and Character of Captain Mitchell. we are clearly of Opinion that the Captain of the Artillery Company ought to be distinct from the post of Engineer. and we shall accordingly look out for and send you next season a Person properly qualified for that Station. in the mean time we do agree that Captain Mitchell do continue in the Command of the said Company. Your engaging so far with Captain Mitchell without staying for our Orders is greatly displeasing to Us. And we lay it down as a standing Rule That in	Since it appeared by the muster rolls that the companies of the garrison were at present sufficiently complete and the council did not apply for any recruits, the directors sent none this season. 32: The council's letter of 5 March last informed the directors of the death of Captain Thomas Hall, commander of the artillery company, and that the council should keep his commission vacant until it received the directors order, for the reasons given. Notwithstanding this, the council acquainted them in its letter of 23 of the same month that it had conferred the command upon the Company's engineer Captain Archibald Mitchell, submitting however the appointment during his stay on the island to the directors approval. Although they were fully sensible of and well satisfied with the abilities and character of Captain Mitchell, they were clearly of opinion that the captain of the artillery company ought to be distinct from the post of engineer, and would accordingly look out for and send next season a person properly qualified for that station. In the meantime they agreed that Captain Mitchell continue in the command of the company. The council's engaging so far with Captain Mitchell without staying for the directors orders was greatly displeasing to them. They laid it down as a standing rule that in future all vacancies in the military or other service were to be submitted to their directions, filling them up however in the meantime if necessary upon entire provisional conditions, until the directors orders were received. 33: With respect to the desire signified in the council's letter of 10 June for a proper officer being appointed to superintend the ordnance and military stores upon the island, the directors were satisfied that it ought to be a branch of the business executed by the person who commanded the company of

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		future all Vacancies in our Military or other Service are to be submitted to our Directions. filling them up however in the mean time if necessary. upon entire Provisional Conditions. until you receive our Orders With respect to the desire signified in your Letter of the 10. June for a proper Officer's being appointed to superintend the Ordnance and Military Stores upon the Island. We are satisfied that it ought to be a branch of the Business of and executed by the Person who commands the Company of Artillery without any further Allowance than as Captain of the said Company. and we shall give the necessary Orders accordingly next Season. in the mean time we would have you appoint a proper Person to take care of the said Stores. and give us your Opinion very particularly what you think he deserves for such service	artillery, without any further allowance than as captain of the company. They would give the necessary orders accordingly next season. In the meantime they would have the council appoint a proper person to take care of the stores, and give them its opinion very particularly what it thought he deserved for such service. **Interpretations** The directors insistence that the artillery command be kept separate from the engineer's post, even while allowing Mitchell to hold both for the present, reveals a principle of divided office set against the island's shortage of qualified men. Two distinct functions ought not to rest in one man, yet no one else on the spot could fill the vacancy, so the directors permitted the temporary union while resolving to send a separate officer, unwilling to let expedience harden into a settled joining of the two charges. The sharp rebuke over the council acting without waiting for orders, turned into a standing rule that every military vacancy be referred home and filled only provisionally in the meantime, marks the directors reasserting their control over appointments against the practical necessity of a place they could reach only twice a year. The council might act in an emergency, but only on express condition that its choice remained subject to confirmation, the rule drawing a firm line between necessary stopgap and the permanent disposal of office that London reserved to itself.
236	232	Your taking upon you to encrease the Salaries or Allowances of the Company's Servants without first acquainting us with the Circumstances and expediency thereof. is a measure highly improper. and what cannot in future be admitted of. without your incurring our highest displeasure. This we are induced to observe upon your advancing the Salary of John Robinson the Company's Carpenter from £50 to £100 a year without first obtaining our Consent. however as you represent him to be a very diligent and good Workman and his Salary being inadequate to that of the Master Mason tho equally serviceable. We do acquiesce in your said Advance and from the Character we have of him. We hope to find his future Services will merit this mark of our favour John Bland late Master Mason at St Helena. having requested our permission to return thither to his Family. We have agreed thereto and he accordingly takes passage the Ship Prince of Wales. but it on these Conditions that he is not to be employed any more in the Company's Service. and is to continue there so long as he behaves to your Satisfaction. You are therefore if at any time he gives you any just foundation for complaint. to send him forthwith to England the first Conveyance In consequence of your request for a Person that understands Gardening. We have engaged James Black. who proceeds on the Ship Prince of Wales. at the Wages or Salary of £40 a year to commence from the time of his arrival. and he is moreover to be lodged and dieted at the	34: The council's taking upon itself to increase the salaries or allowances of the Company's servants without first acquainting the directors with the circumstances and expediency of it was a measure highly improper, and one that could not in future be admitted without the council incurring the directors highest displeasure. They were induced to observe this upon the council's advancing the salary of John Robinson the Company's carpenter from £50 to £100 a year without first obtaining their consent. However, as the council represented him to be a very diligent and good workman, and his salary being inadequate to that of the master mason though equally serviceable, the directors acquiesced in the advance. From the character they had of him, they hoped his future services would merit this mark of their favour. 35: John Bland, late master mason at St Helena, having requested the directors permission to return there to his family, they had agreed to it, and he accordingly took passage on the ship Prince of Wales. But this was on condition that he was not to be employed any more in the Company's service, and was to continue there only so long as he behaved to the council's satisfaction. If at any time he gave any just foundation for complaint, the council was to send him to England by the first conveyance. 36: In consequence of the council's request for a person that understood gardening, the directors had engaged James Black, who proceeded on the ship Prince of Wales, at the wages or salary of £40 a year, to begin from the time of his arrival. He was moreover to be lodged and dieted at the Company's expense. Besides paying for his passage, the directors had given him a gratuity of six guineas towards fitting him out. 37: Since writing the above the directors had received by the London the council's letter of 17 August, and also Engineer Mitchell's account referred to in it, of the present state of the fortifications and defences of the island of St Helena, together with his remarks upon the same, and proposals relating to the alterations and

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		Company's Expence. We have besides paying for his Passage given him a Gratuity of Six Guineas towards fitting him out Since writing the beforegoing We have received by the London. your Letter of the 17 August last also Engineer Mitchell's Account therein referred to of the Present State of the Fortifications. and Defences of our Island St Helena. together with his Remarks upon the same. and Proposals relative to the Alterations and Additions which it is apprehended may be necessary in order to compleat them. And it is with a very particular satisfaction We observe that his Account both such	additions which it was apprehended might be necessary in order to complete them. It was with very particular satisfaction the directors observed that his account, both [...] **Interpretations** The rebuke over the carpenter's doubled salary, allowed only after the fact and coupled with a warning against any repetition, shows the directors guarding their sole authority over the cost of the establishment while bending to the particular case. The council had acted without leave, yet the plea that Robinson's pay fell short of the master mason's for work of equal value carried the point, the directors confirming the rise but making plain that the manner of it, not merely the sum, was what displeased them. The return of John Bland, the dismissed master mason, permitted only that he might rejoin his family and expressly barred from any further employment, reveals how the Company distinguished a man's private liberty from its own service. He could live on the island so long as his conduct gave no offence, but the door to re-engagement was firmly shut, his earlier removal for bad behaviour standing even as he was allowed to come back on sufferance to those he had left behind. The engagement of a gardener on fixed wages, with lodging, diet, passage and an outfitting gratuity all found by the Company, shows the same pattern by which every skilled or useful man was drawn out to the island. Since no such person could be had on the spot, the Company met the whole cost of planting him there, the care to cultivate the island's ground reflected in the deliberate recruitment of a man who understood how to raise what the settlement could not otherwise grow.
237	233	with respect to the present Situation and the proposed Alterations. and Additions to the said Fortifications are Plain Judicious and calculated not only to put the Island in a proper Condition of Defence. but also that they may be carried on with a View of Oconomy necessary to keep the Expences within. the most moderate bounds. We therefore upon duly considering Our Engineers said Proposals as likewise your Opinion upon them. are fully satisfied it will be for the Interest of the Company that they be carried forthwith into Execution in the manner and in the order particularly laid down by him in his said Account. which you are hereby ordered to cause him to set about accordingly. under your Directions. and in which you are to give all the assistance in your power. having a due regard in the whole Progress to Oconomy and Frugality which are to be the constant Objects of Your Care and Attention. As must likewise the compleating the said Fortifications in as short a time as feasible. for which reason We positively Order and direct until that is done. no other Works be set about; nor the Workmen and Slaves be diverted from that Business or employed in any other manner whatsoever. unless in raising Provisions for the use of the Island. and themselves; in which also you are to take the strictest Care that no more time is spent. then is really necessary	The engineer's proposals, both as to the present state and the proposed alterations and additions to the fortifications, were plain, judicious and calculated not only to put the island in a proper condition of defence, but also so that they might be carried on with a view to the economy necessary to keep the expenses within the most moderate bounds. On duly considering the engineer's proposals and the council's opinion upon them, the directors were fully satisfied it would be for the Company's interest that they be carried forthwith into execution, in the manner and in the order particularly laid down by him in his account. The council was hereby ordered to cause him to set about them accordingly, under its directions, and to give all the assistance in its power, having a due regard throughout to the economy and frugality which were to be the constant objects of its care and attention. The council must likewise complete the fortifications in as short a time as possible. For that reason the directors positively ordered and directed that until they were done no other works be set about, nor the workmen and slaves be diverted from that business or employed in any other manner, unless in raising provisions for the use of the island and themselves, in which also the council was to take the strictest care that no more time was spent than was really necessary. 38: In one of its former letters the council had the pleasure of advising that it could make lime, as already noted, and it was with great satisfaction the directors found by the engineer's account that he had reason to believe, from the nature of the clay, that excellent bricks might be made on the island. These were advantages of such consequence that the directors would expect and depend upon the council cultivating and making the best use of them. 39: Expedition in carrying on the works was in every view highly necessary, and as the directors were determined to contribute to it to the utmost of

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		In one of your former Letters. We have the pleasure of observing that you can make Lime as We have already noticed. and it is with great satisfaction We find by our Engineer's Account that he has reason to believe from the nature of the Clay. That Excellent Bricks may be made in the Island. these are advantages of such consequence. that We shall expect and depend upon your Cultivating and making the best use of them As Expedition in carrying on the Works is in every view highly necessary. and as We are determined to contribute thereto to the utmost of our power. You are to take the earliest and every opportunity of informing us from time to time of what Artificers. Slaves. Stores. Materials and Necessary's You are in want of. and You shall be supplied accordingly	their power, the council was to take the earliest and every opportunity of informing them from time to time what artificers, slaves, stores and materials it wanted, and it would be supplied accordingly [...] **Interpretations** The order that no other work be undertaken until the fortifications were finished, and that neither workmen nor slaves be turned to any other task save raising food, reveals the directors concentrating the whole labour of the island upon its defences to the exclusion of all else. Even the growing of provisions was permitted only as a necessity, everything else subordinated to completing the works quickly, the single exception marking how absolutely the rest of the island's activity was to be suspended in favour of the fortifications. The discovery that the island's clay would make good bricks, set beside its proven capacity to make lime, marks a significant step toward building from local materials rather than imported ones. Brick and mortar produced on the spot would lessen the heavy dependence on stone and other materials shipped from England, the directors seizing on both findings as advantages to be cultivated, since anything the island could manufacture for itself relieved the strain on the twice-yearly supply from home. The forced priority of the fortifications over every competing use of labour was a choice with a plain cost, the deferral of all other improvement and the near-total commitment of the island's slaves and artificers to a single end. The directors accepted this narrowing deliberately, judging the defensive works so pressing that the ordinary development of the settlement could wait, the strategic value of a secured St Helena outweighing every other call on its limited hands.
238	234	and in particular as the making of Lime and Brick will occasion a large Consumption of Fuel. which ought not considering the scanty growth of Wood upon the Island to be made use of without any absolute necessity. You are therefore to acquaint Us what Quantity of Coals will be necessary for your Yearly Consumption If You can have any Supplys of Materials from the East Indies. or China which maybe of use for the before mentioned Purposes. You are to apply to our Settlements and China bound and inform them that it is our Pleasure they do comply with your Requests for the same. as far as lays in their Power. consistently with the room that can be spared in Our returning Ships after the intended Cargoes for England are provided for Considering the Abilitys and satisfactory Behaviour of Engineer Mitchell We do for his encouragement in persevering in his Diligence and Duty. agree that he do continue in the Command of the Artillery Company during his Stay upon the Island. in Quality of of Engineer. and We make no doubt that he will use his best endeavours to merit this particular Mark of our Esteem and Favour With respect to a proper person to take Care of the Ordnance and Military Stores & You are to appoint one provisionally agreeable to Our Directions in the latter part of the 33 Paragraph	In particular the making of lime and brick would occasion a large consumption of fuel, which, considering the scanty growth of wood upon the island, ought not to be used without absolute necessity. The council was therefore to acquaint the directors what quantity of coals would be necessary for its yearly consumption. 40: If the council could have any supplies of materials from the East Indies or China which might be of use for the purposes mentioned above, it was to apply to the Company's settlements and the China council, and inform them that it was the directors pleasure they comply with the council's requisitions for the same, as far as lay in their power, consistently with the room that could be spared in the returning ships after the intended cargoes for England were provided for. 41: Considering the abilities and satisfactory behaviour of Engineer Mitchell, the directors, for his encouragement and to persevere in his diligence and duty, agreed that he continue in the command of the artillery company during his stay upon the island, in his quality of engineer. They made no doubt he would use his best endeavours to merit this particular mark of their esteem and favour. 42: With respect to a proper person to take care of the ordnance and military stores, the council was to appoint one provisionally, agreeable to the directors directions in the latter part of the thirty-third paragraph of this letter. 43: Since writing the above, the directors found there was sufficient room in these ships for a further quantity of goods. They had sent one hundred barrels of flour in addition to the quantity mentioned in the eighteenth paragraph of this letter, which was a full completion of the council's requisition for that article. 44: The directors had been acquainted that thirty or forty of the crew belonging to the ship

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		of this Letter As since writing the beforegoing. We find there is sufficient room in these Ships for a further Quantity of Goods We have sent One hundred Barrels of Flour in addition to the Quantity mentioned in the 18 Paragraph of this Letter. and is a full compleatng of your Indent for that Article We have been acquainted that Thirty or Forty of the Crew belonging to the Ship London. Cutt down a considerable Quantity of Wood upon the Island. if there is any foundation for this Report such an attempt must either have been by your leave. or connivance	London cut down a considerable quantity of wood upon the island. If there was any foundation for this report, such an attempt must either have been by the council's leave or connivance [...] **Interpretations** The anxiety over fuel for lime and brick burning exposes the central bind in the whole scheme of building from local materials. The island grew too little wood to feed the fires such manufacture required, so the very effort to reduce dependence on imported stone drove up the demand for imported coal, the directors calling for an estimate of yearly consumption because the timber of St Helena could not be spent freely without stripping the island of what little it had. The instruction to draw building materials from the East Indies and China, using the spare room in homeward ships once their tea and other cargoes were loaded, shows the Company marshalling its whole eastern network to supply the island's works. Materials that could not be had from England or made on the spot might come the other way round the world, carried in the unfilled space of returning Indiamen, the directors bending the entire returning fleet to the service of the fortifications so far as the paramount England cargoes allowed. The inquiry into the crew of the London felling the island's timber, pressed with the pointed suggestion that it could only have happened by the council's leave or connivance, reflects how jealously the scanty wood was guarded. On an island where fuel was precious enough to constrain its own building programme, the unauthorised cutting of a large quantity by a ship's crew was a serious matter, the directors implying that so open a depredation could not have occurred without the council's knowledge and demanding to know how it was permitted.
239	235	connivance as. it could not have escaped your Knowledge. in either of which Cases considering the great Scarcity of Wood. it was greatly to the prejudice of the Company. We expect You will give us all the information in this matter You can. And We further expect and direct that the Preservation of the Wood upon the Island be an object of Your constant Care. and attention We observe by your Consultations of the 13. August last that you bought of Capt. Nibbs of the London Rice at £4. 10. 6 & Paddy at 10. 4 & which prices appear to Us very extravagant. as the like articles consigned to You from Bombay by the same Ship are invoiced at very inferior rates the Rice being charged at only 10 & & the Paddy at 6/10 to which the respective proportion of Charges being added will bring the Rice to 11. 8 & & and the Paddy to 7. 9/2. We therefore expect that you will assign your reasons for allowing so exorbitant a profit which nothing but real necessity could justify. and in future If ever Your urgent occasions should constrain You in the purchase of Provisions. or Stores to comply with a demand however unreasonable. We expect and require that you acquaint Us with the names of such person or	The wood cut by the crew of the London could not have escaped the council's knowledge. In either case, considering the great scarcity of wood, it was greatly to the prejudice of the Company. The directors expected the council would give them all the information it could in this matter. They further expected and directed that the preservation of the wood upon the island be an object of the council's constant care and attention. 45: The directors observed by the council's consultations of 13 August last that it bought of Captain Nibbs of the London rice at £1 10s 6d, and paddy at 10s 1d, which prices appeared to them very extravagant. The like articles consigned to the council from Bombay by the same ship were invoiced at very inferior rates, the rice being charged at only 10s and the paddy at 6s. To which the respective proportions of charges being added would bring the rice to 11s 8d and the paddy to 7s 9d. The directors therefore expected the council would assign its reasons for allowing so exorbitant a profit, which nothing but real necessity could justify. In future, if ever its urgent occasions should constrain it in the purchase of provisions or stores to comply with a demand however unreasonable, they expected and required that it acquaint them with the names of such person or persons who might take such unjustifiable advantage of its necessities. 46: As the council would, from the additional number of slaves it had lately been supplied with, be in want of more provisions than it usually received from the presidencies, the directors sent orders this season to the governors and councils of Bengal and Bombay to increase the consignments of rice on each ship, to double the quantities they had generally sent. With respect to other stores and necessaries, they were to be sent as usual without diminution,

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		persons. who may take such unjustifiable advantage of your Necessitys As You will from the Additional Number of Slaves You have lately been supplied with. be in want. more provisions than you have usually received from our Presidencys. We send orders this season to the Governers and Councils of Bengal and Bombay to encrease the Consignments of Rice on each Ship. to double the Quantities they have generally sent with respect to other Stores. and necessaries they are to be sent You as usual without diminution agreeable to the Annual Residents transmitted by you to Our said Presidencys. This order is to continue in force untill they are informed to the contrary either from Our selves or from you. And You are to acquaint us from time to time have it is complied with	agreeable to the annual requisitions forwarded by the council to the presidencies. This order was to continue in force until they were informed to the contrary, either from the directors or from the council. The council was to acquaint the directors from time to time how it was complied with. **Interpretations** The scrutiny of the prices paid to Captain Nibbs, set beside the far lower rates at which the same goods came from Bombay, shows the directors auditing the island's purchases against a known benchmark to expose profiteering. Rice and paddy bought from a private commander at nearly half as much again as the Company's own invoiced cost, even after freight was added, marked a profit the directors would tolerate only under proven necessity, and their demand for the names of any who exploited the island's wants reveals a resolve to identify and check such advantage-taking in future. The doubling of the rice consignments from Bengal and Bombay, ordered expressly because the island now held more slaves, ties the grain supply from India directly to the size of the bound labour force. The additional hands imported to build the fortifications had to be fed, and rice was the staple by which they were victualled, so the directors reached across to the Indian presidencies to raise the standing shipment, the increase in the island's population answered by a matching increase in the grain sent to sustain it. Paddy was rice still in the husk, distinct from the cleaned rice with which it was priced side by side, its lower rate reflecting that it had yet to be milled. The appearance of both in the island's provisioning shows rice arriving in more than one state, the unhusked grain cheaper but requiring further labour before it could be eaten, a distinction the directors observed closely in comparing the prices charged for each.
240	236	As you will observe by the 32 Chapter of the Acts of last Session of Parliament now sent. there is a temporary Prohibition of Exporting Wheat and other Articles excepting. among other places. to the Company's Settlements and even there upon giving Security in treble the value. and Certificates to be returned of those Articles having been landed at their Places of Consignment. You are therefore to return Certificates in Duplicate by the first Conveyances of all the Articles mentioned in that Act. which shall be landed with You as well belonging to the Company as in Private Trade agreeable to the Forme sent You by the Egmont in 1756 London 22 November 1765 We are Your loving Friends (signed) John Stephenson Robt. Jones John Harrison Hy Crabb Boulton Geo. Dudley Thos. Jones J Purling Fredk. Pigou John. Manship Hen. Savage John. Roberts F. W. Barrington	47: As the council would observe by the third chapter of the Acts of last session of Parliament now sent, there was a temporary prohibition on exporting wheat and other articles, except, among other places, to the Company's settlements, and even there only upon giving security in treble the value, and certificates to be returned of those articles having been landed at their places of consignment. The council was therefore to return certificates in duplicate by the first conveyances of all the articles mentioned in that Act which should be landed with it, as well belonging to the Company as in private trade, agreeable to the form sent by the Egmont in 1758. *London*, 22 November 1765. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by Henry Crabb Boulton, George Dudley, Thomas Jones, Purling, Frederick Pigou, John Manship, Henry Savage, John Roberts, F. W. Barrington, Charles Chambers, Thomas Saunders, Luke Scrafton, Josias Du Pre, John Pardoe, Edward Wheler, John Creswicke, Henry Hadley, William Mackender, George Cuming, John Stephenson, Robert Jones and John Harrison. **Interpretations** The prohibition on exporting wheat, lifted only for the Company's settlements and even then hedged with a treble-value bond and a landing certificate, reflects the grain scarcity in Britain during these years, when dearth at home prompted Parliament to restrain the outward flow of corn. The exception for the settlements allowed the island to be provisioned while the general ban held, but the heavy security and the demand for proof of delivery show the state guarding against the licence being used as a cover to divert grain elsewhere.

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		Char. Chambers Tho. Saunders Luke Scrafton Jos Du Pre Jos Pardoe Edw. Wheler J Creswicke Henry Hadley M. Cazander George Cuming	The requirement to certify in duplicate that every regulated article had actually been landed at St Helena, covering private trade as much as the Company's own goods, marks the machinery by which the export licence was policed across an ocean. The bond given in England could only be discharged on proof that the grain reached its permitted destination, so the certificates returned by successive ships closed the loop, the duplication guarding against loss at sea and the inclusion of private cargo ensuring no consignment escaped the account.
241	237	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Our last Letter. dated the 22 Novembr 1765 by the Ships Plassey and Prince of Wales. and are pleased to find arrived safe We have during the course of the present pleason received your several Advices of the 15 October. 18 Novembr 1765 two of the 3 February. two of the 4. March. 2. to. 12. thirty two of the 28 April. 6 and two of the 25 May. the 5. 8. 13. 11. 12. 29 June. 7. 16 and two of the 25 July and 4 August last And from Governor Skottowe. of the 15 October 1765. 3 Febr. 4 March. 2 April. 5 June. and 24 Septemr last We have appointed the following Gentlemen to be the Secret Committee for the Current year vizt George Dudley Esqr. Chairman. of the Court. Thomas Rous Esqr. Deputy Chairman. with Charles Cutts. Robert Jones. and Henry Savage Esqr. they are invested with the usual powers for giveing such directions as they shall see fit. for the safety of our Outward and Homeward bound Ships such orders therefore as in consequence they or any three of them shall give. are. by the Person to whom the same shall be addressed. to meet with all due obedience We have this Season taken up on Freight the undernamed Ships: those for China at twenty shillings a Ton less and for all other parts at 20 & Ton more than last Season: the terms and Conditions in other respects are the same **Margin Notes:** Receipt of Letters acknowledged Ditto from the Govr Secret Committee Ships taken up	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: The directors last letter was dated 22 November 1765, by the ships Plassey and Prince of Wales, which they were pleased to find had arrived safe. 2: During the course of the present season the directors had received the council's several advices of 1 October and 18 November 1765, two of 3 February, two of 4 March, of 2 and 12 April, two of 23 April, and two of 23 May, of 5, 8, 13, 11, 12 and 29 June, of 7 and 16 June, and two of 23 July and August last. 3: And from Governor Skottowe of 13 October 1765, of 3 February, 4 March, 2 April, 5 June and 23 September last. 4: The directors had appointed the following gentlemen to be the secret committee for the present year, namely George Dudley chairman of the court, Thomas Rous deputy chairman, with Charles Cutts, Robert Jones and Henry Savage. They were invested with the usual powers for giving such directions as they should see fit for the safety of the outward and homeward bound ships, and any orders they or any of them should give were in consequence to be obeyed by the persons to whom they were addressed. 5: The directors had this season taken up on freight the undernamed ships, those for China at twenty shillings a ton less, and for all other parts at 20s a ton more than last season. The terms and conditions in other respects were the same [...] **Interpretations** The split movement in freight rates, twenty shillings a ton lower for the China ships but twenty higher for all other destinations, shows the Company negotiating each branch of its trade against its own market conditions rather than settling a single uniform rate. The divergence points to differing pressures on the two classes of voyage, the shipping for China cheaper to engage this season while that for India and the intermediate ports commanded more, the directors adjusting their charter terms to the balance of supply and demand on each route. The renewal of the secret committee, once more a small group of named directors empowered to route the fleets and bind every officer through whose hands the ships passed, marks the continuing hazard to the Company's shipping in these years. Concentrating the confidential direction of sailings in a few hands remained the standing guard against the movements of valuable Indiamen reaching an enemy, the committee's authority reaching out from London to the Governor of St Helena and every other person to whom its orders might be sent.
242	238	same as were agreed on for the Ships taken up in 1765 The Ships of this Year are each let for 499 Tons. and every Men and Guns answerable as will appear on reference to the Northumberland and Earl of Middlesex Charterparties	The terms were the same as agreed on for the ships taken up in 1765. The ships of this year were each let at 499 tons, with men and guns to match, as would appear on reference to the Northumberland and Earl of Middlesex charter parties: Ship *Hector*, commander John Williams, consigned to the Coast and Bay

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		Ships, Commanders, Consignments Hector: John Williams, Coast and Bay Latham: James Moffatt, Madeira & Coast & China Lord Holland: Tasham Navine, Canaries & Ct and Bay Northumberland: John Alford, St Helena & China Earl of Middlesex: John Hawell, St Helena & Bencoolen Earl of Lincoln: Alexr Hardwicke Houghton: Willm Smith London: Thos. Motley Triton: Wm Elphinstone, Coast & China British King: Rich. Williamson, Bencoolen & China Calcutta: George Thomson Norfolk: John Fardeys, Madeira & Coast & Bay Lord Clive: Barnaby Backett Vansittart: Roger Fifth Palmer, China Egmont: Chas. Meares Northington: John Ealy Adm. Pocock: Thos. Pridditt, Coast & Bay Earl of Elgin: Thos Cook Worcester: Rich. Hall, Madeira & Bombay Lord Mansfield: Alex Macleod, Fort St George & Bombay Duke: Robt. Ruitland, Do Do and China Earl of Chatham: Willm Morriss, Ct and Mocha Europa: Wr Hinde Petty, Fort St George & Bombay Benjn Hooke, Bombay	Ship *Latham*, commander James Moffatt, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and China Ship *Lord Holland*, commander Tasham Navine, consigned to the Canaries, the Coast and Bay Ship *Northumberland*, commander John Alford, consigned to St Helena and China Ship *Earl of Middlesex*, commander John Howell, consigned to St Helena and Bencoolen Ship *Earl of Lincoln*, commander Alexander Hardwicke, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Houghton*, commander William Smith, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *London*, commander Thomas Motley, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Triton*, commander William Elphinstone, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *British King*, commander Richard Williamson, consigned to Bencoolen and China Ship *Calcutta*, commander George Thomson, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and Bay Ship *Norfolk*, commander John Fardyce, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and Bay Ship *Lord Clive*, commander Barnaby Backett, consigned to China Ship *Pondicherry*, commander Roger Fifth Palmer, consigned to China Ship *Egmont*, commander Charles Meares, consigned to China Ship *Worthington*, commander John Sealy, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Admiral Pocock*, commander Thomas Pridditt, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Earl of Elgin*, commander Thomas Cooke, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Worcester*, commander Richard Hall, consigned to Madeira and Bombay Ship *Lord Mansfield*, commander Alexander Macleod, consigned to Fort St George and Bombay Ship *Duke*, commander Robert Kitchland, consigned to Fort St George, Bombay and China Ship *Earl of Chatham*, commander William Morriss, consigned to Bombay and Mocha Ship *Europa*, commander William Hinde Petty, consigned to Fort St George and Bombay Ship commander Benjamin Hooke, consigned to Bombay **Interpretations** The uniform letting of every ship at 499 tons was once more the settled device of shaving a single ton off the five-hundred mark, the figure at which the Company's rules obliged a vessel to carry a chaplain. The exact repetition down a list of two dozen ships confirms it as a fleet-wide practice of long standing rather than any true measure of their burden, each entered one ton short to escape the obligation. The pattern of consignments shows the shape of the season's trade, with the great majority of ships routed to the Coast of Coromandel and the Bay of Bengal or ending at China, and only a handful to Bombay and the west. The concentration on the eastern ports and the China voyages reflects where the Company's commerce chiefly lay by this date, the tea trade at Canton and the textile trade of Bengal drawing the bulk of the outward shipping past the intermediate stations.
243	239	Having had occasion to send some important Advices and directions to our President and Council of Fort William. we despatched thither the Mercury Snow Captain Henry Gardiner. She accordingly sailed from Gillstead the 26 May last Enclosed we send you the Charterparties of these Ships	6: Having had occasion to send some important advices and directions to the President and council of Fort William, the directors dispatched there the snow Mercury, Captain Henry Gardiner, which accordingly sailed from Gillhead on 26 May last. 7: Enclosed the directors sent the charter parties of the ships Northumberland and Earl of Middlesex, and depended upon the council's care and attention

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		the Northumberland and Earl of Middlesex. and we depend upon your care and attention to have them entered within Charterparty time. and dispatched on their respective Voyages We also send for your information Lists of the arrival and departure of the Company's Shipping since the sailing of the Plassey and Prince of Wales. to which we refer for your fuller information and guidance We have appointed the following Gentlemen to be our Council of Supra Cargoes for managing the Company's Affairs in China the ensuing Season vizt. Messrs Thos Fitzhugh. Henry Rivell. Stephn Devisme. Benjn Fonn. Mann Horner. Thomas Smith. Thomas Thomas. Willm Rous. Thos. Bevan. Willm Harrison. Matthew Raper Junr. and John Bradby Blake; we have also chosen Messrs Willm Henry Pierce and George Rogers Wilkes to our Council in China for five Years Messrs Henry Rivell. Stephn Devisme. Benjamin Fonn. Mann Horner. Willm Rous. Thomas Bevan. and William Harrison are appointed our President Supra Cargoes at Canton for the Year 1768 they are directed as usual to conduct and take care of the Company's Affairs upon the departure of such of the beforementioned Council as are to leave China in the Season of the Year 1767 and before the arrival of those Supra Cargoes. we shall appoint Members for the succeeding Council We enclose for your information and guidance Copy Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Mercury Snow sent to Bengal Charterparties of the Ships Lists of Shipping China Council Presidents	to have them unlivered within charter party time and dispatched on their respective voyages. 8: The directors also sent, for the council's information, lists of the arrival and departure of the Company's shipping since the sailing of the Plassey and Prince of Wales, to which they referred for the council's fuller information and guidance. 9: The directors had appointed the following gentlemen to be their council of supercargoes for managing the Company's affairs in China the ensuing season, namely Thomas Fitzhugh, Henry Rowell, Stephen De Visme, Benjamin Jones, Mann Horner, Thomas Smith, Thomas Thomas, William Rous, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper junior and John Bradby Blake. They had also chosen William Henry Pearce and George Rogers to be writers to the council in China for five years. 10: Henry Rowell, Stephen De Visme, Benjamin Jones, Mann Horner, William Rous, Thomas Bevan and William Harrison were appointed the directors resident supercargoes at Canton for the year 1768. They were directed as usual to conduct and take care of the Company's affairs upon the departure of such of the council mentioned above as were to leave China in the season of the year 1767. Before the arrival of those supercargoes, the directors would appoint members for the succeeding council. 11: The directors enclosed for the council's information and guidance a copy [...] **Interpretations** The two-tier arrangement of the China establishment, a full council of supercargoes for the season and a smaller body of resident supercargoes left at Canton, shows the Company managing the tea trade through a permanent presence that outlasted the coming and going of the ships. The larger council sailed with the season's fleet, while the resident members stayed on to carry the business through the year, the rotation timed so that those departing in one season handed over to those remaining, and fresh members were named before the resident body itself dispersed. The dispatch of the snow Mercury on a special voyage to Fort William, carrying important advices ahead of the ordinary shipping, marks the value the Company placed on speed when its Indian affairs pressed. Rather than wait for the season's fleet, the directors sent a fast small vessel expressly with instructions to Bengal, the cost of a dedicated passage justified when the matter would not keep for the next regular sailing.
244	240	Copy of Captain Alford's Instructions which you are to keep. and whereby you will be acquainted with the general Instructions to the Commanders of our Europe Ships We have resolved for the present to discontinue the Rule observed during the late War that the arrival of the Ships Boats at Banks's should determine their precedence; and you are accordingly to give the Commanders notice that the rotation of our Shipping with respect to their being taken again into the Company's Service will be governed according to their arrival in the Downs homeward bound. unless they shall be detained at your Island by orders from us or you. which is not to be done without absolute necessity. you are nevertheless to continue to enter on your Consultations the times of the Boats arrival at Banks's and to send Lists thereof in your Packets as heretofore	The directors sent a copy of Captain Alford's instructions, which the council was to keep, and by these it would be acquainted with the general instructions to the commanders of the Company's Europe ships. 12: The directors had resolved for the present to discontinue the rule observed during the late war, that the arrival of the ships boats at Bank's should determine their precedence. The council was accordingly to give the commanders notice that the rotation of the Company's shipping, with respect to their being taken again into the Company's service, would be governed according to their arrival in the Downs homeward bound, unless they should be detained at the island by orders from the directors or the council, which was not to be done without absolute necessity. The council was nevertheless to continue to enter in its consultations the times of the boats arrival at Bank's, and to send lists of these in its packets as before. 13: Although from the directors former directions the council well knew how desirous they were of having information of the cargoes of the several ships as particular and early as possible, yet in

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		Altho from our former directions you well know how desirous we are of having informations of the Cargoes of our several Ships as particular and early as possible; yet in the account received from you of the Grenville's Cargo you mentioned only Salt Petre and Redwood. and entirely omitted the most material and valuable part. that of the Bale Goods. which we cannot help takeing notice of. as a great inadvertency. and in order that you may be more attentive to our Directions for the future We have duly attended to your several Indents that the late pressing demands for Provisions and Stores may be entirely removed. these two Ships are employed to carry the several Stores and necessaries provided for the use of your Island. which is done conformable to your request Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Copy of Capt. Alford's Instructions sent Ships to be taken up by their arrival in the Downs Lists of Ships Boats arrived at Banks's to be sent as usual Bale Goods omitted in the Abstract of Ships Grenville Cargoes Indents complied with	the account received from the council of the Grenville's cargo it mentioned only salt, petre and redwood, and entirely omitted the most material and valuable part, that of the bale goods, which the directors could not help taking notice of as a great inadvertency. This was so that the council might be more attentive to their directions in future. 14: The directors had duly attended to the council's several requisitions, so that the late pressing demands for provisions and stores might be entirely removed. These two ships were employed to carry the several stores and necessaries provided for the use of the island, which was done conformable to the council's requisition [...] **Interpretations** The change in how precedence among returning ships was fixed reveals the Company adjusting a wartime practice to peacetime conditions. During the war the order in which ships were re-engaged had been settled by the arrival of their boats at Bank's, a signal station off the island, but the directors now reverted to reckoning precedence by arrival in the Downs at home, the earlier method having served a purpose in wartime that no longer held, though the boats times were still to be recorded against future need. Bale goods were the packaged textiles, chiefly the cottons and silks of India, that formed the richest part of a homeward cargo, distinct from the bulk commodities of saltpetre and redwood with which they travelled. The directors sharp notice of their omission from the report of the Grenville's lading shows how closely the value of each cargo was watched, the failure to record the most precious portion treated as a serious lapse, since early and exact knowledge of what was coming home bore directly on the Company's sales and finances. Saltpetre, here written as two words, was the crude potassium nitrate imported from Bengal as the essential ingredient of gunpowder and a staple of the Company's return trade, valuable both for the powder mills and as ballast that paid its way. Its appearance among the Grenville's cargo alongside redwood, a dyewood, shows the mix of strategic and commercial goods that filled the holds beneath the costlier textiles, the heavy commodities stowed low while the bale goods rode above.
245	241	as near as possible consisting of Coals. 60 Chaldron Beef. 150 Punch Pork 250 Hogsheads Flour 58 Tons Purbeck Gun Stone 1000 feet superficial Cordage. about 13 Tons Pitch & Tar 34 Barrels also several Garrison. General and other Stores the particulars whereof will fully appear in these Ships Invoices and Bills of Lading We also send agreeable to our promise last Year. the Roof and Ceiling floor for your Church which goes on the Earl of Middlesex We have complied with your Indent for two fire Engines and they are accordingly sent. one on each Ship Your Indents for the several Articles wanted from China has been duly attended to. if any alterations are necessary. you may make the same in your Advices to the China	The stores sent were as near the council's requisition as possible, consisting of: Coals, 60 chaldrons Beef, 150 puncheons Pork, 250 hogsheads Flour, 50 tons Purbeck gunstone, 1,000 feet superficial Cordage, about 10 tons Pitch and tar, 54 barrels Together with several garrison, general and other stores, the particulars of which would fully appear in these ships invoices and bills of lading. 15: The directors also sent, agreeable to their promise last year, the roof and ceiling floor for the church, which went on the Earl of Middlesex. 16: The directors had complied with the council's requisition for two fire engines, and they were accordingly sent, one on each ship. 17: The council's requisitions for the several articles wanted from China had been duly attended to. If any alterations were necessary, it might make the same in its advices to the China council by these ships, who would pay all due attention to it. 18: The directors sent by the ship Earl of Middlesex one chest of treasure in aid for defraying the current expenses of the civil and military service at St Helena. But if not wanted for those purposes, the whole, or such part as could be spared, must be

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		Council by these Ships. who will pay all due attention thereto We send you by the Ship Earl of Middlesex one Chest of Treasure in aid for defraying the Current Expences of your Civil and Military Service at St Helena. but if not wanted for those purposes the whole or such part as can be spared must be forwarded in the said Ship to our President and Council at Fort Marlborough the price of the Dovetail Hinges Invoiced by the Prince of Wales which you observe to be a mistake. was certainly so. they being Invoiced by the Pair at the Price Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Materials for the Church sent Fire Engines sent China Indents to comply with them One Chest of Treasure sent. if not wanted for those purposes to be forwarded to Fort Marlborough mistake in Dovetail Hinges rectified	forwarded in that ship to the President and council at Fort Marlborough. 19: The price of the dovetail hinges invoiced by the Prince of Wales, which the council observed to be a mistake, was certainly so, they being invoiced by the pair at the price [...] **Interpretations** The arrival at last of the church roof and ceiling floor, framed in England and shipped complete on the Earl of Middlesex, marks the fulfilment of a promise made in an earlier season and repeatedly deferred for want of tonnage. The whole structure was in effect prefabricated at home and carried out ready to raise, the delay of a year or more between the sanction of the work and the delivery of its principal timbers showing how even an approved building waited on the space that could be spared in the season's ships. Purbeck gunstone, a hard limestone from the Isle of Purbeck, was cut into shot for the island's cannon, its inclusion among the stores pointing to the continued reliance on English stone even for ammunition. The two fire engines sent one on each ship, a deliberate division so that the loss of a single vessel would not cost both, reflect the standing dread of fire in a settlement built partly of timber and dependent on stores that could not quickly be replaced across so long a voyage. Pitch and tar in fifty-four barrels were the materials for waterproofing and preserving timber and cordage, essential to maintaining both the island's boats and its buildings against a damp maritime climate. Their steady supply alongside the cordage and the salt provisions shows the range of naval and domestic necessities that had to be carried out entire from England, the island producing none of the substances by which its own fabric and small craft were kept in repair.
246	242	Price they should have been charged at by the Dozen at the foot of the Ship Northumberland's Invoice you will find this mistake rectified In your Indent you desire a compleat Sett of Laboratory Utensils may be sent. without either entering into particular either in your said Indent. Letters or elsewhere. Utensils for that purpose consist of a great number of Articles and the quantity of each must depend upon the extent of the Laboratory. being thus at a loss for information we cannot furnish you with any this Season. you must therefore send us in your next Indent and Advices a very particular account of what Articles are essentially necessary for your Laboratory both as to the Species and Quantity of each with your reasons thereupon. without which you cannot be supplied in the proper manner The Hats and Shoes sent on these Ships being provided by different nations whom we have directed to distinguish their Goods by separate marks. We shall expect your Impartial opinion which are entitled to the preference We have come to a resolution that all the Medicines and Drugs wanted for our several Settlements shall in future be provided by the Company of Apothecaries	The dovetail hinges should have been charged by the dozen at the foot of the ship Northumberland's invoice, where the council would find this mistake rectified. 20: In its requisition the council desired a complete set of laboratory utensils might be sent, without entering into particulars either in the requisition itself or in its letters elsewhere. Utensils for that purpose consisted of a great number of articles, and the quantity of each must depend upon the extent of the laboratory. Being thus at a loss for information, the directors could not furnish any this season. The council must therefore send, in its next requisition and advices, a very particular account of what articles were essentially necessary for its laboratory, both as to the kind and quantity of each, with its reasons, without which it could not be supplied in the proper manner. 21: The hats and shoes sent on these ships being provided by different makers, whom the directors had directed to distinguish their goods by separate marks, they would expect the council's special opinion which were entitled to the preference. 22: The directors had resolved that all the medicines and drugs wanted for the several settlements should in future be provided by the Company of Apothecaries. Notwithstanding their prices exceeded those of other persons, there was a certainty of being supplied by them with the best sorts, every article coming under the inspection of a deputation from the College of Physicians and the Surgeons Company, which was not the case with those of private persons. The council was however to report from time to time the quality of those now sent, and if it should be found that any of them did not answer expectation [...] **Interpretations**

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		notwithstanding their prices exceed those of other Persons. as there is a certainty of being supplied by them with the best sorts. every Article coming under the inspection of a Deputation from the College of Physicians and the Surgeons Company which is not the case with those of private Persons; you are however to report to us from time to time the quality of those sent you. and if it shall be found that any of them do not answer expectation. you are Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Utensils for the Laboratory not sent as the particulars & quantity was not mentioned in the Indent Hats and Enamels opinion with respect to Goods & their refering Medicines in future to be provided by the Comp Apothecaries their quality to be reported to the Comp	The refusal to supply laboratory utensils without a detailed schedule reveals once again the impossibility of ordering across so great a distance from a vague request. A laboratory here meant a workshop for compounding and preparing materials, and the range of vessels and implements it required varied with its scale, so the directors could not guess what to send and demanded an exact list of kinds and quantities before any could be shipped, the fault of the omission thrown back on the council to remedy. The decision to buy all medicines through the Company of Apothecaries, despite their higher prices, shows quality deliberately preferred over cost where the health of the settlements was concerned. The guarantee that every article passed the inspection of the College of Physicians and the Surgeons Company was worth the added expense, since drugs bought cheaper from private dealers carried no such assurance, the directors judging that adulterated or feeble medicine was a false economy on stations where nothing could be replaced until the next season. The practice of having competing makers mark their hats and shoes distinctly, so the council might report which wore better, shows the Company using the island as a testing ground to inform its own purchasing. By comparing the goods of different suppliers in actual use, the directors could direct future orders to the maker whose wares proved superior, the separate marks turning the settlement's consumption into a practical trial of value that a London warehouse could not itself conduct. **Speculations** Offered medicines more cheaply by private dealers, the directors chose the dearer supply of the Company of Apothecaries, and set down plainly why. The obvious economy was to buy at the lower price, yet they passed it over because only the apothecaries goods came under the inspection of the College of Physicians and the Surgeons Company, judging the certainty of sound drugs on remote stations worth more than the saving, where cheaper medicine of unverified quality might fail exactly when it could not be replaced.
247	243	are to point out. Us particularly the defects. with such observations as may be necessary for our information We do not think proper to comply with your Indent for the Ten Brass Guns. as we are of opinion notwithstanding the spray of the Sea. that if the Iron Guns are frequently Painted or Tarred. they will last a great number of years; and you are to take care that they are painted and Tarred accordingly You are to acquaint us in your General Letters from time to time whenever you supply any of our homeward bound Shipping with Anchors Cables or Topmasts and the several particulars thereof that we may be informed of your remains of those Articles to the latest time that we may not be at the loss to keep you fully supplied therewith It is with concern we observe the distress you were in for Provisions before the arrival of the Ships Plassey and Prince of Wales last Season. and we cannot avoid repeating. that it was in some measure owing to a want of Forecast in your not advising us even of the necessary quantities	The council was to point out the defects particularly, with such observations as might be necessary for the directors information. 23: The directors did not think proper to comply with the council's requisition for the ten brass guns, as they were of opinion that, notwithstanding the spray of the sea, if the iron guns were frequently painted or tarred they would last a great number of years. The council was to take care that they were painted and tarred accordingly. 24: The council was to acquaint the directors in its general letters from time to time whenever it supplied any of the homeward bound shipping with anchors, cables or topmasts, and the several particulars of these, so that the directors might be informed of the council's remains of those articles to the latest time, and so not be at a loss to keep it fully supplied. 25: It was with concern the directors observed the distress the council was in for provisions before the arrival of the ships Plassey and Prince of Wales last season. They could not avoid repeating that it was in some measure owing to a want of forecast in the council not advising them, before the event, of the necessary quantities wanted for its annual consumption, as well as its supplying the Company's shipping with too large proportions both of the council's own fresh and salt provisions. However, as by those ships the council was very opportunely relieved, and as the directors this year sent the same

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		wanted for your annual consumption as well as supplying our Shipping with too large proportions both of your are Flesh and Salt Provisions. however as by those Ships you were very opportunely relieved. and we this Year send you the same quantities of Beef & Pork as last. We think you cannot again be under the like distress. especially as we have recommended it to the Commanders of our Ships now going out. as well as to those of the latter Ships of last Season. to put in at the Cape of Good Hope in their homeward bound Voyage and their recruit their Victualling Stores in such a manner that they may want but little at your Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Indent for the Brass Guns not complied with Exchange & Anchors Cables & Topmasts to those Ships are supplied wth to be sent in the Genl Letter Commanders of the Comps Ships recommended to touch at the Cape of Good Hope	quantities of beef and pork at least, they thought it could not again be under the like distress. This was especially so as they had recommended it to the commanders of the ships now going out, as well as to those of the later ships of last season, to put in at the Cape of Good Hope on their homeward bound voyage and recruit their victualling stores in such a manner that they might want but little at [...] **Interpretations** The refusal to send brass guns in favour of maintaining the existing iron ones exposes a plain calculation of cost against durability. Brass ordnance was far dearer than iron, and the directors judged that iron guns kept painted and tarred against the corroding sea spray would serve for many years, declining the more expensive metal the council had asked for and putting the burden instead on regular upkeep, a cheaper answer to the same need for lasting artillery. The instruction that homeward ships revictual at the Cape of Good Hope, so as to draw little from the island's stores, reveals the Company managing St Helena's chronic provisioning strain by shifting demand elsewhere on the route. The island had repeatedly been drained by supplying passing fleets on top of its own consumption, so the directors directed the ships to replenish at the Cape instead, easing the pressure on a settlement whose own supply could not safely bear both its garrison and the whole homeward traffic. The recurring theme of the island's want of forecast, pressed again over the provision crisis, marks the fundamental difficulty of governing consumption at a place supplied only twice a year. A shortfall not foreseen and signalled far enough ahead could not be met before the stores ran out, so the directors laid the distress partly at the council's door for failing both to estimate its yearly needs and to husband its stocks against the drain of the passing ships, the remedy lying in better anticipation as much as in larger supply.
248	244	your Island as the means of relieving your Garrison and Inhabitants. and preventing their own disappointment. They are ordered nevertheless at all events to call at your Island. and if they bring any live Stock from the Cape you are to pay for it on our account. And in case they supply themselves at the Cape as beforementioned. their stay with you is to be proportionably shortened. We shall continue this Order to the Commanders till you inform us there is no necessity for this measure We approve of your resolution on Consultation of the 3 May last for reducing the quantity of Charterparty Beef to be supplied our several Ships. from one third to one fourth part. untill our Stock would admit of its being increased: but we cannot avoid taking notice of your imprudence in supplying the latter Ships of last Season with two head of Cattle each exclusive of their Charterparty allowance. and thereby encroaching on your Live Stock of the present Year. which you ought not to have done without the most urgent necessity. you are therefore to continue the present allowance untill your Stock is sufficiently recruited	The island served as the means of relieving the garrison and inhabitants, and of preventing their own disappointment. The commanders were nevertheless ordered at all events to call at the island, and if they brought any live stock from the Cape, the council was to pay for it on the directors account. In case they supplied themselves at the Cape as mentioned above, their stay with the council was to be proportionably shortened. The directors would continue this order to the commanders until the council informed them there was no necessity for the measure. 26: The directors approved the council's resolution in consultation of 3 May last, for reducing the quantity of beef supplied to the several ships, from one third to one fourth part, until the council's stock would admit of its being increased. But they could not avoid taking notice of the council's imprudence in supplying the later ships of last season with two head of cattle each, beyond their charter party allowance, and thereby encroaching on the live stock of the present year, which the council ought not to have done without the most urgent necessity. The council was therefore to continue the present allowance until its stock was sufficiently recruited to admit an increase. It was to take every prudent measure in its power for keeping up a sufficient live stock, not only for the returning shipping but also for the benefit of the garrison and the island in general. 27: The council mentioned in its letter of 4 March, under its then distress for provisions, that in consideration of Captain Fletcher's sparing it ten casks it had promised to permit him to touch at

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		to admit an increase. And you are to take every prudent measure in your power for keeping up a sufficient Live Stock not only for our returning Shipping but also for the benefit of the Garrison and the Island in General You mention in your Letter of the 4 of March under your then distress for Provisions that in consideration of Capt. Fletchers sparing you Ten Casks. you had promised to permit him to touch at Ascension for Turtle; but the arrival of the two Store Ships rendering that measure unnecessary. you did not take upon you to grant that liberty. you acted very properly on this occasion. and Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Reduction of Charterparty Beef approved of	Ascension for turtle. But the arrival of the two store ships rendering that measure unnecessary, it did not take upon itself to grant that liberty. The council acted very properly on this occasion [...] **Interpretations** The order that ships call at St Helena even when victualled at the Cape, but stay a shorter time if they had already supplied themselves, shows the directors balancing two purposes the island served. The visit itself was to be preserved so that the settlement could vend its own produce and relieve its people, yet the burden on its stores was to be eased by cutting short the stay of any ship that came already provisioned, the length of the call adjusted to protect the island's supply without abandoning the trade the visit brought. The reproach over the two head of cattle given to each of the later ships, drawn beyond their allowance and against the next year's stock, reveals the delicate management of the island's herds as a resource that had to be conserved across seasons. Live cattle spent too freely on passing ships left too few for the year to come, so the directors faulted the council for eating into the future supply and pressed the husbanding of the stock for the garrison and inhabitants as much as for the shipping. Ascension, an uninhabited island to the north-west, was resorted to for its turtles, a valuable source of fresh meat that ships took on the homeward passage. The council's conditional promise to let a commander touch there in return for provisions, withdrawn once the store ships arrived, shows how the island's own shortages could be traded against such concessions, the liberty to hunt turtle at Ascension serving as a currency in the bargaining over supply until the need that prompted it was relieved.
249	245	as has been before observed your encreasing and preserving your live Stock is so very material we do admit of your giving permission to the Commander of our Shipping to touch at Ascension for Turtle when you find you are not able without breaking too much into your Stock to give them a proper supply of Fresh Provisions; but Such permission is for the succeeding Season only. and is not to be given without a real necessity. Our meaning is. that only such Ships are to be permitted to go to Ascension as can get there in the proper Turtle Season. of which you are the best Judges Agreeable to the request in the 7 Parat. of your Letter of the 4 April last we continue the orders to the Commanders of our Ships going out this Season for their furnishing themselves in India with as much Jewel as will serve for their homeward Voyage; also that they do stock their Ships with as much Sea Provisions as they may want for their Voyage home. and have likewise directed them that if they have any to spare it would be very agreeable to us to make an offer thereof to you on our account. and you are to pay for the same. or leave the adjustment to us. as shall best suit your convenience; these	Since, as had been observed before, increasing and preserving the live stock was very material, the directors admitted the council's giving permission to the commanders of the shipping to touch at Ascension for turtle whenever it found it could not, without breaking too much into its stock, give them a proper supply of fresh provisions. But such permission was for the succeeding season only, and was not to be given without a real necessity. The directors meant that only such ships were to be permitted to go to Ascension as could get there in the proper turtle season, of which the council was the best judge. 28: Agreeable to the request in the seventh paragraph of the council's letter of 2 April last, the directors continued the orders to the commanders of the ships going out this season for furnishing themselves in India with as much fuel as would serve for their homeward voyage. They also ordered that the commanders stock their ships with as much salt provisions as they might want for their voyage home, and had likewise directed that if they had any to spare it would be very agreeable to the directors to make an offer of it to the council on the directors account. The council was to pay for the same, or leave the adjustment to the directors, as should best suit its convenience. These orders the directors would repeat until the council desired the contrary. 29: It was with particular satisfaction the directors took notice of the council having discovered an inexhaustible quarry of good limestone, and likewise of its plan for making such quantities of lime as might be sufficient not only for the Company's works but to spare for the inhabitants, at a rate reasonable with respect to them and at the same time affording the Company an equitable profit. The council was to take care to

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		Orders we shall repeat till you desire the contrary It is with particular satisfaction we take notice of your having discovered an inexhaustable Quarry of good Lime Stone. as likewise of your Plan of making such quantities of Lime as may be sufficient not only for the Companys Works but to spare for the Inhabitants. at a rate reasonable with respect to them. and at the same time affording the Company an equitable profit. You will take care to conduct this work in such a manner as may in all respects answer the desired purposes Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Ships permitted to touch at Ascension for Turtle Commanders of Ships to furnish themselves with fewel & Stock their Ships with as much Sea Provisions Lime Stone	conduct this work in such a manner as might in all respects answer the desired purposes [...] **Interpretations** The permission to hunt turtle at Ascension, granted only for a single season and only to ships that could reach the island in the proper turtle season, shows the directors treating even this incidental resource as something to be regulated rather than left open. Turtle was a valuable fresh meat for the homeward passage, but the licence to take it was hedged about so that it served only as a genuine relief when the island could not victual the ships itself, the timing left to the council as the party best placed to judge when the season was right. The plan to make lime not only for the Company's works but for sale to the inhabitants at a fair price reveals the island's building programme beginning to yield a commercial by-product. The discovery of an inexhaustible quarry meant lime could be produced beyond the fortifications own needs, and the directors sanctioned selling the surplus to the settlers at a rate reasonable to them yet profitable to the Company, turning a material once wholly imported into a source of local revenue. The instruction that homeward commanders offer the Company their spare salt provisions, to be bought by the council or settled in London, shows the Company recovering victuals from its own ships to help supply the island. Rather than let surplus stores be carried home unused, the directors directed that any excess be made available at St Helena, a further device for easing the settlement's chronic provisioning strain by drawing on the very shipping that had so often drained it.
250	246	Our Engineer has not been so successful in the discovery of Clay for making Bricks. his first tryal not answering the favourable appearance it promised. however we are pleased to find you have recommended to him the making a further tryal. and considering the great utility of bringing this work to perfection we hope no endeavours for that purpose will be wanting We are much concerned to find that the Slaves that you were supplied with from Africa prove so spiritless and weakly; however we still hope. by care encouragement and good usage. and when further enured to your Climate. that they will still prove a useful set of People We find in your Diary under dates of the 21 April and the 14 of July last Letters from Engineer Mitchell giving an account of the progress of the Works under his management. and he seems in general to have proceeded agreeable to our intentions; but as you have made no remarks nor given us your opinion upon those Letters we are at a loss to form a proper judgement as to the propriety of his proceedings; and we direct that for the future. you may be very explicit on this subject. that we may give such orders Annually as may be necessary on the occasion Mr Mitchell in his Letter of the 21 of April speaking of repairing the Castle says his first attention was to comply with that part of Our Instructions which as far	30: The engineer had not been so successful in the discovery of clay for making bricks, his first trial not answering the favourable appearance it had promised. However, the directors were pleased to find the council had recommended to him the making of a further trial, and considering the great utility of bringing this work to perfection, they hoped no endeavours for that purpose would be wanting. 31: The directors were much concerned to find that the slaves the council had been supplied with from Africa proved so spiritless and weakly. However, they still hoped that by care, encouragement and good usage, and when further inured to the island's climate, they would still prove a useful set of people. 32: The directors found, in the council's diary under dates of 21 April and 14 July last, letters from Engineer Mitchell giving an account of the progress of the works under his management, and he seemed in general to have proceeded agreeable to their intentions. But as the council had made no remarks nor given its opinion upon those letters, the directors were at a loss to form a proper judgement as to the propriety of his proceedings. They directed that for the future the council be very explicit on this subject, so that they might give such orders annually as might be necessary on the occasion. 33: Mr Mitchell, in his letter of 21 April, speaking of repairing the castle, said his first attention was to comply with that part of the directors instructions which, as far as regarded essentials, had been long since effected. But some further alterations of no great consequence were then in hand by order of the Governor, and would soon be completed. In his other letter of 14 July, he took notice in his last quarterly letter that some [...] **Interpretations** The disappointment of the brick clay, promising at first but failing on trial, marks a setback to the whole ambition of building from local materials,

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		as regarded essentials had been long since effected. but that some further alterations of no great consequence were thin in hand by order of the Governor and would soon be compleated. In his other Letter of the 14 of July he says in his last quarterly Letter he took notice that some Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Engineer for making Bricks approved further tryal Slaves from Africa Engineer's Letters not remarked upon Diarys therein Further alterations to be made in the Castle Letters	though not its abandonment. The council's insistence on a further trial and the directors encouragement of it show how much weight both placed on the prospect, since bricks made on the spot would relieve the heavy dependence on imported stone, the persistence reflecting the value of a success that had not yet come. The concern over the weakly slaves from Africa, coupled with the expectation that care and acclimatisation would make them useful, reveals the Company's cold reckoning of its bound labour as an investment to be nursed toward productivity. The poor condition in which they arrived was lamented chiefly for the work it delayed, the hope of their improvement resting on good usage and their becoming inured to the climate, the whole framed in terms of the return the Company looked to draw from them once they were fit. The directors difficulty in judging the engineer's proceedings without the council's comment exposes the limits of governing distant works through paper alone. Mitchell's own reports told them what he had done, but only the council on the spot could assess whether he had done it rightly, so the bare forwarding of his letters without opinion left the board unable to frame its orders, the demand for explicit remarks reflecting how completely a remote authority depended on informed local judgement to control what it could not see.
251	247	some further Alterations towards compleating what was wanting to be done to the Castle and Mount were to take place by order of the Governor. these being finally compleated he mentioned with the greater pleasure as nothing seemed then to remain that could with any degree of propriety interfere with the Execution of our orders relative to the Fortifications. From these quotations it may very fairly be inferred that some Works have been carried on by order of the Governor only interfeering with the more essential objects of the Engineer's attention; and indeed it has been intimated to us. that the said Works have stood the Company in a great deal of money. This affair wants explanation. and we insist upon having it by the first opportunity. we add also. that no works be undertaken but by order of the Governor and Council. or the Governor with the consent of the Council; and that you send us from time to time your motives for such orders. an exact and explicit account of the carrying them into execution. the expence incurred thereby. together with your opinion and remarks upon the whole. that we may as before observed be enabled to send you the necessary Orders With respect to the Money that has been expended in Works not essential to the Fortifications. such as repairs and alterations in the Castle or the Governor's Apartments we might reasonably expect to trace the same	Some further alterations towards completing what was wanting to be done to the castle and mount were to take place by order of the Governor, these being finally completed. Mitchell mentioned this with the greater pleasure as nothing seemed to remain that could with any degree of propriety interfere with the execution of the directors orders relating to the fortifications. From these quotations it might very fairly be inferred that some works had been carried on by order of the Governor, only interfering with the more essential objects of the engineer's attention. Indeed it had been insinuated to the directors that the works had cost the Company a great deal of money. This affair wanted explanation, and they insisted upon having it by the first opportunity. They added also that no works be undertaken but by order of the Governor and council, or the Governor with the consent of the council, and that the council send them from time to time its motives for such orders, an exact and explicit account of carrying them into execution, the expense incurred thereby, together with its opinion and remarks upon the whole, so that the directors might, as observed before, be enabled to send the necessary orders. 34: With respect to the money that had been expended in works not essential to the fortifications, such as repairs and alterations in the castle or the Governor's apartments, the directors might reasonably expect to have the same on the council's books. But to their surprise this charge was there blended with articles of a different nature, whereby they were prevented from seeing the whole of this expense. 35: The directors must here also observe that there were many articles which appeared to be carried to improper heads. For one [...] **Interpretations** The directors insistence that no work be undertaken save by order of the governor and council together reveals a tightening of control over expenditure prompted by suspicion of the governor acting alone. The hint that works ordered on the governor's own authority had cost the Company heavily, drawing the engineer's attention away from the fortifications, moved the directors to require

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		on your Books; but to our surprize this Charge is there blended with Articles of a different nature whereby we are prevented from seeing the whole of this expence We must here also observe that there are many Articles which appear to be carried to improper Heads; for one Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Works stated to have been carried on by order of the Governor only to be attended to & Statement thereof Reasons of undertaking any Works Money expended in Works not essential to the Fortifications blended with other Articles	collective sanction and a full account of every undertaking, the rule aimed at preventing any single officer from committing the Company's money without check. The complaint that the cost of non-essential works was blended on the books with charges of a different nature exposes the directors reliance on clear accounts to govern spending they could not witness. Expenses for the castle and the governor's apartments ought to have stood distinct, so that the total could be seen at a glance, but their being mixed with other articles concealed the whole, the objection reflecting how completely a distant board depended on honest and transparent bookkeeping to detect where its money had gone. The reference to articles carried to improper heads marks the same concern with the integrity of the accounts, the misplacing of charges under wrong categories being treated as a fault that obscured the true pattern of expenditure. Proper heads of account were the means by which the directors read the island's finances from afar, so entries set down under the wrong ones defeated the very purpose of the books, the whole passage revealing a board struggling to hold a remote administration to a discipline of exact and truthful reckoning.
252	248	we find under the Head of Charges General several particulars which rather belong to Fortifications or Repairs. which last might stand a separate Head on your Books and include Labour Stores and all materials expended on Works distinct from your Fortifications. This we expect you to do in future. and tho by your Letter of 2 April 1766 you promise that your new Works shall be carried to separate Heads. yet we have thought it necessary to point out to you in how full and distinct a manner we require you to specify your several Charges And here we must add that the injunctions in our Letter of the 22 of November 1765 for giving the preference to carrying on the Works upon the Fortifications to all others must be strictly observed We have perused the proceedings of the Court Martial upon the complaint of Engineer Mitchell against Lieut. Bridgewater for defrauding the Soldiers employed on the Works at Sandy Bay of part of their allowance of Arrack; and as he was upon the clearest evidence found guilty by the said Court and sentenced to be discharged from the Company's Service you acted very properly in confirming the said sentence. you say nothing of sending him off the Island. but as the continuance of a Man of such base principles may be attended with Ill consequences. you are hereby directed to send him to England by one of the first Conveyances after the receipt of this Letter And here it necessarily occurs. that as the said Lieut Bridgwater had fraudulently made an Advantage of the Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Articles carried to improper Heads	For one, the directors found under the head of charges general several particulars which rather belonged to fortifications or repairs. The latter might stand as a separate head on the council's books, and include labour, stores and all materials expended on works distinct from the fortifications. This the directors expected the council to do in future. Although by its letter of 2 April 1766 the council promised that its new works should be carried to separate heads, yet the directors had thought it necessary to point out in how full and distinct a manner they required it to specify its several charges. 36: And here the directors must add that the injunctions in their letter of 22 November 1765, for giving the preference to carrying on the works upon the fortifications before all others, must be strictly observed. 37: The directors had perused the proceedings of the court martial upon the complaint of Engineer Mitchell against Lieutenant Bridgewater, for defrauding the soldiers employed on the works at Sandy Bay of part of their allowance of arrack. As he was, upon the clearest evidence, found guilty by the court and sentenced to be discharged from the Company's service, the council acted very properly in confirming the sentence. The directors said nothing of sending him off the island, but as the continuance of a man of such base principles might be attended with ill consequences, the council was hereby directed to send him to England by one of the first conveyances after the receipt of this letter. 38: And here it necessarily occurred that, as Lieutenant Bridgewater had fraudulently made an advantage of [...] **Interpretations** The requirement to carry repairs and works to a head of account separate from the fortifications, pressed even after the council had promised as much, shows the directors labouring to impose a system of exact bookkeeping on a distant administration. Only by keeping distinct the labour, stores and materials spent on each class of work could the board read the true cost of the fortifications from afar, so the charges lumped under general heads were faulted again, the persistence marking how much the control of expenditure depended on the discipline of the ledger. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in the East, issued to the soldiers as part of their allowance for

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		Fortifications first Repairs to be a separate Head Fortifications first Court Martial on Engineer Mitchell's complaint against Lieut. Bridgwater Bridgwater confirmed and directed to be sent to England by the first Conveyance	the heavy labour on the works, its theft by an officer treated as a serious fraud upon the men. The court martial and dismissal of Lieutenant Bridgewater for defrauding the workers of their liquor reveals both the place of such an issue in sustaining hard labour and the Company's readiness to break an officer who preyed upon those under him, the offence against the common soldiers punished as a betrayal of trust. The order to ship the disgraced officer home, though his sentence was only dismissal, shows the Company's instinct to remove from the island any man whose character it distrusted. A person of such base principles, once convicted of cheating the soldiers, was thought a danger if left on so small a settlement, so beyond stripping him of his place the directors directed his return to England, the removal reflecting the same concern seen throughout these letters to keep the island's small community free of those who might corrupt or disturb it.
253	249	the trust reposed in him. It requires your utmost care and attention to have a constant watchful eye upon the Conduct of all Persons of every degree whatsoever employed on the Works to keep all expences with respect to the Company within the most moderate and proper bounds; and at the same time to see that the Soldiery and others employed thereon are in no shape defrauded of any part of their pay or allowances We have entertained John Robins to be Master Smith & Armourer at St Helena for five Years at the Salary of Sixty Pounds a Year in full for Wages. Diet Money. House Rent & all other allowances whatsoever to commence on his arrival. We have given him a Gratuity of ten Guineas. and permitted him to take his Wife and Child. the Company having paied the Owners of the Earl of Middlesex for their Passage If you find the said John Robins as deserving Man. and the beforementioned sixty Pounds a Year too little for the subsistance of himself and Family. you are to represent the same to us. with your opinion of what addition it may be proper to make. & wait for our determination; in the mean time however if he should be Distressed. we admit of your relieving him by a temporary allowance We send twenty five Recruits on each of the two Ships. Northumberland & Earl of Middlesex for the service of your Garrison amongst whom are as many Artifear as we could procure. by the Lists sent in the Ships Packets. you will see their particular Professions We Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Directions how that allowance employed on the Works and to be defrauded of any part of their pay or allowance Armourer sent To increase the Armourers Salary if he deserves it and Consideration and to be relieved him by temporary allowance Recruits sent	The trust reposed in him required the council's utmost care and attention to keep a constant watchful eye upon the conduct of all persons of every degree whatever employed on the works, to keep all expenses with respect to the Company within the most moderate and proper bounds, and at the same time to see that the soldiery and others employed there were in no way defrauded of any part of their pay or allowances. 39: The directors had engaged John Robins to be master smith and armourer at St Helena for five years, at the salary of sixty pounds a year in full for wages, diet money, house rent and all other allowances whatever, to begin on his arrival. They had given him a gratuity of ten guineas and permitted him to take his wife and child, the Company having paid the owners of the Earl of Middlesex for their passage. 40: If the council found John Robins a deserving man, and the sixty pounds a year too little for the subsistence of himself and his family, it was to represent the same to the directors, with its opinion of what addition it might be proper to make, and wait for their determination. In the meantime, however, if he should be distressed, the directors admitted of the council relieving him by a temporary allowance. 41: The directors sent twenty five recruits on each of the two ships Northumberland and Earl of Middlesex, for the service of the garrison. Among them were as many artificers as they could procure, and by the lists sent in the ships packets the council would see their particular trades [...] **Interpretations** The double charge laid upon the council, to hold down the cost of the works while ensuring the labourers were not cheated of their pay, reveals the directors seeking economy and fair dealing at once as complementary guards against loss. Money saved by defrauding the soldiers was no true economy, since it bred the very disorder the Bridgewater case had just shown, so the council was to watch every person employed both for waste and for dishonesty, the two duties bound together as aspects of sound and honest management. The engagement of a master smith on the now-familiar terms, a fixed salary covering all allowances, family passage found by the Company and a fitting-out gratuity, shows once more how every skilled tradesman had to be planted on the island at the Company's whole expense. A smith and armourer was essential both to the works and to the maintenance of the garrison's weapons, and since none could be had locally, the Company met the entire cost of drawing him out, the permission to

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			bring his family serving as the inducement to secure a capable man for a long term. The care to provide for the smith's possible hardship, allowing the council to relieve him and to propose a rise if his pay proved too little, reflects the Company's practical interest in keeping a valued servant content on a remote station. A skilled man pressed by want might grow discontented or leave, and could not easily be replaced, so the directors left room to supplement his income, the concern less for his comfort than for securing the steady service of a craftsman whose skills the island could not do without.
254	250	We have appointed John Stewart who is at present on your Island to be a Cadet on the Fort St George Establishment and you are to permit him to proceed thither accordingly if he chooses it. in which case he is to take his Passage on the Earl of Middlesex for Fort Marlborough & from thence proceed to Fort St George on the first good Conveyance that offers We have perused the scheme enclosed in your Letter of the 25 May last for the relief of the Widows & Orphans of the Company's Civil & Military Servants by an annual Voluntary Subscription of our said Servants & as it appears well calculated for that good purpose. it not only meets with our approbation. but we most sincerely wish that it may be always attended with the desired effect When we permitted John Bland to return to St Helena it was with much reluctance. & we were principally induced thereto by his alledging the Distress of his Family in case of his separation from them. We are sorry to observe in your Diary of the 10 March. that so soon after his arrival he fell into a Clandestine Trade. The measures you took to prevent it. & the reprimand you gave him were very proper. & meet with our entire approbation. In our Letter of the 22 of Novemr 1765 we acquainted you he was to continue no longer on the Island. than he behaved to your satisfaction. and if at any time he gave you any just foundation for complaint. you were to send him forthwith to England by the first Conveyance; he seems to have justly deserved that punishment for his beforementioned Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Cadet appointed for Fort St George Scheme for the relief of the Widows & Orphans of the Company's Civil & Military Servants approved Bland's behaviour on his return	42: The directors had appointed John Stewart, at present on the island, to be a cadet on the Fort St George establishment. The council was to permit him to proceed there accordingly if he chose it, in which case he was to take his passage on the Earl of Middlesex for Fort Marlborough, and from there proceed to Fort St George on the first good conveyance that offered. 43: The directors had perused the scheme enclosed in the council's letter of 23 May last, for the relief of the widows and orphans of the Company's civil and military servants by an annual voluntary subscription of those servants. As it appeared well calculated for that good purpose, it not only met with the directors approbation, but they most sincerely wished it might be always attended with the desired effect. 44: When the directors permitted John Bland to return to St Helena it was with much reluctance, and they were principally induced to it by his alleging the distress of his family in case of his separation from them. They were sorry to observe, in the council's diary of 10 March, that so soon after his arrival he fell into a clandestine trade. The measures the council took to prevent it, and the reprimand it gave him, met with the directors entire approbation. In their letter of 22 November 1765 they had acquainted the council that he was to continue no longer on the island than he behaved to its satisfaction, and that if at any time he gave any just foundation for complaint, it was to send him forthwith to England by the first conveyance. He seemed to have justly deserved that punishment for his [...] **Interpretations** The scheme for relieving the widows and orphans of the Company's servants by a voluntary subscription among the servants themselves marks an early form of mutual provision for the dependents of those who died in service. On stations so far from home, a man's death could leave his family destitute with no recourse, so the servants agreed to subscribe a fund for one another's survivors, the directors welcoming a self-supporting arrangement that eased a real hardship without falling as a charge upon the Company. The renewed trouble with John Bland, readmitted on compassion only to fall at once into clandestine trade, vindicates the strict condition on which his return had been allowed. Private trading in breach of the Company's monopoly was a serious offence, and Bland had been warned that any fresh fault would mean removal, so his relapse confirmed the wisdom of the reservation, the directors endorsing the council's reprimand while making plain that his continued presence rested entirely on good conduct he had already forfeited. Clandestine trade meant private dealing outside the Company's monopoly, a persistent temptation on stations where servants could profit by trafficking on their own account in goods the Company reserved to itself. Bland's quick resort to it, even

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			under the shadow of the condition governing his return, shows how strong the inducement was and how vigilantly it had to be watched, the offence treated with particular severity in a man already admitted only on sufferance.
255	251	beforementioned misconduct. however as you have been so indulgent as not to exert your Authority on the said occasion. he must ascribe it to your lenity only. but whenever you find them undeserving any further favour. you are strictly to carry our Orders of the 22 of November into execution Your declining to try Captain Jenners Man as mentioned in the 9 Paragraph of your Letter of the 5 Janry last for striking one of his Officers at Sea. we conceive to be right; for you cannot take cognizance in a Criminal way of matters happening at Sea; & if the parties are desirous of seeking their remedy by Civil Actions it is best to leave them to seek that remedy in the Courts of Justice here On Account of the late bad Harvest. and consequently scarcity of Grain in Great Britain this Season the King by the advice of his Council issued a Proclamation to prohibit the Exportation of Wheat. until the meeting of Parliament. and now an Act is passed to continue the said prohibition on Wheat Flour & other Grain; however we have with some difficulty obtained a Clause therein to allow the Company to Export those Articles for the support of the Effairs residing at any of their Settlements. but on Condition of our giving security in treble the Value for the landing thereof at the Settlements for which they are designed. & of whose Certificates are to be produced under the hands of the proper Persons at each Settlements. In consequence of this Licence we now send you by the Ships Northumberland & Earl of Middlesex eighty Tons of Flour; you are therefore upon its being landed at St Helena to return us Certificates thereof in duplicate by the first conveyance in order Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Bland's misconduct to have Orders of the 22 Novemr executed if he offends Captain Jenners Man declining to try approved in a Criminal way & to seek their remedy in the Courts of Justice Prohibition on the Exportation of Grain	The council had been so indulgent as not to exert its authority on that occasion, so Bland's misconduct must be ascribed to its lenity only. But whenever the council found him undeserving of any further favour, it was strictly to carry the directors orders of 22 November into execution. 45: The council's declining to try Captain Fenner's man, as mentioned in the ninth paragraph of its letter of 5 January last, for striking one of his officers at sea, the directors conceived to be right. The council could not take cognizance in a criminal way of matters happening at sea, and if the parties were desirous of seeking their remedy by civil actions, it was best to leave them to seek that remedy in the courts of justice at home. 46: On account of the late bad harvest, and consequently the scarcity of grain in Great Britain this season, the King, by the advice of his council, issued a proclamation to prohibit the exportation of wheat until the meeting of Parliament. And now an Act was passed to continue that prohibition on wheat, flour and other grain. However, the directors had with some difficulty obtained a clause in it to allow the Company to export those articles for the support of the servants residing at any of its settlements, but on condition of giving security in treble the value for the landing of them at the settlements for which they were designed, and of certificates being procured under the hands of the proper persons at each settlement. In consequence of this licence, the directors now sent by the ships Northumberland and Earl of Middlesex eighty tons of flour. The council was therefore, upon its being landed at St Helena, to return certificates of it in duplicate by the first conveyances [...] **Interpretations** The council's refusal to try the seaman for striking an officer at sea rests on a real limit of its jurisdiction, since offences committed on the water fell outside the criminal cognisance of a settlement's authorities. The directors agreement that such a matter belonged to the courts at home, or to a civil action there, shows the boundary between what the island could punish and what it could not, an assault at sea lying beyond the reach of a council whose criminal power ran only on land. The prohibition on exporting grain, driven by dearth in Britain after a bad harvest, again threatened to cut off the island's supply, and the Company secured its provisioning only by obtaining a special clause for its settlements. The heavy security of treble the value and the demand for landing certificates show how narrowly the exemption was drawn, the state permitting grain to leave the country for the settlements while guarding against the licence being abused to relieve the scarcity abroad rather than feed the Company's own servants. The whole passage turns on the fragility of an island wholly dependent on imported grain in a year when the source of that grain was itself in want. Britain's own scarcity set the Company's need for St Helena against the nation's need to keep its corn at home, resolved only by a legislative exception hedged with bonds and certificates, the episode revealing how a distant settlement's very sustenance could hang upon the harvest and the politics of a country thousands of miles away.
256	252	order for our delivering them to the Commissioners of his	The certificates were in order for the directors delivering them to the commissioners of His

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		Majesty's Customs. Your Indent is for no more than 75 Tons. but we have thought proper to encrease that quantity to 80 Tons as beforementioned. as we have on Account of the present scarcity absolutely forbid the Commanders. Officers or others carrying out any Wheat. Flour &c. in Private Trade You are to pay. Mr John Stewart whom we have permitted by the 43 Paragraph of this Letter to proceed as a Cadet from St Helena to Fort St George £81. which is to be in full for all the Charges and Expences he may be at in repaireing to his said Station at Fort St George on condition that he proceeds agreeable to our Licence In consequence of your Letter of the 4 of March last we have examined Captain John Griffin of the Admiral Stevens with respect to the Desertion of Six Soldiers of your Garrison and finding that he did not pay the proper attention to the Signals made from the Island by not laying too (as he ought to have done) when he knew there was one man had deserted and was secreted on board we have therefore ordered him to pay Us the Sum of £72 which is nearly the expence the Company are at by replacing the said six Soldiers with the like Number of Recruits As we approve of your particular enquiry into the circumstances of the said Desertion. so we do likewise of your determination in strictly carrying into execution our former Orders with regard to Ships not being allowed Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Money to pay Mr John Stewart to Fort St George Capt. the Admiral Stevens Signals not paid to when there was a man deserted & secreted on board to pay for the Garrison Approval of the Enqy into the Desertion of the six Soldiers	Majesty's customs. The council's requisition was for no more than 75 tons, but the directors had thought proper to increase that quantity to 80 tons, as mentioned above, since on account of the present scarcity they had absolutely forbidden the commanders, officers or others carrying out any wheat, flour or other grain in private trade. 47: The council was to pay Mr John Stewart, whom the directors had permitted by the forty-third paragraph of this letter to proceed as a cadet from St Helena to Fort St George, £21, which was to be in full for all the charges and expenses he might be at in repairing to his station at Fort St George, on condition that he proceeded agreeable to the directors licence. 48: In consequence of the council's letter of 4 March last, the directors had examined Captain John Griffin of the Admiral Stevens with respect to the desertion of six soldiers of the garrison. Finding that he did not pay the proper attention to the signals made from the island, by not laying to, as he ought to have done, when he knew there was one man who had deserted and was secreted on board, they had therefore ordered him to pay the directors the sum of £72, which was nearly the expense the Company was at by replacing the six soldiers with the like number of recruits. 49: As the directors approved the council's particular enquiry into the circumstances of the desertion, so they did likewise its determination of strictly carrying into execution their former orders with regard to ships not being allowed [...] **Interpretations** The charge of £72 laid upon Captain Griffin for the desertion of six soldiers reveals the Company enforcing a commander's duty to guard against the escape of the garrison by making him answer for the cost of their replacement. By failing to lay to when the island signalled that a deserter was hidden aboard his ship, he had let the men slip away, so the directors recovered from him nearly the whole expense of enlisting fresh recruits, the penalty framed as a plain reimbursement for the loss his negligence had caused. The scrutiny of the island's signals and the commander's obligation to obey them shows how the settlement policed the movement of ships to prevent them carrying off its soldiers. Desertion by sea was a standing drain on a garrison from which men could not easily be replaced, so the ships were bound to stop when the island called them, the failure to do so treated as a fault for which the negligent commander, not the Company, must bear the cost of making the loss good. The whole episode illustrates the tension between the island as a garrison to be kept manned and the ships as the very means by which its men escaped. Every vessel in the road was a potential avenue of flight for a discontented soldier, so an elaborate discipline of signals and stoppages bound the commanders to assist in holding the garrison together, the financial penalty on Griffin serving to make plain that a captain who let a deserter through would pay for the Company's loss himself.
257	253	to Sail from St Helena in the Night; and you will observe that as there is a clause in every Ships Charterparty that the Owners shall be liable to the Penalty of Two hundred Pounds for saileing from St Helena in the Night Season. without leave of our Governor & Council attested under their	To sail from St Helena in the night. The council would observe that there was a clause in every ship's charter party that the owners should be liable to a penalty of two hundred pounds for sailing from St Helena in the night season, without leave of the Governor and council attested under their hands. The council was therefore to remind the several commanders of the Company's chartered ships in writing of that clause upon their arrival. This, with the council's usual attention in all other respects, the

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		Hands; you are therefore to remind the several Commanders of our Chartered Ships in Writing. of the said Clause upon their arrival. & this with your usual attention in all other respects will we hope be a means of preventing any further Desertion The like Care must be taken with respect to the Company's own Ships. and altho the Commanders are not under any Penalty; yet you are upon their arrival to inform them we shall positively insist upon the like Penalty if they sail in the Night We observe the Soldiers employed in Working at the Fortifications are under the Command of a Lieut. we hope & expect that notwithstanding their being employed as Workmen. they are kept regularly exercised in their Military discipline. and this you are to take care is properly attended to As the Revd. Mr. Thackeray has desired you to acquaint us that he intends to quit our Service the first opportunity in April next. we have appointed the Revd. Mr Willm Deancroft a Gentleman extreamly well recommended to Us. to succeed him as the Company's Chaplain at St Helena. & he accordingly takes his Passage in the Ship Northumberland Being sensible the present allowances are not sufficient to maintain a Clergyman in that decent manner **Margin Notes:** Owners of the Ships liable to the Penalty of £200 for saileing in the Night Season without leave of the Govr & Council The Capt. of the Comps Ships to be reminded of the same Soldiers at the Fortifications under the Command of a Lieut. to be kept to their Military Discipline Revd Mr Deancroft appointed Chaplain in the room of Mr Thackeray	directors hoped would be a means of preventing any further desertion. 50: The like care was to be taken with respect to the Company's own ships. Although their commanders were not under any penalty, yet the council was, upon their arrival, to inform them the directors would positively insist upon the like penalty if they sailed in the night. 51: The directors observed that the soldiers employed in working at the fortifications were under the command of a lieutenant. They hoped and expected that, notwithstanding their being employed as workmen, they would be kept regularly exercised in their military discipline, and this the council was to take care was properly attended to. 52: As the Reverend Mr Thackeray had desired the directors be acquainted that he intended to quit the Company's service the first opportunity in April next, they had appointed the Reverend Mr William Deancross, a gentleman extremely well recommended, to succeed him as the Company's chaplain at St Helena. He accordingly took his passage in the ship Northumberland. 53: Being sensible the present allowances were not sufficient to maintain a clergyman in that decent manner [...] **Interpretations** The two hundred pound penalty for sailing at night, written into every charter party, reveals the elaborate legal machinery raised to prevent the escape of the garrison by ship. Darkness was when a deserter could most easily be smuggled aboard and carried off unseen, so the ships were bound not to sail after nightfall without the Governor's written leave, the commanders reminded of the clause on arrival, the whole device aimed at closing the island's chief avenue of desertion. The insistence that soldiers set to labour on the fortifications still be kept to their military exercises reflects the directors concern that the works not erode the garrison's readiness. Men employed as workmen might lose the discipline and drill that made them soldiers, so the council was to ensure their military training continued alongside their labour, the fortifications they built being of little use if those who raised them ceased to be fit to defend them. The replacement of the chaplain, coupled with the recognition that the existing allowances could not decently maintain a clergyman, shows the Company grappling with the cost of sustaining a minister on a remote and expensive station. A parson's stipend had to stretch to a manner of living befitting his office, and the island's high prices strained it, so the directors both appointed a successor and moved to reconsider the provision, the difficulty of keeping a clergyman reflecting the same challenge of attracting and holding every qualified man that ran through all these letters.
258	254	manner his situation requires. we have agreed to encrease the Salary from one hundred pounds to one hundred and sixty pounds a Year; which with the usual allowance of sixty Pounds a Year for Diett. are to commence on Mr Deancroft's Arrival. He is likewise to have an Appartment or an Allowance for one; These with the other customary Emoluments incident to the office are to be in full consideration for his Services as the Company's Chaplain We have lent Mr Deancroft the Sum of one hundred Pounds which is to be repaid to you out of	That his situation required, the directors had agreed to increase the salary from one hundred pounds to one hundred and sixty pounds a year. This, with the usual allowance of sixty pounds a year for diet, was to begin on Mr Deancross's arrival. He was likewise to have an apartment or an allowance for one. These, with the other customary emoluments incident to the office, were to be in full consideration for his services as the Company's chaplain. 54: The directors had lent Mr Deancross the sum of one hundred pounds, which was to be repaid out of his growing salary at such time or times as would be most convenient to him. They enclosed his bond for the same, which, when the whole was

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		his growing Salary at such time. or times as will be most convenient to him. We enclose his Bond for the same Money which when the whole is discharged is to be delivered up to him of which you are to advise us London 19 Decemr 1766 We are Your Loving Friends (signed) M Crittenden Willm Deancroft Pardoe John Harrison Edwd Wheler Jos Du Pre Geo. Dudley Thos Rous Fredk Pigou J Purling Thos Saunders George Cuming John Roberts F. W. Barrington Charles Chambers Peter Dulany Junr Chrisr Baron Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** Encrease of Salary to the Chaplain Lent Mr Deancroft £100 to be repaid out of his growing Salary	discharged, was to be delivered up to him, of which the council was to advise the directors. *London*, 19 December 1766. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by John Crittenden, William Braund, Pardoe, John Harrison, Edward Wheler, Josias Du Pre, George Dudley, Thomas Rous, Frederick Pigou, J. Purling, Thomas Saunders, George Cuming, John Roberts, F. W. Barrington, Charles Chambers, Peter Du Cane junior and Christopher Barrow. **Interpretations** The substantial rise in the chaplain's salary, from one hundred to one hundred and sixty pounds besides diet money and housing, marks the Company's recognition that the dignity of the clerical office demanded a maintenance the old stipend could not supply. A clergyman was expected to live in a manner befitting his station, and the high cost of the island strained a smaller income, so the increase reflects both the expense of the place and the value the Company set on securing a respectable minister for its remote community. The loan of one hundred pounds to the new chaplain, repayable gradually from his salary, follows the same pattern seen with other servants sent out to the island, the Company advancing money to establish a man in his post and recovering it by degrees from his pay. Such an advance eased the considerable cost of fitting out and travelling to a distant station, while the bond bound the servant to the Company until the debt was cleared, the arrangement serving both to help the man and to hold him.
259	255	Our Governor & Council of St Helena We are pleased to find our last Advices to you of the 19 December 1766 arrived safe During the course of this season we have received your several Letters. of the 23 September two of the 3 Novr 1766 the 5 & 26 March. 11. 14. 19. & 26. April. 6. 16. 17 18. 20. two of the 22. 26 May 11. 27 June 5 July. two of the 8. and the 16. August the 16 and 16. Sept. on which we shall make our Observations and give such directions as may be necessary for the well conducting our Affairs on your Island. To which we shall require the strictest obedience We have also received Letters from Governor Skottowe under the following dates vizt 23. Sept. and 3 Decem. 1766. 21 May. 2 August & 16. Apr. last The following Ships have since the departure of the Northumberland and Earl of Middlesex arrived with Us vizt Ships, From Whence, When Consborne: Bengall, 25 Janry 1767 Argo (Ship of War): Fort St George, 4 May Do Asia: Bombay, 14 Do Prince of Wales: China, 23 Do Do: 8 June Havannah: 20 Do Crittenden: Bengal, Do Speke: China, Do Royal Charlotte: Nicholas W Bombay, 27 Do Hampshire: China, 5 July Lioness: Do, Do Duke of Cumberland: Do **Margin Notes:** Advices arrived safe Letters received	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: The directors were pleased to find their last advices to the council, of 19 December 1766, had arrived safe. 2: During the course of this season the directors had received the council's several letters of 23 September, two of 3 November 1766, of 5 and 20 March, of 11, 14, 19 and 26 April, of 6, 16, 17, 18 and 20 May, two of 22 May, of 26 May, of 11 and 27 June, of 5 July, two of 8 July and of 16 July, of 16 August, and of 16 September, upon which they would make their observations and give such directions as might be necessary for the well conducting of the Company's affairs on the island, to which they would require the strictest obedience. 3: The directors had also received letters from Governor Skottowe under the following dates, namely 23 September and 3 December 1766, 21 May, 2 August and 16 April last. 4: The following ships had, since the departure of the Northumberland and Earl of Middlesex, arrived with the council: Ship *Consborne*, from Bengal, 25 January 1767 Ship *Argo* (ship of war), from Fort St George, 4 May Ship *Asia*, from Bombay, 14 May Ship *Prince of Wales*, from China, 23 May Ship *Havannah*, from China, 8 June Ship *Crittenden*, from Bengal, 20 June Ship *Speke*, from China, 20 June Ship *Royal Charlotte*, from Bombay, 20 June Ship *Hampshire*, from China, 27 June Ship *Lions*, from China, 5 July Ship *Duke of Cumberland*, from China, 5 July **Interpretations** The record of arrivals shows the island in its central function as the gathering point of the homeward trade, ships converging on St Helena from Bengal, Bombay, Fort St George and China within a few weeks of one another in the early summer. This clustering reflects the rhythm of the

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		Governor's Letters received List of Ships	monsoon and the sailing seasons of the East, which sent the returning Indiamen past the island in a concentrated stream, the settlement serving as the common point of refreshment where the scattered vessels of the eastern trade met on their way home. The presence of the Argo, a ship of war from Fort St George, among the returning merchantmen points to the naval escort that accompanied the homeward trade in these years. The Company's richly laden ships were vulnerable on the long passage, and a King's ship calling at the island reflects the protection the state extended to a commerce of national importance, the warship refreshing at St Helena alongside the very vessels it may have been sent to guard.
260	256	Deptford: China, 6 July Do Glatton: Do, 9 Do Fox: Do, 8 Do Plassey: Do & Bencoolin, 13 Do Lord Camden: Fort St George, Do & Do Britannia: Bengall, 14 Do Duke of Kingston: China, 17 Do Earl of Ashburnham: Do, 21 Do Speaker: Bombay, 15 August Duke of Albany: Bengall, 1 Sept. Hawke: China, 2 Do Mercury: Bengall, 27 Do Nottingham: Do, 10 October Anson: Do & Fort St George, 13 Do Pigot: Fort St George, 26 Do Devonshire: Bombay, 11 November Neptune: China, 14 Do The following Gentlemen are our Secret Committee during the present direction vizt Thomas Rous Esqr. Chairman of the Court. Thomas Saunders Esqr Deputy Chairman. Henry Crabb Boulton. George Dudley Robert Jones John Manship. & Henry Savage Esqrs. the Orders that they or any three of them shall give respecting the safty of our Outward or Homeward bound Ships are to be punctually observed The several Ships we have taken up this Season for all parts of the East Indies and China are upon the same terms and conditions of those entertained for the Service of the last Year except in the Article of Diet for each Military recruit. or other Person. whose Passage to India and St Helena is defrayed by the Company. which will be paid by Us here at the rate of one shilling a day from the time **Margin Notes:** Secret Committee Ships taken up	The remaining arrivals stood as follows: Ship *Deptford*, from China, 6 July Ship *Glatton*, from China, 9 July Ship *Fox*, from China, 8 July Ship *Plassey*, from China and Bencoolen, 13 July Ship *Lord Camden*, from Fort St George, 13 July Ship *Britannia*, from Bengal, 14 July Ship *Duke of Kingston*, from China, 17 July Ship *Earl of Ashburnham*, from China, 21 July Ship *Speaker*, from Bombay, 15 August Ship *Duke of Albany*, from Bengal, 1 September Ship *Hawke*, from China, 2 September Ship *Mercury*, from Bengal, 27 September Ship *Nottingham*, from Bengal, 10 October Ship *Anson*, from Bengal and Fort St George, 13 October Ship *Pigot*, from Fort St George, 26 October Ship *Devonshire*, from Bombay, 11 November Ship *Neptune*, from China, 14 November 5: The following gentlemen were the secret committee during the present direction, namely Thomas Rous chairman of the court, Thomas Saunders deputy chairman, Henry Crabb Boulton, George Dudley, Robert Jones, John Manship and Henry Savage. The orders that they or any three of them should give respecting the safety of the outward or homeward bound ships were to be punctually observed. 6: The several ships the directors had taken up this season for all parts of the East Indies and China were upon the same terms and conditions as those engaged for the service of last year, except in the article of diet for each military recruit or other person whose passage to India and St Helena was defrayed by the Company, which would be paid for here at the rate of one shilling a day from the time [...] **Interpretations** The change to a fixed daily rate of one shilling for the diet of each recruit or passenger carried at the Company's charge marks a shift from an uncertain reckoning to a settled per-head charge for feeding those it sent out. Rather than leave the cost of victualling passengers to be disputed voyage by voyage, the directors agreed a plain daily allowance payable in England, the arrangement bringing a predictable order to an expense that grew with every man shipped to the garrisons and settlements. The long list of arrivals from China through the summer confirms the tea trade at Canton as the dominant destination of the season's homeward shipping, more vessels returning from China than from any other quarter. The concentration reflects the primacy the China trade had assumed in the Company's commerce by this date, the greater part of the fleet gathering at the island on its way back from Canton, laden with the tea that had become the chief object of the whole eastern enterprise.

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261	257	of his going on board the Ship wherein he may embark to her departure from the Downes. Each of the said Ships are let for 499 Tons. carrys 26 Guns and 99 Men their Names Commrs and Consignments are as follow vizt Ships, Commanders, Consignments Valentine: Chs Purvis, Coast & Bay Verelst: Thos Baddison, Madeira Coast & Bay Kent: Jno Mills, Do Do Clive: Jno Allen, Do Coast & China Duke of Richmond: Thos Hindman, St Helena & Bencoolen Tilbury: Willm Blunt, Do & China Pacific: Charles Barkley, Coast & China Granby: Jos Jackson, Do Grosvenor: Dav Saunders, Do Horsendon: Alexr Jameson, Do Seahorse: Edwd Dampier, Do True Briton: Jno Johnson, Do Dutton: Dav Rice, Teneriff Coast & Bay Queen: Geo Mainsforth Junr, Do Do Harcourt: Collingwd Roddam, China Directly Duke of Glocester: Jno Lauder, Do Ankerwyke: Andrew Ross, Coast & Bay Salisbury: Jno Wyche, Do Talbot: J Chr Hudson Brit, Do Asia: Robt Preston, China Ponsborne: John Payne, Coast & China Shrewsbury: Benj Jones, Madeira & Bombay Thames: Chas Haggis, Bombay Royal Captain: Nath Sunner, Do	The daily allowance ran from the time of the recruit going on board the ship in which he embarked, to her departure from the Downs. Each of the ships was let at 499 tons, carried 26 guns and 99 men, their names, commanders and consignments being as follows: Ship *Valentine*, commander Charles Purvis, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Verelst*, commander Thomas Baddison, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and Bay Ship *Kent*, commander John Mills, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and Bay Ship *Clive*, commander John Allen, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and China Ship *Duke of Richmond*, commander Thomas Hindman, consigned to St Helena and Bencoolen Ship *Tilbury*, commander William Hunt, consigned to Bencoolen and China Ship *Pacific*, commander Charles Berkley, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Granby*, commander Joseph Jackson, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Grosvenor*, commander David Saunders, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Horsendon*, commander Alexander Jameson, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Seahorse*, commander Edward Dampier, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *True Briton*, commander John Johnson, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Dutton*, commander David Rice, consigned to Tenerife, the Coast and Bay Ship *Queen*, commander George Rainsforth junior, consigned to Tenerife, the Coast and Bay Ship *Harcourt*, commander Collingwood Roddam, consigned to China directly Ship *Duke of Gloucester*, commander John Lauder, consigned to China directly Ship *Ankerwyke*, commander Andrew Ross, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Salisbury*, commander John Wynne, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Talbot*, commander Sir Charles Hudson Bart, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Asia*, commander Robert Preston, consigned to China Ship *Ponsborne*, commander John Payne, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Shrewsbury*, commander Benjamin Jones, consigned to Madeira and Bombay Ship *Thames*, commander Charles Haggis, consigned to Bombay Ship *Royal Captain*, commander Nathaniel Sanner, consigned to Bombay **Interpretations** The uniform description of every ship at 499 tons, 26 guns and 99 men shows the standard fitting of an East Indiaman of the period reduced to a repeated formula, the tonnage once again shaved a single ton below the five-hundred mark to escape the rule requiring a chaplain. The identical armament and complement down the whole list mark the degree to which the Company's chartered ships were built and manned to a common pattern, the figures entered as a settled convention rather than a true measure of each vessel. The spread of consignments across the Coast of Coromandel, the Bay of Bengal, Bombay and China, with many ships routed by way of Madeira or Tenerife, shows the established shape of the outward trade and the use of the Atlantic islands as first ports of call for wine and refreshment. The predominance of voyages ending at China or in the Bay reflects where the Company's commerce chiefly lay, the fleet dispersing to the several eastern markets before converging again on St Helena on the way home.

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262	258	Looking back at my last few responses, I was outputting the literal text "Margin Notes:" on one line and then the bold **Margin Notes:** on the next line, producing the heading twice. The cause: when I wrote the transcription, I ended the main text, then typed "Margin Notes:" as a plain-text label out of habit, and then also inserted the required bold **Margin Notes:** heading immediately after it. Instruction 21 calls for a single bold heading on its own line. The plain-text line was redundant and should never have been there. You've sent the same image again. Here is the corrected transcription with the heading appearing once, in bold: Grenville: Bur Abercrombie, Bombay Essex: Fran Reed, Do York: Geo Hayter, Do We have refitted our own Ship Admiral Watson burthen 900 Tons 80 Men and 24 Guns Commanded by Captain John Griffin. for a Voyage to India to Convey to Our several Presidencies such Informations and Directions as were Necessary to be sent by an early conveyance. she Accordingly sailed from Plymouth on the 23 Novr We send for your Information Copies of the Charterparties of the Ships Duke of Richmond and Tilbury and we Expect you will carefully comply with. by dispatching them on their respective Voyages within the prescribed time List of the Arrival and Departure of our Shipping since the Sailing of the Northumberland and Earl of Middlesex is inclosed for your guidance and information The Gentlemen whom we have thought proper to Appoint the Council in China for Conducting the Company's Affairs there are Messrs Henry Rivell. Hillary Torriano. Stephen De Visme John Searle. Francis Wood. Benjamin Fonn. Mann Horner Thomas Thomas. William Rous John Walton. Thomas Bevan and William Harrison Having for some time past found it Necessary to Continue a Residence in China of part of the Council the year Round we have therefore determined to persevere. in that practice and **Margin Notes:** Ships own Admiral Watson refitted to convey Directions to India Copies of the Duke of Richmond & Tilbury Charterparties sent List of Ships sent for the Councils guidance China Council	The last of the season's ships stood as follows: Ship *Grenville*, commander Burnet Abercrombie, consigned to Bombay Ship *Essex*, commander Francis Reed, consigned to Bombay Ship *York*, commander George Hayter, consigned to Bombay 7: The directors had refitted their own ship Admiral Watson, of 900 tons, 80 men and 24 guns, commanded by Captain John Griffin, for a voyage to India, to convey to the several presidencies such informations and directions as were necessary to be sent by an early conveyance. She accordingly sailed from Plymouth on 2 November. 8: The directors sent, for the council's information, copies of the charter parties of the ships Duke of Richmond and Tilbury, which they expected the council would carefully comply with by dispatching them on their respective voyages within the prescribed time. 9: A list of the arrival and departure of the Company's shipping since the sailing of the Northumberland and Earl of Middlesex was enclosed for the council's guidance and information. 10: The gentlemen whom the directors had thought proper to appoint the council in China for conducting the Company's affairs there were Henry Revell, Hilary Torriano, Stephen De Visme, John Searle, Francis Wood, Benjamin Jones, Mann Horner, Thomas Thomas, William Rous, John Walton, Thomas Bevan and William Harrison. 11: Having for some time past found it necessary to continue a residence in China of part of the council the year round, the directors had therefore determined to persevere in that practice [...] **Interpretations** The maintenance of part of the China council in permanent residence through the year confirms the settled establishment at Canton that these letters had traced over several seasons. The tea trade had grown too continuous and valuable to be managed by officers who came and went with the ships, so a standing body remained on the spot to conduct the business the year round, the directors resolving to persevere in a practice that marked the Company's transition to a fixed commercial presence in China. The refitting of the Company's own ship for a special early voyage to India, carrying instructions ahead of the season's fleet, shows again the value placed on speed when the affairs of the presidencies pressed. Rather than wait for the ordinary shipping, the directors sent a large owned vessel expressly with despatches, the expense of a dedicated passage justified when important directions had to reach Bengal, Bombay and Madras without the delay of the regular sailings.
263	259	and have appointed Messrs Rivell. Torriano. De Visme; Wood. Fonn. Rous. Bevan. and Harrison. to reside there in the year 1769 and the Customary directions are given them for conducting and takeing care of the Company's Affairs. after the coming away of such of the before named Council as are Ordered to leave	The directors had appointed Revell, Torriano, De Visme, Wood, Jones, Rous, Bevan and Harrison to reside in China in the year 1769. The customary directions were given them for conducting and taking care of the Company's affairs, after the coming away of such of the council named above as were ordered to leave China in the year 1768, and previous to the arrival of such supercargoes as the directors might appoint members of the succeeding council.

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		China in the Year 1768 and previous to the Arrival of such Supralargoes whom we may Appoint Members of the Succeed ing Council We have continued our Orders to the Commanders of the Ships going out this season. to supply themselves in India. or China with as much fewel and salt provisions as will serve for their Voyages home. and have likewise Directed that if they have any of the latter to spare. it would be very Agreeable to us. to let you have them on our Account on your paying for the same. or you may leave the Adjustment to us as shall best suit your conenience. You are therefore hereby Positively directed to Apply in writing to the Commanders of Our several Ships as they Arrive for what salt provisions they can spare. and if you find them fit for use to receive them on the Company's Account on the beforementiond terms We have as fully complied with your Indents as the tonnage of these two Ships will Admit and particularly in thillt title of Provisions. that your pressing demands may be entirely removed and Also to Enable you to supply the great number of returning Ships which call at your Island. the Consign ments principally consist of **Margin Notes:** Indents at China Orders continued to the Commanders to Supply themselves in India or China with fewel & salt provisions & directions to purchase the Latter. before Indents complyd with particularly Provisions	12: The directors had continued their orders to the commanders of the ships going out this season to supply themselves in India or China with as much fuel and salt provisions as would serve for their voyages home. They had likewise directed that if they had any of the latter to spare, it would be very agreeable to the directors to let the council have them on the directors account, on the council paying for the same, or the council might leave the adjustment to the directors as should best suit its convenience. The council was therefore hereby positively directed to apply in writing to the commanders of the several ships as they arrived for what salt provisions they could spare, and if it found them fit for use, to receive them on the Company's account on the terms mentioned above. 13: The directors had as fully complied with the council's requisitions as the tonnage of these two ships would admit, and particularly in the article of provisions, so that the council's pressing demands might be entirely removed, and also to enable it to supply the greater number of returning ships which called at the island. The consignments principally consisted of coals [...] **Interpretations** The standing order that arriving commanders sell their spare salt provisions to the island on the Company's account shows a settled device for easing the settlement's chronic want by drawing on the very ships that so often drained it. Rather than let surplus victuals be carried home unused, the directors turned the homeward fleet into a source of supply for the island, the council directed to apply in writing to each commander as he came in, the arrangement recovering food that would otherwise have gone to waste. The doubling purpose of the season's provisions, both to relieve the island's own pressing demands and to let it supply the greater number of returning ships, reveals the settlement's growing burden as the traffic through it increased. More ships calling meant more mouths to feed from the island's stores, so the directors sent provisions not only for the garrison and inhabitants but to enable the island to victual the passing fleet, the supply from England scaled to a demand that rose with the volume of the homeward trade. The care to keep part of the China council resident through each year, with named members already appointed for 1769, confirms the permanence and forward planning of the Canton establishment. The directors arranged the succession seasons in advance, so that those departing handed over to those remaining and fresh members were named before the resident body dispersed, the whole reflecting a settled institution managing a continuous trade rather than a venture renewed with each fleet.
264	260	Coals 40 Chaldron Beef 150. Puncheons Pork 250 Hogsheads Cordage 5 Tons Flour 75 Tons Gunpowder 50 Barrels besides sundry Garrison Stores. Ordinance General. and Other Stores. the particulars whereof will more fully Appear by these ships Invoices and Bills of Lading We also send on the ships now going out two Cables a Top mast and an Anchor with Stock Treenails &ca to supply the place of those you furnished to the Ships Grenville and Nottingham The several Articles of your Indent wanted from	The consignments consisted of: Coals, 40 chaldrons Beef, 150 puncheons Pork, 250 hogsheads Cordage, 5 tons Flour, 75 tons Gunpowder, 50 barrels Besides sundry garrison stores, ordnance, general and other stores, the particulars of which would more fully appear by these ships invoices and bills of lading. 14: The directors also sent on the ships now going out two cables, a topmast and an anchor, with stock, treenails and the like, to supply the place of those the council furnished to the ships Grenville and Nottingham. 15: The several articles of the council's requisition wanted from China were written for, and

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		China are wrote for. and we have Directed our Council at Canton to Comply with any Additions or Alterations you may see Necessary to make The Hatts and Shoes sent this Season are provided by different Persons who are directed to distinguish their Respective Goods. you are to Continue to send an Account of their quality and whose are entitled to the preference We have contracted for the twenty one six pounders for the saluting Curtain. and the Nine twenty four pounders **Margin Notes:** Garrison Stores Cables & a Topmast &c China Indents for Comply with Hatts & Shoes sent & Account of their quality & preference Guns for Marlborough intended Offers	the directors had directed their council at Canton to comply with any additions or alterations the council might see necessary to make. 16: The hats and shoes sent this season were provided by different persons, who were directed to distinguish their respective goods. The council was to continue to send an account of their quality and whose were entitled to the preference. 17: The directors had contracted for the twenty one six-pounders for the saluting curtain, and the nine twenty four-pounders [...] **Interpretations** The replacement in kind of the cables, topmast and anchor the island had supplied to two passing ships shows the settlement's stores functioning as a revolving magazine, from which vessels in need drew naval stores that London then made good. The island held a stock of such heavy gear ready for any ship that required it, the Company replenishing what was issued so that the reserve was maintained, the arrangement turning St Helena into a forward depot of ship's stores on the homeward route. Treenails were the wooden pins used to fasten a ship's timbers, and stock here meant the crossbar of an anchor, their inclusion among the replacement gear showing the range of specialised fittings the island had to keep for the repair and refitting of the Company's ships. The supply of such particular items from England reflects how completely the settlement depended on home for the materials of ship maintenance, even the smallest components having to be carried out across the world. The twenty-one six-pounders for the saluting curtain point to the ceremonial as well as the defensive armament of the island, a saluting battery being the guns used to render honours to arriving ships and dignitaries rather than to repel an enemy. The distinction between these lighter saluting pieces and the heavier twenty-four-pounders for defence shows the two purposes the island's ordnance served, the courtesies of the sea and the security of the anchorage each requiring its own guns.
265	261	for the new Battery constructed at Munders point. also for the two Brass Mortars for Exercising the Artillery Company. and if they can be compleated in time. they will be sent on one of these Ships otherwise the sending them must be deferred till next Season We have repeated our Orders to the Commanders of the Ships going out this Season to put in at the Cape of good Hope in their homeward Voyages to recruit their Victualling Stores. but are at all events to call at your Island. and have Also recommended to them in Consequence of your Request in your Letter of the 27 June to purchase Some Cattle. and Sheep. at the Cape on our Account. which you are to pay for. or leave the Amount to be Adjusted in England on the Ships return. you must therefore keep us Constantly advised of what you receive in Order to enable us to settle the same with the Captains. in Case you do not pay for what they bring In your Letter of the 5 March you Acquaint us. that the late Captain Ingles desired to have a premium on the money he laid out at	These guns were for the new battery constructed at Munden's point. There were also the two brass mortars for exercising the artillery company, and if they could be completed in time they would be sent on one of these ships. Otherwise the sending of them must be deferred till next season. 18: The directors had repeated their orders to the commanders of the ships going out this season to put in at the Cape of Good Hope on their homeward voyages to recruit their victualling stores, but at all events to call at the island. They had also recommended to them, in consequence of the council's request in its letter of 27 June, to purchase some cattle and sheep at the Cape on the directors account, which the council was to pay for, or leave the amount to be adjusted in England on the ships return. The council must therefore keep the directors constantly advised of what it received, so as to enable them to settle the same with the captains, in case it did not pay for what they brought. 19: In its letter of 5 March the council acquainted the directors that the late Captain Inglis desired a premium on the money he laid out at the Cape for cattle, alleging that he disbursed his own cash. But as the council had not received any orders on it, it could not pay it, which was right, as the directors would settle the same with his executors in England. In future the council must give them a particular account of the qualities and prices of what it received, with its opinion, so as to enable them to form a judgement in what manner to make the captains such reasonable allowance for risk and

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		the Cape for Cattle. alledging that he disbursed his own Cash. but as you had not received any Orders thereon you could not pay it. which was right as we shall settle the same with his Executors here and in future you must give us a particular Account of the Quali ties. and prices of what you receive and your Opinion thereupon for us to form a Judgment in what manner to make the Captains such reasonable Allowance for tisk and incouragement as we shall think they deserve; you are therefore to pay them the prime cost and Charges if desired. or to refer the whole. as well as the Advance to be settled in England **Margin Notes:** Orders repeated to the Commanders to touch at the Cape of good Hope A particular Account of Quality & Prices of the things brought from the Cape to be transmitted with the Commanders judgment thereon	encouragement as they should think they deserved. The council was therefore to pay them the prime cost and charges if desired, or to refer the whole, as well as the advance, to be settled in England. **Interpretations** The construction of a new battery at Munden's point shows the fortification programme extending to fresh positions commanding the anchorage, the guns contracted for in England to arm a work newly raised on the island. Munden's, a height overlooking the road, was a key point in the defence of the settlement, and the equipping of a new battery there marks the steady strengthening of the island's guns that ran through these years of works. The dispute over Captain Inglis's claim for a premium on the money he advanced for cattle at the Cape reveals the Company working out how to reward commanders for the risk and trouble of buying provisions on its behalf. A man who laid out his own cash to purchase livestock might fairly expect some allowance beyond mere repayment, but the terms of it had to be settled at home, so the directors required a full account of qualities and prices to judge what encouragement each commander deserved, the death of Inglis leaving the matter to be resolved with his executors. The brass mortars sent for exercising the artillery company, distinct from the guns provided for defence, point to the training of the garrison's gunners as a standing concern alongside the arming of the works. Practice pieces were needed to keep the artillerymen skilled, so the directors supplied mortars expressly for exercise, the provision reflecting the same care seen elsewhere to maintain the military efficiency of a garrison much occupied in labour on the fortifications.
266	262	We have forbid our several Presidencies in India and the China Council. sending you any Salt Provisions. as you inform us in your Letter of the 5 July that the Beef and Pork you received from Bengal by the Duke of Albany turned out so bad. and so dear as not to be equal either in quality or price to what you receive from hence In Order to prevent that distress to the Island which will in all probability arise from the Commanders of our returning Ships applying to be supply'd with more fresh Provisions than can with safety and conveniency be spared. you are hereby Authorised to acquaint and accordingly in our name permit the Commanders of all such of our homeward bound Ships to touch at Ascension for Turtle when you find you are not able. without breaking too much into your Stock upon the Island to give them a proper supply of fresh Provisions. this will answer the double surpose of preserving and increasing a sufficient stock for the service of the Island and of affording the necessary refreshment for the several Ships Company's. and we direct that these Orders remain in force untill we shall think proper to revoke them The two Clocks you sent on the Hawke have been thoroughly repaired and will be returned with new Cages on one of these Ships It gives us great pleasure to hear by your Letters of the 5 March	20: The directors had forbidden their several presidencies in India and the China council sending the council any salt provisions, as it informed them in its letter of 5 July that the beef and pork it received from Bengal by the Duke of Albany turned out so bad, and so dear, as not to be equal either in quality or price to what it received from England. 21: In order to prevent the distress to the island which would in all probability arise from the commanders of the returning ships applying to be supplied with more fresh provisions than could with safety and convenience be spared, the council was hereby authorised to acquaint, and accordingly in the directors name permit, the commanders of all such homeward bound ships to touch at Ascension for turtle whenever it found it could not, without breaking too much into its stock upon the island, give them a proper supply of fresh provisions. This would answer the double purpose of preserving and increasing a sufficient stock for the service of the island, and of affording the necessary refreshment for the Company's several ships. The directors directed that these orders remain in force until they should think proper to revoke them. 22: The two clocks the council sent on the Hawke had been thoroughly repaired, and would be returned with new cases on one of these ships. 23: It gave the directors great pleasure to hear by the council's letters of 5 March and 14 September that the pastures and plantations were in a very flourishing condition. But they were much concerned at being informed, in the same letters, that the disorder among the black cattle continued, and prevented the stocks being kept up. They hoped the loss would amply be made up by the supplies the council would receive from the returning ships which called at the Cape.

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		and 14 Septemr. that your pastures. and plantations were in a very flourishing Condition. but we are much concerned at being informd in the same Letters. that the disorder among the Black Cattle continues & prevents your Stocks being kept up; we hope that loss will amply be made up by the supplies you will receive from the returning Ships which call at the Cape The observations you have made upon the Engineers Quarterly Letters concerning the progress of the Works under his management in consequence **Margin Notes:** Presidencies in India & China forbid sending Salt Provisions Commanders permitted to touch at Ascension for Turtle Clocks to be returned Pastures & Plantations flourishing Disorder amongst the Cattle	24: The observations the council made upon the engineer's quarterly letters concerning the progress of the works under his management [...] **Interpretations** The decision to stop the Indian presidencies sending salt provisions, because the Bengal beef and pork proved both worse and dearer than the English, reveals the Company weighing the sources of its victualling against one another and choosing quality and price over mere proximity. It might have seemed natural to provision the island from the nearer supply of Bengal, but the poor and costly meat that arrived turned the directors back to England, the comparison showing that distance was no guide to advantage where the goods themselves disappointed. The standing authority to send ships to Ascension for turtle, now made a permanent arrangement rather than a seasonal concession, marks the settled use of the neighbouring island's resources to relieve the pressure on St Helena's own stores. As the homeward traffic grew, the demand for fresh provisions threatened to exhaust the island's stock, so the directors turned Ascension's turtle into a regular safety valve, the licence to hunt there kept in force to spare the settlement's supply whenever it could not victual the ships itself. The persistent disorder among the black cattle, continuing to prevent the herds being kept up even as the pastures flourished, exposes the recurring vulnerability of the island's livestock to disease. The failure of the stock to recover despite good grazing meant the settlement could not rely on its own herds, so the directors looked to the returning ships to make up the loss from the Cape, the recurring cattle distemper keeping the island dependent on imported livestock across the whole of these years.
267	263	consequence of the Orders we gave you in our Advices of the 19 Decemr 1766 fully answer our intentions as we have the satisfaction of seeing thereby that Mr Mitchell has in your opinions discharged his duty with Care. diligence & as much expedition as the nature of the several Works and the Assistance of working hands which could be spared from time to time could possibly admit of. this method must be continued till the Engineer has gone thorough his whole Plan It is with pleasure we observe by Mr Mitchell's midsummer Letter and your Remarks thereon. that there is reason to believe the Works at Sandy Bay will be fully compleated by Christmas following. as this we apprehend has been the heaviest part of his Plan. we hope his progress in pursuing the other objects of it will be attended with fewer difficulties and consequently take up less time As Mr Mitchell has hitherto behaved in his station to our Satisfaction. we make no doubt he will continue to exert his best endeavours to merit our esteem & regard We have perused your Consultations of the 1 June with the opinions of our Governor and Council. in answer to the 33 Paragraph of our Letter of the 19 Decemr 1766 and we find the Informations we had received were well founded. but as the expence attending the extraordinary Repair executed by the Governors Orders alone was	In consequence of the orders the directors gave in their advices of 19 December 1766, the council's observations fully answered their intentions. They had the satisfaction of seeing thereby that Mr Mitchell had, in the council's opinion, discharged his duty with care, diligence and as much expedition as the nature of the several works and the assistance of working hands, which could be spared from time to time, could possibly admit. This method must be continued till the engineer had gone through his whole plan. 25: It was with pleasure the directors observed, by Mr Mitchell's midsummer letter and the council's remarks on it, that there was reason to believe the works at Sandy Bay would be fully completed by the Christmas following. As this, they apprehended, had been the heaviest part of his plan, they hoped his progress in pursuing the other objects of it would be attended with fewer difficulties, and consequently take up less time. 26: As Mr Mitchell had hitherto behaved in his station to the directors satisfaction, they made no doubt he would continue to exert his best endeavours to merit their esteem and regard. 27: The directors had perused the council's consultations of 1 June, with the opinions of the Governor and council, in answer to the thirty-third paragraph of their letter of 19 December 1766. They found the informations they had received were well founded, but as the expense attending the extraordinary repair executed by the Governor's orders alone was not very considerable, they would take no further notice of it. But they repeated their orders that no repairs whatever be in future undertaken without the orders of the Governor and council, or by the Governor with the consent of the council. The council must always send them, by the following conveyances, its motives for such orders,

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		not very considerable. we shall take no farther notice of it. but we repeat our Orders that no repairs whatever be in future undertaken without the Orders of our Governor & Council. or by the Governors with the Consent of the Council. And you must always send us by the following Conveyances your motives for such orders. with an Estimate of the Expence & time that will be required to put them into execution **Margin Notes:** Answer to our Advices of the 19 Decemr the Engineer approved Works at Sandy Bay the Fortifications Do Capt. Mitchell The Repair by the Governors Orders. no repairs in future without the Orders of the Governor & Council	with an estimate of the expense and time that would be required to put them into execution [...] **Interpretations** The directors decision to let the matter of the governor's unauthorised repair drop, since the cost proved small, while nonetheless repeating the rule against such works in future, shows a measured response that separated the particular case from the principle at stake. The expense did not warrant pursuit, but the practice of the governor acting without the council could not be allowed to stand, so the directors overlooked the one while firmly reasserting the other, guarding their control of expenditure without making an issue of a trifling sum. The completion of the works at Sandy Bay, judged the heaviest part of the engineer's whole plan, marks a significant milestone in the long programme of fortification. Sandy Bay was one of the vulnerable landing places the defences had to cover, and finishing the works there removed the most laborious portion of the task, the directors hoping the remaining objects would go more quickly now the hardest had been achieved. The insistence on collective sanction for every repair, coupled with the demand for motives, estimates and timings sent home in advance, reveals the directors binding the island's administration to a discipline of documented authorisation. No work was to proceed on any single officer's word, and each undertaking had to be justified and costed on paper before the board, the requirement reflecting the same struggle seen throughout these letters to control from a great distance an expenditure that could otherwise run unchecked.
268	264	We find in consequence of our Orders last Season. that the Military who are employed on the Works should be regularly exercised in their Military Discipline. the Lieut. Governor has on Consultation of the 5 June proposed they should be relieved every three Months. and the manner in which you resolved to carry it into execution. by relieving only one half the first and the other the following Quarter meets with our approbation. as it will not distress the Works. and at the same time be a means of keeping our Military properly disciplined Brickmakers have such full employ and encouragement here. that we find it very difficult to engage any to proceed to St Helena. and we much doubt whether we can send you one this Season; and indeed we do not see any great inconvenience can arise thereby is stone of which you have such abundance. we are well assured will answer all purposes as well as Brick. and can be got. at much less labour than would attend brickmaking Mr Bland soon after his Arrival presented to us a Petition complaining of obstructions he met with from the Governor & Council. which prevented his providing for his family and for that reason was obliged to leave the Island. and setting forth that he had observed many Proceedings greatly as he says to the prejudice of the Company. Inhabitants and Garrison. being called upon to explain himself with respect to the	28: In consequence of the directors orders last season, that the military employed on the works should be regularly exercised in their military discipline, the lieutenant governor had, in consultation of 5 June, proposed they should be relieved every three months. The manner in which the council resolved to carry it into execution, by relieving only one half the first quarter and the other the following quarter, met with the directors approbation, as it would not distress the works and at the same time be a means of keeping the military properly disciplined. 29: Brickmakers had such full employ and encouragement in England that the directors found it very difficult to engage any to proceed to St Helena, and they much doubted whether they could send any this season. Indeed they did not see any great inconvenience that could arise from it. Stone, of which the council had abundance, was well suited and would answer all purposes as well as brick, and could be got at much less labour than would attend brickmaking. 30: Mr Bland, soon after his arrival, presented to the directors a petition complaining of obstructions he met with from the Governor and council, which prevented his providing for his family, and for that reason he was obliged to leave the island. He set forth that he had observed many proceedings greatly, as he said, to the prejudice of the Company, the inhabitants and garrison. Being called upon to explain himself with respect to the proceedings he alluded to, the directors received from him observations under the title Observations made by John Bland on the island of St Helena during his stay there, from March 1766 to May 1767, a copy of which came in this packet for the council's information. As the directors were unwilling to pass a censure upon the several persons mentioned in it until an enquiry was made into the facts charged upon them, the council was therefore, as soon after

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		said Proceedings he alluded to. we received from him a Paper Entituled observations made by John Bland on the Island of St Helena during his stay there. from March 1766 to May 1767. a Copy whereof comes a number in this Packet for your Information. as we are unwilling to pass a censure upon the several Powers therein mentioned until an enquiry is made into the Facts charged upon them. you are therefore as soon after the Receipt of this as you can to enter into a full and circumstantial examination of the several particulars in doing which every Person concerned **Margin Notes:** Relieving the Military from the Works approved Brickmakers not sent Mr Bland's Petition & Proceedings observed	the receipt of this as it could, to enter into a full and circumstantial examination of the several particulars, in doing which every person concerned [...] **Interpretations** The scheme for relieving the soldier-labourers by halves rather than all at once reveals a practical reconciliation of two competing needs, the maintenance of military discipline and the continuance of the works. Rotating the whole body out for training would have halted the building, while never relieving them would have let their soldiering decay, so the council relieved one half each quarter, keeping the works manned while restoring the men's discipline by turns, a compromise the directors approved for serving both ends. The abandonment of brickmaking in favour of the island's abundant stone marks a decisive turn in the long effort to build from local materials. Brickmakers proved too hard to recruit against the demand for them in England, but the discovery of ample good stone rendered the difficulty unimportant, since stone answered as well as brick and cost less labour to work, the directors reasoning that the island's own quarries had made the imported skill of the brickmaker needless. The petition of the dismissed mason Bland, turning his grievance into a set of formal accusations against the island's government, shows how a discontented servant could compel an official enquiry by charging misconduct prejudicial to the Company. The directors would not condemn those he named without investigation, so they ordered a full examination of his allegations, the episode revealing both the seriousness with which such charges were treated and the machinery by which even a disgraced man's complaints against those in authority had to be tried. **Speculations** Faced with the difficulty of recruiting brickmakers, the directors chose to send none and abandon brick for stone, and set down plainly why. The obvious course, pursued through several earlier seasons, was to persevere in establishing brickmaking on the island, yet they let it fall because the newly proven abundance of good stone answered every purpose at less labour, judging that the material the island already possessed had made the hard-won importation of the brickmaker's skill not worth the trouble of continuing.
269	265	concerned is separately to lay before you in Writing an answer to whatever relates to him. and if you find. the Company. the Inhabitants. or the Garrison have been injured. we expect immediate Redress is made and such Regulations fixed upon as may prevent such alledged Abuses in future In the Proceedings of your Courts Martial. received by the Neptune. we cannot without the greatest concern observe the number of Trials of Soldiers for Crimes and Irregularities occasioned by excessive Drinking. a custom which we are well assured is also very prevolent among the Slaves and is principally owing to abusive retailing of spirituous Liquors. these Abuses in addition to the Allegations of Mr Bland under the beforementioned Enquiry and Regulations the more necessary. in forming which latter great attention is to be given to the following	Every person concerned was separately to lay before the council in writing an answer to whatever related to him. If the council found the Company, the inhabitants or the garrison had been injured, the directors expected immediate redress to be made, and such regulations fixed upon as might prevent such alleged abuses in future. 31: In the proceedings of the council's courts martial, received by the directors, they could not without the greatest concern observe the number of trials of soldiers for crimes and irregularities occasioned by excessive drinking. This was a custom they were well assured was also very prevalent among the slaves, and was principally owing to the abusive retailing of spirituous liquors. These matters, in addition to the allegations of Mr Bland, were under the enquiry mentioned above, and regulations were most necessary. In forming those regulations, great attention was to be given to the following particulars: 32: The allowing the planters and inhabitants a free trade with all ships that arrived, and retailing the same again under such rules as should be consistent with the general good of the island, at the same time

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		Particulars viz The allowing the Planters and Inhabitants a free trade with all Ships that arrive. and retaileing the same again under such Rules as shall be consistent with the general Good of the Island. at the same time preventing their engrossing Liquors and all kinds of Necessaries The preventing engrossing Liquors and Necessaries by the Company's Civil and Military Servants and their being in any way whatsoever directly or indirectly concerned in retailing them out to the Inhabitants. Garrison. or Slaves The preventing excess of drinking among the Soldiery. Inhabitants. and Slaves for which purpose. no Persons whatsoever is to sell any kind of spirituous Liquors by Retail without a Licence. The present number of Punch or Publick Houses is to be reduced to as many as shall be really and absolutely necessary and no more to be allowed than you shall judge to be so. and you are to have a constant and **Margin Notes:** Company Inhabitants or Garrison injured Redress Courts Martial for Crimes occasioned by excessive Drinking Planters & Inhabitants a free trade & retailing Preventing engrossing Liquors & Necessaries by the Company's Servants Preventing excess of drinking Punch or Publick Houses to be reduced	preventing their engrossing liquors and all kinds of necessaries. 33: The preventing the engrossing of liquors and necessaries by the Company's civil and military servants, and their being in any way, directly or indirectly, concerned in retailing them out to the inhabitants, garrison or slaves. 34: The preventing excess of drinking among the soldiery, inhabitants and slaves. For which purpose no person whatsoever was to sell any kind of spirituous liquors by retail without a licence. The present number of punch or public houses was to be reduced to as many as should be really and absolutely necessary, and no more to be allowed than the council should judge to be so. The council was to have a constant [...] **Interpretations** The whole passage reveals excessive drinking as the root disorder the directors traced behind the crimes of the garrison and the slaves alike, and the abusive retail of spirits as its cause. The remedy they framed struck at the trade rather than the drinker, licensing the sale of liquor, cutting down the number of punch houses and forbidding unlicensed retail, the aim being to control drunkenness by controlling the supply from which it flowed. The rule barring the Company's own servants from engrossing or retailing liquors and necessaries exposes a particular abuse of position the directors sought to check. Civil and military officers who cornered the trade in drink and supplies could exploit both the inhabitants and the garrison, so they were forbidden any direct or indirect part in such retail, the prohibition aimed at preventing those in authority from turning their standing into a private monopoly over the island's necessaries. The care to preserve the planters and inhabitants a free trade with arriving ships, while preventing their engrossing, shows the directors balancing the liberty of the islanders to profit from the passing traffic against the danger of a few cornering the supply. The settlers were to deal freely with the ships and retail what they bought, but under rules that stopped any from monopolising liquor or provisions, the regulation seeking the general good of the community against the private advantage of the grasping. **Speculations** Confronted with the drunkenness and crime pervading the garrison, the directors chose to regulate the liquor trade rather than punish the drinkers, and the passage shows why. The obvious response to soldiers repeatedly tried for offences committed in drink was harsher discipline of the men themselves, yet the directors reached instead for the source, judging the disorder principally owing to the abusive retailing of spirits, and struck at the trade through licensing and the reduction of punch houses, treating the supply of drink as the cause to be checked rather than the conduct it produced.
270	266	and strict eye upon such licensed Houses to prevent all Irregularities in them by an abusive sale of spirituous Liquors or otherways. and if you find any such are committed or suffered therein the Licences from the Person or Persons who keep or are concerned in such Houce or Houses are to be forthwith withdrawn These are some of the particulars which require to be regulated but there are many others which we apprehend will occur in the course of your enquiry. which must also be attended to. And when	The council was to keep a strict eye upon the licensed houses to prevent all irregularities in them by an abusive sale of spirituous liquors or otherwise. If it found any such committed or suffered in them, the licences from the person or persons who kept or were concerned in such house or houses were to be forthwith withdrawn. 35: These were some of the particulars which required to be regulated, but there were many others which the directors apprehended would occur in the course of the council's enquiry, and which must also be attended to. When the council had gone through them, the directors directed that it send them, as soon after as possible, a particular account of its

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		you have gone through the same we direct that you send to us as soon after as possible a particular Account of your proceedings herein together with your opinion on each seperate charge We cannot avoid here mentioning that Mr Bland particularly charges Engineer Mitchell for employing improper Overseers. being greatly concerned in retailing spirituous Liquors to the Soldiery and others and in some other transactions set forth in his said Paper of Observations. It is therefore highly incumbent on Captain Mitchell to clear up these Imputations upon his Conduct We approve of your putting. Mr Britannicus Wright upon the establishment of a Factor as he had compleated his Writership and for the reasons mentiond in our Letter of the 21 November 1763 we permit of his naming two responsible Persons on the Island to execute the Bond sent in the ship Tilbury's Packett in the Penalty of £1000 for the faithful performance of his Covenants to the Company We have considered your recommendation of Mr Philip Mahoney Clerk of the peace at your Island. and as we agree with you that it is incompatible with his said Employ that he should stand on the Military Roll. he is to be struck. that list and **Margin Notes:** Licensed Houses to prevent Irregularities & Licences to be withdrawn if abused Particulars to be regulated Bland charges Engineer Mitchell for employing improper Overseers Mr Wright appointed a Factor Mr Mahoney Clerk of the peace to be struck off the Military Roll	proceedings, together with its opinion on each separate charge. 36: The directors could not avoid here mentioning that Mr Bland particularly charged Engineer Mitchell with employing improper overseers, being greatly concerned in retailing spirituous liquors to the soldiery and others, and with some other transactions set forth in his paper of observations. It was therefore highly incumbent on Captain Mitchell to clear up these imputations upon his conduct. 37: The directors approved of the council's putting Mr Britannicus Wright upon the establishment of a factor, as he had completed his writership. For the reasons mentioned in their letter of 16 November 1763, they permitted his naming two responsible persons on the island to execute the bond sent in the ship Tilbury's packet, in the penalty of £1,000, for the faithful performance of his covenants to the Company. 38: The directors had considered the council's recommendation of Mr Philip Mahoney, clerk of the peace at the island. As they agreed that it was incompatible with that employment that he should stand on the military roll, he was to be struck off it. That business [...] **Interpretations** The power to withdraw a licence for any abuse committed in a house completes the machinery of control over the liquor trade, giving the council a direct sanction against the retailer rather than only the drinker. By making the licence conditional on good order and revocable at once for its breach, the directors put the keeper of every house under a standing threat, the fear of losing his trade enlisted to enforce the very sobriety the regulations sought. The specific charge against Engineer Mitchell, accused by Bland of employing improper overseers and dealing in the very liquor trade the directors were moving to suppress, placed a valued officer under a cloud he was required to clear. That the man in charge of the works should himself be named among the retailers of spirits struck at the heart of the reform, so the directors called on Mitchell to answer, unwilling to let even their trusted engineer stand unexamined against so serious an imputation. The removal of the clerk of the peace from the military roll reveals a concern to keep civil and military offices distinct where holding both was incompatible. The clerk of the peace was a civil officer of the island's justice, and his standing also as a soldier confused two separate functions, so the directors struck him off the military list, the separation reflecting a wider insistence that the offices of the small administration not be improperly combined in single hands.
271	267	and in consideration of the character you give him we have resolved to allow him the yearly salary of Ninety pounds in full for his said Employ. which as it is putting him on the footing of a Factor with respect to Allowances. we cannot agree to his having more We must observe in answer to Lord Clive's Request in your Letter of the 22 May last for returning to Anjengo the two surviving Bramins sent in 1757 that as such a step might displease the King of Travancore we cannot give our consent thereto at present. but shall write to our Governor and Council at Bombay thereon. and upon receipt of their Answer shall give you our further directions	In consideration of the character the council gave him, the directors had resolved to allow him the yearly salary of ninety pounds in full for his employment. As this put him on the footing of a factor with respect to allowances, they could not agree to his having more. 39: The directors must observe, in answer to Lord Clive's request in the council's letter of 22 May last, for returning to Anjengo the two surviving Brahmins sent in 1757, that as such a step might displease the King of Travancore, they could not give their consent to it at present. They would write to the Governor and council at Bombay on it, and upon receipt of their answer would give the council further directions. 40: The directors sent, agreeable to the council's request, fifty recruits for the service of the garrison, and amongst them as many artificers as were

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		We send agreeable to your Request Fifty Recruits for the service of your Military. and Amongst them as many Artificers as were procu rable. which will more fully appear by the Lists in the ships Packets We have perused the Proceedings of the Court Martial held on Captain Richard Beale for disobedience of the Lieutenant Governor's Orders and behaving in a disrespectful and Unofficer like manner to him when Captain of the day. also the Lieutenant Governor's letter to the Governor and Council with your Answer. and as it is at all times Necessary to keep up a strict and due Observance of Military Discipline. we are of Opinion the bringing Captain Beale to a Court Martial was a proper Measure. and altho the Court Acquitted him of two of the Charges. yet as he was found guilty of hesitating to obey the Lieutenant Governor's Orders we think he deserved the Censure passed on him. however in Consideration of some alleviating Circumstances which appear upon the face of the Proceedings. also of the Courts Recommendation and your Resolution thereon. together with the Lieutenant Governor's intercession; we shall pass over this Offence. in hopes his future Behaviour will merit this mark of our Indulgence We approve of the method proposed by Mr Sterling on Consultation of the 27 July relating to the checks to be kept on the Adjutants Book and **Margin Notes:** Salary to the Clerk of the peace Answer to Lord Clive's Request for returning the two Bramins Recruits sent Court Martial on Captain Beale for disobedience of the Lieut. Governor's Orders Method proposed by Mr Sterling approved	procurable, which would more fully appear by the lists in the ships packets. 41: The directors had perused the proceedings of the court martial held on Captain Richard Beale, for disobedience of the lieutenant governor's orders and behaving in a disrespectful and unofficer-like manner to him when captain of the day, also the lieutenant governor's letter to the Governor and council with the council's answer. As it was at all times necessary to keep up a strict and due observance of military discipline, the directors were of opinion that bringing Captain Beale to a court martial was a proper measure. Although the court acquitted him of two of the charges, yet as he was found guilty of hesitating to obey the lieutenant governor's orders, they thought he deserved the censure passed on him. However, in consideration of some alleviating circumstances which appeared upon the face of the proceedings, also of the court's recommendation and the council's resolution on it, together with the lieutenant governor's intercession, they would pass over this offence, in hopes his future behaviour would merit this mark of their indulgence. 42: The directors approved of the method proposed by Mr Skottowe in consultation of 27 July, relating to the checks to be kept on the adjutant's book [...] **Interpretations** The refusal to return the two surviving Brahmins to Anjengo, for fear of displeasing the King of Travancore, reveals how even a minor matter on St Helena could touch the delicate web of the Company's Indian diplomacy. The men had been brought from the Malabar coast a decade before, and their restoration bore on relations with a native ruler whose goodwill mattered to the settlements there, so the directors would not act without consulting Bombay, a small human question deferred to the larger considerations of Indian policy. The handling of the court martial on Captain Beale shows the Company upholding the principle of military discipline while tempering its enforcement with mercy in the particular case. His hesitation to obey the lieutenant governor could not be passed over without a trial, since obedience had to be maintained, yet the mitigating circumstances and the intercession of his very accuser moved the directors to remit the punishment, the balance struck between the firmness the service required and the leniency the case allowed. The whole episode of Beale reflects the peculiar tensions of command in a small garrison, where officers lived at close quarters and a dispute over precedence or duty could quickly become a matter for formal trial. The captain of the day held a specific responsibility, and his disrespect to the lieutenant governor in that capacity struck at the chain of authority, the affair revealing how the confined society of the island could turn a moment's insubordination into a proceeding that reached all the way to the directors in London.
272	268	and for better conducting the business of relisting Soldiers whose times are near expired. but must observe that we cannot see how mistakes could possibly be made to the Company's Prejudice) though always rectified as you say (in so plain a Case The Right Honble Lord Sandy's having desired that John Webbly a Mattross on your Island may be Acquainted it is Necessary he should leave over a proper Authority to some Relation or Friend at Ombersley	The method was for better conducting the business of re-listing soldiers whose times were near expired. But the directors must observe that they could not see how mistakes could possibly be made to the Company's prejudice, though always rectified, as the council said, in so plain a case. 43: The Right Honourable Lord Sandys having desired that John Webbley, a matross on the island, be acquainted, it was necessary he should give over a proper authority to some relation or friend at Ombersley to receive his rent and take care of his houses, as otherwise they would go to ruin. The council was therefore, in compliance with his

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		to receive his rent and take care of his Houses. as otherwise they will go to ruin. you are therefore in compliance with his Lordship's Request. to inform the said Webbley thereof accordingly. that he may execute the proper Powers for that purpose. which should be sent in Duplicate by the first conveyances We are glad to find by your Letter of the 2 August. that on Ballancing your Quarters Accounts ending the 30 June. you would have Cash sufficient to Answer the Current Expences for the next year without receiving any from hence. and you have our permission and are accordingly directed to send any surplus Treasure you may have on the Duke of Richmond to Fort Marlborough. where it will be very Acceptable It is represented to us that Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick has in his hands about the sum of £1000 belonging to the Estate of Captain Ingles deceased late commander of the ship Asia and the Executors desiring that the same may be paid into the Company's Cash at St Helena for Bills of Exchange upon us. we have consented thereto. and you are accordingly to receive the said sum and give Bills of Exchange upon us. for the amount payable at 90 days sight to the Legal Representatives of the said Captain Inglis. we observe by your Letter of the 2 August last that upon a Computation it appeared you would have Cash remaining for the service **Margin Notes:** Business of relisting Soldiers John Webbley a Mattross to give a proper Authority to some Relation or Friend at Ombersley Surplus Treasure to be sent to Fort Marlborough on the Duke of Richmond Money in the hands of Captain Kirkpatrick to be paid into the Comps Cash for Bills of Exchange	lordship's request, to inform Webbley of it accordingly, so that he might execute the proper covenants for that purpose, which should be sent in duplicate by the first conveyances. 44: The directors were glad to find by the council's letter of 2 August that, on balancing its quarterly accounts ending 30 June, it would have cash sufficient to answer the current expenses for the next year without receiving any from England. It had the directors permission, and was accordingly directed, to send any surplus treasure it might have on the Duke of Richmond to Fort Marlborough, where it would be very acceptable. 45: It was represented to the directors that Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick had in his hands about the sum of £1,000 belonging to the estate of Captain Inglis, deceased, late commander of the ship Asia. The executors desiring that the same be paid into the Company's cash at St Helena for bills of exchange upon the directors, they had consented to it. The council was accordingly to receive the sum and give bills of exchange upon the directors for the amount, payable at 90 days sight to the legal representatives of Captain Inglis. The directors observed by the council's letter of 2 August last that, upon a computation, it appeared it would have cash remaining for the service [...] **Interpretations** The intervention on behalf of Webbley, a common soldier of the artillery whose property at Ombersley in England stood to fall into ruin, reveals how the concerns of a great man could reach across the world to touch the humblest servant. Lord Sandys, the landlord or patron of the place, moved the directors to have the matross empowered to appoint someone to manage his houses and collect his rent at home, the whole apparatus of the Company bent to secure the distant interests of a single soldier at a nobleman's request. The settlement of Captain Inglis's estate through bills of exchange drawn on the directors shows the island functioning as a point where money owed in the East could be converted into credit payable in England. Rather than ship the actual cash home, the £1,000 held for the dead commander's estate was paid into the Company's coffers at St Helena and answered by bills on London, the arrangement moving value across the world on paper and sparing the risk and trouble of transporting specie. The island's ability to meet its own expenses from its own cash, without drawing treasure from England, and even to send its surplus onward to Fort Marlborough, marks a notable point in its financial standing. The revenue raised on the spot had grown enough to sustain the establishment and leave a balance to spare, the settlement passing from a drain on the Company's resources to a source that could relieve the needs of another of its stations.
273	269	of a Year from that time. as this Indulgence on Account of Captain Inglis's Estate. is therefore by so much an Additional Surplus Cash. you must therefore be careful not to receive any other Sums for Bills from the Commanders of our Ships or Others until you really want the same for the Current services of the Island the following Season As the Parliament have this Season continued the Act for prohibiting the Exportation of Wheat Flour and other Grain except to	The council would have cash remaining for the service of a year from that time. As this indulgence on account of Captain Inglis's estate was by so much an additional surplus cash, the council must therefore be careful not to receive any other sums for bills from the commanders of the ships or others until it really wanted the same for the current services of the island the following season. 46: As Parliament had this season continued the Act for prohibiting the exportation of wheat, flour and other grain, except to the settlements and on giving the security advised last year, the council must therefore return certificates in duplicate by the first conveyances of all the flour or other articles in that Act which should be landed at the island.

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		the Places and on giving the Security advised last year. you must therefore return Certificates in Duplicate by the first Conveyances of all the Flour or other Articles in the said Act that shall be landed at your Island Our Chaplain the Reverend Mr Deancroft having represented the disadvantages he labours under. for want of a proper Library to have recourse to. and being Sensible that the having a Publick Library will be very beneficial not only to our Chaplain. but also to our principal Servants. we have resolved to comply with his request. and Accordingly send on the Duke of Richmond a proper Sortment of Books to the Amount of about two hundred Pounds to form one for the use of our principal Servants on your Island He has also recommended the sending a number of small tracts for the use of the Garrison and others. and being of Opinion that such a measure will be very serviceable for improving the minds of the Soldiery and common people. we send to the amount of about Fifty Pounds in such small Tracks as are usually sent to the East Indies by the society for promoting Christian Knowledge which are to be distributed by our Governor and Council amongst our Military and others in such manner as they shall think will best answer our intentions in Sending them **Margin Notes:** Additional Surplus Cash Certificates to be returned for the Flour landed Books for a Library sent Small Tracts sent for the Garrison	47: The Company's chaplain, the Reverend Mr Deancross, having represented the disadvantages he laboured under for want of a proper library to have recourse to, and the directors being sensible that having a public library would be very beneficial not only to their chaplain but also to their principal servants, they had resolved to comply with his request. They accordingly sent on the Duke of Richmond a proper assortment of books to the amount of about two hundred pounds, to form one for the use of their principal servants on the island. 48: The chaplain had also recommended the sending of a number of small tracts for the use of the garrison and others. The directors, being of opinion that such a measure would be very serviceable for improving the minds of the soldiery and common people, sent to the amount of about fifty pounds in such small tracts as were usually sent to the East Indies by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which were to be distributed by the Governor and council amongst the military and others in such manner as they should think would best answer the directors intentions in sending them. **Interpretations** The founding of a public library for the principal servants, prompted by the chaplain's want of books, reveals the directors extending their care for the island beyond its material needs to the intellectual life of its officers. A remote settlement offered little access to learning, so a collection worth two hundred pounds was sent to remedy the deficiency, the provision reflecting a recognition that the men who governed and served the island required the resources of study that isolation otherwise denied them. The dispatch of religious tracts for the garrison and common people, drawn from those the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge sent to the East, shows the concern to improve the morals and minds of the ordinary inhabitants through cheap devotional reading. Set beside the campaign against drunkenness in the same letters, the tracts formed part of a wider effort to reform the manners of the soldiery and populace, the improvement of their minds pursued alongside the regulation of their vices. The contrast between the two hundred pounds of books for the principal servants and the fifty pounds of tracts for the common people marks the social gradation the directors observed in their provision for the island. The officers received a library for study and reference, while the soldiers and populace were given simple tracts for moral instruction, the different character and value of each reflecting the distinct places the two orders held in the settlement's hierarchy.
274	270	Upon settling Accounts with the Owners of the Ship Duke of Richmond we observed by the endorsement on the Bill of Lading there appeared a deficiency in the weight of the Cordage. but no account whether the Coils agreed as to number and dimensions. there were also deficiencies of soap and other Goods in Package but the Condition of the Packages are not properly described which makes it difficult to adjust the same with the Owners it is therefore incumbent upon you in future to Order that a particular State of the Packages wherein any Goods are	49: Upon settling accounts with the owners of the ship Duke of Richmond, the directors observed by the endorsement on the bill of lading that there appeared a deficiency in the weight of the cordage, but no account whether the coils agreed as to number and dimensions. There were also deficiencies of soap and other goods in the package, but the condition of the packages was not properly described, which made it difficult to adjust the same with the owners. It was therefore incumbent upon the council in future to order that a particular state of the packages, in which any goods were damaged or short delivered, be entered upon its consultations, also whether the cordage agreed as to the number of coils and their weight. 50: The directors had engaged John Preston to be mason at the island for five years, at the yearly salary of eighty pounds in full for wages, diet money,

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		damaged or short delivered be entered upon your Consultations also whether the Cordage agrees as to the number of Coils and their Weight We have entertained John Preston to be Mason at your Island for five years at the yearly salary of Eighty pounds in full for Wages. Diet money. House rent and all other allowan ces. to commence upon his Arrival. we have given him a Gratuity of Ten pounds. and permitted him to take his Wife and two Children they accordingly proceed on the Tilbury and we have paid the Owners for their Passage Mr Corneille is to continue at St Helena another year. if it suits his conveniency. by which time we shall be Able take his request into Consideration London the 12 January 1768 We are Your Loving Friends Henry Savage Robt Jones John Stephenson Geo Cuming William Snell John Scrafton Geo Wombwell G Colebrooke Willm Crittenden Hy Crab Boulton Pardoe Peter DuCane Jun Jno Cock burn Rob Gust Edwd Wheeler John Roberts Thos Rous Robt Saunders Geo Dudley F. W. Barrington Wanière Ben Booth	house rent and all other allowances, to begin on his arrival. They had given him a gratuity of ten pounds, and permitted him to take his wife and two children, who accordingly proceeded on the Tilbury, the directors having paid the owners for their passage. 51: Mr Corneille was to continue at St Helena another year, if it suited his convenience, by which time the directors would be able to take his request into consideration. *London*, 12 January 1768. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by Henry Savage, Robert Ames, John Stephenson, George Cuming, William Snell, John Scattergood, Pardoe, George Wombwell, G. Colebrooke, John Crittenden, Peter Du Cane junior, John Cockburn, Robert Gust, Edward Wheler, Henry Crabb Boulton, John Roberts, Thomas Rous, Robert Saunders, George Dudley, F. W. Barrington, Laurière and Ben Booth. **Interpretations** The difficulty of settling the shortfalls on the Duke of Richmond's cargo, for want of a proper record of the damaged and deficient packages, exposes once more the directors dependence on exact documentation to recover losses from the ship owners. A deficiency could only be charged against the owners if its extent and cause were clearly entered, so the vague endorsement left the claim unadjustable, the directors requiring the council to record the precise state of every short or damaged package so that responsibility could be fixed and the loss made good. The engagement of yet another mason on the familiar terms, a fixed salary covering all allowances with family passage found by the Company, confirms the continuing demand for stoneworkers to carry on the island's building programme. The steady recruitment of such craftsmen, each drawn out at the Company's whole expense because none could be had on the spot, reflects the scale of the works still in hand and the central place of masonry in a settlement now building so largely from its own stone.
275	271	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Our last letter was dated the 12 Ultimo and went by the Tilbury which sailed on her Voyage the 31 of the same Month The Ship Duke of Richmond having parted her Cables in the Night of the 25 December. run ashore at Gravesend. but was happily got off. after having grounded above forty eight Hours. And Although we were assured the Ship made no Water nevertheless. as the Cargo was on board and it appearing highly imprudent to suffer her to proceed without a proper Examination. we made application to the Admiralty and the Ship has been Accordingly Docked at Sheerness and found not to have received any Damage; we hope the delay Occasioned thereby will not be attended with any material disappointment Anothan Sake a Soldier who deserted from	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: The directors last letter was dated 12 last month and went by the Tilbury, which sailed on her voyage the 31 of the same month. 2: The ship Duke of Richmond, having parted her cables in the night of 25 December, ran ashore at Gravesend, but was happily got off after having grounded above forty-eight hours. Although the directors were assured the ship made no water, nevertheless, as the cargo was on board and it appearing highly imprudent to suffer her to proceed without a proper examination, they made application to the Admiralty. The ship had accordingly been docked at Sheerness and found not to have received any damage. They hoped the delay occasioned thereby would not be attended with any material disappointment. 3: Jonathan Lake, a soldier who deserted from the island in October 1766, had applied for leave to return and not to be punished for deserting, which the directors had resolved to comply with, as the principal motive of his application was said to be his wife being on the island. Should she therefore prove chargeable to the Company, the directors had rather the council send her to England at their expense than suffer her to be a burden to it there.

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		your Island in October 1766 has applied for leave to return and not to be punished for deserting. which we have refused to comply with. as the principal motive of this Application is said to be his Wifes being on the Island. should she therefore prove chargeable to the Company we had rather you would send her to England at our Expence. than suffer her to be a burthen to Us with you We have entertained Peter Monit to be Carpenters Mate at your Island for five years at the Salary **Margin Notes:** Our 1 last Letter Ship Duke of Richmond parted her Cables Sake refused a return to the Island & sent to England if she is chargeable to the Compy Carpenters Mate appointed	4: The directors had engaged Peter Monit to be carpenter's mate at the island for five years, at the salary [...] **Interpretations** The pardon granted to the deserter Lake, allowed to return unpunished because his wife was on the island, reveals the Company weighing the demands of discipline against the pull of family and the practical question of who should bear the cost. A deserter would ordinarily face punishment, but the directors chose leniency to reunite the man with his wife, their concern turning less on mercy than on ensuring she did not fall as a charge upon the Company, the whole matter resolved by calculation of expense as much as of justice. The grounding of the Duke of Richmond in the Thames, and the directors insistence on a full survey at Sheerness despite assurances she was sound, shows the caution exercised over a laden ship before she was suffered to sail on so long a voyage. A vessel that had lain aground for two days might carry hidden damage that would prove fatal at sea, so the directors applied to the Admiralty for a proper examination, unwilling to risk ship and cargo on the mere presumption that no harm was done. The pattern of engaging skilled men on five-year terms continues with the carpenter's mate, one more of the many tradesmen drawn out to the island to serve its works and shipping. The steady succession of such appointments, each on the settled conditions of salary and passage, reflects the constant need to replenish the island's establishment of craftsmen, a remote settlement being wholly dependent on England to supply the skilled hands its maintenance required.
276	272	Salary of Sixty Pounds & Annum in full for Wages. House rent and all other allowances. We have given him a Gratuity of ten Guineas. and permitted him to take his Wife and two Children for whose Passage we have paid the Captain here We are your loving Friends London the 5 February 1768 (signed) Thos Rous Thos Saunders Geo. Dudley Henry Savage John Manship Hy Crab Boulton F. W. Barrington Rob Jones John Roberts Edw Wheeler Pardoe Ben Booth John Stephenson Wm Crittenden Geo. Wombwell William Snell	The carpenter's mate was engaged at a salary of sixty pounds a year in full for wages, house rent and all other allowances. The directors had given him a gratuity of ten guineas and permitted him to take his wife and two children, for whose passage they had paid the captain in England. *London*, 5 February 1768. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by Thomas Rous, Thomas Saunders, George Dudley, Henry Savage, John Manship, Henry Crabb Boulton, F. W. Barrington, Robert Ames, John Roberts, Edward Wheler, Pardoe, Ben Booth, John Stephenson, John Crittenden, George Wombwell and William Snell.
277	273	Our Governor and Council of St Helena The Royal Society having applied to Us as by the enclosed Copy of their secretary's Letter that Observations may be made at our several Presidencies or other Places in the East Indies. of the next Transit of Venus over the Disk of the Sun; which is expected to happen on the 3 of June 1769. and being desirous by all means of	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: The Royal Society had applied to the directors, as by the enclosed copy of their secretary's letter, that observations might be made at the several presidencies or other places in the East Indies of the next transit of Venus over the disk of the sun, which was expected to happen on 3 June 1769. Being desirous by all means of concurring in an affair of such importance to the advancement of science, the directors gave the council this early information, and earnestly recommended it to direct that all persons in

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		concurring in an Affair of such importance to the advancement of Science. we give you this Early information. and earnestly recommend it to you to direct. that all Persons in the Company's Service. who are conversant in astronomy. also desire. in the Company's Name. by particular Notice or otherwise. all other Persons whatsoever under your influence. properly Qualified for the purpose to exert themselves in making the most carefull and accurate observations upon the said Transit. and to deliver their reports in writing to be transmitted by you at least in Duplicate by the earliest conveyances To the Persons who shall be employed herein. you are to deliver Copies of the Directions we sent you in 1760 by the Prince Henry for observing the last Transit. and if as promised. some instructions from His Majesty's Astronomer Royal. are received. for Observations on the expected one. the same shall be transmitted to you. and you are to furnish the Observers with Copies thereof. and also with Instruments and every assistance in your power that may any way contribute to the success & accuracy of the Observations London the 16 Febry 1768 We are Your Loving Friends (signed) Wm Crittenden Robt Jones John Stephenson Geo Wombwell Pardoe Edwd Wheler G Colebrooke John Roberts Luke Scrafton Geo Dudley Geo Cuming Thos Rous Thos Saunders Hy Crabb Boulton Ben Booth Henry Savage Margin Notes: Observations to be made of the Transit of Venus The Persons to have Copies of the Directions of the Transit 1760	the Company's service who were conversant in astronomy, and also desired, in the Company's name, by particular notice or otherwise, all other persons whatever under the council's influence properly qualified for the purpose, to exert themselves in making the most careful and accurate observations upon that transit, and to deliver their reports in writing, to be transmitted by the council at least in duplicate by the earliest conveyances. 2: To the persons who should be employed in this, the council was to deliver copies of the directions the directors sent in 1760 by the Prince Henry for observing the last transit. If, as promised, some instructions from His Majesty's Astronomer Royal were received for observations on the expected one, the same would be transmitted to the council. The council was to furnish the observers with copies of them, and also with instruments and every assistance in its power that might any way contribute to the success and accuracy of the observations. *London*, 16 February 1768. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by Pardoe, Edward Wheler, G. Colebrooke, John Crittenden, Robert Jones, John Stephenson, George Wombwell, John Roberts, Luke Scrafton, George Dudley, George Cuming, Thomas Rous, Thomas Saunders, Henry Crabb Boulton, Ben Booth and Henry Savage. **Interpretations** The Royal Society's request that the transit of Venus be observed from the Company's eastern stations reveals St Helena and the Indian presidencies enlisted in one of the great scientific undertakings of the age. The transit of 1769 offered astronomers across the world a rare chance to measure the distance of the sun by timing the planet's passage from widely separated points, and the Company's far-flung settlements were valuable precisely for their spread across the globe, the directors lending their servants and instruments to a collaboration of national and international importance. The reference back to the directions sent for the previous transit of 1761 shows this to be the second of the paired transits that occur eight years apart and then not again for over a century. The earlier observation had been prepared for in the same way, and the accumulated experience was passed on to the new observers, the Company treating the rare astronomical event as a recurring duty for which its scattered establishments were uniquely placed to serve the advancement of science. The willingness to furnish instruments, directions and every assistance for the observations marks a striking instance of a commercial body placing its resources at the service of pure knowledge. The Company stood to gain nothing in trade from measuring the transit, yet it committed its stations and equipment to the task, the episode revealing how the great trading enterprise could become, at the request of the learned, an instrument of scientific discovery spanning the very distances its commerce had opened.
278	274	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Since the date of our Advices to you under the 5 and 16 February last. the following Letters have been received Vizt General Letters. two of the 12 January 1768 two of the 23 February. 14 and 21 March the 2. and two of the 23 April. 5 and 13 May the 2 and 15 June. two of the 12 August. and two of the 12 Sept	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: Since the date of the directors advices under 5 and 16 February last, the following letters had been received, namely general letters, two of 12 January 1768, two of 23 February, of 14 and 21 March, of 2 and two of the 23 April, of 5 and 13 May, of 2 and 15 June, two of 2 August, and two of 16 September last. 2: Also letters from Governor Skottowe of 2 June, 15 August and 12 September last, upon which

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		Also Letters from Governor Skottowe. of 2 June 15 August and 12 September last. which we shall make such Observations upon. and add such Directions as we shall think needful. to which we require your strictest obedience The accompanying List will shew the several Ships which have imported. from India. and china in the course of the present Season The Gentlemen who compose our secret Committee this Year are Henry Crabb Boulton Esqr. Chairman. Sr Cust. John Harrison. Robert Jones. Fredrick Pigou and John Purling Esqrs. The Orders they or any three of these Gentlemen shall give. as to the safty of our outward or homeward bound Ships. must be punctually complied with That the Company's Trade may be extended as much as possible. and as large Returns from several parts of India and China imported as can be made. agreeable to the Orders we have or shall give for that purpose. we have taken up the following Ships this **Margin Notes:** No 1 Letters received Govrs Letters &c Ships arrived Secret Committee Ships taken up	the directors would make their observations, and add such directions as they should think needful, to which they required the council's strictest obedience. 3: The accompanying list would show the several ships which had imported from India and China in the course of the present season. 4: The gentlemen who composed the secret committee this year were Henry Crabb Boulton chairman, George Colebrooke Baronet deputy chairman of the court, with Peregrine Cust, John Harrison, Robert Jones, Frederick Pigou and John Purling. The orders they or any three of them should give as to the safety of the outward or homeward bound ships must be punctually complied with. 5: So that the Company's trade might be extended as much as possible, and as large returns from the several parts of India and China imported as could be made, agreeable to the orders the directors had or should give for that purpose, they had taken up the following ships [...] **Interpretations** The renewal of the secret committee under the chairmanship of the Company's own leadership shows the confidential direction of the shipping remaining a standing arrangement, the small body of named directors continuing to route the fleets and bind every officer to their orders. The persistence of the institution across these years reflects the enduring danger to the Company's richly laden ships and the settled practice of keeping their movements within a trusted few hands. The stated aim of extending the trade and importing the largest possible returns from India and China marks the commercial purpose that underlay the whole apparatus of shipping and settlement. St Helena and the elaborate machinery of the season's voyages existed ultimately to bring home the greatest quantity of eastern goods, the island's role as a place of refreshment and defence serving this larger end of maximising the returns on which the Company's prosperity depended.
279	275	this Season. whose commanders and consignments are Vizt Lioness: William Larkins, Coast & Bay Royal Charlotte: John Clements, Madeira Coast & Bay Britannia: Robert Rous, Madeira Coast & Bay Neptune: Arthur Gore, Madeira Coast & China Pigot: Geo Prichardson, Teneriffe Coast & China Duke of Albany: Alexr Stewart, St Helena & Bencoolen Havannah: John Whde Earl of Lincoln: Peter Hardwicke Plassey: John Waddell Devonshire: Matthew Hore Earl of Ashburnham: Richard Peirce Osterly: David Welch, Coast & China Nottingham: Peter Meakes Hector: Stephen Williams Triton: William Elphinston Norfolk: James Duggan Glatton: Prichard Doreton Crittenden: William Baker, China directly Duke of Grafton: Enoch Samson Prince of Wales: Jonathan Court Duke of Kingston: Richard Morrison, Coast & Bay Anson: John Jenner Deptford: William Tryon, Madeira & Bombay Duke of Cumberland: Augustus Savage, Bombay & Mocha Lord Camden: Nathaniel Smith, Bombay & China Speke: Jeffry Jackson, St Helena & China Earl of Middlesex: John Rogers, Bencoolen & China Hampshire: John Smith, Teneriffe & Bombay	The ships taken up this season, with their commanders and consignments, were as follows: Ship *Lioness*, commander William Larkins, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Royal Charlotte*, commander John Clements, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and Bay Ship *Britannia*, commander Robert Rous, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and Bay Ship *Neptune*, commander Arthur Gore, consigned to Madeira, the Coast and China Ship *Pigot*, commander George Richardson, consigned to Tenerife, the Coast and China Ship *Duke of Albany*, commander Alexander Stewart, consigned to St Helena and Bencoolen Ship *Havannah*, commander John White, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Earl of Lincoln*, commander Peter Hardwicke, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Plassey*, commander John Waddell, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Devonshire*, commander Matthew Howe, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Earl of Ashburnham*, commander Richard Pearce, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Osterley*, commander David Welch, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Nottingham*, commander Peter Stokes, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Hector*, commander Stephen Williams, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Triton*, commander William Elphinstone, consigned to the Coast and China Ship *Norfolk*, commander James Duggin, consigned to the Coast and China

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			Ship *Glatton*, commander Richard Doveton, consigned to China directly Ship *Crittenden*, commander William Baker, consigned to China directly Ship *Duke of Grafton*, commander Enoch Samson, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Prince of Wales*, commander Jonathan Court, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Duke of Kingston*, commander Richard Morrison, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Anson*, commander John Sanner, consigned to the Coast and Bay Ship *Deptford*, commander William Tryon, consigned to Madeira and Bombay Ship *Duke of Cumberland*, commander Augustus Savage, consigned to Bombay and Mocha Ship *Lord Camden*, commander Nathaniel Smith, consigned to Bombay and China Ship *Speke*, commander Jeffry Jackson, consigned to St Helena and China Ship *Earl of Middlesex*, commander John Rogers, consigned to Bencoolen and China Ship *Hampshire*, commander John Smith, consigned to Tenerife and Bombay **Interpretations** The overwhelming preponderance of ships bound for the Coast and China in this season's list marks the concentration of the Company's trade upon the textiles of Coromandel and the tea of Canton, the two staples that drew the great bulk of the outward fleet past the intermediate stations. The pattern shows where the commerce chiefly lay by this date, the eastern markets and the China voyages commanding far more shipping than Bombay and the western ports together. The routing of many ships by way of Madeira or Tenerife confirms the settled use of the Atlantic islands as the first ports of call on the outward passage, where the ships took on wine and refreshment before the long run to the East. These islands served the outward voyage much as St Helena served the homeward, the two sets of stations bracketing the great arc of the trade with points of call for provisioning and rest.
280	276	Lord Holland: Tasham Navine, Teneriffe & Coast & Bay Speaker: Robert Scott, Bombay Fox: Alexander Hume, Bombay By the Charterparties of the Ships Duke of Albany and Speke. (which as usual are enclosed(their Burthen. Terms. & Conditions on which they are taken up. will appear to be the same as those of the Ships of last Season. as described in our Letter of the 12 January last Besides the Ships mentioned in the beforegoing Letter. we have taken up the Marquis of Rockingham of 400 Tons Commanded by Captain Alexander Hamilton. and consigned her to Bombay. where all her Officers and Seamen are to be employed in the Company's Marine Service there in order to repair the great loss of Seamen who where blown up in the Ship Defiance in the Gulph of Persia. and she is also to carry out one hundred Recruits for the Service of our Military at the said Presidency We expect your utmost care in entering these Ships. within their Charterparty times. that the Company may not incur any Demorage	The last of the season's ships stood as follows: Ship *Lord Holland*, commander Tasham Navine, consigned to Tenerife and the Coast and Bay Ship *Speaker*, commander Robert Scott, consigned to Bombay Ship *Fox*, commander Alexander Hume, consigned to Bombay 6: By the charter parties of the ships Duke of Albany and Speke, which as usual were enclosed, their terms and conditions on which they were taken up would appear to be the same as those of the ships of last season, as described in the directors letter of 12 January last. 7: Besides the ships mentioned above, the directors had taken up the Marquis of Rockingham of 400 tons, commanded by Captain Alexander Hamilton, and consigned her to Bombay, where all her officers and seamen were to be employed in the Company's marine service, in order to repair the great loss of seamen who were blown up in the ship Defiance in the Gulf of Persia. She was also to carry out one hundred recruits for the service of the military at that presidency. 8: The directors expected the council's utmost care in unlivering these ships within their charter party times, so that the Company might not incur any demurrage. 9: The following gentlemen were appointed the council in China for transacting the Company's affairs there the ensuing season, namely Henry Revell, Hilary Torriano, Stephen De Visme, Francis

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		The following Gentlemen are appointed our Council in China. for transacting our Affairs there the ensuing Season Messrs Henry Rivell. Hillary Torriano. Stephen DeVisme. Francis Wood Benjamin Fonn. Edward Phipps. William Rous. Thomas Bevan. Willm Harrison. Matthew Raper. John Bradly Blake. and James Bradshaw And as we still find it necessary to have a Residence in China of part of the Council the Year round we continue that Measure. and have appointed Messrs Devisme. Wood. Fonn Phipps. Bevan. Harrison. Raper. Blake. and Bradshaw to reside there this Year 1770 **Margin Notes:** No 6 Charterpartys same as last Season Marquis of Rockingham sent to Bombay Store Ships to be dispatched in Sea Days China Council Do Residents	Wood, Benjamin Jones, Edward Phipps, William Rous, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper, John Bradby Blake and James Bradshaw. 10: As the directors still found it necessary to have a residence in China of part of the council the year round, they had appointed De Visme, Wood, Jones, Phipps, Brown, Harrison, Raper, Blake and Bradshaw to reside there the year 1770 [...] **Interpretations** The dispatch of the Marquis of Rockingham to replace the seamen lost in the Defiance reveals the heavy toll that accident and disaster took on the Company's marine, and the effort required to make good so sudden a loss. A ship blown up in the Gulf of Persia had cost the Bombay marine a body of trained seamen, so a whole vessel's crew was sent out expressly to repair the deficiency, the episode showing how the manning of the eastern establishments depended on a constant flow of men from England to replace those the perils of the service consumed. The reference to demurrage exposes the financial discipline that governed the turnaround of the ships at the island, since a vessel detained beyond her allotted time cost the Company a penalty payable to her owners. The council was pressed to unload the ships within their charter party terms precisely to avoid this charge, the concern reflecting how the whole system of hired shipping was bound by contracts whose terms bore directly on the Company's costs, the speed of the island's work translating straight into money saved or lost.
281	277	We continue the like Orders we did last Year to the commanders of the Ships going out this Season for supplying them selves in India with what Fewel. and Salt Provisions they may want. also for their calling at the Cape homeward bound. to purchase Cattle & Sheep for the Service of your Island. and have ordered them to conform to your recommendation as to the Age of the Cattle. which you are to see they comply with It being very material at all times but more especially at the begining of a Season. that we should receive the earliest and fullest information of our Affairs in India and China. we cannot but take notice of your neglect. in omitting to send a Letter by His Majesty's Ships Dolphin. although we have several times Ordered you to take every opportunity of writing. in order to prevent the like happening. again. we direct. that you strictly observe the orders in the 8 Paragraph of our Letter of the 17 November 1756 not to let any Ship come from the Island without sending a Letter; notwithstanding she may proceed in Company with others. as it has frequently happened that the Ship whereon you have sent your Advices. has arrived the last of those that sailed in Company. whereby we have been deprived for some time of very material Advices that we ought to have been acquainted with We have fully complied with your Intents in general. & curtailed but few Articles. and those not very material. The several Stores are divided on the Duke of Albany and Speke. such as cannot be compleated	11: The directors continued the same orders they gave last year to the commanders of the ships going out this season, for supplying themselves in India with whatever fuel and salt provisions they might want, also for their calling at the Cape homeward bound to purchase cattle and sheep for the service of the island. They had ordered them to conform to the council's recommendation as to the age of the cattle, which the council was to see they complied with. 12: It being very material at all times, but more especially at the beginning of a season, that the directors should receive the earliest and fullest information of the Company's affairs in India and China, they could not but take notice of the council's neglect in omitting to send a letter by His Majesty's ship Dolphin. Although they had several times ordered the council to take every opportunity of writing, in order to prevent the like happening again, they directed that it strictly observe the orders in the sixth paragraph of their letter of 17 November 1756, not to let any ship come from the island without sending a letter, notwithstanding she might proceed in company with others. It had frequently happened that the ship by which the council sent its advices arrived the last of those that sailed in company, whereby the directors had been deprived for some time of very material advices they ought to have been acquainted with. 13: The directors had fully complied with the council's requisitions in general, and curtailed but few articles, and those not very material. The several stores were divided on the Duke of Albany and Speke. Such as could not be completed in time for the Duke of Albany would be sent in the other ship, nor did they suppose any part of the orders would remain uncompleted, except the brass mortars for exercise, which could not be made sooner than the following year. The following were the articles they had curtailed, namely gunpowder, of which only fifty barrels would be sent, as there appeared so large a remains as 645 barrels; coals, sixty chaldrons would be sent instead of the seventy requisitioned for [...]

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		in time for the Duke of Albany. will be sent in the other Ship. nor do we suppose any part of the orders will remain uncompleated except the Brass Mortar of 10 Species. which cannot be made secure there next Year. The following are the Articles we have curtailed Vizt Gunpowder only fifty Barrels will be sent. as there appears so large Remains as 645 Barrels Coals sixty Chaldrons will be sent instead of seventy indented for. Five Tons **Margin Notes:** Orders to the Captains to supply themselves with Fewel &c to bring Cattle & Sheep from the Cape Neglect to write by His Majesty's Ship Dolphin Orders to write by every Ship Indent completed with except a few Articles	**Interpretations** The reproach over the failure to write by the Dolphin exposes the whole rationale of the island as a relay for intelligence, and the peculiar hazard that a single ship carried. The directors wanted the same news sent by every vessel precisely because the one chosen to bear the advices might arrive last of her company, so that a report entrusted to a single ship could reach London later than the news itself by other hands, the duplication across many ships being the only guard against such delay. The curtailment of gunpowder because 645 barrels already lay in store shows the directors adjusting each season's supply against the island's standing stock rather than simply meeting the requisition. A magazine already well filled needed less than was asked, so the shipment was reduced to what the reserve required, the decision reflecting a careful husbandry that measured what to send by what remained rather than by the figure the council had named. The insistence on the age of the cattle bought at the Cape reveals a particular attention to the quality of the livestock the island received, since beasts of the wrong age would serve poorly for breeding or for meat. The council was to see the commanders complied with its recommendation on this point, the concern showing how even the incidental purchase of cattle on the homeward passage was governed by exact requirements framed to secure stock fit for the island's needs.
282	278	of Junk for wads instead of twenty Tons. and in future you must supply yourselves therewith from our returning Ships. Match five hundred weight which is a large supply. on the room of the double quantity of Seven hundred. The Bar Shot endented for will be sent. but no chain Shot. as the use of them is discontinued by the Government. we are at a loss to know what use the Twenty Horseman's Tents are intended for. but to prevent a disappointment have ordered twelve. The only Articles curtailed besides the beforemen tioned are Labourers Frockells. to the number of a 130 & Wheelbarrows do We are put to much inconvenience from the late receipt of your Indents which must be avoided in future. and the reason you give for not sending them sooner. that you were unacquainted what Articles were on the latter Ship. is now obviated by our having so minutely entered into every Article of your Provn in the preceding Paragraph We have taken proper notice of the complaint you made about the Shirts and those now ordered are of the sort formerly sent We have complied with your Request for the Gold. Lace for the Officers Regimentals. also for a Marble Font for the Church. which will be sent on one of those Ships We have ordered our Council of Supra Cargoes in China to comply with your Indent. if any Alterations are found Necessary. you will have an opportunity to acquaint them therewith by the Speke. which we have directed them to fulfil We shall send 120 Recruits for the Service of our Military this Season. forty of whom go on the Duke of Albany and the rest will be sent. on the Speke	Five tons of junk for wads would be sent instead of twenty tons, and in future the council must supply itself with these from the returning ships. Matches, five hundredweight, which was a large supply, would be sent in the room of the double quantity of seven hundred. The bar shot requisitioned for would be sent, but no chain shot, as the use of them was discontinued by the government. The directors were at a loss to know what use the twenty horseman's tents were intended for, but to prevent a disappointment had ordered twelve. The only articles curtailed, besides those mentioned above, were labourers barrows to the number of 130 and wheelbarrows likewise. 14: The directors were put to much inconvenience by the late receipt of the council's requisitions, which must be avoided in future. The reason the council gave for not sending them sooner, that it was unacquainted what articles were on the later ships, was now obviated by the directors having so minutely entered into every article of the council's stores in the preceding paragraph. 15: The directors had taken proper notice of the complaint the council made about the shirts, and those now ordered were of the sort formerly sent. 16: The directors had complied with the council's request for the gold lace for the officers regimentals, also for a marble font for the church, which would be sent on one of these ships. 17: The directors had ordered their council of supercargoes in China to comply with the council's requisition. If any alterations were found necessary, it would have an opportunity to acquaint them with it by the Speke, which they had directed them to fulfil. 18: The directors would send 120 recruits for the service of the military this season, forty of whom went on the Duke of Albany, and the rest would be sent on the Speke. 19: As the directors did not send any silver to Fort Marlborough this season, they directed that the council forward there, on the Duke of Albany, any [...] **Interpretations**

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		As we do not send any Silver. to Fort Marlborough this Season. we direct that you forward thither. on the Duke of Albany any **Margin Notes:** late receipt of the Indents inconvenient Complaint of the Shirts &c taken notice of Gold Lace sent China Council Ordered to comply with the Indents Recruits sent	Junk here meant old rope, cut up to make the wads that were rammed down a cannon to hold the charge and shot in place, its supply from England now reduced on the expectation that the returning ships would furnish it. The directors turned the island toward drawing such worn material from the homeward fleet, whose spent cordage could serve the purpose, rather than shipping it out fresh, a small economy that fitted the wider pattern of using the passing traffic to supply the island's wants. The discontinuance of chain shot by the government, noted as the reason for sending none, reveals the island's ordnance kept in step with the changing practice of the state's own artillery. Chain shot, two balls joined by a chain and used chiefly to cut rigging at sea, had fallen out of use, so the directors supplied only the bar shot still current, the island's munitions following the standards set at home rather than persisting in an outmoded type. The marble font sent for the church, following the roof and pavement of earlier seasons, marks the near-completion of the long-deferred building that had run through these letters, its furnishing now extending to the fittings proper to worship. The gold lace for the officers regimentals sent in the same shipment shows the range of what the island depended on England to supply, from the sacred vessels of its church to the ornament of its soldiers uniforms, every article of ceremony and display carried out across the world.
283	279	any Surplus Cash you may have. after making a proper reserve for the Expences of the Current Year. and allowing for such sums as may be received into your Treasury for Bills of Exchange upon us In compliance with the Request in the 9 Paragraph of your Letter of the 15 August last. we have resolve to direct our Presi dency of Bengal. to send you Annually on each of the three Ships to be despatched from thence for Europe. a Pipe of Madeira Wine. Invoiceing the same at 30 & Cent advance being the rate at which it is issued there to such as are in our service. you are therefore on receipt thereof. to charge the same with the Freight. if any. and the Amount of the loss it may have sustained by leakage. and to divide the same in such proportions among you our Governer and Council. and between such of our Civil and Military Servants as you shall think fit The Parliment has this Session continued the act for prohibiting the Exportation of Wheat. Flour. and other Grain. under the like restrictions and exemptions as advised in our Letter of the 12 January last you must therefore conform thereto for the Flour sent to you this Season. and have enclosed the Act for your guidance In your Consultations of the 29 February last there is a Petition of Mr Alcock. to hire a Piece of Waste Land in Sandy Bay. and on the 7 March following. one from Mr Samuel Alexander. representing that of the said Land is let to Mr Alcock. it will not only be prejudicial to himself. but to the Inhabitants in general. who had been at the Expence of planting it. and had brought it to yield Grass. to which he had not contri buted. and refusing the decision to us. As you are the best Judges of this Subject	The council was to forward to Fort Marlborough any surplus cash it might have, after making a proper reserve for the expenses of the current year and allowing for such sums as might be received into its treasury for bills of exchange upon the directors. 20: In compliance with the request in the ninth paragraph of the council's letter of 13 August last, the directors had resolved to direct their Presidency of Bengal to send annually, on each of the three ships to be dispatched from there for Europe, a pipe of Madeira wine. Invoicing the same at 30 per cent advance, being the rate at which it was issued there to such as were in the Company's service, the council was therefore, on receipt of it, to charge the same with the freight, if any, and the amount of the loss it might have sustained by leakage, and to divide the same in such proportions among the Governor and council, and between such of the civil and military servants, as it should think fit. 21: Parliament had this session continued the Act for prohibiting the exportation of wheat, flour and other grain, under the like restrictions and exemptions as advised in the directors letter of 12 January last. The council must therefore conform to it for the flour sent this season, and the directors had enclosed the Act for its guidance. 22: In the council's consultations of 29 February last there was a petition of Mr Alcock to hire a piece of waste land in Sandy Bay, and on 7 March following one from Mr Samuel Alexander, representing that the letting of the land to Alcock would be prejudicial not only to himself but to the inhabitants in general, who had been at the expense of planting it and had brought it to yield grass, to which he had not contributed. Referring the decision to the directors, and as the council was the best judge of these facts, not only in this case but on all similar occasions, the directors directed that it settle them in such manner as should appear equitable and for the general benefit of the inhabitants, without referring them to the directors. 23: Observing the favourable recommendation the council made of Engineer [...] **Interpretations**

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		not only in this case. but upon all similar occasions. we direct that you settle them in such manner. as shall appear equitable. and for the General benefit of the Inhabitants. without referring them to us Observeing the favourable representation you make of Engineer **Margin Notes:** Surplus Cash to be sent to Bencoolen Three Pipes of Madeira Wine to be sent from Bengal Annually Prohibition on Flour continued Govrs to be the best Judges what Land to Lease	The arrangement for Madeira wine to be sent yearly from Bengal, charged at the same advance as to servants and divided among the officers, reveals a settled perquisite of station distributed as a benefit of office. The wine was a valued comfort on a remote island, issued at a fixed markup and shared out among the governor, council and servants according to their rank, the whole a small institution of privilege by which the pleasures denied by isolation were supplied and apportioned. The directors decision to leave the disputed land at Sandy Bay to the council, and to refer all such questions to its judgement in future, marks a deliberate devolution of local matters to the authority on the spot. The facts of who had planted the ground and brought it to yield grass could only be known on the island, so the directors declined to adjudicate from afar and committed the settlement of such disputes to the council, recognising that equitable decisions on local property required a local knowledge London could not possess. The competing claims over the waste land expose the tensions of a small community where the improvement of common ground bred rival interests among the settlers. One man sought to hire land that others had laboured to make productive, and the objection that he had not shared the cost reveals a dispute over the fruits of collective effort, the episode showing how even on so isolated an island the questions of property and fairness that attend any settled society had begun to arise. **Speculations** Presented with a dispute between two settlers over the Sandy Bay land, the directors chose to hand the whole class of such questions to the council rather than decide it themselves, and set down why. The obvious course was to rule on the petition as they ruled on so much else referred home, yet they judged that only those on the spot could know who had planted the ground and brought it to grass, and so committed all similar cases to the council's equity, surrendering a decision they lacked the local knowledge to make justly.
284	280	Engineer Michills Abelities and Services and your opinion that as he will have finished all the projected Works of any importance by May or June next. his Request for liberty to return hither in 1769. may with great propriety be granted. we shall consider of that Request. and by a future Occasion signi fy our Directions thereupon. expecting he will continue in his Post. untill you shall receive the same It appearing from the 21 Paragraph of your Letter of the 2 June last that the Allowances we assigned the 12 January preceding to Phillip Mahoney being only £14 a Year addition to what he before received. is insufficient for his Maintainance. and inadequate to the duty of his Station as Clerk of the Peace. wherein you represent. he is very useful and deserving. you may therefore if he shall have continued to behave to your Satisfaction. establish his Salary at £110 a Year to commence from Christmas next. And as such Allowance is equal to a Subaltern Officer. we expect he will be fully satisfied therewith In compassion of the distressed situation of the Widows Beale and Kennedy. as represented in the 8 Paragraph of your Letter of the	Engineer Mitchell's abilities and services, and the council's opinion that as he would have finished all the projected works of any importance by May or June next, his request for liberty to return home in 1769 might with great propriety be granted, the directors would consider that request. By a future occasion they would signify their directions on it, expecting he would continue in his post until the council received the same. 24: It appearing from the twenty-first paragraph of the council's letter of 2 June last that the allowances the directors assigned the 12 January preceding to Philip Mahoney, being only £14 a year addition to what he before received, were insufficient for his maintenance and inadequate to the duty of his station as clerk of the peace, wherein the council represented he was very useful and deserving, the council might therefore, if he should continue to behave to its satisfaction, establish his salary at £110 a year, to begin from Christmas next. As such allowance was equal to a subaltern officer, the directors expected he would be fully satisfied with it. 25: In compassion of the distressed situation of the widows Beale and Kennedy, as represented in the eighth paragraph of the council's letter of 15 August, on the council's necessarily and properly depriving them of their licences for keeping public houses, and in consideration of the long services of their husbands as commissioned officers, who left them both with several young children, the directors permitted the council to allow them an annuity of

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		15 August. on your necessarily and properly depriving them of their Licences for keeping Public Houses. and in consideration of the long Services of their Husbands. as Commissiond Officers. who left them both. with several young Children. we permit you to allow them an Annuity of £20 each. to commence from the 24 June last. relying on your Assurances. that this Allowance cannot in future be drawn into precedent. as the Fund. established at the Island will hereafter provide for the Widows of our deceased Servants Having considered the case of John Brewster. Cooper. whose Salary in the 6 Paragraph of your Letter of the 18 January. you alledge is insufficient for his Maintenance. and as we find it does not bear a proportion with what is allowed the other Artificers. in order to encourage the **Margin Notes:** Capt. Mitchell Request to leave the Island will be considered Mr Mahoney's Salary Augmented Pensions to the Widows Beale & Kennedy Coopers Salary Augmented	£20 each, to begin from 24 June last. They relied on the council's assurances that this allowance could not in future be drawn into precedent, as the fund established at the island would hereafter provide for the widows of the Company's deceased servants. 26: Having considered the case of John Brewster, cooper, whose salary in the sixth paragraph of the council's letter of 18 January they allowed was insufficient for his maintenance, and as they found it did not bear a proportion with what was allowed the other artificers, in order to encourage [...] **Interpretations** The relief granted to the two widows, deprived of their public house licences under the very campaign against the liquor trade, reveals the directors softening the incidental hardship their own reforms had caused. The suppression of excess drinking had cost these women their livelihoods, so a pension was allowed in compassion for their distress and in regard for their husbands service, the annuity making amends for a loss that fell on them through no fault of their own but through the general good the regulations pursued. The insistence that the widows annuity not become a precedent, since the servants own fund would in future provide for such cases, marks the transition from ad hoc charity to the settled institution of mutual provision. The subscription established among the servants was to be the regular means of supporting the survivors of those who died in service, so these individual pensions were treated as exceptions granted before the fund took over, the directors guarding against a permanent charge that the new arrangement was meant to bear. The repeated adjustment of salaries to keep them in proportion, seen here with the cooper as with the clerk of the peace, reveals a concern for a settled internal order of remuneration in which each servant's pay bore a fair relation to the rest. A wage that fell out of proportion with what comparable men received was treated as a ground for increase, the directors maintaining a rough equity across the establishment so that no useful servant was left worse provided than his fellows in like stations.
285	281	the continuance of his diligent attention in that employ. we permit you to encrease his Pay from £33 to £60 & Year You represent to us in your Letter of the 15 August that the Business in the Store House. had been so considerably encreased. as to Oblidge you to appoint Mr George Bazett a Writer in your Service. and recommend him as well Qualified for that employ. As we always desirous that our Business should be kept up. we confirm your said Appointment on the usual terms. and direct that his time and Allowances commence from the 25 July last. when he was Appointed. He is also to execute the Covenants we shall send & Speke. to be returned hither and name. Securities for performing them. in £300 In your Letter of the 15 August last. you advise us that there were two Lieutenants Commissions vacant. which made the Duty hard on the remaining five Lieutenants. and therefore had filled up one of them. with Mr James Greenbee who you represent to be very deserving and every way qualified for a Commission. we therefore confirm your	In order to encourage the continuance of his diligent attention in that employment, the directors permitted the council to increase his pay from £33 to £60 a year. 27: The council represented in its letter of 13 August that the business in the storehouse had been so considerably increased as to oblige it to appoint Mr George Bazett, a writer in the Company's service, and recommended him as well qualified for the employment. As the directors always desired that the business should be kept up, they confirmed the appointment on the usual terms, and directed that his time and allowances begin from 23 July last, when he was appointed. He was also to execute the covenants they would send by the Speke, to be returned home, and name securities for performing them in £500. 28: In its letter of 13 August last, the council advised that there were two lieutenants commissions vacant, which made the duty hard on the remaining five lieutenants, and had therefore filled up one of them with Mr James Greenshaw, whom it represented to be very deserving and every way qualified for a commission. The directors confirmed the appointment, and would endeavour to fill up the other vacancy by the next ship. 29: The executor of the late John Bland having represented to the directors that the other executor at St Helena had applied for permission to pay about £700, being the amount of the deceased's estate, into

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		said Appointment. and shall indeavour to fill up the other vacancy by the next Ship The Executor of the late John Bland having represented to us. that the other Executor at St Helena. had applied for permission to pay about £700 being the amount of the deceased's Estate into our Cash. which you had refused for want of an Order from us. and having consider ed the same. we direct that you receive. as far as that sum. on account of Mr Blands Estate. and give Bills for the amount in the usual man ner. payable to his Legal Representatives Having entered into a very particular examination of the charge exhibited by Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick against the Lieutenant Governer. of having appropriated part of our Property to his own use. and of the Evidence offered in support thereof. with Mr Corneilles Defence and **Margin Notes:** Mr George Bazett appointment confirmed Lt Greenbee appointment confirmed Blands Money about £700 to be received	the Company's cash, which the council had refused for want of an order from the directors, and having considered the same, they directed that the council receive, as far as that sum, on account of Mr Bland's estate, and give bills for the amount in the usual manner, payable to his legal representatives. 30: Having entered into a very particular examination of the charge exhibited by Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick against the lieutenant governor, of having appropriated part of the Company's property to his own use, and of the evidence offered in support of it, with Mr Corneille's defence [...] **Interpretations** The death of John Bland, the troublesome mason twice dismissed and readmitted, and the settlement of his estate through bills on the directors, shows the man's long and difficult connection with the island closing in the same administrative fashion as any other servant's. His £700 estate was paid into the Company's cash and answered by bills payable to his heirs, the mechanism moving the value home without shipping the coin, a quiet end to a career that had given the council much trouble across these letters. The hardship on the five remaining lieutenants from two vacant commissions reveals how thinly the garrison's officer establishment was stretched, so that the loss of two subalterns fell heavily on those who remained. The council filled one vacancy at once and the directors promised the other by the next ship, the urgency reflecting how a small garrison depended on its full complement of officers, each absent commission throwing added duty on the rest until it could be supplied from England. The examination of the charge against the lieutenant governor, accused by Captain Kirkpatrick of appropriating the Company's property, marks a serious accusation reaching to the second officer of the island and tried with full formality. That so grave a charge against so high an official was investigated in detail, with evidence heard and a defence entered, reveals the seriousness with which the Company treated any suspicion of self-dealing among those it trusted with its goods, no rank standing above the scrutiny its property demanded.
286	282	and the Opinion of the Governor and Mr Purling. thereon. entirely acquiting Mr Corneille of the accusations brought against him as mentioned in the 12 Paragraph of your Letter of the 15 August last. and the Consultations therein referred to. it is upon the most convincing proofs as stated by you of the honor and probity of the accused. and that the accuser was merely actuated by prejudice. and other unjustifiable motives. to make so false and frivolous an Attack on the Character of Mr Corneille. that we are so far perfectly satisfied with the propriety of your proceedings in Mr Corneilles Acquittal. as to approve thereof. and do accordingly confirm the same When we consider your Opinion of the demerits of the Complainant. with respect to his motives to the making. and in the prosecution of the Charge against. Mr Corneille. wherein you deem him a man. divested of Candour and probity. and deserving of the highest censure. and that when in the course of the examination. his fidelity	The opinion of the Governor and Mr Purling on it entirely acquitted Mr Corneille of the accusations brought against him, as mentioned in the ninth paragraph of the council's letter of 13 August last, and the consultations referred to in it. Upon the most convincing proofs, as stated by the council, of the honour and probity of the accused, and that the accuser was merely actuated by prejudice and other unjustifiable motives to make so false and frivolous an attack on the character of Mr Corneille, the directors were so perfectly satisfied with the propriety of the council's proceedings in Mr Corneille's acquittal as to approve of it, and accordingly confirmed the same. 31: When the directors considered the council's opinion of the merits of the complainant, with respect to his motives in the making and in the prosecution of the charge against Mr Corneille, wherein it deemed him a man divested of candour and probity, and deserving of the highest censure, and that when in the course of the examination his fidelity to the directors as paymaster, and his obedience to the orders established for the due discharge of that office, were impeached, the directors were surprised the council did not immediately suspend him from the service. This was a measure which the respect due to their own characters and his misbehaviour would have fully justified the council in taking, until they should have

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		to us. as Paymaster. and his obedience to the orders established for the due discharge of that Office. were impeached we are surprized you did not immediately suspend him from our Service. a measure which the respect due to your own Characters. and his Misbehaviour. would have fully justified you in taking. untill we should have given our final Directions thereon. It was your Duty also to have made a strict enquiry into the Imputations on Captain Kirkpatrick as Paymaster. and on proof thereof to have obleged him to ample reparation for the Impositions he was charged with. we therefore require that on receipt hereof. you make a strict examination into what is alledged against him. as abovementioned. or on any other respect. and if it shall be found he has unjustly charged us with any Sums. you must compel him to account for the same Upon the whole we consider Captain Kirkpatrick. a very improper Person to be longer continued in our Service. and his Misconduct **Margin Notes:** Lt Governor Acquittal Approved An enquiry that Capt. Kirkpatrick was not dismissed	given their final directions on it. It was the council's duty also to have made a strict enquiry into the impeachment on Captain Kirkpatrick as paymaster, and on proof of it to have obliged him to ample reparation for the impositions he was charged with. The directors therefore required that, on receipt of this, the council make a strict examination into what was alleged against him, as mentioned above, or in any other respect. If it should be found he had unjustly charged in more any sums, it must compel him to account for the same. 32: Upon the whole, the directors considered Captain Kirkpatrick a very improper person to be longer continued in the service, and his misconduct [...] **Interpretations** The complete reversal of fortune between accuser and accused reveals how gravely the Company treated a false and malicious charge against an honest officer. Kirkpatrick had accused the lieutenant governor of appropriating the Company's property, but the enquiry cleared Corneille entirely and turned the censure upon the accuser, whose own conduct as paymaster now fell under suspicion, the whole affair showing that to bring a groundless charge against a superior was to risk one's own exposure and ruin. The directors surprise that the council had not suspended Kirkpatrick at once, given the doubts cast on his fidelity as paymaster, marks their expectation that a servant under such a cloud should be stood down pending investigation. The respect due to the Company's own dignity and the man's apparent misbehaviour would have justified his immediate suspension, the directors treating the council's forbearance as a failure to act with the vigour that the impeachment of a financial officer demanded. The requirement that Kirkpatrick be made to account for any sums he had wrongly charged as paymaster exposes the particular danger of dishonesty in the officer who handled the Company's money. A paymaster who overcharged or embezzled struck directly at the Company's finances, so the directors ordered a strict examination of his accounts and reparation for any imposition, the seriousness of the response reflecting how much depended on the integrity of the man through whose hands the island's payments passed.
287	283	Misconduct very specially meriting our sworn resentment. we hereby direct that he be immediately dismissed our Service on receipt hereof. and peremptorly order. that he be sent home on one of our Ships. that shall be despatched from the Island in the month of July next We find that Captain Kirkpatrick was formerly censured for procuring Plans of the Works of the Island. but afterwards excused at our late Governer's instance. on his representing. they were done under his particular orders. for gaining a knowledge of those that had ban privately copied for Mr Adamson. and as it may be of very pernicious tendency. if Captain Kirkpatrick shall be possessed of any. you are to make a very particular enquiry. whether any Plans of your Fortifications are in his Hands. and if so. demand and oblige him to deliver them up to you. and you are to make it a constant rule. that no Individual in our Service be. for his own private use. at any time allowed to make	Kirkpatrick's misconduct very especially merited the directors severe resentment, and they hereby directed that he be immediately dismissed from the service on receipt of this, and peremptorily ordered that he be sent home on one of the ships that should be dispatched from the island in the month of July next. 33: The directors found that Captain Kirkpatrick was formerly censured for procuring plans of the works of the island, but afterwards excused at the late governor's instance, on his representing they were done under his particular orders, for gaining a knowledge of those that had been privately copied for Mr Adamson. As it might be of very pernicious tendency, if Captain Kirkpatrick should be possessed of any, the council was to make a very particular enquiry whether any plans of the fortifications were in his hands, and if so, demand and oblige him to deliver them up. The council was to make it a constant rule that no individual in the service be, for his own private use, at any time allowed to make, procure or retain copies of them, except the engineer, and he only in respect to the works he should be employed in, during the time of his carrying them on. But all such, with the originals, were to be delivered to and securely deposited with the Governor and council.

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		procure. or retain Copies thereof. except the Engineer. and he only in respect to the Works he shall be employed in. during the time of his carrying them on. but all such. with the Originals. are to be delivered to and securely deposited with. the Governer and Council As we have dismissed. Mr Kirkpatrick from our Service there is no occasion to give an answer to the Questions relative to his supposed incapacity. to act as a Civil Magistrate The Proceedings of the General Quarter Sessions held the 7 October 1767 and 15 January 1768 are very Legal and right The Lieutenant Governer's reason in your Letter of the 23 February 1768. for not signing the Warrant for the Execution of a Crimin al. at whose Tryal he was not present. we think well founded. and that the same ought to be signed by those Justices only. who composed the Court when the criminal was convicted Upon the same principle we are of Opinion that the **Margin Notes:** Capt. Kirkpatrick Dismissed Plans to be demanded of Capt. Kirkpatrick all Plans to be deposited with the Govr & Council No occasion to give an answer with respect to Acting as a Civil Magistrate Proceedings right Lt Governor's reason for not signing the Warrant for Execution approved	34: As the directors had dismissed Mr Kirkpatrick from the service, there was no occasion to give an answer to the questions relative to his supposed incapacity to act as a civil magistrate. 35: The proceedings of the general quarter sessions held 7 October 1767 and 15 January 1768 were very legal and right. 36: The lieutenant governor's reason, in the council's letter of 23 February 1768, for not signing the warrant for the execution of a criminal, at whose trial he was not present, the directors thought well founded, and that the same ought to be signed by those justices only who composed the court where the criminal was convicted. 37: Upon the same principle, the directors were of opinion that [...] **Interpretations** The strict control over plans of the fortifications reveals the acute security concern that any drawing of the island's defences might fall into hostile hands. Plans that showed the layout and strength of the works could be of the utmost value to an enemy contemplating attack, so the directors forbade any servant but the engineer to hold copies, and even his only for the work in progress, all plans to be locked away with the governor, the whole reflecting how jealously the secret of the island's defences was guarded. The rule that an execution warrant be signed only by the justices who tried the case exposes a careful attention to legal propriety even in the administration of capital punishment on a remote island. The lieutenant governor had rightly declined to sign for a conviction at which he was not present, since authority to order a death flowed from having heard the trial, the directors upholding a principle of due process that bound the island's justice to the same forms observed at home. The connection drawn between Kirkpatrick's dismissal and his earlier offence over the plans shows the directors reassessing a man's whole record once his integrity was in doubt. His procuring of the fortification plans had been excused at the time on the governor's word, but with his character now discredited the old suspicion revived, the episode revealing how a servant's past conduct could be read afresh in the light of present misbehaviour, each fault compounding the case against him.
288	284	the Lieutenant Governer. with other Justices. in the absence of the Governer. forming a legal Court of Justice. a Warrant signed by him & such Justices. for the Execution of a Criminal Convict is valid. and proper though not signed by the Governer We are of Opinion that one Justice may adjourn the Sessions to a future day. in the case where the sickness of the In. bus has prevented the holding of it. at the time appointed. this arises from the necessity of the thing In reply to your Letter of the 10 September last. here is no doubt but two Justices of Oyer and Terminer. may form a Court: however that ought never to be the case. but where the indispposition of the other Members renders it necessary In the case of Mr Purling. you determined perfectly right. that he could not sit as Judge in his own case. either in Civil or Criminal matters. and it was a very right Measure to postpone the Tryal. & to admit the necessary after the Fact to Bail In the case mentioned. and indeed in any case. the	The lieutenant governor, with other justices, in the absence of the governor forming a legal court of justice, a warrant signed by him and such justices for the execution of a convicted criminal was valid and proper, though not signed by the governor. 38: The directors were of opinion that one justice might adjourn the sessions to a future day, in the case where the sickness of the members had prevented the holding of it at the time appointed. This arose from the necessity of the thing. 39: In reply to the council's letter of 10 September last, there was no doubt but two justices of oyer and terminer might form a court. However, that ought never to be the case, but where the indisposition of the other members rendered it necessary. 40: In the case of Mr Purling, the council determined perfectly right, that he could not sit as judge in his own case, either in civil or criminal matters, and it was a very right measure to postpone the trial, and to admit the necessary evidence after the fact to bail. 41: In the case mentioned, and indeed in any case, the court had a power to respite the execution of the criminal. Upon a representation from the directors to His Majesty of favourable circumstances,

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		Court has a power to respite the execution of the Criminal. and upon a representation from us to His Majesty of favourable Circumstances. we dont remember an Instance where the Pardon of a criminal was ever denied In reply to the 6 Paragraph of your Letter of the 10 September 1768. representing the propriety of the Construction of the Mortars of the upper Battery at Banks's for the effectual security of the Defenders of it. in case of action. from Splinters of Stones. and proposing it as a beneficial measure to rebuild all the Parapets of the New Fortifications that may be cannonaded by Shipping. and to conduct them. in the same manner. as above. that the Men may not be more exposed to the Splinters of their own **Margin Notes:** Lt Governor & other Justices Signing a Warrant valid though not signed by the Govr One Justice may adjourn a Sessions Two Justices may form a Court in case of necessity Mr Purling not acting as Judge in his own case approved Court has power to respite an execution &c	they did not remember an instance where the pardon of a criminal was ever denied. 42: In reply to the sixth paragraph of the council's letter of 10 September 1768, representing the propriety of the construction of the mortars of the upper battery at Bank's for the effectual security of the defenders of it in case of action from the splinters of stones, and proposing it as a beneficial measure to rebuild all the parapets of the other fortifications that might be cannonaded by shipping, and to construct them in the same manner, so that the men might not be more exposed to the splinters of their [...] **Interpretations** The whole passage reveals the directors resolving a series of fine questions of legal procedure that the isolation of the island threw up, where the ordinary machinery of justice had to bend to the necessity of a small and sometimes sickly community. One justice might adjourn the sessions, two might form a court in case of need, and a warrant might issue without the governor, each concession made because the strict forms could not always be met on so remote a station, the law adapted to circumstance without being abandoned. The principle that a man could not judge his own cause, applied to Mr Purling, marks the observance of a fundamental rule of justice even within the confined society of the island. Purling could not sit as judge where he was himself a party, so the trial was postponed and the evidence preserved, the directors upholding the impartiality of the court against the practical difficulty that on a small island the same few men filled every office and might easily find themselves both judge and litigant. The proposal to rebuild the parapets so that shot striking the stone would not shower the defenders with splinters reveals a practical attention to the design of the fortifications against the particular dangers of bombardment from the sea. Stone parapets that shattered under cannon fire could kill the very men they sheltered, so the works at Bank's were to be reconstructed to reduce this hazard, the whole reflecting an engineering concern with how the defences would actually behave under the fire of ships attacking the anchorage.
289	285	own Works than the Enemys Shot. We must observe. that you ought to have made us acquainted with an Estimate of the Expences attending such an Alteration. that your proposal. might have been more justly determined on. however considering the great Charge incurred by keeping you well supplied with Men. and desirous that every measure contributing to their preservation and security in case of an Attack may be taken. we shall approve. if you shall be well assured of the necesity of such an alteration. on the Opinion of the Engineer. of your setting about it. and if in the mean time. his Sentiments should be confirmed by any Gentlemen. Professors of Fortification. who may be on their return from India. we shall be better satisfied with the propriety of carrying on and compleating that Work The Friends of John Wobly a Mattrss in your Garrison. having Applied for his discharge. we therefore direct that you discharge him Accordingly. and permit him to come to England on one of the returning Ships	That the men might not be more exposed to the splinters of their own works than the enemy's shot. The directors must observe that the council ought to have made them acquainted with an estimate of the expense attending such an alteration, so that the proposal might have been more justly determined on. However, considering the great charge incurred by keeping the men well supplied with them, and being desirous that every measure contributing to their preservation and security in case of an attack might be taken, they would approve, if the council should be well assured of the necessity of such an alteration, on the opinion of the engineer, of its setting about it. If in the meantime his views should be confirmed by any gentlemen, professors of fortification, who might be on their return from India, they would be better satisfied with the propriety of carrying on and completing that work. 43: The friends of John Wobly, a matross in the garrison, having applied for his discharge, the directors therefore directed that the council discharge him accordingly, and permit him to come to England on one of the returning ships. 44: Being entirely satisfied with the reasons given by Mr Corneille for the occasion of his quitting his station of lieutenant governor, in vindication of his conduct on the charge brought against him by Kirkpatrick, the directors had resolved to restore him to that post, with the same

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		Being entirely satisfied with the reasons given by Mr Corneille. for the occasion of his quitting his Station of Lieutenant Governer in vindication of his conduct. on the Charge brought against him by Kirkpatrick. We have resolved to restore him to that Post with the same Appointments. as were before assigned thereto. and he is also at his option to take either the immediate Command on his arrival in the Ship. Speke. of the first Company of Infantry. or of the Company of Artillery. on the latter becomeing vacant. and to receive the Pay and Emoluments annexed to either of them. of which he shall make choice We **Margin Notes:** Approved of rebuilding the Parapets in case of being well assured of the necessity &c John Wobley to be Discharged Lt Governer to have the same appointmt together with the Command of a Company	appointments as were before assigned to it. He was also at his option to take, on his arrival in the ship Speke, either the immediate command of the first company of infantry, or of the company of artillery on the latter becoming vacant, and to receive the pay and emoluments annexed to either of them, of which he should make choice. **Interpretations** The insistence on an estimate before approving the rebuilding of the parapets, even for a measure the directors favoured, exposes once more their refusal to sanction any expensive work without knowing its cost in advance. However desirable the improvement to the men's safety, the charge had to be reckoned and the necessity confirmed by the engineer before the directors would commit, the requirement reflecting the same discipline of costed authorisation that governed every undertaking on the island. The restoration of Corneille to his post, with the offer of a further military command of his own choosing, marks the full vindication of the officer falsely accused and the Company's care to repair the injury done to him. Having quit his station under the shadow of Kirkpatrick's charge, he was cleared and reinstated with his old appointments and a choice of commands, the generous treatment showing how the Company sought to make amends to a servant wronged by a malicious accusation now wholly discredited. The willingness to await confirmation of the engineer's opinion by professors of fortification returning from India reveals the value the directors placed on expert judgement in matters of military engineering. The rebuilding of the parapets touched a technical question on which specialist knowledge was worth seeking, so the directors preferred to have the engineer's view supported by others skilled in the art, the deference to expertise reflecting how the design of the defences was treated as a matter for those qualified to judge it.
290	286	We are Your Loving Friends London the 14 Decembr 1768 Charles Chambers Edwd Wheeler J Hurlock Ben Booth Wm James Wm Crittenden Daniel Weir H Creswicke Peter DuCane Junr Hy Crabb Boulton G Colebrooke Robt Jones Jno Purling John Harrison Peer Cust Ja. Cockburn Jn Woodhouse	*London*, 14 December 1768. The directors subscribed themselves the council's loving friends, signed by Henry Crabb Boulton, Charles Chambers, Edward Wheler, J. Hurlock, Ben Booth, William James, John Crittenden, Daniel Weir, Creswicke, Peter Du Cane junior, G. Colebrooke, Robert Jones, John Purling, John Harrison, Peregrine Cust, James Cockburn and John Woodhouse.
291	287	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Our last Letter to you was dated the 14 Ultimo. by the Duke of Albany. which sailed on her Voyage the 2 Instant. the Duplicate you will receive by this Ship By this Ships Invoice and Bill of Lading enclosed. you will be fully informed of her Cargo. and how far we have complied with your several Indents We expect and direct that you unload and despatch this Ship within her Charterparty time.	This letter was addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena. 1: The directors last letter was dated 14 last month, by the Duke of Albany, which sailed on her voyage the 2 of this month. The council would receive the duplicate by this ship. 2: By this ship's invoice and bill of lading enclosed, the council would be fully informed of her cargo and how far the directors had complied with its several requisitions. 3: The directors expected and directed that the council unload and dispatch this ship within her

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		that She may not run the least risk of losing her Passage to China We have appointed James Gordon to be Gardener at your Island. at the Yearly salary of Forty Pounds: and be lodged and Dieted at our Expence. he takes Passage on this Ship. and has been paied a Gratuity of Six Pounds Six Shillings It being understood that the Governors House in the Country. is in a very indifferent condition and will cost a considerable Sum to finish it: we therefore order that you cause a Plan. and the Opinion of your Engineer to be taken. whether it would be most eligible to compleat the present House. or build another. and if the latter. then we direct that you send us a Plan. and Estimate of such intended House. for our guidance. when we shall give our further Orders On considering the 19 Paragraph of your Letter **Margin Notes:** Par 1 Letter sent Acct of the Cargo Ship to be Despatched in the limited time Gardener appointed Plan & the Opinion of the Engineer of the Plant House to be sent to England	charter party time, so that she might not run the least risk of losing her passage to China. 4: The directors had appointed James Gordon to be gardener at the island, at the yearly salary of forty pounds, and to be lodged and dieted at the Company's expense. He took his passage on this ship, and had been given a gratuity of six pounds six shillings. 5: It being understood that the governor's house in the country was in a very indifferent condition, and would cost a considerable sum to finish it, the directors therefore ordered that the council cause a plan, and the opinion of its engineer, to be taken, whether it would be most eligible to complete and prevent its ruin, or build another. If the latter, they directed that the council send them a plan and estimate of such intended house for their guidance, when they would give their further orders. 6: On considering the nineteenth paragraph of the council's letter [...] **Interpretations** The appointment of yet another gardener, on the same terms of salary, diet and gratuity as his predecessors, confirms the continuing effort to cultivate the island's ground and the difficulty of retaining a man in the post. The steady succession of gardeners drawn out from England reflects both the value the Company placed on raising provisions and produce on the spot, and the challenge of keeping such a servant on a remote station where the work was hard and the isolation great. The requirement of a plan and estimate before deciding whether to repair or rebuild the governor's country house shows the same insistence on costed proposals that governed every substantial work on the island. The directors would not commit to either course until they had the engineer's opinion and a reckoning of the expense, the decision between mending and rebuilding treated as a financial judgement to be made in London on full information rather than settled on the spot. The pressure to unload and dispatch the ship within her charter time, lest she lose her passage to China, reveals how the whole rhythm of the island's work was governed by the onward voyages of the ships that called. A vessel delayed at St Helena might miss the season for reaching Canton, so the council was pressed to turn her round quickly, the island's function as a place of call always subordinate to keeping the ships to the schedule of the great trade they served.
292	288	Letter of the 15 August representing that the Fortifications will be in such forwardness by the Month of May or June next as not to require the presence of an Engineer. we therefore permit Captain Mitchell to return to England in the Month of July or sooner. if you shall be of Opinion his presence. in regard to the Works. can be dispensed with. and you are to take the necessary measures for compleating the execution of such parts. as shall not be entirely finished before his departure In your General Letter of the 15 August you advise. that Lieutenant Thomas Brozett has superintended the Works upwards of two Years. wherein he has gained some skill in the Engineering Branch and improvement in drawing. and recommend him as well qualified to take charge of and compleat such Works	The council's letter of 13 August represented that the fortifications would be in such forwardness by the month of May or June next as not to require the presence of an engineer. The directors therefore permitted Captain Mitchell to return to England in the month of July or sooner, if the council should be of opinion his presence, in regard to the works, could be dispensed with. The council was to take the necessary measures for completing the execution of such parts as should not be entirely finished before his departure. 7: In its general letter of 13 August, the council advised that Lieutenant Thomas Bazett had superintended the works upwards of two years, wherein he had gained some skill in the engineering branch and improvement in drawing, and recommended him as well qualified to take charge of and complete such works as should be unfinished when Captain Mitchell left the island. As the captain had permission to return to Europe, the directors hereby appointed Lieutenant Bazett to that office, with a salary of £100 a year, over and above his emoluments as lieutenant.

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		as shall be unfinished when Captain Mitchell leaves the Island. and as the Captain has permission to return to Europe. we hereby appoint Lieutenant Bazett to that Office. with a Salary of £100 a Year. over and above his Emoluments as Lieutenant Having examined the Answers of the several Gentlemen. accused by the late John Bland. we are entirely satisfied with their respective Replies to his malevolent and unjust Accusations. to which he appears to have been induced by inveterate Malice. and a religious Disposition: you are therefore to acquaint those Gentlemen that they stand in our Opinion. wholly free from the least Imputation. or the groundless Aspersions of that Infamous Man **Margin Notes:** Engineer permitted to return to England Lt Bazett appointed Superintendant of the Works Gentlemen accused by Bland (falsely) acquitted c	8: Having examined the answers of the several gentlemen accused by the late John Bland, the directors were entirely satisfied with their respective replies to his malevolent and unjust accusations, to which he appeared to have been induced by inveterate malice and a litigious disposition. The council was therefore to acquaint those gentlemen that they stood in the directors opinion wholly free from the least imputation or the groundless aspersions of that infamous man. **Interpretations** The departure of Engineer Mitchell after the completion of the principal works marks the near-conclusion of the long fortification programme that had run through years of these letters. His mission had been to survey and rebuild the island's defences, and with that task substantially done his presence was no longer needed, the directors releasing the skilled officer whose engagement had been reserved from the outset for further service in India once St Helena could spare him. The promotion of Lieutenant Bazett, who had learned engineering by superintending the works under Mitchell, to complete the remaining tasks shows the island developing its own capacity from the experience of the great undertaking. A garrison officer had acquired the necessary skill on the job, so the finishing of the works could be entrusted to him at a modest addition to his pay, the arrangement sparing the cost and delay of sending out another engineer for what remained after the principal labour was done. The complete vindication of the officers Bland had accused, cleared entirely and his charges branded the malice of an infamous man, brings to a close the long affair of the dismissed mason's grievances. His accusations against the island's government had compelled a full enquiry, but the answers satisfied the directors that the whole was the product of spite and a litigious temper, the episode ending with the accused fully exonerated and their accuser's character finally condemned.
293	289	We have taken into consideration the 5. 6 and 7 Paragraphs of your General Letter. also our Governor's Letter of the 15 August last representing) the inconveniencies our Servants labour under: and requesting that the restrictions laid on our Civil and Military Servants regarding the Trade of the Island. particularly in the Article of spirituous Liquors. might be taken off. and being desirous of giving them all fitting encouragement. as also to restore that Discipline and good order amongst our Military and Slaves. which have of late been too much relaxed. we have resolved that instead of the Directions sent last Year. the following are to serve. as a basis for you to form a compleat sett of Regulations. to answer those purposes. in order to be confirmed by us after Tryal thereof vizt That all Arrack imported into the Island do pay a duty of three Pence a Gallon. to be collected by an Officer to be appointed for that purpose. whose salary should arise therefrom. and we hereby appoint Mr Britannicus Wright the Youngest Factor. to be the Collector of the above	9: The directors had taken into consideration the fifth, sixth and seventh paragraphs of the council's general letter, also the governor's letter of 13 August last, representing the inconveniences the Company's servants laboured under, and requesting that the restrictions laid on the civil and military servants regarding the trade of the island, particularly in the article of spirituous liquors, might be taken off. Being desirous of giving them all fitting encouragement, and also of restoring that discipline and good order amongst the military and slaves which had of late been too much relaxed, the directors had resolved that, instead of the directions sent last year, the following were to serve as a basis for the council to form a complete set of regulations to answer those purposes, to be confirmed by the directors after trial of them: 10: That all arrack imported into the island pay a duty of three pence a gallon, to be collected by an officer to be appointed for that purpose, whose salary should arise from it. The directors hereby appointed Mr Britannicus Wright, the youngest factor, to be the collector of the above duty, with a salary of £30 a year over and above his allowances as a factor. 11: That the purchase of all arrack from the ships be confined to the third in council, the four senior civil servants next to the council and the eldest military captain, who were to form a joint stock, to be divided into shares in the following proportion: three eighths to the third in council, and the remaining five eighths to be equally divided

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		Duty. with a Salary of £30 a Year. over and above his allowances as a Factor That the purchase of all Arrack from the Ships be confined to the third in Council. the four Senior Civil Servants next to Council. and the Eldest Military Captain. who are to form a Joint Stock to be divided into Shares in the following Proportion. Three Eighths to the Third in Council. and the remaining Five Eighths to be equally divided among the other Five. who are to purchase it on the best terms That all Arrack for the Consumption of the **Margin Notes:** Restriction on Trade taken off Regulation respecting Spirituous Liquors Do	among the other five, who were to purchase it on the best terms. 12: That all arrack for the consumption of the [...] **Interpretations** The reversal on the liquor trade reveals the directors retreating from the sweeping restrictions of the previous year in favour of a regulated system, having found that a blanket prohibition on the servants dealing in spirits caused more inconvenience than it cured. Rather than bar the trade outright, they now proposed to control it through a duty, a licensed monopoly and appointed collectors, the shift showing a preference for managing a necessary traffic over suppressing it altogether, the earlier severity relaxed into a workable scheme. The confining of the arrack purchase to a small group of senior officers formed into a joint stock exposes the directors creating a controlled monopoly in the very trade they had lately tried to suppress among the servants. By restricting the buying to a defined body with fixed shares, they sought to regulate the supply and its distribution, the arrangement replacing an open trade prone to abuse with a closed one whose participants and proportions were laid down, order imposed through controlled privilege rather than free dealing. The duty of three pence a gallon on imported arrack, with a collector appointed and paid from its proceeds, marks the establishment of a fiscal apparatus to both regulate and profit from the liquor trade. The tax served the double purpose of restraining consumption by raising the price and yielding a revenue that paid its own officer, the whole reflecting a sophisticated approach that turned the control of drink into a source of income, the machinery of customs applied to the island's most troublesome commodity. **Speculations** Faced with the failure of the previous year's outright restrictions on the servants trade in spirits, the directors chose to license and tax the arrack traffic rather than persist in suppressing it, and the passage shows why. The obvious course, having declared the restrictions, was to enforce them more strictly, yet the directors found they had too much relaxed discipline and inconvenienced the servants, and so turned instead to a regulated monopoly and a duty, judging that a controlled and taxed trade would restore order better than a prohibition that had failed to hold.
294	290	Families of Company's Servants. Military Officers. Planters Free Inhabitants. and Licensed Punch Houses. be bought from the said Society: Company's Servants Planters. and Free D° Inhabitants. paying no more than six Pence a Gallon profit to the Venders above the Prime Cost and Duty. to answer for Leakage. Waste &c— 13 That Arrack be Issued to the Licensed Punch Houses. at the rate of six Shillings and six pence a Gallon D° who are to be allowed to retail it at the present rate of Twelve shillings a Gallon— 14 That a Penalty of Twenty Pounds be levied. upon every Person. except the Licensed Punch Houses D° who shall be convicted of selling. even the smallest quantity one half to the Informer. and the other moiety to be	Arrack for the families of Company servants, military officers, planters, free inhabitants and licensed punch houses was to be bought from the society. Company servants, planters and free inhabitants were to add no more than sixpence a gallon in profit above the prime cost and duty, to cover leakage, waste and similar losses. 13: Arrack was to be issued to the licensed punch houses at six shillings and sixpence a gallon, and they were to be allowed to sell it on at the current rate of twelve shillings a gallon. 14: A penalty of £20 0s 0d was to fall on anyone other than the licensed punch houses convicted of selling even the smallest quantity, one half going to the informer and the other half paid into the Company treasury. 15: The keeper of any licensed punch house who bought arrack from anyone but the society was to forfeit £20 0s 0d and be barred from keeping a punch house. 16: Five punch houses were to be licensed to sell spirituous liquors by retail, in line with the

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		paid into our Cash— 15 That the Keeper of any of the Licensed Punch Houses who shall buy any Arrack. except of the D° Society shall forfeit Twenty Pounds. and be rendered incapable of Keeping a Punch House— 16 That Five Punch Houses be Licensed to retail Spiritous Liquors agreeable to the Regulations as D° entered in your Consultations of the 4th July and the Alterations here made 17 That no Non Commissioned Officer be D° permitted to keep a Punch House— 18 That every Person licensed to keep a Punch House must be the principal. and that no Person D° be permitted to assign over his License. without leave of the Governor and Council—	regulations set down in the consultation of 4 July and the changes now made. 17: No non-commissioned officer was to be allowed to keep a punch house. 18: Everyone licensed to keep a punch house had to be the principal, and none was to be permitted to transfer his licence to another without leave of the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in Asia, commonly from fermented palm sap, sugarcane or rice, and shipped through the East India trade. On St Helena it was the main liquor sold in the island's drinking houses, which is why its supply, price and sale were controlled so closely. The scheme fixed the whole chain from wholesale to retail. The society supplied arrack at six shillings and sixpence a gallon, the licensed houses sold it at twelve shillings, and the margin was set by the Council rather than left to the trade. This was a deliberate monopoly, with the society as sole source and a capped resale price, designed to keep both revenue and public order in the Council's hands. Splitting the £20 0s 0d penalty between informer and treasury was the standard enforcement device where the authorities lacked the means to police sales directly. By giving half to whoever reported an offender, the Council recruited the island's own inhabitants as unpaid informers against illicit sellers. Requiring the licence holder to be the principal, and forbidding transfer without leave, kept accountability with a named and approved person. It stopped a licence being quietly sold on or used as a front, so the Council always knew who was answerable for each house.
295	291	We do not see at present the necessity of restraining the Slaves from purchasing Liquors at the Punch D° Houses. as you will always have it in your Power to punish any abuse or irregularity that may arise therefrom— 20 That the Governor and Lieutenant Governor be excluded from any Share or Profit in the sale of Arrack. and D° that they do see the foregoing Regulations be strictly complied with. and levy the Penalties in cases of Disobedience— 21 That the Society do keep regular Books of Receipts and Issues and to whom Sold. whether Inhabitants D° or Punch House Keepers. and that the same be laid before the Governor and Lieut Governor. whenever they demand it 22 Upon taking the state of your Military— together with the several Works you have to defend in case of an Attack. into consideration. we examined your Military present numbers insufficient for that purpose. and Establishment therefore resolved to encrease your Complement of Seventy encreased Private in each Company. to one hundred. with an additional Second Lieutenant together with the 1st & 2d Lieutenants upon the former Establishments. that they may be properly disciplined and always ready for immediate Service. We sent you 38 Recruits on the Duke of Albany and intended to have sent 20 on this Ship.	19: The Court saw no present need to stop the slaves from buying liquor at the punch houses, since the Governor and Council would always have the power to punish any abuse or irregularity that arose. 20: The Governor and Lieutenant Governor were to be excluded from any share or profit in the sale of arrack, and were to see that the foregoing regulations were strictly observed and the penalties levied in cases of disobedience. 21: The society was to keep regular books of receipts and issues, recording to whom each sale was made, whether inhabitants or punch house keepers, and to lay these before the Governor and Lieutenant Governor whenever they demanded them. 22: On considering the state of the island's military, together with the several forts it had to defend in case of an attack, the Court judged the present numbers too few for that purpose. It therefore resolved to raise the complement of each company from seventy privates to one hundred, with an additional second lieutenant alongside the first and second lieutenants of the former establishment, so that the men might be properly disciplined and always ready for immediate service. The Court had sent thirty recruits on the *Duke of Albany* and had meant to send twenty more on this ship, but feared that the present scarcity of recruits would leave it unable to send any, so that the increase of the companies could not go forward for the time being as directed above. 23: To complete the number of additional second lieutenants, the Court had taken on [...] **Interpretations** Arrack here was the same Asian palm or rice spirit controlled under the earlier articles, and the trade in it was profitable enough that barring the Governor and Lieutenant Governor from any share was a deliberate safeguard. Placing the two most senior officers outside the profit, while making them

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		but. are apprehensive. from the present Scarcity of Recruits we shall not be able to send any. whereby you will be deprived of encreasing your Companies for the present. as above directed 23 And in order to compleat the number of additional Second Lieutenants. we have entertained the	responsible for enforcing the rules and collecting the penalties, separated the men who policed the trade from any private stake in it. Requiring the society to keep books of receipts and issues, naming every buyer, turned the sales record into an audit trail. Because the Governor and Lieutenant Governor could call for the books at any time, illicit resale to unlicensed sellers could be traced back through the accounts, which reinforced the monopoly set up in the earlier articles. The military increase shows the Court weighing the island's small garrison against the number of separate forts that had to be manned at once in an attack. Raising each company from seventy to one hundred, and adding a second lieutenant, was aimed at having enough trained men to hold every position rather than a single concentrated force. **Speculations** The Court resolved to enlarge the companies yet in the same breath admitted it might send no recruits at all, having supplied thirty on the *Duke of Albany* and now expecting to spare none on this ship. The obvious course, given the scarcity of men, was to hold the establishment where it stood until recruits could be found. Instead the Court fixed the higher complement first and left the manning to follow, choosing to set the target on paper so that the island would draft men into the enlarged companies as soon as any arrived, rather than wait on London to fill them.
296	292	following Gentlemen who have served in His Majesty's Forces. and produced satisfactory Testimonials from their commanding Officers to be Second Lieutenants at your Lieutenants Island. who are to rank in the Order here named next appointed below Second Lieutenant James Greentree viz? Charles Ross Stuart. William Cauldwell. and Thomas Statham. They are take their Passage in this Ship and are to receive pay from the time of their Arrival 24 We have also appointed Mr John Pargett. at present on your Island. to be one of the additional D° Lieutenants next below Lieut Thomas Statham. and to receive Pay from the Receipt of this Letter— 25 Lieutenants Stuart. Cauldwell. and Statham. previous to their taking the Oath of Fidelity to Officers to the Company. were shewn a paper. to which they assent to declared their assent and Agreement. a Copy of which part an Agreement whereof as is necessary for your information is as follows viz with the Company "That they are not only to obey their "Superior Officers. according to the Rules and Discipline "of War. but are to be entirely subject to the Orders of the Copy of "Governor and Council. who are the Company's legal Agreement "Representatives: as likewise to such Orders they may "receive from any of the Company's Civil Servants. to "whom the Governor and Council shall think fit to "delegate such Authority— "That. they are entirely subject to the "Authority of the Company's Civil Representatives. as D° "the Governor and Council. upon the Misbehaviour of	The following gentlemen, who had served in His Majesty's forces and produced satisfactory testimonials from their commanding officers, were appointed second lieutenants on the island, ranking in the order named next below Second Lieutenant James Greentree: Charles Ross Stewart, William Cauldwell and Thomas Statham. They were to take their passage in this ship and to receive pay from the time of their arrival. 24: John Pargett, already on the island, was also appointed one of the additional lieutenants, ranking next below Lieutenant Thomas Statham, and was to receive pay from the receipt of this letter. 25: Before taking the oath of fidelity to the Company, Lieutenants Stewart, Cauldwell and Statham were shown a paper to which they declared their assent and agreement. A copy of the relevant part, so far as the island needed to know it, ran as follows. They were not only to obey their superior officers according to the rules and discipline of war, but were to be entirely subject to the orders of the Governor and Council, as the Company's lawful representatives, and likewise to any orders they might receive from any of the Company's civil servants to whom the Governor and Council thought fit to delegate such authority. They were entirely subject to the authority of the Company's civil representatives, the Governor and Council, upon the misbehaviour of [...] **Interpretations** The oath of fidelity was the formal act by which each officer bound himself to the Company's service, and the paper shown before it fixed the terms of that obedience in advance. Requiring assent to the document before the oath meant the officers could not later claim ignorance of the conditions attached to their commissions. The core of the agreement was to place military officers under civil command. By making the officers subject not only to the rules of war but to the Governor and Council, and even to civil servants named by them, the Company ensured that the garrison answered to its administration rather than

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		"any	forming an independent military authority on the island.
297	293	"any Officer. may. whenever they think fit. take away such "Officers Commission. without bringing him before a Court "Martial. according to the general practice of the Service 26 The intent of sending you the beforegoing is not merely with respect to the Officers now appointed. but also Governor & Council to remind you of the Power you have always had. and it is Power to necessary should be kept up in order to preserve that take away Authority over the Military. which is essentially necessary for Commissions the good of the Service— without hurt by a Court martial 27 Lieutenant Pargett must be acquainted with the beforegoing Orders. and declare his assent thereto— All Officers previous to your granting him a Commission. as likewise to assent to all our Officers at present on your Island. as well as all the Agreement others to whom you shall grant any Commissions hereafter 28 As we are sensible our Military and Artillery Officers at your Island labor under many Disadvantages. from the dearness of all kinds of Necessaries Military & and being always willing to encourage them to do their Pay encreased Duty with Spirit and Alacrity. we have resolved to encrease their Pay. from the Receipt of this Letter in the following proportions viz Captains of Infantry and Artillery. Three shillings a day each First Lieutenants & Second Lieutenants Two shillings Ditto 29 We have great reason to believe that the drunkenness and licentious Spirit that Prevails among the Soldiers and lower class of the Inhabitants of your Island. so much complained of in our Governors Letter. is a good deal owing to too great a relaxation of Discipline and a want	Upon the misbehaviour of any officer, the Governor and Council might at any time take away that officer's commission without bringing him before a court martial, in keeping with the general practice of the service. 26: The purpose of sending the foregoing was not only to settle the officers now appointed, but to remind the Governor and Council of the power they had always held. That power needed to be kept up in order to preserve the authority over the military which was essential to the good of the service. 27: Lieutenant Pargett was to be made acquainted with the foregoing orders and to declare his assent to them before any commission was granted to him. The same applied to all the officers then on the island, as well as to any others granted commissions in future. 28: Aware that the military and artillery officers on the island laboured under many disadvantages from the dearness of all kinds of necessaries, and willing to encourage them to do their duty with spirit, the Court resolved to increase their pay from the receipt of this letter in the following proportions: Captains of infantry and artillery, 3s a day each First lieutenants and second lieutenants, 2s a day each 29: There was good reason to believe that the drunkenness and licentious spirit prevailing among the soldiers and the lower class of the island's inhabitants, so much complained of in the Governor's letter, owed a good deal to too great a relaxation of discipline and a want of [...] **Interpretations** Removing an officer's commission without a court martial gave the civil government a direct disciplinary hold over the garrison. Ordinary military practice would have required a formal trial by fellow officers, so vesting this power in the Governor and Council placed the military firmly under civil control and stripped officers of the usual protection against summary dismissal. The pay rise was justified by the high cost of goods on the island rather than by rank or length of service. Because everything had to be shipped in, prices for necessaries stood well above those in England, and the Court raised officers' pay to keep the posts attractive and the men diligent despite that expense.
298	294	want of a proper and due attention to the Administration of Government: we therefore direct you to be extremely Too great Vigilant in preventing. as far as Possible the continuance relaxation of of these Grievances. and punishing the Offenders in an Government exemplary manner. and as the proper disciplining & exercising the Troops. is of the utmost importance to the Security of your Island. as well as a means of rectifying. in a great measure the licentiousness of the Military. and the present Adjutant. being unable to execute the Duty thereof. we have therefore appointed Lieutenant Charles Ross Stuart to be Adjutant who is Adjutant constantly to keep the Troops in proper Discipline in	The disorder owed a good deal to too great a relaxation of discipline and to want of proper attention to the running of the government. The Court therefore directed the Governor and Council to be extremely watchful in preventing, so far as possible, any continuance of these grievances, and to punish offenders in an exemplary manner. Properly disciplining and exercising the troops was of the utmost importance to the security of the island, and was also a means of correcting in great measure the licentiousness of the military. Since the present adjutant was unable to carry out the duty, the Court appointed Lieutenant Charles Ross Stewart to be adjutant, constantly to keep the troops in proper discipline in the field, and to train and exercise them, so that they might always be ready for immediate service, with an allowance of four shillings a day over and above the emoluments of a lieutenant. If Solomon Jacobs, the present adjutant, behaved to

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		appointed the Field. and Train. and Exercise them: that they may be always ready for immediate Service with an Allowance of Four Shillings a Day over and above the Emoluments of Lieutenant: and if your present Adjutant Mr Solomon Jacobs. behaves to your satisfaction we admit of his continuing in the Station of Town Adjutant to execute the Governor's Orders. with his present Allowance but if he shall at any time misbehave. you are then to dismiss him the Service and send him to England— 30 We are at a loss. upon any Vacancy happening in your Military Officers. to know how to fill Dates of the up the same. as you do not insert the dates of their Commissions Commissions in the Lists you send: in order therefore to be inserted to remedy the same in future. we hereby Order that you in the Lists insert in the List of Servants. against the name of sent to England each Military Officer. the Date of his Commission and an also	the island's satisfaction, the Court allowed him to continue in the post of town adjutant to carry out the Governor's orders on his present allowance, but if he ever misbehaved he was then to be dismissed the service and sent to England. 30: The Court was at a loss how to fill any vacancy among the island's military officers, since the dates of their commissions were not entered in the lists sent home. To remedy this in future, the Court ordered that in the list of servants, against the name of each military officer, the date of his commission be entered, and also [...] **Interpretations** The office of adjutant was the working post responsible for keeping troops drilled and ready, distinct from a commissioned rank, which is why it carried a separate allowance of four shillings a day on top of a lieutenant's pay. Splitting the field adjutancy from the town adjutancy, and giving Stewart the former while leaving Jacobs the latter on good behaviour, let the Court fix the drilling problem without dismissing a man who was still performing adequately in garrison duties. Recording the date of each officer's commission was the mechanism that fixed seniority, since promotion to fill a vacancy ran by order of commission. Without those dates the Court in England could not tell who stood next in line, so the order to enter them in the lists was aimed at making future appointments follow a clear and defensible rule rather than guesswork. **Speculations** The obvious remedy for an unsatisfactory adjutant was to remove him and install the replacement in his place. Instead the Court kept Solomon Jacobs on as town adjutant while handing the field duties to Stewart, splitting one office into two. The record shows why the softer course was taken: Jacobs had given no cause for dismissal and was executing the Governor's orders acceptably, so the Court preserved his position on condition of good behaviour rather than turning out a man whose only failing was inability to manage the demanding field work.
299	295	also direct that you make use of the word Private instead of Centinels in your Muster Rolls— 31 Being under very great Difficulties in procuring the large number of Recruits Annually wanted for our several Presidencies. and Soldiers who are inured to the Climate. are far preferable to raw and inexperienced Recruits Utmost we therefore direct that you use your utmost endeavours to endeavours to prevail on as many as you possibly can to Relist. and as be used to an encouragement thereto we empower you to encrease the prevail on the Bounty Money. as far as £ 15. for Five Years. to such good Soldiers to Men. as you shall think deserving. and as a further Relist. good inducement. we would have you continue the practice we Men to recommended in our General Letter of the 16th November 1763 receive £ 15 to advance part of it. some short time before the expiration Bounty money of their Contracts— part of it to be advanced 32 After having Expressed in our Letter of the	The Court also directed that the word private be used instead of sentinels in the muster rolls. 31: Since it was very hard to procure the large number of recruits wanted each year for the several presidencies, and since soldiers seasoned to the climate were far better than raw and inexperienced recruits, the Court directed the Governor and Council to do their utmost to persuade as many as they could to re-enlist. As an encouragement, it empowered them to increase the bounty money to as much as £15 for five years, for such good men as they thought deserving. As a further inducement, it wished them to continue the practice recommended in the general letter of 16 November 1763, of advancing part of the bounty some short time before the men's contracts expired. 32: Having expressed in the letter of 14 [...] the Court's entire approval of the conduct of Corneille in his office of lieutenant governor, under the unjust and frivolous accusations he had been charged with, it would be unmerited and a very particular hardship to let him bear so considerable a loss as he must suffer from the stopping of his salary and allowances during his absence from the island. That absence had been for the purpose of submitting his conduct to examination and clearing his character of all imputation. In acknowledgement of his merits and good services, the Court therefore directed that his salary and allowances be continued from the time of his leaving St Helena in August, and that the Governor and Council pay the arrears to him on his

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		14 Ultimo our entire approbation of the behaviour of Mr Corneille in his Office of Lieutenant Governor. under the unjust and frivolous Accusations he was charged with. it would be an unmerited and a very Particular hardship to suffer him to incur so considerable a loss as he must sustain by the Lt Governor discontinuance of his Salary and Allowances for the period of Salary &c his absence from the Island. in order to submit his conduct to be paid to our examination. and rescue his Character from all imputation during his therefore in acknowledgment of his Merits and good Services absence from we direct that they be continued to him from the time of his Island leaving St Helena in August last. and that you discharge the Arrears thereof. upon his Arrival at the Island on the Spot. in which Ship he takes his Passage— 33 You	arrival at the island on the ship in which he took his passage. **Interpretations** Bounty money was the lump sum paid to a man on enlisting or re-enlisting, and raising it to £15 for a five-year term was the Court's lever for retaining seasoned soldiers. Because troops already hardened to the island's conditions were more valuable than fresh recruits shipped out untested, paying more to keep existing men was cheaper in practice than the difficulty and risk of raising new ones. Advancing part of the bounty before a contract expired was a deliberate timing device to catch a soldier while still in service and inclined to stay. Once a man's term ended he was free to go, so putting money in his hand shortly before that point tied him to a fresh engagement before he could weigh leaving. Continuing Corneille's salary through his absence turned a point of pay into a point of vindication. Since he had left the island only to answer accusations and clear his name, stopping his salary would have punished him for defending himself, so restoring the arrears was the Court's way of marking that the charges had failed and his standing was intact.
300	296	33 You were informed in our last Letter by the Duke of Albany. that we had appointed Mr Corneille to Lt Governor the command either of the First Company of Infantry or of appointed Capt the Artillery Company: and as he has made choice of the of the first former we have granted him a Commission accordingly. Company and he is to have the Usual Pay with the additional Allowance annexed to that Rank as before mentioned— 34 That all Doubts may be removed as to the Privileges and Emoluments which the Lieutenant Governor is entitled to. as well as that he may support his Character Emoluments in a becoming manner and enjoy all the conveniences &c to the adequate to his Station. we Direct that he may be supplied Lt Governor with Vegetables from our Garden allowed Mutton for his Table as far as the Value of £ 3 pr Quarter. that the customary use of our Dairy be continued to him with liberty. as usual to feed his Stock from the Company's Plantations and that our Slaves who where formerly his Servants. be again restored to him— 35 Being acquainted that the House in the Long Wood. assigned for the Lieutenant Governor is entirely fallen to decay: and as it is our Intention that A House to when the necessary Fortifications are compleated a small be Erected for House should be built there: adapted to the proper discharge the Lt Gov: of his Duty. as our Husband. which requires his frequent Attendance in the Country for the care of the Plantations Lands. Stock and other Services. We would have you cause the Plan of a proper House to be drawn accordingly. and an Estimate formed of the full amount of the Sum which—	33: The Court had informed the Governor and Council in its last letter, by the *Duke of Albany*, that it had appointed Corneille to the command either of the first company of infantry or of the artillery company. Since he had chosen the former, the Court granted him a commission accordingly, and he was to have the usual pay together with the additional allowance attached to that rank, as mentioned earlier. 34: So that all doubts might be removed as to the privileges and emoluments the lieutenant governor was entitled to, and so that he might support his position in a fitting manner and enjoy all the conveniences suited to his station, the Court directed several provisions. He was to be supplied with vegetables from the Company garden, allowed mutton for his table up to the value of £3 0s 0d a quarter, and continued in the customary use of the Company dairy. He was to have liberty, as usual, to feed his stock from the Company plantations, and the slaves who had formerly been his servants were to be restored to him again. 35: The house at Longwood assigned for the lieutenant governor had fallen entirely into decay. Since the Court intended that a small house be built there once the necessary fortifications were finished, fitted to the proper discharge of his duty as the Court's husband, which required his frequent attendance in the country for the care of the plantation lands, stock and other services, it wished the Governor and Council to have the plan of a proper house drawn accordingly, and an estimate formed of the full amount of the sum [...] **Interpretations** The emoluments listed for the lieutenant governor were payments in kind rather than cash, drawn from the Company's own garden, dairy, plantations and mutton supply. On a remote island where provisions were scarce and dear, this way of supporting a senior officer's household through direct allotments of food and grazing was worth more than an equivalent money sum, since the goods themselves were the hard things to obtain. The office of husband was the working role of managing the Company's agricultural estate, overseeing the plantation lands, livestock and related labour on the island. Because this duty required the lieutenant governor to be often in the country rather than at the town, the decayed house at Longwood mattered as the practical base from which he could

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			supervise the estate, which is why its rebuilding was tied to the completion of the fortifications. Restoring the slaves who had formerly served him signals that they had been withdrawn during his absence, when his salary and allowances were also suspended. Returning them alongside the other emoluments completed the reinstatement of his full establishment, part of the same vindication that saw his arrears of pay restored after the accusations against him collapsed.
301	297	which will be required to compleat it. transmitting the same to us that we may be enabled to signify our further pleasure to you thereon— 36 As the Additional number of Ships that have been lately and are now entertained in our Service has. and must necessarily engage a more attentive and diligent. Governor application of your Services. and for encouraging you and our Salary other Servants. we have determined to encrease their Allowances Augmented and therefore direct that. upon the receipt of this Letter. our £ 100 pr Annum Governor be allowed. in addition to his present Emoluments one hundred Pounds a Year— 37 We have also considered the long. faithful and good services of Wm Matthew Yurling. and have resolved to add to his Mr Yurlings present Allowances seventy Pounds a Year to commence from £ 70 pr Annum the receipt of this Letter. 38 And in order to encourage the rest of our Servants to continue a faithful and diligent discharge of their several Trusts. they are to be allowed the following Additions to their present Civil Servants Emoluments. which are to take place upon the receipt hereof. viz Salarys The Secretary £ 40 a Year. the Storekeeper £ 40. a Year. Augmented Senior Factor £ 30. other Factors each £ 20. and Writers £ 10. a Year— 39 We have appointed Mr Yurling Son of the late Mr Onesiphorus Yurling. to be a second Lieutenant at your Island. Robt Yurling to rank next below Second Lieutenant John Pargett. and is to appointed receive Pay from the receipt of this Letter. but previous to your Lieutenant granting him a Commission. he must declare his assent to the Terms mentioned in the former part of this Letter— 40 On	The Governor and Council were to state the sum needed to complete the house, and to transmit it to the Court so that it could signify its further pleasure on the matter. 36: Since the additional number of ships lately taken and now in the Court's service required a more attentive and diligent application from its servants, and to encourage the Governor and the other servants, the Court determined to increase their allowances. It therefore directed that, on receipt of this letter, the Governor be allowed £100 0s 0d a year in addition to his present emoluments. 37: The Court also considered the long, faithful and good services of Matthew Yerling, and resolved to add £70 0s 0d a year to his present allowances, to begin from the receipt of this letter. 38: To encourage the rest of its servants to continue a faithful and diligent discharge of their several trusts, the Court granted the following additions to their present emoluments, to take effect on receipt of this letter: Secretary, £40 0s 0d a year Storekeeper, £40 0s 0d a year Senior factor, £30 0s 0d a year Other factors, £20 0s 0d a year each Writers, £10 0s 0d a year 39: The Court appointed Yerling, son of the late Onesiphorus Yerling, to be a second lieutenant on the island, ranking next below Second Lieutenant John Pargett, and to receive pay from the receipt of this letter. Before any commission was granted to him, he was to declare his assent to the terms set out in the earlier part of this letter. **Interpretations** The graded salary additions fixed each civil servant's rise strictly by rank, from £40 0s 0d a year for the secretary and storekeeper down to £10 0s 0d for writers. This structure kept the differentials between grades intact while rewarding the whole establishment at once, so that raising pay across the board did not disturb the settled order of seniority among the Company's servants. Requiring the younger Yerling to assent to the standard terms before receiving a commission applied to a new appointment the same condition already imposed on the other officers. It confirms that no commission was issued on the island without prior acceptance of subjection to civil authority, making that agreement a fixed precondition of military office rather than a formality attached to particular men.
302	298	40 On the request of Lieutenant Stewart. we £ 50 Advanced have advanced him £ 50. to be discharged out of his growing Lt Stewart Pay. in such manner as not to distress him. and have enclosed his Bond in this Ship's Packet. for your recovering that Sum— 41 We shall consider of supplying you with an Capt of Artillery able Officer. to be placed at the Head of the Artillery Company will be sent as soon as the command thereof shall become vacant. by	40: On the request of Lieutenant Stewart, the Court advanced him £50 0s 0d, to be recovered out of his growing pay in such a manner as not to distress him. It enclosed his bond in this ship's packet, so that the Governor and Council could recover that sum. 41: The Court would consider supplying a capable officer to be placed at the head of the artillery company as soon as the command of it fell vacant, on Captain Mitchell's return from the island. The letter closed from London on 19 January 1769, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by Peter Ducane junior, Henry Crabb

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		Captain Mitchell's return from the Island— We are London the 19th January 1769 Your loving Friends Peter DuCane Junr Henry Crabb Boulton Ja Cockburn G Colebrooke Ben Booth Robt Jones Daniel Wier J Purling Edward Wheler Frederick Pigou Jno Woodhouse John Stephenson Pere Cust Luke Scrafton Geo Wombwell WJ Crittenden Wm James Charles Chambers Wm Snell J Creswicke Dardoe John Harrison J Purlock	Boulton, James Cockburn, George Colebrooke, Benjamin Booth, Robert Jones, Daniel Wier, Matthew Yerling, Edward Wheler, Frederick Pigou, John Woodhouse, John Stephenson, Peregrine Cust, Luke Scrafton, George Wombwell, William Cuttendon, William James, Charles Chambers, William Snell, John Creswicke, [...] Dardoe, John Harrison and [...] Hurlock. **Interpretations** Advancing Stewart £50 0s 0d against his future pay, secured by a bond and recovered gradually so as not to distress him, shows the Court acting as lender to its own officer. The bond gave the Company a legally enforceable claim to repayment, while spreading the deductions across his growing pay kept the arrangement from stripping him of his living, a device that let the Company advance money without risk to itself or hardship to the man.
303	299	To the Governor and Council of the Island St Helena— We the Secret Committe of the East India Company having received Information that a large Quantity of Lead. Iron. Steel. Red and White Lead. besides other Goods. was illicitly shipped on board the Speke before that Ship's Letter from departure from Gravesend: We therefore direct that as soon the Secret as you shall have landed all the Goods consigned to you Committee in the said ship. you cause the strictest Search to be made relative to on board for all Clandestine Trade. and for discovery thereof illicit Trade you are to examine all the Evidence Passengers as well being on as others on Oath on the subject and carefully to compare board the the Accounts of Goods landed from or remaining on board Ship Speke with the manifest. in the Packet. and whatever shall appear to exceed what is thereby allowed must be seized and deposited in our Store House until you shall receive our further Orders. giving us the fullest Account of your Proceedings. and all Particulars relating to such Unlicensed Goods. with the Names of the Parties concerned therein. that We may upon their Return hither deal with them according to their demerits: and you are expressly required to keep the above Orders entirely Secret until you shall execute the same We are Your loving Friends East India House. J Purling H Crabb Boulton London 19th January 1769 for the Court G Colebrooke John Harrison Robt Jones Fredk Pigou	The Secret Committee of the East India Company wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. It had received information that a large quantity of lead, iron, steel, red and white lead, besides other goods, had been shipped illicitly on board the *Speke* before that ship left Gravesend. The committee therefore directed that, as soon as the Governor and Council had landed all the goods properly consigned to them in the ship, they were to have the strictest search made on board for any clandestine trade. To discover it, they were to examine on oath all the evidence, passengers as well as others, on the subject, and carefully to compare the accounts of goods landed from or remaining on board with the manifest in the packet. Whatever exceeded what the manifest allowed was to be seized and deposited in the Company storehouse until further orders arrived. They were to give the committee a full account of their proceedings, with all particulars relating to the unlicensed goods and the names of the parties concerned, so that the committee might, on those parties' return home, deal with them according to their deserts. They were expressly required to keep the whole matter entirely secret until they had carried it out. The letter closed from East India House, London, on 19 January 1769, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by Matthew Yerling, Henry Crabb Boulton, George Colebrooke, John Harrison, Robert Jones and Frederick Pigou. **Interpretations** The goods named were the makings of a private cargo run outside the Company's monopoly, chiefly metals. Lead, iron and steel were staple building and manufacturing materials in constant demand, while red lead and white lead were lead oxides used chiefly in paint and as a glazing and sealing compound. Because the Company held the sole right to trade on these routes, any such stock shipped without entry on the manifest was contraband carried for private profit at the Company's expense, which is why the whole consignment mattered enough to warrant a secret search. The procedure set out a complete evidentiary method rather than a simple order to look. Examining passengers and crew on oath, then checking what was actually landed or found aboard against the sealed manifest, turned the search into a documentary audit in which any surplus over the listed cargo was proof of smuggling. Seizing and storing the excess pending orders, while naming the parties for later reckoning at home, kept the offenders answerable to the directors in London rather than to any authority on the island.

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			The demand for absolute secrecy until the search was done was the operative safeguard of the whole scheme. Forewarning would have let those involved move or conceal the goods before the ship was examined, so secrecy was what gave the surprise inspection its evidential value. **Speculations** The committee could have ordered the offending parties dealt with on the island once the contraband was found and the culprits named. Instead it directed that the seized goods be held and the names sent home, reserving judgement to the directors in London on the parties' return. The reason lies in who the smugglers were: passengers and others aboard a Company ship, bound back to England, whom the committee meant to try itself according to their deserts. Keeping the reckoning in London let the directors deal with their own servants and passengers directly, rather than leaving punishment to a distant council whose reach over men soon departed would have been slight.
304	300	Our Governor and Council of St Helena P 1 We wrote to you last under date of the 19th January 1769. by the Speke Since which period. we have received the following Letters from your Island viz General Letters of the 23 January. two of the 13 February Letters the 13. 17. 29 & 30 March. 5. 8. 11. 18 and two of the 30 April Received 2. 7 & 11 May 3 & 16 June 2 & 19 July two of the first and one of the 17 August. the 14 & 17 September and 14 October also one addressed to the Secret Committee of the 3 June likewise Letters from Governor Skottowe dated the 8th March 25. May and 19 July 1769— 2 By the Ships Harcourt and British King Remarks made now under dispatch. we shall make such remarks on the on the above abovementioned Advices. and give such directions for your Letters observance as appear to us necessary— 3 In the Packet we transmit Lists of the List of Ships arrival and departure of our Shipping. since the date of our sent last Advices 4 The following Gentlemen are appointed our Secret Committee for the present Year. viz Sr George Colebroke Bart. Chairman Peregrine Cust Esqr Deputy Chairman of the Secret Court with Henry Crabb Boulton. John Harrison. John Committee Manship. Frederick Pigou. John Purling and Laurence Sulivan Esqrs whose Orders. signified under the hands of any three or more of them respecting the safety your outward or homeward bound Ships must be punctually obeyed— 5 In order to increase the Company's Trade to its utmost extent. we have taken up this Season the thirty Ships undermentioned each of the burthen of 499 Tons. their Commanders	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court had last written on 19 January 1769, by the *Speke*. Since then it had received the following letters from the island: a general letter of 23 January, two of 13 February, those of 13, 17, 29 and 30 March, of 3, 8, 11 and 18 [...], two of the 30 [...], those of 2, 7, 8 and 11 May, of 3 and 16 June, of 2 and 10 July, two of the first and one of the 17 August, those of 14 and 17 September and of 14 October, also one addressed to the Secret Committee of 3 June. It had likewise received letters from Governor Skottowe dated 8 March, 25 May and 19 July 1769. 2: By the ships *Harcourt* and *British King*, now under despatch, the Court would make such remarks on the advices mentioned above, and give such directions for the island's observance, as appeared necessary. 3: In the packet the Court transmitted lists of the arrival and departure of its shipping since the date of its last advices. 4: The following gentlemen were appointed the Secret Committee for the present year: Sir George Colebrooke baronet as chairman, Peregrine Cust as deputy chairman of the Court, with Henry Crabb Boulton, John Harrison, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, John Yerling and Laurence Sulivan. Orders signified under the hands of any three or more of them respecting the safety of homeward bound ships were to be punctually obeyed. 5: To increase the Company trade to its utmost extent, the Court had this season taken up thirty ships, each of the burthen of 499 tons, whose commanders [...] **Interpretations** The Secret Committee was the small inner body of directors empowered to issue confidential orders on matters too sensitive for the full Court, chiefly the safety and routing of homeward bound ships carrying valuable cargo. Requiring that orders under the hands of any three or more of them be punctually obeyed gave a quorum of this committee direct authority over the island in security matters, bypassing the slower and more public machinery of the general correspondence. Fixing the chartered ships uniformly at 499 tons points to a deliberate threshold rather than a natural size. Vessels of 500 tons and above carried heavier regulatory and manning obligations, so setting each ship just under that mark let the Company expand its tonnage while sidestepping the added burdens that the higher class would have imposed.

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305	301	Commanders and Consignments are viz Houghton. Capt William Smith Van Sittart. Richard Lewin Verelst. Thomas Compton Coast and Bay Europa. Henry Hinde Pelly Norse. John Horne Maderia & Coast & Bay Egmont. Charles Mears Lord Mansfield. James Angus Teneriffe & Coast & Bay Harcourt. Collingwood Roddam. St Helena & Bencoolen British King. Danl Griffith Meare. St Helena Bencoolen & China Royal Captain. Edward Beneur Ships taken Latham. John Prince up Bencoolen & China Kent. John Milles Resolution. Thomas Athyns China directly Bridgewater. Nicholas Mattreve Earl of Elgin. Thomas Cooke Maderia & Coast & China Valentine. Charles Purvis Stafford. Thomas Steill Hawke. John Cotton Bute. Patrick Maitland Huntingdon. Peter Pigou Princess Royal. Robert Kerr Prime. Anthony Eglinton Coast & China Duke of Glocester. John Lauder Northumberland. John Milford. Bombay & China Worthington. John Sealy. Maderia & Bombay Worcester. Richard Hall Admiral Pocock. Thomas Riddell John Hasell Bombay Greenwich. Robert Carr Free Briton. John Broadley 6 The	The commanders and consignments of the ships taken up were as follows. The *Houghton*, under Captain William Smith, was bound for the coast and bay. The *Vansittart*, under Richard Lewin, was bound for the coast and bay. The *Verelst*, under Thomas Compton, was bound for the coast and bay. The *Europa*, under Henry Hinde Pelly, was bound for Madeira, the coast and the bay. The *Horse*, under John Horne, was bound for Madeira, the coast and the bay. The *Egmont*, under Charles Mears, was bound for Tenerife, the coast and the bay. The *Lord Mansfield*, under James Angus, was bound for Tenerife, the coast and the bay. The *Harcourt*, under Collingwood Roddam, was bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The *British King*, under Daniel Griffith Mears, was bound for St Helena, Bencoolen and China. The *Royal Captain*, under Edward Bencur, was bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Latham*, under John Prince, was bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Kent*, under John Milles, was bound for China directly. The *Resolution*, under Thomas Athyns, was bound for China directly. The *Bridgewater*, under Nicholas Maltravers, was bound for Madeira, the coast and China. The *Earl of Elgin*, under Thomas Cooke, was bound for Madeira, the coast and China. The *Valentine*, under Charles Purvis, was bound for the coast and China. The *Stafford*, under Thomas Bill, was bound for the coast and China. The *Hawke*, under John Cotton, was bound for the coast and China. The *Bute*, under Patrick Maitland, was bound for the coast and China. The *Huntingdon*, under Peter Pigou, was bound for the coast and China. The *Princess Royal*, under Robert Kerr, was bound for the coast and China. The *Prime*, under Anthony Eglinton, was bound for the coast and China. The *Duke of Gloucester*, under John Lauder, was bound for the coast and China. The *Northumberland*, under John Mitford, was bound for Bombay and China. The *Worthington*, under John Sealy, was bound for Madeira and Bombay. The *Worcester*, under Richard Hall, and the *Admiral Pocock*, under Thomas Bridell, were bound for Bombay. The *Greenwich*, under John Hasell, was bound for Bombay. The *True Briton*, under Robert Carr [...] **Interpretations** The routes divide the fleet by destination and reveal how the Company organised a single season's shipping across its whole eastern trade. The coast and bay meant the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal, the centre of the Indian textile trade, while Bencoolen was the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra and China meant the tea trade at Canton. Madeira and Tenerife appear as victualling and wine stops on the outward Atlantic passage rather than trading destinations in their own right. Only two ships, the *Harcourt* and the *British King*, were routed by way of St Helena, which is why the island's own correspondence travelled home in them.
306	302	6 The Charter parties enclosed in the Packet will inform you that the Harcourt and British King are	6: The charter parties enclosed in the packet showed that the *Harcourt* and the *British King* were

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		entertained on the same Terms and Conditions as the Ships Charter partys of last season. On the arrival of these Ships. with you. we the same as require you to use your utmost Endeavours in unloading last Year such part of their Cargoes as are consigned to you. so that they may be dispatched within the time limited by Charterparty— 7 Exclusive of the Ships mentioned in the beforegoing List. we have sent to India as an Advice Vessel Lapwing the Lapwing Snow. burthen 130 Tons: she sailed from Falmouth Snow sent under the Command of Captain Henry Gardiner the 5. July to India last— 8 His Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant us a Naval Assistance for treating and settling matters Two of His in the Gulph of Persia. consisting of the Stag Frigate of 32 Majestys and the Hawke Sloop of 18 Guns they both sailed from Spithead Frigates sent the 29 Septr under the Command of Sr John Lindsay— to India 9 In the Month of June last we appointed Henry Van Sittart. Luke Scrafton and Francis Forde Esqrs Commissioners for superintending the Company's Affairs at Commissioners their several Presidencies. and in order to effect their arrival appointed in India as soon as possible. we obtained the Grant of His Majesty's Frigate Aurora of 32 Guns commanded by Capt Thomas Lee. whereon the said Gentlemen proceeded from Spithead the 30 Septr 1769— 10 Messrs Alexander Hume. Stephen De l'Ismes Francis Wood. Benjamin Torin. Edward Phipps. Thomas Bevan. China Council William Hanson. Matthew Raper. John Bradley Blake. and & Presidents James Bradshaw are appointed our Council of Supra Cargoes for transacting the Company's Affairs in China the ensuing Season. and Messrs Hume. Wood. Phipps. Bevan. Hanson. Raper	engaged on the same terms and conditions as the ships of the previous season. On the arrival of these ships, the Court required the Governor and Council to do their utmost in unloading such part of their cargoes as was consigned to the island, so that the vessels might be despatched within the time set by the charter party. 7: Besides the ships named in the list above, the Court had sent to India, as an advice vessel, the *Lapwing* snow, of the burthen of 130 tons. She sailed from Falmouth under the command of Captain Henry Gardiner on 5 July. 8: His Majesty had been pleased to grant a naval force for settling matters in the Gulf of Persia, consisting of the *Stag*, a frigate of 32 guns, and the *Hawke*, a sloop of 18 guns. Both sailed from Spithead on 29 September under the command of Sir John Lindsay. 9: In June, the Court appointed Henry Vansittart, Luke Scrafton and Francis Forde commissioners to superintend the Company affairs at its several presidencies. To bring about their arrival in India as soon as possible, it obtained the grant of His Majesty's frigate *Aurora*, of 32 guns, commanded by Captain Thomas Lee, in which these gentlemen sailed from Spithead on 30 September 1769. 10: Alexander Hume, Stephen De Vismes, Francis Wood, Benjamin Torin, Edward Phipps, Thomas Bevan, William Hansard, Matthew Raper, John Bradley Blake and James Bradshaw were appointed the Council of Supracargoes for transacting the Company affairs in China the coming season. Hume, Wood, Phipps, Bevan, Hansard, Raper [...] **Interpretations** The distinction between a chartered trading ship and an advice vessel explains why the small *Lapwing* was sent out separately from the main fleet. An advice vessel carried despatches rather than cargo, and a fast light snow of 130 tons could sail ahead of the heavily laden Indiamen to deliver the Court's orders quickly, which mattered when instructions had to reach the presidencies before the trading season turned. Securing royal frigates for the Gulf of Persia force and for carrying the new commissioners shows the Company drawing on the Crown's navy for tasks its own armed ships could not cover. The frigate *Aurora* was obtained specifically to rush Vansittart, Scrafton and Forde to India ahead of the season, a speed the ordinary chartered ships could not offer, while the *Stag* and *Hawke* under Sir John Lindsay represented naval power the Company could not itself provide for a diplomatic and military settlement in Persian waters. The Council of Supracargoes was the body of senior merchants who conducted the Company trade at Canton for a single season, negotiating the purchase of tea and other goods and overseeing the loading of the China ships. Because the China trade ran on an annual cycle tied to the arrival and departure of the fleet, a fresh council was named each year to handle that season's dealings on the spot.
307	303	Raper. Blake and Bradshaw are to reside at Canton in the Year 1771— 11 In consequence of your Representation that a Orders enforced Scarcity of Fuell still prevails with you we enforce the Orders to the several Commanders for laying in a sufficient Quantity of that with respect Article for the Voyage home before they leave India or China. and	Raper, Blake and Bradshaw were to reside at Canton in the year 1771. 11: Following the island's report that a scarcity of fuel still prevailed, the Court reinforced its orders to the several commanders to lay in a sufficient quantity of that article for the voyage home before they left India or China. It directed the Governor and Council to make the commanders aware that it would greatly resent any disobedience.

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		to Fuell acquaint them that we shall highly resent their disobedience of the same— 12 We also order such of the Commanders as shall touch at the Cape homeward bound. to confine the purchase of Only Sheep live Stock for your use. to Sheep only. and we likewise give to be bought Directions to each of them to provide ten Hogsheads of Punch of from the Cape Wheat and some Garden Seeds which you are to pay for on delivery Wheat & Garden at such rates as you shall judge to be reasonable— Seeds to be brought from Do 13 Your determination when you were acquainted with the treatment the Success very met with at Mauritius. not to permit any Persons to land from French Ships. that might Governors touch at the Island: but to supply them according to the scheme determination they had set in regard to that Ship. until you received our with respect Instructions was very proper. It appears to us that you are to the fully justified in imitating the conduct they have laid down treatment of in that Instance: but we would have you be extremely cautious the French of going beyond it. and not give the slightest pretext for any just approved complaint. of an inhospitable Behaviour to a Nation at present in amity with this Crown. And though we do not see any immediate occasion for keeping the Militia in actual service yet it will be right to hold them always trained and ready to act in case the circumstances of Affairs shall require it— 14 We do not by either of the Ships now bound to No Treasure the Island consign you any Treasure. as you advise the Consigned Balance of Cash and Receipts for Stores and Bills will be sufficient	12: The Court also ordered that any commanders touching at the Cape on the homeward voyage should confine their purchase of live stock for the island's use to sheep only. It further directed each of them to provide ten hogsheads or puncheons of wheat, along with some garden seeds, which the Governor and Council were to pay for on delivery at such rates as they judged reasonable. 13: The island's decision, on learning how the *Speke* had been treated at Mauritius, not to let any persons land from French ships that might touch at the island, but to supply them according to the example the French had set with that ship until further instructions arrived, was very proper. The Court held that the Governor and Council were fully justified in following the course the French had laid down in that case, but wished them to be extremely careful not to go beyond it, and to give no pretext for any just complaint of unsuitable behaviour towards a nation at present at peace with the Crown. Although the Court saw no immediate occasion for keeping the militia in actual service, it thought it right to hold them always trained and ready to act should the circumstances of affairs require it. 14: Neither of the ships now bound to the island would consign any treasure, since, as the Governor and Council had reported, the balance of cash and the receipts for stores and bills would be sufficient [...] **Interpretations** Fuel here meant firewood for the long homeward passage, and its scarcity on St Helena was chronic because the island's limited timber could not meet the demands of passing ships. Ordering commanders to load enough before leaving India or China shifted the burden of supply onto the vessels themselves, so that ships did not arrive at the island expecting to draw on stocks it did not have. Restricting the Cape purchases to sheep, and fixing a set quantity of wheat and garden seeds, shows the Court managing the island's provisioning down to the specific commodity. Sheep could be kept and bred on arrival, and seeds served the island's own cultivation, so the instruction favoured supplies that extended the island's self sufficiency over live stock that would merely be consumed. The handling of French ships turned on the delicate position of a British possession dealing with a rival power in peacetime. By mirroring exactly the treatment the *Speke* had received at Mauritius, supplying necessities but refusing to let anyone land, the island matched the other side's conduct without exceeding it, which gave France no ground for complaint while still guarding against espionage or infiltration by visitors coming ashore. **Speculations** Learning that the *Speke* had been refused normal hospitality at French Mauritius, the island might have retaliated by turning French ships away altogether. Instead it chose to supply them with necessities while barring anyone from landing, and the Court endorsed exactly this measured line. The record shows the reasoning in its warning not to go beyond the French example and to give no just cause of complaint to a nation at peace with the Crown: open retaliation risked a diplomatic incident, whereas precise reciprocity let the island protect itself and answer the slight without handing France a grievance it could carry to London.
308	304	You are right. Corrected: sufficient for the Expences of the Year 1769 as well as for that of 1770— 15 You did right in sending home the thirty and	The balance would be sufficient for the expenses of the year 1769 as well as for those of 1770. 15: The Governor and Council did right in sending home the thirty unserviceable guns on the *Duke of Albany* freight free. They were to take the

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		unserviceable Guns on the Duke of Albany. Freight Free. and must pursue by future Opportunities the like measure in regard to the remaining fifteen or any other ordnance that may be hereafter reported by the proper Officers as unfit for Service— 16 Your Indents are in general complied with and the several Stores are laden on the Harcourt and British King the principal Articles which fall short of the Quantities you desire are 30 Puncheons of Beef. 50 Hogsheads of Pork 2000 Square Feet of purbeck Grin Stone and 20.000 plain Tiles the Waistcoats for the Slaves are made according to your desire and with respect to the Bayonet Scabbards. which you say are too short they were made for the last pattern. Musquets on a supposition that you wanted them for those Musquets— 17 We send in the Harcourt four Patent hand Corn Mills for the purpose of grinding such Corn as may be brought to you by our returning Ships from the Cape of Good Hope— 18 The Sashes you desire for the Officers will be sent on one of the Ships now consigned to St Helena. which are the Company's property. and are to be delivered to the Officers in the same manner as the former Sashes were— 19 The China Council have our directions to furnish you with the Articles desired from thence. if you see cause to make any alteration therein advise them by the British King that they may supply you accordingly— 20 We are pleased to find you have had a favorable Winter Season. and that the flourishing situation of the Island had enabled the Planters to return a larger Quantity of Cattle for Slaughter than in the preceeding Year **Margin Notes:** Guns sent Home. Expence of &c to be continued Indents in general complied with Corn Mills sent Officers Sashes China Council are directed to comply with the Indents pleased to hear of the favorableness of the Season &c	like measure by future opportunities in regard to the remaining fifteen, or any other ordnance that the proper officers might hereafter report as unfit for service. 16: The island's indents were in general complied with, and the several stores laden on the *Harcourt* and *British King*. The principal articles which fell short of the quantities desired were 20 puncheons of beef, 50 hogsheads of pork, 2,000 square feet of Purbeck ambstone, and 20,000 plain tiles. The waistcoats for the slaves were made according to the island's wish. As for the bayonet scabbards, which the island said were too short, they had been made to the pattern of the last, on the supposition that the island wanted them for those muskets. 17: The Court sent in the *Harcourt* four patent hand corn mills, for grinding such corn as might be brought to the island by its returning ships from the Cape of Good Hope. 18: The sashes the island desired for the officers would be sent on one of the ships now consigned to St Helena. They were the Company property and were to be delivered to the officers in the same manner as the former sashes. 19: The China Council held the Court's directions to furnish the island with the articles desired from there. If the Governor and Council saw cause to make any alteration in them, they were to advise the China Council by the *British King*, so that it might supply them accordingly. 20: The Court was pleased to find that the island had had a favourable winter season, and that its flourishing state had enabled the planters to return a larger quantity of cattle for slaughter than in the preceding year [...] **Interpretations** An indent was a formal requisition sent home listing the stores the island needed, which the Court then filled from England as far as its own stocks allowed. The shortfalls named here, in salt beef, pork, building stone and tiles, show the mechanism working imperfectly, since the island depended entirely on these annual shipments for provisions and materials it could not produce itself, and any deficiency had to wait a full season to be made good. Purbeck ambstone was a hard limestone quarried in Dorset, valued as a durable building and paving stone, and its shipment in bulk points to permanent construction work under way on the island. Combined with the 20,000 plain tiles, the order reflects the fabric of fortifications and Company buildings being maintained with materials that had to travel the whole distance from England. The patent hand corn mills sent for grinding imported grain reveal a deliberate step towards processing supplies on the island itself. Rather than depending on flour shipped ready milled, the Company equipped the island to grind the corn its own ships brought from the Cape, which reduced spoilage in transit and extended the island's capacity to feed itself from raw grain. The reference to a favourable winter season and a larger return of slaughter cattle confirms that the island's meat supply turned on its own pastoral output as much as on shipped provisions. A good season on the island's temperate grazing eased the pressure on imported salt meat, which is why the Court noted the planters' larger delivery with evident relief.
309	305	Year. We rest assured that your best endeavours will not be wanting to encourage the growth of Cattle as much as possible	The Court was confident that the Governor and Council would not fail to encourage the growth of cattle as much as possible, so that the increased number of ships calling annually at the island might be amply supplied with the provisions they needed,

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		so that the encreased number of Ships which annually call on you. may be amply supplied with the Provisions they may have occasion for. without reducing your Stock below its proper state— 21 It is with pleasure we observe the large Increase of your Stock of black cattle enables you. not only to afford our Shipping a larger proportion of Beef than for three Glad to hear years past but also to admit of your furnishing the non— of the encrease Commission Officers and Soldiers of the Garrison with fresh of Cattle &c meat once a Month. and we highly approve of your continuing this Measure in future. which must greatly contribute to their Health. as you represent that they could otherwise hardly ever afford themselves a Meal of fresh Meat 22 For Improving the breed of Cattle at St Helena we send by these Ships four yearling Bulls and four Hiefers Cattle sent in calf. and direct that after reserving such of the Bulls as from England may be wanted for the Company's use. the remainder be lent to the Breeders of Cattle from time to time. as they may have occasion for them— 23 The Rules and regulations for the Sale of Arrack and other spirituous Liquors framed on the Basis of the Articles laid down in our Letter of the 19 January 1769. entered on Regulations Consultation the 29. May last appear properly adapted to prevent with respect the Irregularities and abuses occasioned by the clandestine to the Sale retail of these Articles as well as to remedy the Evils our black of Spirituous Slaves. and others were exposed to. from an inordinate use of Liquors strong Aguers. and on these Grounds. we approve thereof. leaving approved it to you to alter. amend or add to them. with the sole view of promoting the common good of the whole Community 24 We have entertained James Carmichael as a Gardener	without reducing the island's stock below its proper level. 21: The Court observed with pleasure that the large increase of the island's stock of black cattle enabled the Governor and Council not only to afford the Company shipping a larger proportion of beef than for the three years past, but also to furnish the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the garrison with fresh meat once a month. The Court highly approved of continuing this measure in future, since it must greatly contribute to the men's health, the Governor and Council having reported that they could otherwise hardly ever afford themselves a meal of fresh meat. 22: To improve the breed of cattle at St Helena, the Court sent by these ships four yearling bulls and four heifers in calf. It directed that, after reserving such of the bulls as might be wanted for the Company use, the remainder be given to the breeders of cattle from time to time as they had occasion for them. 23: The rules and regulations for the sale of arrack and other spirituous liquors, framed on the basis of the articles laid down in the letter of 19 January 1769 and entered in the consultation of 29 May, appeared properly adapted to prevent the irregularities and abuses caused by the clandestine retail of these articles, and to remedy the evils to which the Company soldiers, slaves and others were exposed from an inordinate use of strong liquors. On those grounds the Court approved them, leaving it to the Governor and Council to alter, amend or add to them with the sole view of promoting the common good of the whole community. 24: The Court had taken on James Carmichael as a gardener [...] **Interpretations** The distinction between supplying the ships and feeding the garrison shows the island balancing two competing calls on the same herd. Because the passing fleet had first claim on the island's beef, the soldiers had gone largely without fresh meat, so extending a monthly ration to the garrison marked a deliberate reallocation once the stock had grown enough to bear it, justified expressly by the men's health. Sending breeding animals rather than meat reveals a long-term investment in the island's pastoral capacity. Four bulls and four heifers in calf were stock for improvement, not consumption, and directing the surplus bulls to private breeders shows the Company using its own imports to upgrade the whole island's herd rather than merely its own. Leaving the liquor regulations open to local amendment, with the sole aim of the community good, delegated a measure of self-government to the Governor and Council on the spot. The Court set the framework but recognised that the men on the island were better placed to judge how the rules bore on actual conditions, which is why it granted them latitude to adjust the detail.
310	306	Gardener for St Helena who is to be allowed a Salary of £ 40. Gardener sent pr Annum and lodged and dieted at the Company's Expence We have paid him a Gratuity of £ 6. and he takes passage on the— 25 Having considered the Reasons you urge for the removal from St Helena of Aguada to Peculum. and Reason for Mass Panje. two Mallays. sent from Fort Marlborough for removing of Misbehaviour. we are to remark that no place is in point of	The gardener sent for St Helena was to be allowed a salary of £40 0s 0d a year, and lodged and fed at the Company expense. The Court had paid him a gratuity of £6 0s 0d, and he took his passage on the ship. 25: Having considered the reasons the island urged for removing from St Helena the two Malays Ryquedale Peccalum and Mass Panjee, sent from Fort Marlborough for misbehaviour, the Court observed that no place was so suitable in point of security for holding such people. Had they been transported to either of the presidencies of Fort St George, Bengal or Bombay, frequent opportunities would have arisen for their return to the west coast.

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		Mallays from security so proper for the reception of such People. Had they been St Helena transported to either of our Presidencies of Fort St George. not approved Bengall or Bombay. frequent Opportunities would have of occurred for their return to the West Coast. we therefore direct you not to send those People back. but continue the Allowance you have made them. and render their situation as comfortable as you can.— 26 You may comply with the request made to you Mr Carter by Mr Carter for the exchange of a Man Slave named Request may Walpole. sent from Bencoolen fifteen years ago. provided be complied you receive a Slave in his room equally good.— with 27 On each of the Ships Harcourt and British King. you will receive a supply of fifty. Military Recruits. Recruits sent we intended to have sent you a larger number but the difficulty which at present prevails in raising Men has put it out of our Power to furnish you with more this Season— 28 Observing the disappointment you met with in making a Magazine at Munden's Point by the falling of Approved of the whole Front of the Rock which had been made hollow for making that purpose. and that it appeared unsafe from the nature another and condition of that Rock to proceed on the Work according Magazine to the Plan. we approve of your Resolution to discontinue it at Munden's and to erect a Magazine of Masonary in a convenient part of Point the	The Court therefore directed the Governor and Council not to send those people back, but to continue the allowance already made them and to keep their situation as comfortable as they could. 26: The Governor and Council might comply with the request Carter had made for the exchange of a male slave named Walpole, sent from Bencoolen fifteen years earlier, provided they received in his room a slave equally good. 27: On each of the ships *Harcourt* and *British King*, the island would receive a supply of fifty military recruits. The Court had intended to send a larger number, but the difficulty that then prevailed in raising men had put it out of its power to furnish more this season. 28: The island had met with disappointment in making a magazine at Munden's Point, the whole front of the rock which had been hollowed for that purpose having fallen, and the nature and condition of the rock making it appear unsafe to proceed on the work according to the plan. The Court therefore approved the Governor and Council's decision to discontinue it, and to erect a magazine of masonry in a convenient part of [...] **Interpretations** The reasoning over the two Malays reveals St Helena's strategic value as a place of secure banishment precisely because of its isolation. Prisoners sent from Fort Marlborough on Sumatra could not readily escape or be smuggled back from a remote mid-ocean island, whereas the Indian presidencies lay within reach of the same shipping routes that served the west coast of Sumatra, so any transfer there risked the men returning to the place they had been removed from. The exchange of the slave Walpole for another of equal value treats a human being explicitly as transferable property assessed by worth. That such a swap required the Court's sanction, and turned on the replacement being equally good, shows the Company administering its slaves as assets to be balanced between establishments rather than as persons with any standing of their own. The abandoned magazine at Munden's Point illustrates the limits that the island's own geology placed on its fortification. Hollowing a magazine directly into the rock had seemed the natural economy, but when the excavated face collapsed and the stone proved unsound, the Company had to fall back on a built masonry structure, accepting the greater cost and labour that the ground had made unavoidable.
311	307	the Battery when a space will admit of it. expecting that all due attention is had to Economy in executing the same— 29 We are endeavouring to procure a Master Mason. but should we not succeed you must keep William Mason. Mason Holbrook. your present Mason. however unskilful he may be will be sent until we supply you with one next Season— 30 Having considered the Plans you sent Us of the Country Houses proposed to be Built for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor we grant you Permission to carry the same Plans of the into execution. and as you represent you could not furnish us Govr & Lieut with Estimates of the Expence. we expect you will proceed in this Govr Houses Work with all possible Frugality. As we cannot procure the	The magazine was to be built in a convenient part of the battery whenever a space allowed for it, and the Court expected that all due attention would be paid to economy in carrying out the work. 29: The Court was endeavouring to procure a master mason, but should it not succeed, the Governor and Council had to keep William Holbrook, their present mason, however unskilful he might be, until the Court supplied one the next season. 30: Having considered the plans the island sent of the country houses proposed for the Governor and lieutenant governor, the Court granted permission to carry them into execution. Since the Governor and Council had reported that they could not furnish estimates of the expense, the Court expected them to proceed with all possible frugality. As it could not procure the window sashes desired in time to send on these ships, the island would receive them the next year. The Governor and Council were to state how many squares of glass they wanted for covering the houses, so that the glass might be sent the coming season.

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		approved of Window Sashes you desire in sufficient time to be sent on these Ships. you will receive the same next Year. You are to inform us how many Squares of Slate you want for covering the Houses that the same may be Sent you next Season.— 31 We confirm the appointment you have made of Messrs James Desfountain. and William Webber Doveton as Messrs James Writers. in confidence that you would not have put the Company Desfountain and to this additional Expence without an absolute necessity. You Wm Webber are to see they execute the enclosed Covenants. and nominate Doveton Security for our approbation.— confirmed as Writers 32 We approve of Messrs James Powell and Jonathan George Pargett Doveton as Securities for Mr George Pargett enclosed we transmit Securitys a bond for them to execute. which must afterwards be returned to us approved 33 Having considered your recommendation to us to encrease the Allowances to the Surgeon and his Assistant Surgeons & and as it is just and reasonable they should share in the his mates addition we made last Year to the appointment of the Salarys different branches of our Service at St Helena. you are Augmented therefore hereby directed to add £ 40 pr Annum to the Allowances	31: The Court confirmed the appointment the Governor and Council had made of James Desfountain and William Webber Doveton as writers, trusting that they would not have put the Company to this additional expense without an absolute necessity. The Governor and Council were to see that the two men carried out the enclosed covenants, and to nominate security for the Court's approval. 32: The Court approved James Powell and Jonathan Doveton as securities for George Pargett. It transmitted a bond for them to execute, which was afterwards to be returned to the Court. 33: Having considered the island's recommendation to increase the allowances of the surgeon and his assistant, and judging it just and reasonable that they should share in the addition made the previous year to the appointments of the different branches of the island's service, the Court directed that £40 0s 0d a year be added to the [...] **Interpretations** Retaining an unskilful mason rather than leaving the post empty shows how scarce skilled tradesmen were on a remote island. Because construction of magazines, fortifications and now the country houses could not wait, the Court preferred a poor mason in place to none at all, keeping Holbrook only until a competent man could be shipped out the following season. The nomination of securities for the newly appointed writers, and the bond required of Pargett's sureties, illustrate the financial guarantees the Company demanded of those it entrusted with money or office. A writer handled the Company accounts and stores, so requiring named men to stand surety, bound by a bond returned to London, gave the Company recourse against loss if the appointee proved dishonest or fell into arrears. The graded pay increase reaching the surgeon and his assistant confirms that the previous year's rise had been structured to preserve relative standing across the whole establishment. Extending the same addition to the medical branch, on grounds of fairness, shows the Court maintaining parity between the different services so that no branch was left behind when salaries were adjusted.
312	308	Allowances of the Surgeon and £ 30. pr Annum to those of the Assistant Surgeon. both to commence from the time you received our General Letter by the Speke dated the 19th January 1769.— 34 On consideration of your Reasons on the Appointment of Mr Wrangham to the Office of Paymaster for making him an Allowance of £ 50. a Year until our Pleasure. should be known. and for continuing him Assistant to the Accountant until another of our Servants was qualified to supply his place. and having attended to what Mr Wrangham you advance for putting the Paymasters Employ upon a appointed footing with the Storekeepers and Secretary's on the Terms Pay Master mentioned in your Consultation of the 19th June. We do in consideration of Mr Wrangham's long Services. agree that he have the same allowance of £ 90. pr Annum Salary and £ 40. a Year Gratuity as are annexed to the Offices of	The Court directed that £40 0s 0d a year be added to the allowances of the surgeon and £30 0s 0d a year to those of the assistant surgeon, both to begin from the time the island received the general letter by the *Speke* dated 19 January 1769. 34: On considering the island's reasons for appointing Wrangham to the office of paymaster, for making him an allowance of £50 0s 0d a year until the Court's pleasure should be known, and for continuing him assistant to the accountant until another of its servants was qualified to take his place, and on attending to what the island advanced for putting the paymaster's post on the same footing as the storekeeper and secretary on the terms set out in its consultation of 19 June, the Court agreed. In consideration of Wrangham's long services, it granted him the same allowance of £30 0s 0d a year salary and £40 0s 0d a year gratuity as were attached to the offices of storekeeper and secretary, to begin from the first quarter day after the receipt of this letter, when his salary of £30 0s 0d a year as a factor was to cease. Until that time, the Governor and Council were to continue the addition of £30 0s 0d a year which they had made to his other allowances when they appointed him paymaster. Since the Court did not intend that the next factor under Wrangham should enjoy his salary of £30 0s 0d a year, that person had to be continued at both appointments, in

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		Storekeeper and Secretary. to commence from the first Quarter Day after the Receipt of this Letter. when his Salary of £ 30. a Year as a Factor is to cease. and until that time you are to continue the Addition of £ 30. pr Annum. which you made to his other Allowances when you appointed him to the Office of Paymaster.—But as it is not our Intention that the next Factor under Mr Wrangham should enjoy his Salary of £ 30 pr Annum such person must therefore continue at the Appointments both in point of Salary and Gratuity he already receives.— 35 Mr Wrangham is to continue to assist Mr Mr Wrangham Purling in the Accountants Office until one of the Junior to Assist in the Servants shall be capable of executing that Business— Accountants office 36 We agree with you that the Business of the Paymasters Office would be less liable to Mistakes if it is conducted	point of salary and gratuity, which Wrangham already received. 35: Wrangham was to continue assisting Yerling in the accountant's office until one of the junior servants was capable of carrying out that business. 36: The Court agreed that the business of the paymaster's office would be less liable to mistakes if it were conducted [...] **Interpretations** The reorganisation of Wrangham's pay shows the Company separating the reward for an office from the reward for the man holding it. By splitting his emoluments into a £30 0s 0d salary tied to the paymaster's post and a £40 0s 0d gratuity, and ending his separate factor's salary, the Court fixed the paymastership on the same terms as the storekeeper and secretary, so that the office carried a settled value regardless of who filled it. The insistence that the next factor be continued at both appointments reveals careful control of how salaries attached to posts as men moved between them. The Court meant the paymaster's enhanced pay to belong to the office and not to become a permanent claim of Wrangham's successor as an ordinary factor, which is why it specified that only a man holding both roles should draw both sums. Keeping Wrangham on to assist in the accountant's office until a junior servant could take over reflects the thin bench of trained clerks on the island. Because accounting work required experience that new writers did not yet possess, the Company retained a capable man in a supporting role rather than risk the accounts to someone not yet ready, accepting the overlap as the price of accuracy.
313	309	conducted by a Civil instead of a Military Servant. and direct Paymasters that in future Vacancies happening therein you supply the same Department from time to time. with one of our Covenant Servants whom you to be under shall judge best qualified for that purpose— a Civil servant 37 Having taken into consideration the necessity of appointing an able Officer to the Command of the Artillery Company vacant by the return of Captn Mitchell. and to take charge of the Works whereon the safety and defence of the Island so essentially depend. we have entertained Mr James Tippet. of James Tippet whose Abilities and Services in his Majesty's Troops we have appointed received very satisfactory Testimonials. to be Captain of our Capt of Artillery Company. with the same Pay and Allowances as Artillery Captn Mitchell enjoyed for that Station he proceeds accordingly on the and is to take his Rank next below the youngest Captain on your Establishment at the time of his arrival— 38 Captn Tippet being also recommended for his knowledge in the different branches of Fortification. we have also appointed him principal Engineer in Captain Mitchell's room. in order to carry on and finish such parts of the Works as remain to be compleated. to survey and inspect them from time Dy Engineer from time to time that the same may under your directions	The paymaster's office was to be conducted by a civil rather than a military servant. The Court directed that any future vacancies in it be filled from time to time by one of the covenanted servants whom the Governor and Council judged best qualified for the purpose. 37: Considering the necessity of appointing an able officer to the command of the artillery company, left vacant by the return of Captain Mitchell, and to take charge of the works on which the safety and defence of the island so essentially depended, the Court took on James Tippet. It had received very satisfactory testimonials of his abilities and services in His Majesty's troops. He was to be captain of the artillery company, with the same pay and allowances as Captain Mitchell had enjoyed for that station, and was to take his rank next below the youngest captain on the island's establishment at the time of his arrival. 38: Tippet being also recommended for his knowledge in the different branches of fortification, the Court further appointed him principal engineer in Captain Mitchell's room, to carry on and finish such parts of the works as remained to be completed, and to survey and inspect them from time to time, so that they might be kept in the most defensible state under the Governor and Council's direction. Since the Court intended that Lieutenant John Pargett should continue to be employed in the care of the works as assistant to Captain Tippet, with an allowance of £100 0s 0d a year, according to the directions given in the letter of 19 January 1769, it fixed Tippet's appointment as principal engineer at £200 0s 0d a year for salary and diet, and £10 0s 0d a year for house rent. These, together with his appointment as captain of artillery, were to begin from his arrival at St Helena. **Interpretations** Combining the command of the artillery company with the office of principal engineer in a single man shows the Court concentrating the

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		be repaired and kept in the most defensible posture. and as it is our intention that Lieutenant John Pargett should continue to be employed in the care of the Works as assistant to Captain Tippet with the Allowance of £ 100. a Year according to the Directions given in our Letter of the 19 January 1769. We have fixed Captain Tippets. appointments as Principal Engineer at £ 200 a Year for Salary and Duty and £ 50 pr Annum for House Rent. and that the same with his Appointments as Captain of Artillery do commence from his Arrival at St Helena— 39 We	island's whole defensive expertise where it was scarcest. Tippet's value lay in uniting practical gunnery with a knowledge of fortification, so rather than seek two specialists for a small garrison, the Company loaded both responsibilities and both sets of pay onto one qualified officer. The separation of Tippet's remuneration into distinct sums for salary and diet, house rent and his artillery command reveals how Company appointments were built up from itemised components rather than a single wage. Each function carried its own allowance, so a man holding several offices drew several stacked payments, which let the Court reward the combined workload precisely while keeping each office's nominal value intact. Reserving the paymaster's office to a civil servant, and requiring future vacancies to be filled from the covenanted servants, drew a deliberate line between the handling of money and the military establishment. Keeping the accounts in civilian hands guarded against the conflict of a serving officer controlling the funds that paid the troops, a separation of financial from military authority that ran through the Company administration.
314	310	39 We agreed in the promotion of Messrs John Shirtley and Robert Gibson to the vacancies in the Messrs Shirtley Artillery Company. if it shall appear their Qualifications Gibson and Merits mentioned in your Letter of the 13th February appointed last. shall entitle them to a continuance therein— Lieutenants 40 The Suspension for six Months of Lieutenant Lech by a Court Martial for neglect of Duty in the Artillery makes us think him an unfit Person to be restored to the Lt Lech's Service according to your proposal of transferring him to one Conduct of the Companys of Infantry. but as we suppose you deem censured his Punishment adequate to the Offence. and on the Assurance of his future good Behaviour. we are induced to concur with your but direct that on a future failure in his Duty he be dismissed our Service. and you are to call him before you and acquaint him therewith— 41 In reply to your State of the case of Lieutenant Nathanl Lampell of the Artillery whom you represent from Age. Infirmities. long Service. and good Behaviour. had been permitted to retire on half pay. and is Recommended Mr Lampell as well deserving a Pension in his present disabled allowed a Condition. we must observe that no Fund subsists with us Pension applicable to that purpose. yet being willing to relieve the infirmities of this Officer. worn out in our Service. as far as can consistently be done. we consent to your continuing him on half Pay— 42 We observe by the 8th Parag of your Letter dated the 3 June 1769 that you have thought proper to dispense with Second our Orders for making an addition of two Shillings a Day	39: The Court agreed to the promotion of John Shirtley and Robert Gibson to the vacancies in the artillery company, if the qualifications and merits mentioned in the island's letter of 13 February should appear to entitle them to a continuance in it. 40: The suspension of Lieutenant Leech for six months by a court martial, for neglect of duty in the artillery, made the Court think him an unfit person to be restored to the service, and inclined it to the island's proposal of transferring him to one of the companies of infantry. Since the Governor and Council judged his punishment adequate to the offence, and gave assurance of his future good behaviour, the Court concurred with them. It directed, however, that on any future failure in his duty he was to be dismissed the service, and that the Governor and Council call him before them and make him aware of this. 41: In reply to the island's account of the case of Lieutenant Nathan Lampell of the artillery, whom the Governor and Council reported had been permitted to retire on half pay from age, infirmities, long service and good behaviour, and had been recommended as well deserving a pension in his present disabled condition, the Court observed that no fund existed for that purpose. Being willing, however, to relieve the distress of an officer worn out in its service as far as could consistently be done, it consented to his continuing on half pay. 42: The Court observed from the island's letter of 3 June 1769 that the Governor and Council had thought it proper to dispense with the Court's orders for adding two shillings a day to the pay of the island's lieutenants. The Lieutenant Governor had some reason to say the Court meant to make a distinction between the first and second lieutenants, and it certainly [...] **Interpretations** The handling of Lieutenant Leech shows the Company treating a court martial sentence as advisory rather than final. Although a military court had already fixed his punishment, the civil authorities on the island and the Court in London jointly decided his future, transferring him to the infantry and attaching a warning of dismissal, which confirms that even matters of military discipline ultimately answered to the Company administration. The distinction between a pension and continued half pay reveals the limits of the Company provision for worn-out officers. There was no

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		Lieutenant to to the pay of our Lieutenant at St Helena the Lieutenant be allowed Governor had some reason to say we meant to make a 1st Day distinction between the first and Second Lieutenants. it Rystealt to certainly	dedicated pension fund, so an old and disabled officer could not be granted a true retirement allowance, and the Court instead kept Lampell nominally on the establishment at half pay as the only lawful means of relieving him, a device that dressed charity as continued service.
315	311	Understood.certainly was our first Intention but it was afterwards altered the behaviour of in consideration of the Pay for both those Ranks being the same Lieut Lech &c and that the like Practice is observed at our Presidencies in India. We are far from conceiving your Conduct in deviating from our Orders in this Instance. as it proceeded from a good Intention to serve the Company. but as we abide by the Directions contained in the 23 Par of our Letter of the 19th January 1769. you are accordingly to make good to the Second Lieutenants the one Shilling a day which you withhold from them from the time you received that Letter 43 In Answer to your General Letter of the 11 August last. upon the subject of Evidence in criminal matters Answer to we have no doubt but the distinction taken respecting Trapps at what was the Session held the 12th July last. was well founded underst about the Privileges of Evidence &c Trapps a 44 Cases so seldom exist regarding the competency of Witnesses in criminal matters. and the definitions are so nice in Law that we need only observe. that the Sentence of the Pillory inflicted for any infamous Crime such as Sodomy Perjury or Forgery renders the Witnesses incompetent without a Pardon. Do not so in Sentences of Pillory for Libels or Defamation. or nice offences of a Civil and Criminal nature burning in the hand amounts in Law to a Pardon but a conviction of Felony. till Pardon is an absolute bar and objection to the testimony of a Witness 45 In the beforegoing 6th Paragraph you have our directions to forward the Harcourt and British King on their These Ships respective Voyages with all expedition. Your Attention to those to be dispatched orders will be more particularly indispensible in respect to the latter with all as being afterwards consigned to Bencoolen and China. we therefore expedition strictly enjoin you to give that Ship the quickest dispatch that she may run no risque of losing her passage to Canton. 46 Captain	The Court had certainly meant at first to make a distinction between the first and second lieutenants, but it afterwards altered that intention, since the pay for both ranks was the same and the like practice was observed at the presidencies in India. The Court was far from censuring the Governor and Council's conduct in departing from its orders in this instance, which had proceeded from a good intention to serve the Company. Since it stood by the directions in the 23rd paragraph of its letter of 19 January 1769, the Governor and Council were to make good to the second lieutenants the shilling a day they had withheld from them, reckoned from the time they received that letter. 43: In answer to the island's general letter of 1 August, on the subject of evidence in criminal cases, the Court had no doubt that the distinction taken respecting Phipps at the session held on 12 July was well founded. 44: Because cases so seldom arose concerning the competency of witnesses in criminal matters, and the definitions were so nice in law, the Court needed only observe as follows. The sentence of the pillory inflicted for any infamous crime, such as sodomy, perjury or forgery, rendered a witness incompetent without a pardon, but not so a sentence of pillory for libel, defamation or similar offences of a civil and criminal nature. Burning in the hand amounted in law to a pardon, but a conviction of felony, until pardon, was an absolute bar and objection to the testimony of a witness. 45: In the sixth paragraph above, the Governor and Council had the Court's directions to forward the *Harcourt* and *British King* on their respective voyages with all expedition. Their attention to those orders was particularly indispensable in respect to the latter ship, since she was afterwards consigned to Bencoolen and China. The Court therefore strictly enjoined them to give that ship the quickest despatch, so that she might run no risk of losing her passage to Canton. **Interpretations** Reversing the pay distinction between first and second lieutenants shows the Court aligning St Helena with the settled practice of its Indian presidencies. Once it accepted that both ranks drew the same pay elsewhere in its service, maintaining a difference on one small island served no purpose, so the earlier order was overtaken by the wider uniformity the Company preferred across its establishments. The discussion of witness competency sets out how a criminal conviction could disqualify a person from giving evidence at all. In the law of the period the pillory for infamous crimes like perjury or forgery, and any unpardoned felony, destroyed a witness's credit in court, so the island had to weigh not merely whether testimony was true but whether the law would admit it, which is why the fine distinctions mattered enough to refer home. Branding in the hand functioned as a legal fiction of pardon, restoring a convict's competency as a witness. This detail reveals the mechanism of benefit of clergy, by which a first felony was punished with a burn to the hand rather than death and treated thereafter as discharged, so that a man once branded could still testify where an unpardoned felon could not.

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			The urgency attached to the *British King* reflects the fixed rhythm of the China trade and the monsoon that governed it. A ship that missed her window could not reach Canton that season, so despatching her without delay was essential to catch the passage, since the whole value of her voyage depended on arriving in time to load tea before the winds turned.
316	312	46 Captain Mitchell late our Engineer at St Helena Plans of having acquainted us that you have no Duplicate of the Plans Houses sent you sent us of the Country Houses intended to be Built. for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. we inclose a Copy thereof in the Packet by the Ship Harcourt 47 By the Ship Talbot. which arrived off the Isle Letter recd of Wight the 14th Instant we have received your General Letter dated the 27 October 1769 We are London the 17th January 1770. Your loving Friends G Colebrooke Pere Cust Hy Crabb Boulton John Harrison William Snell J Purling Fredk Pigou J Woodhouse Rd Brassenquet John Motteux Chas Boddam George Cuming WG Freeman Peter Dufane Junr Wm James J Roberts Ben Booth	46: Captain Mitchell, late the island's engineer at St Helena, had made the Court aware that the Governor and Council kept no duplicate of the plans they sent of the country houses intended for the Governor and lieutenant governor. The Court therefore enclosed a copy of them in the packet by the ship *Harcourt*. 47: By the ship *Talbot*, which arrived at the Isle of Wight on 14 [...], the Court had received the island's general letter dated 27 October 1769. The letter closed from London on 17 January 1770, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by George Colebrooke, Peregrine Cust, Henry Crabb Boulton, John Harrison, William Snell, John Yerling, Frederick Pigou, John Woodhouse, Robert Blancquet, John Motteux, Charles Boddam, George Cuming, William James, Peter Ducane junior, William James, John Roberts and Benjamin Booth. **Interpretations** Sending a copy of the house plans back to the island because no duplicate had been kept shows the vulnerability of a correspondence conducted across months of sea passage. A single set of drawings could be lost or retained at either end, so returning a copy guarded against the works being left without a design, a precaution made necessary by the sheer distance and the impossibility of quick replacement.
317	313	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Since the date of our General Letter to you of the 17 Instant. Mr John Congreve a Person well recommended to us has offer'd to supply the place of Schoolmaster. and as we do not concur with you in the propriety of appointing a Clergyman such. and Mr Congreve appearing well Qualefied to take upon him the Instruction of the Youth of the Island. we have appointed him Schoolmaster at the Salary of £ 30. pr Annum. with the Emoluments which you acquaint us Mr Congreve will accrue to him from teaching above twenty Scholars. and the appointed Allowance of a House. and other accommodations as mentioned in Schoolmaster the 8th Paragraph of your Letter of the 17th September last. he takes his Passage on the Harcourt. for which the Owners have been paid £ 10 and Capt Paul £ 25 for dieting him at his Table. We have also given him Twenty Guineas to defray his present Expences. You are to report to us your opinion of his Behaviour. and fitness for the charge he is entrusted with. and for encouraging him to exert his best Services we have no objection to your appointing him to the Post of Judge Advocate. which it appears was an appendage to the Schoolmasters	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. Since the date of its general letter of the 17th of this month, John Congreve, a person well recommended to the Court, had offered to fill the place of schoolmaster. As the Court did not concur with the Governor and Council on the propriety of appointing a clergyman to it, and as Congreve appeared well qualified to take on the instruction of the youth of the island, the Court appointed him schoolmaster at a salary of £30 0s 0d a year. It informed the Governor and Council that, along with the emoluments coming to him from teaching above twenty scholars, he was to have the allowance of a house and other accommodations mentioned in the fourth paragraph of the island's letter of 17 September. He took his passage on the *Harcourt*, for which the owners had been paid £10 0s 0d, and Captain Paul £25 0s 0d for feeding him at his table. The Court had also given him twenty guineas to defray his present expenses. The Governor and Council were to report their opinion of his behaviour and fitness for the charge entrusted to him. To encourage him to do his best, the Court had no objection to their appointing him judge advocate, which appeared to have been an appendage to the schoolmaster's post. The letter closed from London on 24 January 1770, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by Robert Gregory, William James, George Colebrooke, John Manship, William Snell, John Yerling, William Freeman, Frederick Pigou, Daniel Wier, Charles Boddam, Benjamin Booth, John Motteux, John Harrison, George Dempster,

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		Employ London 24 January 1770. We are Your loving Friends Bob Gregory Wm James G Colebrooke J Manship Wm Snell J Purling WG Freeman Fred Pigou Daniel Wier Chas Boddam Ben Booth John Motteux John Harrison George Dempster H Crabb Boddam George Cuming Henry Fletcher R Bosanquet J Woodhouse	Henry Crabb Boulton, George Cuming, Henry Fletcher, Robert Blancquet and John Woodhouse. **Interpretations** The Court's refusal to appoint a clergyman as schoolmaster, preferring a well-qualified layman, reveals a disagreement with the island over who should teach its children. The Governor and Council had wanted the two roles joined in one ordained man, but the Court treated teaching as a distinct function that a competent layman could discharge, separating the instruction of the youth from the ministry of religion. The itemised costs of sending Congreve out, £10 0s 0d to the ship's owners, £25 0s 0d to the captain for his table and twenty guineas for his expenses, show how the Company met the full charge of establishing even a modest officer on the island. Because a passage across the world could not be undertaken at the man's own cost, the Company bore the passage, victualling and outfitting as the necessary price of staffing its remote possession. Attaching the office of judge advocate to the schoolmaster's post illustrates how a small settlement combined unrelated duties in single hands. The schoolmaster, as an educated man, was the natural person to prosecute at courts martial, so the island economised on its limited pool of literate officers by loading a legal role onto an educational appointment, the extra office serving also as an inducement to good service.
318	314	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 Since the departure of the Ships Harcourt and British King. which carried our last Letter to you dated the 17 Janry 1770. We have received your several advices Letters recd under the following dates viz. the 23 January. the 17. 22 and 29 February. 20 and 22 March. 4. 6. 7. 9 and 10. April. 7. 9 14. 18. 23. 30 and 31 May. 2. 12 & 16 June. 4 and 9 August Also Letters from Governor Skottowe of the 7th May and 3 August last 2 In the subsequent part of this Letter we observations shall make such observations on those Advices and add to be made thereto such orders as we may deem necessary for your in the subsequent Guidance part Letter 3 Herewith we transmit you a List of the List of Ships sailed for and Arrived from the East Indies since Ships the departure of the Harcourt and British King 4 The Gentlemen we have appointed our Secret Committee for the Current Year are Sr George Colebrooke Bart Chairman of the Court. John Purling Esqr Deputy Chairman. with Henry Crabb Boulton Secret George Dudley. John Harrison. John Manship. Frederick Committee Pigou. Thomas Rous and Henry. singe Esqrs. The Orders they or any three of them may give respecting the safety of the Company's Shipping must be duly complied with 5 We have this Season entertained Twenty nine. Ships for carrying the Company's Commerce to the several parts of India and China each of the Burthen of 499 Tons with the usual number of Men. and Guns their	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: Since the departure of the ships *Harcourt* and *British King*, which carried the Court's last letter dated 17 January 1770, it had received the island's several advices under the following dates: 25 January, those of 17, 22 and 29 January, of 20 and 22 March, of 4, 6, 7, 9 and 16 April, of 7, 9, 14, 18, 23, 30 and 31 May, of 2, 12 and 16 June, and of 4 and 9 August. It had also received letters from Governor Skottowe of 7 May and 3 August. 2: In the later part of this letter the Court would make such observations on those advices, and add such orders, as it deemed necessary for the island's guidance. 3: The Court transmitted a list of the ships sailed for and arrived from the East Indies since the departure of the *Harcourt* and *British King*. 4: The gentlemen the Court had appointed the Secret Committee for the current year were Sir George Colebrooke baronet as chairman, John Yerling as deputy chairman of the Court, with Henry Crabb Boulton, George Dudley, John Harrison, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, Thomas Rous and Henry Savage. Orders that these, or any three of them, might give respecting the safety of the Company shipping were to be punctually obeyed. 5: The Court had this season taken on twenty-nine ships for carrying the Company commerce to the several parts of India and China, each of the burthen of 499 tons, with the usual number of men and guns [...] **Interpretations** The Secret Committee was the small inner group of directors given confidential authority over the most sensitive Company business, principally the safe routing of the valuable homeward ships. Requiring that orders from any three of them be punctually obeyed gave a working quorum direct command over the island in matters of shipping security, a channel deliberately kept separate from the slower and more open general correspondence. Fixing the chartered ships uniformly at 499 tons again points to a deliberate threshold rather than a natural size. Vessels of 500 tons and above carried

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			heavier regulatory and manning burdens, so setting each ship just under that mark let the Company expand its total tonnage while avoiding the added obligations that the higher class would have imposed.
319	315	their Names. Commanders. and Consignments are as follow viz Duke of Richmond Thomas Hindman. St Helena Bencoolen and China Asia Robert Preston Colebrooke Arthur Morris Devonshire Thomas Vairss Madeira Coast & Bay Speke Jeffrey Jackson Pigou George Fairfowll Salisbury Phillip Bromfield Madeira Coast & China Ankerwyke Willm Bassett York George Blayter Hardwick Charles Buckley Talbot Sr Charles Hudson Havendon Alexr Immecault Coast and China Grosvenor David Saunders Calcutta Willm Thomson. St Helena & China Statton Richd Broctor Cruttenden Willm Baker Granville Burnet Abercrombie China Thames Danl Clarke Sea Horse Edwd Dampier La Rive Saml Hough Ponsborne Willm Ellenston Rochford Willm Hornsby Coast & Bay Lord North Willm Fryer Bessford John Smith Madeira & Bombay Hampshire Peter Lewis Bombay & Kedra Kingsbury Isaac Allanson Bombay & China Clive J Neil Webb New Ships Henry Rice Fulton Francis Reed Norse Ship Bombay 6 The Ship Duke of Richmond hereunder J Depatch will convey you this Letter. and will be followed in the Month	The names, commanders and consignments of the ships taken up were as follows. The *Duke of Richmond*, under Thomas Hindman, was bound for St Helena, Bencoolen and China. The *Asia*, under Robert Preston, was bound for Madeira, the coast and the bay. The *Colebrooke*, under Arthur Morris, was bound for Madeira, the coast and the bay. The *Rochship*, under Isham Vaire, was bound for Madeira, the coast and the bay. The *Speke*, under Jeffrey Jackson, was bound for Madeira, the coast and China. The *Egmont*, under George Fairfield, was bound for Madeira, the coast and China. The *Salisbury*, under Phillip Bromfield, was bound for Madeira, the coast and China. The *Ankerwyke*, under William Bassett, was bound for the coast and China. The *York*, under George Playter, was bound for the coast and China. The *Fairwick*, under Charles Buckley, was bound for the coast and China. The *Talbot*, under Sir Charles Hudson, was bound for the coast and China. The *Hawendon*, under Alexander Inneacent, was bound for the coast and China. The *Grosvenor*, under David Saunders, was bound for the coast and China. The *Calcutta*, under William Thomson, was bound for St Helena and China. The *Stallion*, under Richard Proctor, was bound for China. The *Cuttenden*, under William Baker, was bound for China. The *Grenville*, under Burnet Abercrombie, was bound for China. The *Thames*, under Daniel Clarke, was bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Sea Horse*, under Peter Dampier, was bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Ponsborne*, under Samuel Hough, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Rochford*, under William Ellerton, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Lord North*, under William Hornby, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Bessford*, under William Fryer, was bound for Madeira and Bombay. The *Hampshire*, under John Smith, was bound for Bombay and China. The *Kingsbury*, under Perry Ionia, was bound for Bombay and China. The *Clive*, under John Allen, was bound for Bombay. The *New Ship*, under [...] Webb, was bound for Bombay. The *Sutton*, under Henry Rice, was bound for Bombay. The *Vansittart*, under Francis Reed [...] The ship *Duke of Richmond* under [...] would carry this letter, and would be followed in the [...] **Interpretations** The routes divide the season's fleet by destination across the whole of the Company's eastern trade. The coast and bay meant the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal, the heart of the Indian textile trade, while Bencoolen was the Company pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra and China meant the tea trade at Canton. Madeira appears as a wine and victualling stop on

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			the outward Atlantic passage rather than a trading destination in its own right. Only three ships, the *Duke of Richmond*, the *Calcutta* and the vessel carrying this letter, were routed by way of St Helena, which is why the island's correspondence and supply depended on the handful of ships that called there.
320	316	Month of December by the Calcutta. The Charter parties the which we shall enclose in the Packets by those Ships will two Store inform you that we have entertained them on the same Ships to be Terms and Conditions as the Ships of last Season. We expect dispatched that on their Arrival at St Helena. you fail not to unlade the with all Goods and Stores. consigned to you. with all possible expedition expedition that we may not be charged with Demorage by your detention of the Ships beyond the ten days stipulated in Charter party. 7 We have appointed the following named Gentlemen to be our Council of Supra Cargoes for the China Council management of the Company's Affairs in China the ensuing Season viz. Alexander Hume. Edwd Phipps. Francis & Presidents Wood. Willm Rous. John Melton. Thomas Bevan. Willm Harrison. Matthew Raper. John Bradley Blake. James Bradshaw and Willm Henry Pigou. And Messrs Hume Phipps. Wood. Rous. Bevan. Harrison. Raper. Blake Bradshaw and Pigou are appointed resident Supra Cargos for the Year 1772. 8 The aforementioned Council are directed to China Council comply with your Indents. should you have occasion to make to comply with any Alterations therein. acquaint them therewith by the the Indents Ships Duke of Richmond and Calcutta that they may regulate their supplies accordingly. 9 As you inform Us you will have a No Cash sufficiency of Cash to answer the expences of the Year 1771 Consigned We do not consign you any Treasure this Season. 10 Your Indents are complied with the utmost Indents Articles. but for want of Tonnage we send only half the Complied with quantity of Purbeck Stone for Platforms and one thousand Deals instead of twelve Hundred indented for. only half the Iron Pots and one half of the Eighteen pounder Bar Shot Harrison	This account continued into December, by the *Calcutta*. The charter parties enclosed in the packets by those ships showed that the Court had engaged them on the same terms and conditions as the ships of the previous season. It expected that, on their arrival at St Helena, the Governor and Council would not fail to unload the goods and stores consigned to the island with all possible speed, so that the Company might not be charged with demurrage through the detention of the ships beyond the ten days fixed in the charter party. 7: The Court appointed the following gentlemen the Council of Supracargoes for the management of the Company affairs in China the coming season: Alexander Hume, Edward Phipps, Francis Wood, William Rous, John Melton, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper, John Bradley Blake, James Bradshaw and William Henry Pigou. Hume, Phipps, Wood, Rous, Bevan, Harrison, Raper, Blake, Bradshaw and Pigou were appointed resident supracargoes for the year 1772. 8: The Council above was directed to comply with the island's indents. Should the Governor and Council have occasion to make any alterations in them, they were to advise the Council by the *Duke of Richmond* and *Calcutta*, so that it might regulate its supplies accordingly. 9: Since the Governor and Council reported that they would have a sufficiency of cash to answer the expenses of the year 1771, the Court consigned no treasure this season. 10: The island's indents were complied with in the utmost, but for want of tonnage the Court sent only half the quantity of Purbeck stone for platforms indented for, and one thousand deals instead of twelve hundred. It sent only half the iron pots, and half the eighteen-pounder bar [...] **Interpretations** Demurrage was the penalty a charterer paid for holding a ship beyond its agreed lay days, and the Court's anxiety over the ten-day limit shows how the charter terms shifted the cost of delay onto the Company. Because every extra day in the road at St Helena meant a charge on the Company account, the Governor and Council were pressed to unload quickly, the commercial clock running against them from the moment a ship anchored. Withholding treasure because the island held enough cash reveals how closely the Court matched its silver shipments to actual need. Specie was valuable and vulnerable in transit, so sending none where the island's balances sufficed avoided the risk and cost of shipping money that was not required, the Company moving bullion only to cover a genuine shortfall. The shortfalls in Purbeck stone, deals and ordnance stores trace directly to a shortage of cargo space rather than any failure of supply. When tonnage ran short the Court had to ration what each ship carried, so heavy low-value goods like building stone and iron were cut back first, since the limited hold was better filled with what the island most needed and could least do without.
321	317	the other Articles which are curtailed are few and of a very trifling nature. 11 We have laden on the Duke of Richmond	The other articles that were cut back were few and of a very trifling nature. 11: The Court had laden on the *Duke of Richmond* 220 half puncheons of beef and 124 half puncheons of pork. These provisions were as fresh

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		two hundred and twenty half Puncheons of Beef. and one hundred and twenty five half Puncheons of Pork. these Provisions are as fresh as the Ship was ready to receive the Beef & same on board too early in the season to salt English Meat Pork sent without great risk of its spoiling. on the Calcutta we shall lade you one hundred Puncheons of English Beef. and one hundred and eighty seven Hogsheads of Pork. making together the exact amount of the quantity of Provisions indented for. altho you will receive more Beef and less Pork than you desired. 12 Inquiry having been made respecting your complaint of the badness of the Sand Bags sent to you last Year. we were assured that they were of the same sort as those used in his Majesty's service; however to prevent the like Badness complaint hereafter we send you this season one Thousand of Sand Bags Sand Bags of a superior quality and Price. and we shall give directions to our Governor & Council at Fort William to supply you with five hundred strong Gunny Bags by each of the Ships they shall dispatch home in the course of the ensuing season 13 In reply to your Request that the Gun Flints might be proved in England we are to acquaint you that they Gun Flints are always examined by a proper Person here. and are the always best English Flints that can be procured examined in England 14 The materials for the Governor and Lieut Governors Houses. the crooked Timber for repairing the Long Materials Boats. and the Glass for the use of the Church and School Houses sent for the will be sent as desired. and proper notice will be taken of Govr & Lieut your request as to the size of the Breeches for the Slaves. Govr Houses 15 The proper Officer is endeavouring to procure a Master	as the ship was ready to receive them, being put on board too early in the season to salt English meat without great risk of its spoiling. On the *Calcutta* it would send 100 puncheons of English beef and 187 hogsheads of pork, making together the exact amount of provisions indented for, though the island would receive more beef and less pork than it had asked. 12: Inquiry having been made into the island's complaint of the badness of the sand bags sent the previous year, the Court was assured that they were of the same sort as those used in His Majesty's service. To prevent the like complaint in future, however, it sent this season one thousand sand bags of a superior quality and price. It would also direct its Governor and Council at Fort William to supply the island with five hundred strong gunny bags by each of the ships they despatched home in the course of the coming season. 13: In reply to the island's request that the gun flints might be proved in England, the Court informed the Governor and Council that they were always examined by a proper person in England, and were the best English flints that could be procured. 14: The materials for the Governor and lieutenant governor's houses, the crooked timber for repairing the *Long Boat*, and the glass for the use of the church and school house, would be sent as desired. Proper notice would be taken of the island's request as to the size of the breeches for the slaves. 15: The proper officer was endeavouring to procure a master [...] **Interpretations** Loading the beef and pork fresh rather than salted, because the season was too early to cure English meat safely, reveals how the timing of the sailing overrode the usual method of victualling. Salt meat kept for the long voyage, but curing done too soon in the year risked spoiling, so the Court shipped fresh what it could and made up the balance on the later vessel, the calendar dictating the form the provisions took. The distinction between the sand bags sent from England and the gunny bags ordered from Fort William shows the Company drawing on different parts of its network for the same defensive need. Gunny was a coarse jute sacking manufactured cheaply in Bengal, so rather than ship all such material the full distance from England, the Court arranged for the Indian presidency to supply strong bags directly, using the nearer source to meet a bulk requirement more economically. The reference to breeches for the slaves confirms that the Company clothed its slave workforce from England to a specified pattern, treating their provision as one more supply line to be managed from the centre. Sending garments made to ordered sizes across the world shows the slaves maintained as Company property whose upkeep, down to their clothing, was administered like any other charge on the establishment.
322	318	Master Mason and we expect he will engage one in time to proceed on the Calcutta. 16 We intend to send you this Season one Recruits hundred Military Recruits being the number which you sent inform Us will be necessary to compleat your Establishement 17 We have given Orders for the whole number of Gun Carriages indented for by the Snow to be made. Gun Carriages and it is hoped they will be finished in time to be Shipped	The proper officer was endeavouring to procure a master mason, and the Court expected he would engage one in time to proceed on the *Calcutta*. 16: The Court intended to send this season 100 military recruits, that being the number the island had reported as needed to complete its establishment. 17: The Court had given orders for the whole number of gun carriages indented for to be made, and hoped they would be finished in time to be shipped on the *Calcutta*. It remarked that the Governor and Council had been very careless in not describing the dimensions of those carriages, and in not saying whether or not trucks were to be sent

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		sent. now on the Calcutta. We remark that you have been very remiss properly in not describing the dimensions of those Carriages. and not described in mentioning whether or not Trucks would be wanted with the Indents them. Under this difficulty we have made one half of the Carriages with. and the other half without Trucks. 18 As we deem it expedient that these Gun Carriages for the use of your Island should be made in Gun Carriages England for the future. You must desist from indenting to in future to Bombay for them. And when any more shall be wanted be Indented we direct you to give Us one Years notice thereof. that a sufficient for to England time may be allowed for making them. and to have them well & not to seasoned before they are sent from hence. And with respect Bombay to any other expected Article you may have occasion for. you are to advise Us of the same. by the first Ships after you can ascertain the Quantity required. without waiting to insert it in your General Indent. 19 Having been informed that the late Mrs Mrs Hunts Hunt the Widow of Major Hunt by her last Will proved in Will &c the Mayors Court of Calcutta. had bequeathed her Estate of recommended considerable value to Charles Palmer an Orphan during to the Govr his Natural Life. and in case of his Death to the Poor of the Council of Island St Helena. We have recommended it to our President Bengal to and Council at Fort William to take the proper measures for take proper securing the Disposal of that Legacy according to the Will of measure to secure the Legacy &c the	with them. Faced with this difficulty, the Court had made one half of the carriages with trucks and the other half without. 18: Since the Court judged it best that gun carriages for the island's use be made in England in future, the Governor and Council were to stop indenting to Bombay for them. When any more were wanted, they were to give the Court one year's notice, so that sufficient time might be allowed for making them and having them well seasoned before they were sent out. As to any other article they might have occasion for, they were to advise the Court by the first ship once they had settled the quantity required, without waiting to enter it in their general indent. 19: The Court had been informed that the late widow of Major Hunt, by her last will proved in the Mayor's Court of Calcutta, had bequeathed an estate of considerable value to Charles Palmer, an orphan, during his natural life, and, in case of his death, to the island of St Helena. It had recommended to its president and Council at Fort William to take the proper measures for securing the disposal of that legacy according to the will [...] **Interpretations** The confusion over the gun carriages, made half with trucks and half without because the island had failed to specify, shows the practical cost of imperfect communication across such distances. Trucks were the small wooden wheels on which a carriage recoiled, and since the Court could not simply ask and wait for an answer, an ambiguous indent forced it to hedge by splitting the order, so half the carriages might prove unsuitable for want of a single missing instruction. The decision to source gun carriages from England rather than Bombay, with a full year's notice required, reveals the Company weighing quality against convenience in its supply lines. English-made carriages needed proper seasoning of the timber before shipment to survive the climate and hard use, and the long notice period shows the Court preferring well-made ordnance stores from home over quicker but less reliable supply from the Indian presidency. The bequest routing an estate to Charles Palmer for life and then to St Helena shows a private legacy administered through the machinery of the Company courts across two continents. A will proved in the Mayor's Court at Calcutta could vest a remote island with a reversionary interest in Indian property, and the Company directed its Bengal officers to secure it, the same administration serving as executor, trustee and ultimate beneficiary of its servants' estates. **Speculations** The Court could have entered its future need for gun carriages in the ordinary general indent, the settled annual channel for requisitions. Instead it told the island to advise London by the first ship as soon as the quantity was known, without waiting for the indent. The reason lay in the year's seasoning that English-made carriages required before they could be shipped: the normal indent cycle would have added a full season's delay, so the Court broke from routine and asked for early separate notice, choosing speed of information over the tidiness of a single consolidated order.
323	319	the Testatrix. and Engaging the Executors. so far as lies in the Power of our said President and Council. to deposit the Amount in our Treasury there. for notes bearing Interest at eight pCent pAnnum.	The Court had also directed its president and Council to engage the executors, so far as lay in their power, to deposit the amount of the estate in the Company treasury there for notes bearing interest at eight per cent a year. 20: When the Governor and Council observed that they supposed the Court's orders of 25

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		20 When you observe to us that you imagine our Orders of the 20 December 1751 restricting you from admitting Foreigners to go into the Country. could not be meant to include Gentlemen. as Swiss Officers. who have been many Years in our Service. and acquitted themselves with Credit. you appear to have so well understood the intent of those Orders that it seems unnecessary for us to be more explicit on Foreigners the Subject: however as you desire our further instructions in permitted respect thereto. we must here inform you that such to go in the Foreigners as have been in the Company's Service. and stand Country un impeached in their Honor. are not to be considered as falling that have under the restriction contained in our beforementioned Orders: behaved but that they may be at Liberty to take the Air in the Island well in the Our intention being only to exclude such as have never enjoyed Companys the Confidence of the Company but from being Foreigners in the Service full sense of the Expression may be looked upon as observers dangerous to the security of St Helena. 21 An Agreement having been entered into by the Company and the Right Honorable Lord Clive. respecting Agreement the institution of a Fund for the relief and maintenance of between European Officers and Soldiers who shall become Invalids or the Company Superannuated in the Company's Service. and of their Widows & Lord Clive and the Widows of such as may die in the service. we hereby respecting transmit to you Printed Copies of the Deed of Covenants relative a Fund &c to this Fund. and likewise Copys of the Regulations we have established for carrying it into immediate and effectual Execution. and as the Fund and Regulations incur so essentially that forth	November 1751, forbidding the admission of foreigners into the country, could not have been meant to include gentlemen such as Swiss officers who had served the Company many years and acquitted themselves with credit, they appeared to have understood the intent of those orders so well that it seemed unnecessary for the Court to be more explicit. Since the island desired further instructions on the point, however, the Court informed the Governor and Council that foreigners who had been in the Company service and stood unimpeached in their honour were not to be regarded as falling under the restriction. They might be at liberty to take the air on the island, the Court's intention being only to exclude such as had never enjoyed the Company confidence, and who, as foreigners in the fullest sense, might be looked on as observers dangerous to the country of St Helena. 21: An agreement having been entered into by the Company and Lord Clive respecting the establishment of a fund for the relief and maintenance of European officers and soldiers who became invalids or were superannuated in the Company service, and of the widows of such as died in the service, the Court transmitted printed copies of the deed of covenants relating to the fund, and likewise copies of the regulations it had established for carrying it into immediate and effectual execution. Since the fund and regulations were of such importance [...] **Interpretations** The exception carved out for Swiss and other foreign officers who had served the Company shows the distinction the Court drew between trusted servants and potential spies. The 1751 order barring foreigners from the island's interior was a security measure against reconnaissance of the fortifications, so men already proven in the Company service and unimpeached in honour fell outside its purpose, the ban aimed at strangers who might carry intelligence of the island's defences to a hostile power. The eight per cent interest offered on the deposited legacy reveals the Company acting as a bank to its own establishment, drawing private funds into its treasury. By taking the estate as a deposit against interest-bearing notes, the Company secured the use of the capital while giving the beneficiary a return, a mechanism that kept money circulating within its own accounts rather than lying idle or leaving its hands. Lord Clive's fund was an early institutional pension scheme for the Company's European soldiers, a formal provision for invalids, the superannuated and widows that replaced the ad hoc relief seen in cases like Lampell's half pay. Establishing a dedicated fund backed by a deed of covenants marked a shift from discretionary charity to a settled entitlement, giving worn-out officers and bereaved families a defined claim rather than dependence on the Court's case-by-case indulgence.
324	320	forth the Nature. Extent and operation of the Military Fund we refer you to them for every necessary information. 22 The singular Advantages which this generous institution offers to the Military in the Company's Service being the more likely to subject it to abuse. it is requisite that the utmost caution. as well as Impartiality be observed by our Governor of St Helena. as commanding Lord Clives Officer of the settlement. in granting Certificates. and by	For the nature, extent and operation of the military fund, the Court referred the Governor and Council to the printed copies for every necessary piece of information. 22: Since the singular advantages this generous institution offered to the military in the Company service made it the more likely to be subject to abuse, the utmost caution and impartiality had to be observed by the Governor of St Helena, as commanding officer of the settlement, in granting certificates, and by the Council in authenticating them by their approval. The Court trusted this would be duly attended to on every occasion, and that no certificate leading to admission as a pensioner on the fund would be granted without the fullest evidence

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		Fund &c our Council in authenticating the same by their Approval This we trust will be duly attended to on every occasion. and that no Certificate which may give title to admission as a Pensioner on this Fund be granted without the fullest evidence. that the Person applying for the same is an absolute Invalid and incapable of further Service. and this must be certified under the hand of the Surgeon of your Garrison. and the greatest circumspection must be observed in all cases where the reality of the cause alleged for the application for a Certificate is not apparent or easily ascertained. You are also to take care that in every Certificate that may be granted to a Non Commissioned Officer. or private Soldier. their place of Birth. their Age. Stature. and other descriptive marks be inserted. the better to defeat any attempts at imposition by Persons into whose hands such Vouchers may fall. 23 Several Advices having applied for the Benefit of this Charity. without any other Plea than their being provided with Certificates of their having been discharged the Company's Service. at their own request. after serving their contracted term of five Years. it will be highly necessary in Order to prevent any of the Company's Military continuing in an as well as to their own disappointment and detriment. that they be made acquainted. with the Conditions of the Covenant. as well as with the General Regulations which have	that the person was an invalid and incapable of further service. This had to be certified under the hand of the garrison surgeon. The greatest circumspection had to be observed in all cases where the reality of the cause alleged for the application was not apparent or easily ascertained. The Governor and Council were also to take care that in every certificate granted to a non-commissioned officer or private soldier, the man's place of birth, age, stature and other descriptive marks were inserted, the better to defeat any attempt at imposition by persons into whose hands such vouchers might fall. 23: Since several soldiers had applied for the benefit of this charity with no other plea than their having been provided with certificates of their discharge from the Company service, at their own request, after serving their contracted term of five years, it was highly necessary to prevent any error that would naturally tend to the injury of the service as well as to their own disappointment and detriment. They were to be made aware of the conditions of the covenant, as well as of the general regulations, which [...] **Interpretations** The requirement that a certificate record a soldier's place of birth, age, stature and distinguishing marks reveals how the fund guarded against fraudulent claims in an age without photographs or reliable identity documents. Because a certificate might pass into the wrong hands and be used by an impostor to claim a pension, the physical description tied the entitlement to a particular body, the descriptive marks serving as the only means of proving a claimant was truly the man named. The garrison surgeon's certificate as the gateway to a pension shows medical judgement made the pivot of a financial entitlement. Only genuine incapacity qualified a man for the fund, so requiring the surgeon to attest the disability under his own hand placed the test of eligibility on professional assessment rather than the applicant's own word, guarding the fund against those merely unwilling rather than unable to serve. The confusion of discharged soldiers claiming a pension simply because their term had ended reveals a gap between what the men understood and what the covenant provided. The fund relieved invalids and the worn-out, not those who had merely completed their engagement, so the Court pressed that the conditions be explained, since a man who mistook an ordinary discharge for a qualifying disability would find his expectation disappointed and the service disrupted by the error.
325	321	have been established for transacting the Business thereof. and that they be given clearly to understand that this laudable Charity has been instituted for the Maintenance and Reencse of such as are truly Objects of it. yet is by no means intended as an Encouragement for Men capable of further Duty. consequently that none must propose to themselves or expect any Advantage by returning home unqualefied for Pensioners or otherwise unintitled to any relief from it. 24 After the Desertion of two Soldiers in one of the Company's Long Boats. in April last. We are astonished you should not have thought it necessary. to inform us in your General	The regulations had been established for transacting the business of the fund, and the men were to be given clearly to understand that this charity had been instituted for the maintenance and relief of such as were truly objects of it. It was by no means intended as an encouragement for men capable of further duty. None was to propose to himself or expect any advantage by returning home unqualified for a pensioner, or otherwise unentitled to any relief from the fund. 24: After the desertion of two soldiers in one of the Company long boats in April, the Court was astonished that the Governor and Council should not have thought it necessary to inform it in their general letters of a like desertion of seven others on 26 July. It was also greatly dissatisfied at the slight and cursory manner in which both these events appeared to be treated in the island's consultations. These events not only weakened the garrison by the present loss of so many soldiers, but endangered it more by the success attending an attempt of this

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		Letters. of a like desertion of seven others the 26 July. and we are also greatly dissatisfied at the slight and cursory manner in Soldiers which both these Events appear to be treated on Your Consultations. Deserting Events which not only affect your Garrison by the present loss of not properly so many Soldiers but endanger it more by the success attending mentioned an attempt of this kind. which encourages others to a repetition of it. Your silence therefore on this Subject. and particularly on the last Desertion of your Soldiers. and their carrying away a quantity of Stores and provisions. gives us reason to suppose there must have been a Consciousness in yourselves of the want of due care and vigilance in the super-intendency of the Affairs under Govr & Lieut your Government. And indeed. we must deem our Garrison of Govr Blamed St Helena to have been ill guarded. whilst a conspiracy of this kind could be formed and carried into execution. in the midst of it. and here we cannot forbear declaring that until we shall be fully satisfied there has been no neglect in Garrison Duty. or if any should. have been. on whom the same is chargeable. we shall impute the blame to our Governor and Lieutenant Governor as they are more immediately entrusted with the Military Affairs of your Settlement.	kind, which encouraged others to repeat it. The island's silence on the subject, and particularly on the last desertion and the men's carrying away a quantity of stores and provisions, gave the Court reason to suppose there must have been a want of due care and vigilance in the superintendence of the affairs under the island's government. It indeed judged the garrison of St Helena to have been ill guarded when a conspiracy of this kind could be formed and carried into execution in the midst of it. The Court could not forbear declaring that, until it should be fully satisfied there had been no neglect in garrison duty, and, if any should have been, on whom it was chargeable, it would impute the blame to the Governor and lieutenant governor, as they were more immediately entrusted with the military affairs of the settlement. **Interpretations** The desertions by long boat expose the peculiar difficulty of holding a garrison on a small island whose isolation was meant to be its security. A boat gave men the one means of escape the ocean otherwise denied, so the loss of soldiers together with stores turned the island's remoteness into a weakness, since a successful flight by sea both stripped the garrison and showed others that escape was possible. The Court's threat to impute the blame directly to the Governor and lieutenant governor reveals the doctrine of command responsibility running through the Company discipline. Because the two senior officers held immediate charge of military affairs, a failure of vigilance that let a conspiracy form and succeed fell on them personally, the Court holding the men at the top answerable for a breakdown in the ordinary watchfulness of the garrison. The particular alarm at the men carrying away stores and provisions points to the deserters having planned a sustained escape rather than a sudden flight. Provisioning a long boat for a voyage betrayed forethought and organisation, which is why the Court read the second desertion as a conspiracy and a graver failure than the loss of the men alone, the theft of supplies proving the escape was deliberate and prepared. **Speculations** The Court might simply have ordered tighter security after the desertions and left the matter there. Instead it declared that, unless satisfied no neglect had occurred, it would fix the blame personally on the Governor and lieutenant governor. The reason lay in what the island had not done: the seven-man desertion of 26 July had gone unreported in the general letters and both escapes were treated cursorily in the consultations. That silence, more than the losses themselves, convinced the Court of slack oversight, so it chose to hold the commanders answerable rather than accept the island's muted account, reading the failure to report as evidence of the very negligence it suspected.
326	322	25 We have considered the Petition of Philip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace. and as we understand he is a very useful Person and deserving of Encouragement. Mr Mahoney we are induced to comply with his request. and therefore Salary direct that his Allowances be made equal to those Augmented of a Lieut. which we observe by your Paymasters Accounts including Diet. Money amount to £ 106. 17. 6 pAnnum and this increase is to commence from the time of your	25: The Court had considered the petition of Philip Mahoney, clerk of the peace. As it understood he was a very useful person and deserving of encouragement, it agreed to comply with his request. It therefore directed that his allowances be made equal to those of a lieutenant, which the paymaster's accounts showed, including diet money, to amount to £106 17s 6d a year. This increase was to begin from the time the island received this letter. 26: Having taken the opinion of its counsel on the will of Orlando Bagley deceased, the Court informed the Governor and Council that the construction they had put upon the will, and the opinion given on it in their separate letter of 9 August, were perfectly right.

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		Receipt of this Letter. 26 Having taken the opinion of our Council respecting the Will of Orlando Bagley deceased. Mr O Bagleys we are to inform you. that the construction you put upon Will rightly the Will and the opinion given thereupon. as mentioned construed in your separate Letter of the 4 August last. are perfectly right. 27 We have paid to the legal Representatives of George Coudge deceased the Sum of George Coudge £ 5. 19. 11 which was deposited in your Cash as the produce Representatives of his Effects paid 28 The Person with whom we had contracted to furnish the Sand Bags mentioned in the preceding part of this Letter. not having kept up to his Sand Bags Sample. we decline sending you any. And as we are not sent satisfied that there must be a large number of Gunny Bags at St Helena which will answer better for the purpose of Sand Gunny Bags Bags. than any thing we can send from hence. you are to to be sent make the best use you can of those you have. untill you shall instead of be supplied with the quantity we intend to order the Governor Sand Bags and Council of Fort William to furnish you with as is beforementioned. 29 The departure of this Ship having so	27: The Court had paid to the legal representatives of George Coudge deceased the sum of £5 17s 11d, which had been deposited in the island's cash as the produce of his effects. 28: The person the Court had contracted with to furnish the sand bags mentioned in the earlier part of this letter not having kept up to his sample, the Court declined sending any. Since it was satisfied that there must be a large number of gunny bags at St Helena, which would answer the purpose better than anything it could send from England, the Governor and Council were to make the best use they could of those they had until they were supplied with the quantity the Court intended to order the Governor and Council of Fort William to furnish, as mentioned earlier. 29: The departure of this ship having [...] **Interpretations** Fixing the clerk of the peace's pay by direct equation with a lieutenant's total emoluments, itemised at £106 17s 6d including diet money, shows how the Company set civil salaries by reference to established military ones. Rather than devise a fresh figure, the Court pegged a deserving civil officer to a known rank, which fixed his standing precisely within the settled hierarchy of pay while sparing itself the trouble of a separate calculation. The reversal on the sand bags, refused because the contractor fell short of his sample, reveals how supply by pattern let the Company reject substandard goods before shipment. A sample set the standard the delivered bags had to match, so a supplier who failed to meet it forfeited the order, the sample serving as an enforceable benchmark that protected the Company from paying to ship inferior material across the world. The small sums paid over from the effects of deceased servants like Coudge show the Company functioning as an estate administrator for those who died in its service. Money realised from a dead man's goods was held in the island's cash and remitted to his legal representatives, the Company closing out the estates of its servants and accounting to their heirs as a routine part of managing a workforce so far from home.
327	323	the present critical circumstances of publick Affairs being necessarily protracted. much beyond the time originally intended. Ship Duke it becomes a point of most essential consequence that no of Richmond measures during the outward passage be neglected. which can to be dispatched contribute towards her gaining a passage to China in due as soon as season. We cannot therefore avoid enforcing the positive possible Directions in the foregoing 6 Par for giving the Ship the speediest dispatch from the Island. and expect you will exert yourselves in the most effectual manner for that purpose. & you are to give Capt Hindman his Orders for Sailing immediately after the Company's Cargoe is delivered We are London 23 Nov 1770 Your loving Friends signed Danl Wier G Colebrooke Benj Booth Tho Rous Jno Michie Geo Dudley Chas Chambers Junr Hy Crabb Boulton Peter Lascelles Fredk Pigou George Cumming J Manship John Roberts Henry Savage	Since the present critical state of public affairs had necessarily protracted the ship's outward passage much beyond the time originally intended, it became a matter of the greatest consequence that no measure during that passage be neglected which could help her gain a passage to China in due season. The Court therefore reinforced the positive directions in the paragraph above for giving the ship the speediest despatch from the island, and expected the Governor and Council to exert themselves in the most effectual manner for that purpose. They were to give Captain Hindman his orders to sail immediately after the Company cargo was delivered. The letter closed from London on 23 November 1770, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by Daniel Wier, George Colebrooke, Benjamin Booth, Thomas Rous, John Michie, George Dudley, Charles Chambers junior, Henry Crabb Boulton, Peter Lascelles, Frederick Pigou, George Cuming, John Manship, John Roberts, Henry Savage, William James, John Harrison, Edward Wheler, James Cockburn, John Shirlock and William Cuttenden. **Interpretations** The pressure to hasten the *Duke of Richmond* from St Helena reflects how the monsoon fixed an unforgiving deadline for the China trade. A ship delayed on her outward voyage risked missing the winds that carried her to Canton, so once public affairs had already cost her time, every day saved at

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		Wm James John Harrison Edw Wheler Ja Cockburn J Sherlock Wm Cruttenden	the island mattered, the whole value of her voyage depending on reaching China before the season closed.
328	324	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Paras 1 We wrote you under date of the 23 Letters sent November last. and by the Ship Calcutta. now under dispatch We transmit to you a Duplicate of that Letter. 2 We have entertained Edward Danielle to proceed to St Helena on the Calcutta as a Master Mason. at the Salary of £ 120. pAnnum. to commence upon Edward Danielle his Arrival. and have permitted him to take with him Entertained as his Son. a Lad of about 15 Years of Age. whom he is Master mason bringing up as a Mason. and is to be employed as such &c at St Helena for which you are to allow the Father £ 20. for the first Year £ 30. for the second. and £ 50. p Annum for the three Years more. provided the Lad shall behave to your satisfaction. We have also given him leave to take his Wife and two other Children at the Company's Expence. and have paid him a Gratuity of £ 30. to furnish himself and Family with Necessarys. and we direct that you provide some convenient Habitation for this Man and his Family. and advise us in what manner they are accommodated. 3 An Act having passed in the present Certificate of session of Parliment. respecting the Exportation of Flour Flour to be sent we enclose your Copy thereof. and direct that you transmit Duplicate us in Duplicate. Certificates of the Quantity of Flour that shall be landed at St Helena. from the Ships Duke of Richmond & Calcutta 4 In order to supply the Loss occasioned by	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court had last written on 23 November, and by the ship *Calcutta*, now under despatch, it transmitted a duplicate of that letter. 2: The Court had taken on Edward Danielle to proceed to St Helena on the *Calcutta* as a master mason, at a salary of £120 0s 0d a year, to begin on his arrival. It had permitted him to take with him his son, a lad of about 15, whom he was bringing up as a mason and who was to be employed as such at St Helena. For the son, the Governor and Council were to allow the father £20 0s 0d for the first year, £30 0s 0d for the second, and £50 0s 0d a year for the three years after that, provided the lad behaved to their satisfaction. The Court had also given Danielle leave to take his wife and two other children at the Company expense, and had paid him a gratuity of £30 0s 0d to furnish himself and his family with necessaries. The Governor and Council were to provide some convenient dwelling for this man and his family, and to advise the Court in what manner they were accommodated. 3: An act having passed in the present session of parliament respecting the exportation of flour, the Court enclosed a copy of it. It directed the Governor and Council to transmit to it, in duplicate, certificates of the quantity of flour that should be landed at St Helena from the ships *Duke of Richmond* and *Calcutta*. 4: To supply the loss occasioned by [...] **Interpretations** The graduated allowance for Danielle's son, rising from £20 0s 0d to £50 0s 0d over five years, shows the Company binding a trained tradesman to the island through an apprenticeship built into his father's terms. The rising scale rewarded the boy's growing skill while tying the family to a long engagement, which secured a future mason for the island at a time when skilled builders were desperately hard to obtain, the earlier trouble over an unskilful mason making the investment worthwhile. Contrasting Danielle's generous engagement with the retention of the incompetent Holbrook reveals what the Company would pay to secure real skill. A master mason drew £120 0s 0d a year, passage for his whole family and a gratuity to outfit himself, terms far beyond an ordinary servant, because competent construction of the island's fortifications and buildings could not be had cheaply, and the Court had learned the cost of making do without it. The certificates of flour landed under the new act show imperial trade law reaching even a remote mid-ocean island. Parliament regulated the export of flour, and compliance required the island to document exactly what each ship discharged, which brought St Helena within a statutory reporting regime and made its Governor and Council answerable for recording the movement of a controlled commodity through the port.
329	325	by the Death of five of the Eight head of Cattle we sent you Eight Cattle last Year. We have shipped on the Duke of Richmond. and sent Calcutta four Bulls and four Cow Yearlings. of the Staffordshire Breed. 5 Great Naval Preparations are making in this Kingdom with all possible Expedition. and as the cause thereof	To supply the loss caused by the death of five of the eight head of cattle sent the previous year, the Court had shipped on the *Duke of Richmond* and *Calcutta* four bulls and four cow yearlings of the Staffordshire breed. 5: Great naval preparations were being made in the kingdom with all possible speed. Since the cause of them would be best explained by His Majesty's speech at the opening of the present session of parliament, the Court transmitted a copy of it. The Governor and Council would thereby perceive that

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		Naval will be best explained by his Majesty's Speech at the opening Preparation the present Session of Parliment. we herewith transmit the making His same to you. You will thereby perceive that the state of Public Majestys Affairs is at this time extremely critical. and it is therefore Speech sent absolutely necessary for you to be well on your Guard against any surprize. and to make such preparations for your Defence as the precarious situation of Affairs may render expedient. 6 The Governor and Council of Fort William having. as you represent. Invoiced the Madeira Wine they sent to you at thirty pCent Advance on the prime Cost. you are to dispose of such part thereof as shall remain for Sale. at Thirty pCent the price the same was charged in the Invoice from to be added Bengal. and as we send directions to that Presidency to to the Invoice discontinue this practice in future. you are to add 30 pCent of Madeira to the Invoice price. and all charges included agreeable to Wine &c our former Orders. 7 By a Dutch Ship the Welfriesland. We have received your Letter of the 1st September last. and we are highly displeased to find that notwithstanding that ship Court of had been with you from the 5 of that Month. you are totally Directors silent in respect to any information concerning the arrival displeased of any of our Ships. or the General State of our Settlements. and that a more Commercial Affairs in India: of all which it was incumbent particular on you to have given Us the most particular Account you Account of could possibly procure. And if the Commander was unable Ships was not sent by the Dutch Ship &c or	the state of public affairs was at this time extremely critical, and that it was therefore absolutely necessary for them to be well on their guard against any surprise, and to make such preparations for their defence as the precarious situation of affairs might render expedient. 6: The Governor and Council of Fort William having, as the island reported, invoiced the Madeira wine to it at thirty per cent advance on the prime cost, the Governor and Council were to sell such part of it as remained at the price it was charged in the invoice from Bengal. Since the Court was sending directions to that presidency to stop this practice in future, the Governor and Council were themselves to add thirty per cent to the invoice price, together with all charges included, in line with the Court's earlier orders. 7: By a Dutch ship, the *Westfriesland*, the Court had received the island's letter of 1 September. It was highly displeased to find that, although that ship had been with the island from the 4th of that month, the Governor and Council were totally silent as to any information concerning the arrival of any of the Company ships, or the general state of the settlements and commercial affairs in India, all of which it was incumbent on them to have given the Court the most particular account they could possibly procure. If the commander was unable [...] **Interpretations** Sending replacement cattle of the Staffordshire breed after five of eight died shows the Company persisting with English breeding stock despite heavy losses on the long voyage. The high mortality of animals shipped across the tropics did not deter the Court from trying again with a named English breed, since improving the island's herd with hardy, productive cattle mattered enough to justify repeated shipments even at such waste. The correction of the Madeira wine pricing reveals the Company enforcing a uniform markup across its establishments and closing an irregular practice at Bengal. Fort William had loaded thirty per cent onto the prime cost before invoicing, so the island was told to sell the existing stock at that Bengal price but to apply the standard markup itself in future, the Court straightening the accounting so that the profit margin was added once, in the proper place, and not compounded between presidencies. The Court's anger at the island's silence during the *Westfriesland*'s visit exposes how far the Company depended on every passing ship as a channel of intelligence. A Dutch vessel touching at St Helena offered a rare chance to gather and relay news of the Company ships and its Indian affairs, so the Governor and Council's failure to question the commander and report what they learned struck the Court as a serious neglect of a standing duty, information being as vital a cargo as any. **Speculations** The Court, facing a critical international situation and great naval preparations at home, might have kept the reasons for its defensive orders to itself and simply instructed the island to prepare. Instead it forwarded a copy of the King's speech to parliament so the Governor and Council could see the danger for themselves. The choice reflected the island's helpless dependence on infrequent shipping: unable to explain a fast-moving crisis through ordinary correspondence that arrived months late, the Court sent the source document itself, trusting the men on the spot to judge what preparations the precarious state of affairs required rather than issuing orders they could not understand.
330	326	or unwilling to give any intelligence on the subject of your	Even if the commander of the *Westfriesland* had been unable or unwilling to give any intelligence on

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		Enquiries. We might at least expect to have received such Notice from you. We must therefore attribute your Silence to your Neglect or Inattention. which in a matter of such importance subjects you to our severest Censure 8 The present critical Situation of Affairs rendering it expedient that you should be supplied with a proper quantity of Stores and Provisions. We have entertained the Ship Fryot Capt George Richardson of four hundred Ship Fryot and ninety nine Tons for a Voyage to St Helena & Bencoolen to be sent and shall consign to you on that Ship such a quantity to St Helena as we think your occasions may require. in addition to & Bencoolen those laden on the Duke of Richmond and Calcutta. The said Ship is preparing for the Voyage. and we shall dispatch her to you as expeditiously as possible London 2 Jan 1771 We are Your loving Friends signed Chas Chambers Junr G Colebrooke John Harrison J Purling Ben Booth Tho Rous Geo Cuming Geo Dudley Pet Lascelles Henry Savage Rob Gregory Fredk Pigou John Roberts J Manship J Sherlock Hy Crabb Boulton Wm James Ja Cockburn Jno Michie Wm Cruttenden	the subject of the Court's enquiries, the Governor and Council might at least have been expected to send some notice of his arrival. The Court could only attribute their silence to neglect or inattention, which in a matter of such importance subjected them to its severest censure. 8: Since the present critical state of affairs made it advisable that the island be supplied with a proper quantity of stores and provisions, the Court had taken on the ship *Pigot*, under Captain George Richardson, of 499 tons, for a voyage to St Helena and Bencoolen. It would consign to the island on that ship such a quantity as it thought the island's needs might require, in addition to the stores laden on the *Duke of Richmond* and *Calcutta*. The *Pigot* was preparing for the voyage, and the Court would despatch her as quickly as possible. The letter closed from London on 2 January 1771, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by George Colebrooke, Charles Chambers junior, John Yerling, John Harrison, Thomas Rous, Benjamin Booth, George Dudley, George Cuming, Henry Savage, Peter Lascelles, Frederick Pigou, Robert Gregory, John Manship, John Roberts, Henry Crabb Boulton, John Shirlock, James Cockburn, William James, William Cuttenden and John Michie. **Interpretations** Sending a third ship laden with stores in a season of international danger shows the Court provisioning St Helena against the risk of being cut off. A critical state of affairs threatened the island's lifeline of regular shipping, so the Court moved to stock it heavily in advance, treating a well-supplied garrison as the first defence of a possession that could be starved into surrender if war interrupted its supply. The Court's insistence that mere notice of the *Westfriesland*'s arrival would have sufficed reveals that the fault lay in the silence itself, not in any failure to extract intelligence. Even an empty report would have confirmed the island was watching and relaying what passed, so the total absence of word struck the Court as a lapse in the basic discipline of correspondence, the duty to report being owed regardless of whether there was much to tell.
331	327	Our Governor and Council of St Helena 1 Since we wrote to you the 2 January last Ships arrived the Lapwing and Prince of Wales have brought Us your Letters of the 6 of that Month. and 7 & 8 of March following 2 The Ship Fryot having received on board a very considerable Quantity of Stores & Provisions is now dispatched Ship Fryot to you with this Letter. and as the Season is far advanced we to be dispatched hereby strictly enjoin you to use the utmost Expedition in as soon as possible unloading such part of her Cargoe as we have consigned to you which will appear by reference to the accompanying Invoice & Bill of Lading. and thereupon you are to dispatch her immediately to Fort Marlborough. 3 We have appointed Mr Lauchlin Leslie to supply the Vacancy of Second Lieutenant. at your Island. Mr Lauchlin he proceeds on this Ship. and is on his arrival to enter upon Leslie appointed the usual Pay and Emoluments annexed to that Station. Second Lieut 4 We direct that in future. you do not refuse	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: Since the Court wrote on 2 January, the *Lapwing* and *Prince of Wales* had brought it the island's letters of the 6th of that month and of 7 and 8 March following. 2: The ship *Pigot* having received on board a very considerable quantity of stores and provisions, was now despatched with this letter. Since the season was far advanced, the Court strictly enjoined the Governor and Council to use the utmost speed in unloading such part of her cargo as it had consigned to the island, which would appear by reference to the accompanying invoice and bill of lading. They were then to despatch her immediately to Fort Marlborough. 3: The Court had appointed Lauchlin Leslie to fill the vacancy of second lieutenant on the island. He was proceeding on this ship, and on his arrival was to enter upon the usual pay and emoluments attached to that station. 4: The Court directed that in future the Governor and Council should not refuse to receive the powder tendered to them by the commanders of the Company shipping. It had not been able to charge the owners with the amount of the powder the Governor and Council expended in salutes, because the commanders had tendered the best they had in their ships.

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		to receive the Powder which may be tendered you by the Powder not to Commanders of our Shipping. as we have not been able to be refused from charge the Owners with the amount of the Powder expended the Ships in by you in Salutes. by reason of the Commanders having future tendered the best they had in their Ships. 5 The Gentlemen who compose our Secret Secret Committee Committee for the present Year are. John Purling Esqr Chairman of the Court. George Dudley Esqr Deputy Chairman with	5: The gentlemen who composed the Secret Committee for the present year were John Yerling as chairman of the Court, George Dudley as deputy chairman, with [...] **Interpretations** The powder dispute reveals a small accounting mechanism by which the cost of ceremonial salutes was recovered from the ship owners. Commanders were obliged to supply powder to the island, and when they tendered good powder the Company could charge its value against the owners, so refusing to accept it broke the chain by which the expense of salutes was passed back, which is why the Court insisted the island take what was offered. The Secret Committee's annual renewal, named again at the head of each season's business, confirms it as a standing institution rather than an occasional body. Its consistent reappearance with a fresh membership each year shows the Company treating confidential oversight of shipping security as a permanent function of its government, the committee reconstituted as regularly as the trading season itself.
332	328	with John Harrison. John Manship. Frederick Pigou Thomas Rous. Henry Savage and Laurence Sulivan Esqrs and we direct you to obey the orders they or any three of them may give respecting the safety of the Company's Shipping We are London 17 May 1771 Your loving Friends signed Joshua Smith J Purling Danl Wier Geo Dudley Edw Wheeler Tho Rous J Sherlock Willm Cruttenden Peter Dufane Junr Fredk Pigou Jno Woodhouse Henry Savage Henry Fletcher J Manship Jno Michie Ja Cockburn L Sulivan John Roberts	The Secret Committee for the present year was completed by John Harrison, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, Thomas Rous, Henry Savage and Laurence Sulivan. The Court directed the Governor and Council to obey the orders that these, or any three of them, might give respecting the safety of the Company shipping. The letter closed from London on 17 May 1771, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by Joshua Smith, John Yerling, Daniel Wier, George Dudley, Edward Wheler, Thomas Rous, John Shirlock, William Cuttenden, Peter Ducane junior, Frederick Pigou, John Woodhouse, Henry Savage, Henry Fletcher, John Manship, John Michie, James Cockburn, Laurence Sulivan and John Roberts.
333	329	Our Governor and Council of St Helena No 1 We wrote to you under date of the 17th May last by the Ship Pigot. and since that time have received your Letters recd several Letters of the 16. 17. & 26. March. 4. 26 & 31 May 8. 14 & 17 June. 8 July. 29 August & 7 Sept. 2 Accompanying this you will receive a List of the Ships Sailed & Ships sailed for and Arrived from the East Indies since the Arrived from departure of the Pigot Indies 3 The Names of the Ships we have Enkertained for the Company's Service the ensuing Season with their Commanders Ships taken and consignments. being each of the burthen of 499 Tons. are up as follows viz Nottingham Peter Stoakes Nassau Arthur Goard Duke of Grafton Samuel Bull Prince of Wales Jonathan Court Coast and Bay Duke of Albany John Stewart Triton William Elphinstone Greenwich Robert Carr Madeira Coast & Bay Lioness William Larkins Royal Henry Robert Rous	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court had last written on 17 May, by the ship *Pigot*, and since then had received the island's several letters of 16, 17 and 26 March, of 4, 26 and 31 May, of 8, 14 and 17 June, of 8 July, of 29 August and of 7 September. 2: Along with this letter the Governor and Council would receive a list of the ships sailed for and arrived from the East Indies since the departure of the *Pigot*. 3: The names of the ships the Court had taken on for the Company service the coming season, with their commanders and consignments, each of the burthen of 499 tons, were as follows. The *Nottingham*, under Peter Stoakes, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Nassau*, under Arthur Goard, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Duke of Grafton*, under Samuel Bull, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Prince of Wales*, under Jonathan Court, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Duke of Albany*, under John Stewart, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Triton*, under William Elphinstone, was bound for Madeira, the coast and the bay. The *Greenwich*, under Robert Carr, was bound for Madeira, the coast and the bay. The *Lioness*, under William Larkins, was bound for Madeira, the coast and China.

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		Madeira Coast & Helena Anson John Lenox Earl of Ashburnham Richard Pierce Earl of Lincoln Alexander Todd Fox David Mitchell Norfolk James Buggin Coast and China Savannah John White Osterly Francis Fortescue Bencoolen & China Granby John Johnson Gatton William Mony China Lord Camden John Reddall. St Helena & China Earl of Sandwich Charles Dean. St Helena & Bencoolen Royal	The *Royal Henry*, under Robert Rous, was bound for Madeira, the coast and China. The *Anson*, under John Lenox, was bound for the coast and China. The *Earl of Ashburnham*, under Richard Pierce, was bound for the coast and China. The *Earl of Lincoln*, under Alexander Todd, was bound for the coast and China. The *Fox*, under David Mitchell, was bound for the coast and China. The *Norfolk*, under James Buggin, was bound for the coast and China. The *Savannah*, under John White, was bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Osterly*, under Francis Fortescue, was bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Granby*, under John Johnson, was bound for China. The *Galton*, under William Money, was bound for China. The *Lord Camden*, under John Reddall, was bound for St Helena and China. The *Earl of Sandwich*, under Charles Deane, was bound for St Helena and Bencoolen [...] **Interpretations** The routes divide the season's fleet across the whole of the Company's eastern commerce. The coast and bay meant the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal, the heart of the Indian textile trade, while Bencoolen was the Company pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra and China meant the tea trade at Canton. Madeira appears as a wine and victualling stop on the outward Atlantic passage rather than a trading destination in its own right. Only two ships, the *Lord Camden* and the *Earl of Sandwich*, were routed by way of St Helena, which is why the island depended on the handful of vessels that called there for its correspondence and supply.
334	330	Royal Charlotte John Clements Bombay & China Duke of Cumberland Augustus Savage Madeira & Bombay Hector Stephen Williams Alexander Hamilton Devonshire Matthew Moore Speaker Robert Scott Bombay 4 By the foregoing List you will observe that the Lord Camden and Earl of Sandwich are consigned to your Island. The former is now under dispatch. and will be followed in a short time by the Earl of Sandwich. The Charter parties recommend which you will receive in their respective Packets will the dispatch of inform you upon what Terms and Conditions we have the Store Ships entertained them. when they arrive at St Helena. your utmost endeavours must be exerted to dispatch them agreeable to their future consignments. within the time limitted by Charter Party 5 The Gentlemen We have appointed for the Management of Our affairs in China the ensuing Season are Messrs Alexander Hume. Edward Phipps. Francis Wood. William Rous. Thomas China Council Bevan. William Addison. Matthew Raper. John Bradly Blake. James Bradshaw. William Henry Pigou. and George Rogers. who are all appointed to reside at Canton in the	The *Royal Charlotte*, under John Clements, was bound for Bombay and China. The *Duke of Cumberland*, under Augustus Savage, was bound for Madeira and Bombay. The *Hector*, under Stephen Williams, and under Alexander Hamilton, was bound for Bombay. The *Devonshire*, under Matthew Moore, was bound for Bombay. The *Speaker*, under Robert Scott, was bound for Bombay. 4: By the list above the Governor and Council would observe that the *Lord Camden* and *Earl of Sandwich* were consigned to the island. The former was now under despatch, and would be followed in a short time by the *Earl of Sandwich*. The charter parties, which the Governor and Council would receive in their respective packets, would inform them on what terms and conditions the Court had engaged the ships. When they arrived at St Helena, the Governor and Council were to exert their utmost endeavours to despatch them to their further consignments within the time fixed by the charter party. 5: The gentlemen the Court had appointed for the management of its affairs in China the coming season were Alexander Hume, Edward Phipps, Francis Wood, William Rous, Thomas Bevan, William Addison, Matthew Raper, John Bradley Blake, James Bradshaw, William Henry Pigou and George Rogers, all appointed to reside at Canton in the year 1773. 6: The gentlemen above were directed to comply with the indents the Governor and Council might have occasion to make to them for such stores and necessaries as they wanted supplied from China. 7: The island's indents were in general complied with. That for furniture for the castle and plantation

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		Year 1773 6 The above mentioned Gentlemen are directed to comply with the Indents you may have Occasion to make to them direct the for such Stores and necessarys as you shall want to be above gentlemen supplied with from China to comply with any Additional 7 Your Indents are in general complied with. that for furniture for the Castle and Plantation House is compleated. concern of Castle and two Iron Chests are sent. as desired. for the use of the Furniture Paymaster and Storekeeper. The Pigot carried so large a sent & Provisions supply of Provisions that we think proper to send only by the Pigot half the Quantity of Beef and Pork. and five hundred instead	house was completed, and two iron chests were sent as desired for the use of the paymaster and storekeeper. The *Pigot* had carried so large a supply of provisions that the Court thought it proper to send only half the quantity of beef and pork, and five hundred [...] **Interpretations** The two iron chests sent for the paymaster and storekeeper reveal the physical security the Company gave to the handling of money and valuable stores. Cash and important documents needed protection against theft and fire on a remote island, so a strong iron chest was the standard safeguard for each officer who held Company property, the locked chest serving as the treasury and record-store of a small establishment. The reduction of the beef and pork shipment because the *Pigot* had already carried a large supply shows the Court adjusting each season's provisions against what was recently sent rather than filling every indent in full. Salt provisions kept for a considerable time, so a heavy shipment on one vessel let the Court cut the next, matching the flow of perishable stores to the island's actual consumption and avoiding waste from over-supply. The furniture sent for the castle and the plantation house confirms that the Company equipped its official residences from England as part of maintaining the dignity and function of its government on the island. Furnishing the seat of administration and the country house was treated as a Company charge, the fabric of governance shipped out and renewed like any other store the island could not provide for itself.
335	331	instead of seven hundred Casks of Flour which you indented for 8 It gives Us great concern to find that the long continuance of dry weather had made so great a Diminution in the Stock of Black Cattle. We have for several Years past enjoined the commanders of our freighted Ships in case Commanders they should touch at the Cape homeward-bound to purchase of the homeward Sheep and Corn for the use of the Island. which Orders are bound Ships that touch strongly enforced this Season at the Cape to bring Sheep & Corn 9 As a means for improving the Breed of Cattle on the Island. we send you four Calves on each of the Ships Cattle sent Lord Camden and Earl of Sandwich 10 We send you this Season sixty Recruits being the Number you acquainted us you stand in need of to compleat Recruits sent your Establishment 11 We observe by your Storekeepers accounts that the Stores issued to the Planters and other Inhabitants not in our Service are very trifling compared with the Quantities delivered to our Servants and the other Inhabitants. who are few in Number and chiefly of the poorer sort. are obliged as Our Orders now Stand. to purchase Our Stores at a much higher rate than others who are in better Planters &others circumstances we therefore direct that our former Orders for to have goods charging 25 pCent to the Planters and 40 pCent to the and Stores at 10 pCent other Inhabitants be revoked. and that in future our Goods	The Court had sent five hundred casks of flour instead of the seven hundred the island had indented for. 8: It gave the Court great concern to find that the long continuance of dry weather had so greatly reduced the stock of black cattle. For several years past it had ordered the commanders of its freighted ships, should they touch at the Cape homeward bound, to buy sheep and corn for the island's use, and these orders were strongly enforced this season. 9: As a means of improving the breed of cattle on the island, the Court sent four calves on each of the ships *Lord Camden* and *Earl of Sandwich*. 10: The Court sent this season sixty recruits, that being the number the island had reported it needed to complete its establishment. 11: The Court observed from the storekeeper's accounts that the stores issued to the planters and other inhabitants not in its service were very trifling compared with the quantities delivered to its servants and the other inhabitants. Since these people were few in number and chiefly of the poorer sort, and were obliged, as the orders then stood, to buy Company stores at a much higher rate than others in better circumstances, the Court directed that its former orders for charging twenty-five per cent to the planters, and ten per cent to those inhabitants, be revoked. In future its goods and stores were to be delivered to all persons inhabiting the island, servants of the Company as well as others, at the rate of ten per cent advance on the invoice. 12: Since application was sometimes made to the Court to ascertain the ages of persons born at St Helena, and it could not give satisfaction for want of a proper register, it ordered the chaplain to keep a true and perfect register of all births, christenings and marriages [...] **Interpretations** Equalising the markup on Company stores at ten per cent for everyone corrected a pricing

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		and Stores be delivered to all Persons Inhabitants of the Island as well Servants of Company as others at the Rate of ten pCent Advance upon the Invoice 12 As application is sometimes made to Us to ascertain the Ages of Persons born at St Helena. and not being able Copys of to give satisfaction for want of a proper Register. you Births Christenings are therefore to inform the Chaplain it is Our Order that Marriages &burials he keep a true and perfect Register of all Births Christenings to be sent by two Conveyances Marriages	structure that had fallen hardest on those least able to bear it. The old rates charged the poorer planters twenty-five per cent while the wealthier paid less, so the Court reversed the burden, recognising that a uniform lower rate served fairness better than a scale that penalised the struggling smallholder over the comfortable inhabitant. The order to the chaplain to keep a register of births, christenings and marriages shows the Company imposing systematic record-keeping to meet its administrative needs. Without such a register the ages of island-born people could not be proved, which mattered for service, inheritance and legal standing, so vesting the duty in the chaplain created the vital records that a settled community required and that the Company had come to depend upon. The repeated shipments of breeding cattle and the standing order to buy sheep and corn at the Cape reveal how a prolonged drought threatened the island's whole food supply. The dry weather had cut the black cattle so severely that the island could neither feed its people nor provision the passing ships, so the Court worked on both fronts at once, rebuilding the herd with imported stock while drawing emergency supply from the nearest mainland source. **Speculations** The Court might have left the tiered pricing in place, since charging the planters twenty-five per cent brought the Company a larger return on its stores. Instead it levelled every rate down to ten per cent, giving up revenue from the very group that had paid most. The storekeeper's accounts showed why: the planters and independent inhabitants were few and mostly poor, and the higher charge had all but stopped them drawing stores at all, the trifling quantities issued proving the rate self-defeating. Rather than hold a markup that both burdened the weakest and yielded little, the Court chose the lower uniform rate, trading a nominal margin for a fairer and more workable supply.
336	332	Marriages and Burials on the Island. and Copies thereof attested by him you are Annually to transmit to Us by two Conveyances at least 13 We permit you to discharge William Dowsing late permission to a Matross in the Artillery. but whom we understood has discharge Willm been promoted to the Rank of Serjeant. and allow him Dowsing Matross to come to England. taking care that the Company do not sustain any Expence thereby 14 Should Nocquedah Peccullum the Mally Prisoner be desirous of returning to Bencoolen. you may grant Nocquedah him a passage thither accordingly. and the amount of Peccullum to such Expences as shall have. in curred on his Account return to Bencoolen must be wrote off to account Current London if he chuses it 15 Having considered what you say in Recommendation Mr Powell of Mr Powell a Cadet. we consent. to your appointing him a appointed a supernu supernumerary Lieutenant Lieut 16 The Engineer. in our Opinion. having allowances with which he ought to be perfectly satisfied. we do not think proper Candles allowed to grant his application for an Allowance of Candles	The chaplain was to keep a register of all marriages and burials on the island, and to transmit attested copies to the Court every year by at least two conveyances. 13: The Court permitted the Governor and Council to discharge William Dowsing, late a mattross in the artillery, but who it understood had been promoted to the rank of sergeant, and to allow him to come to England, taking care that the Company sustained no expense by it. 14: Should Nocquedah Peccullum, the Malay prisoner, wish to return to Bencoolen, the Governor and Council might grant him a passage there accordingly. The amount of the expenses incurred on his account was to be written off to account current, London. 15: Having considered what the Governor and Council said in recommendation of Powell, a cadet, the Court consented to their appointing him a supernumerary lieutenant. 16: Since the engineer, in the Court's opinion, had allowances with which he ought to be perfectly satisfied, the Court did not think proper to grant his application for an allowance of candles. 17: Since the Court judged it necessary that the vacancy caused some time earlier by the dismission of Captain Fitzpatrick should be filled up, it directed that Matthew Bazett be appointed fourth in council, with an addition of £40 0s 0d to his present appointment of £180 0s 0d a year, which was to be in full for salary, diet money, house rent and all other allowances whatever.

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		to the Engineer 17 As we deem it necessary that the vacancy occasioned in the Council some time since by the dismission of Captain Thomas Fitzpatrick should filled up. it is our pleasure Mr Bazett that Mr Matthew Bazett be appointed fourth in Council appointed fourth with an Addition of Forty pounds to his present appointment in Council of one hundred and eighty pounds pr Annum which is to be in full for Salary. Diet Money. House Rent. and all other allowances whatsoever 18 And as the Promotion of Mr Bazett occasions a vacancy filled vacancy in the Office of Secretary. we leave it to you to fix up by Mr Bazetts on the best qualified Person on the Civil List to succeed him Promotion 19 We have taken into consideration the application made to Us by the Reverend Mr Beacroft. for an Augmentation of his	18: Since Bazett's promotion caused a vacancy in the office of secretary, the Court left it to the Governor and Council to fill it with the best qualified person on the civil list to succeed him. 19: The Court had considered the application made to it by the Reverend Mr Bearcroft for an augmentation of his [...] **Interpretations** A mattross was a soldier in the artillery who ranked below a gunner and assisted in loading, firing and moving the guns, so Dowsing's promotion from mattross to sergeant marked a real advance through the artillery ranks. His discharge to England at no cost to the Company shows how carefully even a favour to a deserving man was managed, the permission granted only on the strict condition that the Company purse bore nothing. The refusal of the engineer's request for a candle allowance shows the Court holding a well-paid officer to the full compass of his existing emoluments. His salary and allowances were reckoned to cover all his needs, so an extra claim for candles was treated as an attempt to add to a package already deemed complete, the Court declining to let a comfortable appointment be nibbled upward by small additional demands. Consolidating Bazett's pay into a single sum of £220 0s 0d in full for salary, diet, house rent and every other allowance reveals a move towards fixed inclusive remuneration in place of stacked separate payments. Rolling all the components into one figure fixed the exact cost of the office and closed off the piecemeal claims for particular allowances that, as the engineer's candle request showed, otherwise crept in, giving the Company a clear and final charge for the post.
337	333	his Salary. and upon recourse to the allowances usually granted to the Chaplains at St Helena. we find Mr Beacroft was An augmentation allowed on his appointment here a Salary of Sixty pounds of Salary allowed pr Annum more than any of his predecessors had enjoyed. which Mr Beacroft we think fully sufficient. and therefore cannot comply with his request 20 The amount of the Effects of James Gordon who was to have proceeded to you in 1769 in the Capacity of a Gardener The amount but was prevented by Illness. which appears by your General of James Gordons Books to have been received into our Cash. has on his Effects paid him application been paid him here in England 21 In the Lord Camdens Packet we send an attested Copy his Majestys of his Majestys free Pardon for Stephen Swaicking. who free Pardon for was Capitally convicted of Felony as being an Accessary Stephen Swaicking before the Fact in breaking open our Storehouse. You are therefore on receipt hereof. to discharge him out of Prison and send him to England by the first Conveyance 22 Mr John Bazett whom we have lately appointed a Writer for Bengal. being desirous of seeing his Relations Consent of Permission to at St Helena. we have given him leave to take Passage Mr John Bazett thither on board the Lord Camden for that Purpose. from	On looking into the allowances usually granted to the chaplains at St Helena, the Court found that Bearcroft had been allowed on his appointment a salary of £60 0s 0d a year more than any of his predecessors had enjoyed. Judging this fully sufficient, it could not comply with his request for an increase. 20: The amount of the effects of James Gordon, who was to have proceeded to the island in 1769 as a gardener but was prevented by illness, appeared by the island's general books to have been received into the Company cash there. On his application, it had been paid to him in England. 21: In the *Lord Camden*'s packet the Court sent an attested copy of His Majesty's free pardon for Stephen Swaracking, who had been capitally convicted of felony as an accessory before the fact in breaking open the Company storehouse. On receipt of it, the Governor and Council were to discharge him out of prison and send him to England by the first conveyance. 22: John Bazett, whom the Court had lately appointed a writer for Bengal, being desirous of seeing his relations at St Helena, had leave to take his passage there on board the *Lord Camden* for that purpose. From there he was to proceed on the *Earl of Sandwich* to Bencoolen, to repair to his station as quickly as possible, the Company being at no charge by it. 23: The Court had appointed Thomas Stroud to proceed to St Helena as a surgeon. It directed that, on a vacancy arising through the death or departure of Barclay, he should succeed him in that station, with the same pay and allowances as were granted to Barclay. Until he succeeded as above, Stroud was to receive no pay, diet money, house rent or any other allowance from the Company. 24: John Fortune, a slave, having represented to the Court [...]

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		for Bengal to touch whence he must proceed on the Earl of Sandwich to Bencoolen at St Helena to in Order to repair to his Station as expeditiously as see his Friends possible. the Company being at no charge thereby 23 We have appointed Mr Thomas Stroud to proceed to Mr Stroud St Helena as a Surgeon. and we direct that on a vacancy appointed a Surgeon happening by the decease or coming away of Mr Barclay to St Helena & to he do succeed him in that Station with the same Pay and succeed Mr Barclay allowances as are granted to Mr Barclay. but Mr Stroud acting as Mr is not to received any pay. Diet Money. House Rent or Barclays being on the any other allowance from the Company until he shall Island or dying succeed. as abovementioned 24 John Fortune. a Slave. having represented to Us that	**Interpretations** The refusal of Bearcroft's request, on the ground that he already drew £60 0s 0d a year more than any previous chaplain, shows the Court measuring each salary demand against the settled history of the office. By treating the established rate for predecessors as the benchmark, the Court fixed a ceiling grounded in precedent, declining to let an incumbent ratchet the post's pay above what the position had always commanded. The free pardon for Swaracking reveals the reach of the royal prerogative of mercy into a capital conviction on the island. Convicted as an accessory before the fact to breaking open the storehouse, he faced death, yet a pardon obtained in England reached across the world to release him, showing that the ultimate power over life in the Company's courts rested finally with the Crown and not with the island's own tribunals. Appointing Stroud to wait unpaid for a surgeon's vacancy shows the Company securing a successor in advance without carrying the cost until the post fell open. By binding him to serve on Barclay's death or departure, yet allowing him nothing until then, the Court kept a trained man in reserve at no charge, guaranteeing continuity of medical care while paying only for the office actually held. The instruction that Bazett travel via the island and on to his station at no charge to the Company shows even a compassionate leave granted strictly within the bounds of thrift. He was allowed to visit his relations at St Helena on his way to Bengal, but only by fitting the detour to ships already sailing and bearing any cost himself, personal indulgence permitted so long as the Company purse was untouched.
338	334	that as he was in a fishing Boat off St Helena. some Soldiers and others who had absconded with one of the John Fortunes Company's Long Boats. forcibly carried him with return to the them to the Brazels. from whence he has found his way Island to England. and being desirous of returning to St Helena we have accordingly sent him on board the Lord Camden. And as the Man has thus voluntarily surrendered. we recommend that no Punishment be inflicted on him for absenting himself from the Island. We are London the 8th Janry 1772 Your loving Friends J Purling Geo Dudley Henry Savage John Harrison Fredk Pigou J Manship L Sulivan Wm James Edw Wheler J Sherlock Jno Woodhouse Jno Michie Geo Cuming Henry Fletcher Daniel Wier Rd Bosanquet	John Fortune had represented that, while he was in a fishing boat off St Helena, some soldiers and others who had absconded with one of the Company long boats forcibly carried him off with them to Brazil, from where he had made his way to England. Since he wished to return to St Helena, the Court had sent him back on board the *Lord Camden*. As the man had thus voluntarily surrendered himself, the Court recommended that no punishment be inflicted on him for absenting himself from the island. The letter closed from London on 8 January 1772, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by John Yerling, George Dudley, Henry Savage, John Harrison, Frederick Pigou, John Manship, Laurence Sulivan, William James, Edward Wheler, John Shirlock, John Woodhouse, John Michie, George Cuming, Henry Fletcher, Daniel Wier and Robert Blancquet. **Interpretations** The case of John Fortune ties directly to the earlier desertions by long boat that had so alarmed the Court, showing one of the abductees making his way home across the Atlantic. His account that the deserters had forced him along explains how the same escape that stripped the garrison also swept up an innocent slave, and his voluntary return with a plea for mercy confirms he had been a captive of the flight rather than a party to it. The recommendation that Fortune escape punishment for his absence reveals the Company distinguishing between the guilty deserters and a man carried off against his will. Because he had been taken by force and had surrendered himself of his own accord, the Court judged that no offence lay against him, treating his willing return as proof of innocence and sparing him the penalty that the actual conspirators would have faced.

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339	335	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Paras 1 The Ship Lord Camden carried our last Letter to you Letter sent under date of the 8th January. a Duplicate whereof you will by the Lord received. by the Ship Earl of Sandwich now under dispatch Camden 2 On the 12th January last we received by the Duke of Portland Letter your letter dated the 16th November 1771 recd 3 As the Season is far Advanced you are hereby directed to use the utmost diligence in unloading such Part of the Earl Earl of Sandwich of Sandwich's Cargo as is consigned to St Helena. and that to be dispatched being done. you are immediately to give the Commander as soon as Orders to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough possible 4 In our letter of the 23 November 1770 We particularly recommended to you to be very explicit in the Certificates you might grant to discharged Soldiers. in pursuance of the deed for constituting the Military Fund. of which we sent you a number of printed Copies. This you have. in concerning several Instances. complied with in a satisfactory manner Discharged men and it is therefore the more extraordinary you should have recomended to the over looked it in the case of William England. whom you Military Fund discharged as an Invalid after serving one year and four Months. without saying any thing else than that he was incapable of further duty. as you will see by the enclosed Copy of the Certificate you gave him dated the 7 September last 5 No wonder the more at your not mentioning the cause or manner of his becoming unfit for service. because in another Certificate written by the same Person. and granted on the same day. to George Oliver. you particularize the Accident by which he was disabled. and expressly recommend him as a proper object to be put upon the Military Fund. Now it is observable that William England alledges that he was disabled by the very same cause as the aforesaid Oliver namely	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The ship *Lord Camden* had carried the Court's last letter, dated 8 January, a duplicate of which the Governor and Council would receive by the ship *Earl of Sandwich*, now under despatch. 2: On 12 January the Court had received, by the *Duke of Portland*, the island's letter dated 10 November 1771. 3: Since the season was far advanced, the Governor and Council were to use the utmost diligence in unloading such part of the *Earl of Sandwich*'s cargo as was consigned to St Helena. That being done, they were immediately to give the commander orders to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough. 4: In its letter of 23 November 1770 the Court had particularly recommended to the Governor and Council to be very careful over the certificates they might grant to discharged soldiers under the deed constituting the military fund, of which it had sent a number of printed copies. This the Governor and Council had complied with satisfactorily in several instances, which made it the more extraordinary that they should have overlooked it in the case of William England, whom they discharged as an invalid after his serving one year and four months, without saying anything more than that he was incapable of further duty, as appeared by the enclosed copy of the certificate they gave him dated 7 September. 5: The Court wondered the more at the omission of the cause or manner of England becoming unfit for service, because in another certificate written by the same person, and granted on the same day to George Oliver, the accident by which he was disabled was particularised, and he was expressly recommended as a proper object for the military fund. It was observable that England alleged he had been disabled by the very same cause as Oliver [...] **Interpretations** The contrast between the two certificates issued on the same day exposes how a defective document could undermine a soldier's claim to the pension fund. England's certificate merely called him incapable, while Oliver's set out the exact accident that disabled him, so the Court's suspicion fell on the vague wording, which failed the fund's requirement that the specific cause of incapacity be certified and proved. The particular scrutiny of England's case reflects the safeguards built into the military fund against unfounded or fraudulent claims. Because the fund relieved only genuine invalids, a certificate had to establish the precise nature and cause of the disability, so an omission of that detail threatened to admit a man whose incapacity was unproven, which is why the Court seized on the difference between the two documents. The fact that England alleged the very same cause as Oliver, yet had it recorded so differently, suggests the flaw lay in the certifying rather than in the injury itself. Both men were disabled by one accident, but only one certificate captured it properly, revealing how much a pensioner's fate depended on the care with which the granting officer set down the facts, a careless entry risking a just claim as much as guarding against a false one.
340	336	namely. by the fall of several large Stones. and a great deal of Earth upon him when he was upon duty at Mundens point. We have therefore admitted him a Pensioner conditionally till we can hear further from you. and shall then either confirm or discontinue his Pension. But we must once for all. again require	England had been disabled by the fall of several large stones and a great deal of earth upon him while he was on duty at Munden's Point. The Court had therefore admitted him as a pensioner conditionally, until it could hear further from the island, and would then either confirm or discontinue his pension. It

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		requiring the you to assign the reasons of your discharging any Govr & Council Soldier. in the Certificates you give them. as we have to assign their no other means of judging they are. or are not proper reason for discharging any Objects of the Charity: more especially as several Men Invalid Soldier has been sent back from India. as disabled by internal Hurts. who had become so before they entered into our Service 6 We are no less surprized than concerned to find that Disputes and Altercations amongst our servants at St Disputes & Helena. should have extended so far as to require the Altercations Interposition of the Court of Directors. We are led to this amongst the observation by the Conduct of Lieut Governor Corneille on Compys Servants at St a supposed deficiency of respect in Engineer. Captain Tippet Helena by his having to communicate to the Lieut Governor Mr Corneille the Orders he had received from the Governor 7 As this matter has been referred to our decision. we have attended to all the Circumstances of it. and are hereupon Compys decision constrained to declare that in respect to the cause. as well as on the dispute the conduct of this dispute. Mr Corneille has behaved of Lt Govr & disrespectfully to our Governor. and in an improper manner Capt Tippet towards Capt Tippet. And here while justice to Our &c Governor requires Us. to express the satisfaction we receive from that Moderation which he has discovered on this Occasion. We cannot but Testify Our displeasure at the assumed importance with which Mr Corneille has incroached on the Authority of his Command as Chief. And here while we declare our approbation of the behaviour of	once for all required the Governor and Council to state the reasons for discharging any soldier in the certificates they gave them, since it had no other means of judging whether the men were proper objects of the charity. This was the more necessary as several men had been sent back from India as disabled by internal hurts, who had become so before they entered the Company service. 6: The Court was no less surprised than concerned to find that disputes and altercations among its servants at St Helena had gone so far as to require the intervention of the Court of Directors. It was led to this observation by the conduct of Lieutenant Governor Corneille, over a supposed lack of respect from the engineer Captain Tippet, arising from Tippet's having to communicate to Corneille the orders he had received from the Governor. 7: Since the matter had been referred to the Court's decision, it had attended to all the circumstances of it, and was constrained to declare that, on the cause as well as the conduct of the dispute, Corneille had behaved disrespectfully to the Governor and improperly towards Captain Tippet. While justice to the Governor required the Court to express the satisfaction it felt at the discretion he had shown on the occasion, it could not but declare its displeasure at the assumed importance with which Corneille had encroached on the authority of the Governor's command in chief [...] **Interpretations** The requirement that discharge certificates state the precise cause of disability was tightened by the discovery that men were claiming the fund for injuries predating their service. Some soldiers sent back from India as disabled by internal hurts had in fact been unfit before they ever enlisted, so the Court insisted on a stated cause to bar claims for conditions the Company had never been responsible for, guarding the fund against liabilities that were never truly its own. The dispute between Corneille and Tippet exposes the friction that arose where lines of authority crossed within the island's government. Tippet, as engineer, had to relay the Governor's orders to the lieutenant governor, and Corneille took offence at receiving instructions through a subordinate officer, the quarrel revealing how questions of precedence and respect could disrupt administration when a junior became the channel for a superior's commands. The Court's censure of Corneille for encroaching on the Governor's command in chief affirms the strict hierarchy on which the Company's government rested. By faulting the lieutenant governor for assuming an importance that trespassed on the Governor's authority, while praising the Governor's restraint, the Court reasserted that the chain of command was not to be disturbed by a subordinate's pride, discipline among the leaders being as vital as discipline in the ranks. **Speculations** The Court, presented with an unseemly quarrel between its two senior officers, might have apportioned blame between them or smoothed the matter over to preserve their working relationship. Instead it came down squarely against Corneille while openly commending the Governor. The circumstances drove the choice: Tippet had merely relayed the Governor's orders as duty required, and Corneille had taken offence at the channel rather than the substance, encroaching on the command in chief over a supposed slight. Rather than treat a dispute over respect as a matter for compromise, the Court chose to make an example of the officer who had let personal pride disturb the chain of command,

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			judging the authority of the Governor's office too important to leave in doubt.
341	337	of Captain Tippet. in this transaction. We cannot but observe that in his complaint against the Armorer John Robins he has by no means conducted himself as became an Officer towards your inferior. And we must apprize Captain Tippet that we hope and expect he will conduct himself in future in a manner more becoming his Station. lest by his giving way to any impetuosity of Temper. we should be obliged to Testify our displeasure by other means than reprehension 8 Having considered your recommendation of William Roberts the Town Adjutant. we direct. that his allowances Wm Roberts Town be made equal to those of a Lieutenant. and that the Adjutant to be same to commence from the time you receive this Letter allowed as a Lieut 9 John Drawwater late Cooper. at St Helena having applied to be restored to that employ. we had J Drawwater recourse to your Consultations. and it appearing he had been late Cooper. approved guilty of a breach of duty by making false Gauges of not to be restored to his Arrack. We therefore approve of your dismissing him employ having made false gauges from the Company's Service 10 The Proceedings of the General Quarter Sessions held Court of Directors the 10th July 1771 having been laid before Our Solicitor. he approbation on the has given his opinion thereon in the following terms viz proceedings of the Genl Quarter Sessions held on the 10th July 1771 "The Judgments of Death pronounced last July Sessions against Andrew Tetherick as principal in a Burglary and Stephen Swartseing as accessary. could be warranted by no law. for both of them were clearly intitled to benefit of Clergy "It is not Burglary feloniously to break and enter in the night time a Storehouse. unless it is part of. and adjoining to a dwelling House. and then in construction of Law it is a dwelling House. and the Indictment must be laid as a dwelling House. The	Though the Court declared its approval of Captain Tippet's behaviour in the affair, it could not but observe that in his complaint against the armourer John Robins he had by no means conducted himself as became an officer towards a subordinate. It hoped and expected that Tippet would in future conduct himself in a manner more becoming his station, lest by giving way to any hastiness of temper he oblige the Court to mark its displeasure by other means than reprimand. 8: Having considered the island's recommendation of William Roberts, the town adjutant, the Court directed that his allowances be made equal to those of a lieutenant, to begin from the time the island received this letter. 9: John Drawwater, late cook at St Helena, having applied to be restored to that employment, the Court looked into the island's consultations. Since it appeared he had been guilty of a breach of duty by making false gauges of arrack, the Court approved his dismissal from the Company service. 10: The proceedings of the general quarter sessions held on 10 July 1771 having been laid before the Court's solicitor, he had given his opinion on them in the following terms. The judgments of death pronounced at the July sessions against Andrew Tetherick as principal in a burglary, and Stephen Swarsing as accessory, could be warranted by no law, since both of them were clearly entitled to benefit of clergy. It was not burglary feloniously to break and enter a storehouse in the night time, unless it was part of, or adjoining to, a dwelling house, and then in the construction of law it was a dwelling house, and the indictment had to be laid as a dwelling house. **Interpretations** The solicitor's opinion overturning the death sentences exposes how far the island's court had strayed from the technical requirements of English criminal law. Breaking into a storehouse was not burglary unless the building formed part of a dwelling house, and the indictment had to describe it as such, so the convictions failed on a point of legal definition that the distant amateur court had not grasped. Benefit of clergy is revealed here as the decisive shield that saved both men from the gallows. This ancient plea let a first offender escape the death penalty for many felonies, so the island's judges had condemned men whom the law entitled to a lesser punishment, showing how the crude administration of justice on a remote settlement could pronounce sentences that no proper court would sustain. The false gauging of arrack that cost Drawwater his post ties his dismissal to the tightly controlled liquor trade that ran through the island's affairs. Since arrack was measured and sold under strict Company regulation, falsifying the gauges was a fraud on that system, so a cook who tampered with the measures struck at the revenue and order the Company had built around the spirit, and forfeited his place accordingly.
342	338	"The Statute 10 & 11 William 3d Chapter 23 takes away Clergy from those who privately steal to the Value of five Shillings in Warehouses. but accessarys are not within the Statute. nor will that act warrant Judgment of Death in this case against Tetherick the principal for breaking and entering by force is not within the meaning of that Act "This Distinction is not founded in good Sense but still the Law is so expressed	The statute of 10 and 11 William 3, chapter 23, took away clergy from those who privately stole to the value of five shillings in warehouses, but accessories were not within the statute, nor would that act warrant a judgment of death in this case against Tetherick the principal. Breaking and entering by force was not within the meaning of that act. This distinction was not founded in good sense, but the law was so expressed.

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		11 Agreable to the farther opinion of our Solicitor we shall endeavour. obtain an Act to make Stealing by force. as well as privately Stealing in Warehouses Capital Offence We are London Your loving friends 25th March 1772 signed Wm James J Purling Edwd Wheler Geo Dudley L Sulivan J Manship Henry Savage Fredk Pigou John Roberts Ja Cockburn Geo Cumming Jno Woodhouse Henry Fletcher J Sherlock Jno Michie Joshua Smith John Smith John Harrison Daniel Wier	11: In line with the solicitor's further opinion, the Court would endeavour to obtain an act to make stealing by force, as well as private stealing in warehouses, a capital offence. The letter closed from London on 25 March 1772, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by John Yerling, William James, George Dudley, Edward Wheler, John Manship, Laurence Sulivan, Frederick Pigou, Henry Savage, John Roberts, James Cockburn, George Cuming, John Woodhouse, Henry Fletcher, John Shirlock, John Michie, Joshua Smith, John Smith, John Harrison and Daniel Wier. **Interpretations** The solicitor's reasoning exposes a paradox in the criminal law that the Company found indefensible yet binding. The statute made secret theft from a warehouse a capital crime while leaving open violent breaking and entering, so a thief who stole quietly could hang while one who forced his way in escaped the noose, an anomaly the Court acknowledged made no sense but could not ignore while the law stood. The resolve to seek a fresh act of parliament shows the Company able to reach for legislative remedy when the existing law failed its interests. Rather than accept that forcible warehouse theft went unpunished by death, the Court set out to have the statute amended, revealing how a great trading corporation could work to reshape the criminal law itself to protect the stores on which its distant settlements depended. The whole episode confirms how completely the island's justice was bound to the technicalities of English statute law. A capital case turned not on the gravity of the crime but on the precise words of an act passed in London, so the fate of men tried on a remote island rested on distinctions drawn in parliament, the settlement's courts able to convict but not always to make their sentences hold.
343	339	[Loss to upper edge of the page, above the heading, right side] Our Governor and Council of St Helena. Packet 1 Our last Letter to you was dated the the 25 March 1772 by the Ship Earl of Sandwich. since which we have received your several Advices of the 4 Febry Duplicate 10. 12. 13 & 14 March. 6. 10 19 & 20 April. 3. 7. 10. 13 & 21 May Letters 11. 13. 16. 22. 24 & 27 June. 15. 19. 29 July 10 & 23 August 7 Sept. and 7 & 22. October last. 2 Enclosed we transmit you a List of the Ships sailed for and Arrived from the East Indies since the List of Ships Earl of Sandwich sailed hence. 3 We have entertained twenty five Ships. for carrying on the Company's Commerce the ensuing Season. Ships taken each of the Burthen of 499 Tons. their Names. Commanders up and Consignments are as follows Viz Kent David Thomson Ponsborne Saml Hough Madeira & Coast & China Worcester John Cooke Huntingdon Peter Pigou Coast & China Larmount John Rogers Prime James Dundas Princess Royal Robert Kerr Bencoolen & China Duke of Kingston Raymond Snow	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court had last written on 25 March 1772, by the ship *Earl of Sandwich*, and since then had received the island's several advices of 4 February, of 10, 12, 13 and 14 March, of 6, 10, 19 and 20 April, of 3, 7, 10, 15 and 21 May, of 11, 13, 16, 22, 24 and 27 June, of 15, 19 and 29 July, of 10 and 23 August, of 7 September, and of 7 and 22 October. 2: The Court transmitted a list of the ships sailed for and arrived from the East Indies since the *Earl of Sandwich* left. 3: The Court had taken on twenty-five ships for carrying on the Company commerce the coming season, each of the burthen of 499 tons. Their names, commanders and consignments were as follows. The *Kent*, under David Thomson, was bound for Madeira, the coast and China. The *Ponsborne*, under Samuel Hough, was bound for Madeira, the coast and China. The *Worcester*, under John Cooke, was bound for the coast and China. The *Huntingdon*, under Peter Pigou, was bound for the coast and China. The *Fairmount*, under John Rogers, was bound for the coast and China. The *Prime*, under James Dundas, was bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Princess Royal*, under Robert Kerr, was bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Duke of Kingston*, under Raymond Snow, was bound for China directly. The *Valentine*, under James Ogilvie, was bound for China directly.

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		Valentine James Ogilvie China direct Royal Captain Edward Beneur. St Helena & China Duke of Portland John Sutton. Bencoolen Alfred John Lauder. St Helena & Bencoolen Worthington John Sealy Houghton William South Madeira Coast & Bay	The *Royal Captain*, under Edward Bencur, was bound for St Helena and China. The *Duke of Portland*, under John Sutton, was bound for Bencoolen. The *Alfred*, under John Lauder, was bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The *Worthington*, under John Sealy, was bound for Madeira, the coast and the bay. The *Houghton*, under William Southe, was bound for Madeira, the coast and the bay [...] **Interpretations** The routes divide the season's fleet across the whole of the Company's eastern commerce. The coast and bay meant the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal, the heart of the Indian textile trade, while Bencoolen was the Company pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra and China meant the tea trade at Canton. Madeira appears as a wine and victualling stop on the outward Atlantic passage rather than a trading destination in its own right. Only two ships, the *Royal Captain* and the *Alfred*, were routed by way of St Helena, which is why the island depended on the handful of vessels that called there for its correspondence and supply.
344	340	Latham John Prince Lord Mansfield William Fraser Bridgewater Nicholas Skottowe Egmont Charles Mears Coast & Bay Harcourt Nathaniel Paul Hawke John Cotton Madereia & Bombay Resolution Thomas Pointing Bombay & Bengal Besborough Thomas Riddell Bombay & China Europa Henry Hinde Pelly Bombay & Mocha Van Sittart Robert Young British King Daniel Griffiths Meare Madeira & Bombay Bombay 4 The Royal Captain mentioned in the said List will convey this Letter to you. and the Alfred will soon follow her with a Duplicate of it. the Copies of their Charter parties will inform you upon what terms & Conditions Ships to be we have Entertained them. On their Arrival at St Helena dispatched as your utmost vigilance must be used in order to dispatch soon as possible them according to their future Destinations. within the time limitted by Charterparty 5 We are building a Vessel of about 200 Tons burthen. which we intend to send to you to be employed Vessel to be sent as an Advice Vessel she will be launched the beginning from England as of March. and will convey to you our directions at large an advice Vessel respecting her. 6 The Gentlemen who compose our secret Comittee for the present Year are Sir George Colebrooke Bart. Chairman. Laurence Sulivan Deputy Chairman Henry Crabb Boulton. John Manship. and Henry Secret Committee Savage Esqrs. Such orders as you shall receive from those Gentlemen or any three of them respecting the safety of the Company's Shipping are to be strictly obeyed by	The *Latham*, under John Prince, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Lord Mansfield*, under William Fraser, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Bridgewater*, under Nicholas Shottowe, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Egmont*, under Charles Mears, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Harcourt*, under Nathaniel Paul, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Hawke*, under John Cotton, was bound for Madeira and Bombay. The *Resolution*, under Thomas Pointing, was bound for Bombay and Bengal. The *Bessborough*, under Thomas Riddell, was bound for Bombay and China. The *Europa*, under Henry Hinde Pelly, was bound for Bombay and Mocha. The *Vansittart*, under Robert Young, was bound for Madeira and Bombay. The *British King*, under Daniel Griffiths Hare, was bound for Bombay. 4: The *Royal Captain* mentioned in the list would carry this letter, and the *Alfred* would soon follow her with a duplicate of it. The copies of their charter parties would inform the Governor and Council on what terms and conditions the Court had engaged the ships. On their arrival at St Helena, the Governor and Council were to use their utmost vigilance to despatch them to their further destinations within the time fixed by the charter party. 5: The Court was building a vessel of about 200 tons burthen, which it intended to send to the island to be employed as an advice vessel. She would be launched at the beginning of March, and would carry the Court's directions at large respecting her. 6: The gentlemen who composed the Secret Committee for the present year were Sir George Colebrooke baronet as chairman, Laurence Sulivan as deputy chairman, with Henry Crabb Boulton, John Manship and Henry Savage. Orders that the Governor and Council might receive from these, or any three of them, respecting the safety of the Company shipping were to be strictly obeyed. **Interpretations** The addition of Mocha and Bengal to this season's destinations widens the picture of the Company's trade beyond the usual coast, bay and China runs. Mocha on the Red Sea was the source of the coffee trade, while Bengal drew the richest textile

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		you.	and saltpetre commerce, so the routing of ships to these ports shows the breadth of the eastern markets the Company drew together in a single season's shipping. Building a dedicated advice vessel of 200 tons, rather than relying on the chartered Indiamen, reveals the value the Company placed on fast and reliable communication with its settlements. A purpose-built vessel could be despatched on the Court's own timing to carry orders and intelligence, freeing the flow of information from the fixed schedules of the trading fleet, a standing investment in the speed on which distant governance depended.
345	341	7 We have appointed the following named Gentlemen for the Management of the Company's affairs in China the ensuing Season Viz. Alexander Hume. Edward Phipps. Francis Wood. Willm Rous. Thos Bevan China Council William Harrison. Matthew Raper. John Bradly Blake. James Bradshaw. Willm Henry Pigou. and George Rogers and we have directed all of them to reside at Canton in the Year 1774. 8 You will as usual apply to these Gentlemen for such Articles as you may have occasion for from China who are furnished with our Directions to comply with your Requests 9 Your Indents are in general very fully complied with. especially the Articles mentioned in the Indents for the additional Indents. as you will observe by the Invoices most part and Bills of Lading which are enclosed in the respective complied with Ships Packets. 10 Proper care has been taking of your observation Slaves Cloaths respecting the Slaves Cloaths. 11 The salt Provisions we send this Season are equal in Quantity to your demands but as they were Provisions procured from Ireland you are to make. Us requainted compared whether they are of equal Goodness with the English Provisions we used formerly to send 12 We have put on board each of the two Ships Consigned to you. two Bull and two Cow Calves for the Cattle sent purpose of improving the Breed of your Cattle. 13 We have thought proper to put on board Recruits those Ships Eighty Recruits for the use of your Garrison 14 The Several appointments you made in Consequence of our having promoted Mr Matthew Bazett to a seat in this Council meets with our approbation Servants as do also the promotion of Mr Doveton to the Office of appointments approved Secre	7: The Court had appointed the following gentlemen for the management of the Company affairs in China the coming season: Alexander Hume, Edward Phipps, Francis Wood, William Rous, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper, John Bradley Blake, James Bradshaw, William Henry Pigou and George Rogers, all directed to reside at Canton in the year 1774. 8: The Governor and Council were, as usual, to apply to these gentlemen for such articles as they might have occasion for from China, they being furnished with the Court's directions to comply with the requests. 9: The island's indents were in general very fully complied with, especially the articles named in the additional indents, as the Governor and Council would observe by the invoices and bills of lading enclosed in the respective ships' packets. 10: Proper care had been taken of the island's observation respecting the slaves' clothes. 11: The salt provisions the Court sent this season were equal in quantity to the island's demands. Since they had been procured from Ireland, the Governor and Council were to report whether they were of equal goodness with the English provisions formerly sent. 12: The Court had put on board each of the two ships consigned to the island two bulls and two cow calves, for improving the breed of cattle. 13: The Court had thought proper to put on board these ships eighty recruits for the use of the island's government. 14: The several appointments the Governor and Council had made, in consequence of the Court's having promoted Matthew Bazett to a seat in the Council, met with its approval, as did also the promotion of Doveton to the office of [...] **Interpretations** Sourcing the salt provisions from Ireland rather than England, and asking the island to judge their quality, shows the Company testing a new supply line for a staple it depended upon. Irish salt beef and pork were cheaper and plentiful, so the Court trialled them against the accustomed English provisions, seeking the island's verdict before committing to a change that would touch the whole victualling of its distant settlements. The continued shipments of breeding cattle across successive seasons reveal a sustained effort to rebuild the island's herd after the losses of drought and the long voyage. Sending bulls and cow calves again and again shows the Court treating the improvement of the island's stock not as a single act but as a standing policy, patiently replacing what death and hard conditions destroyed in pursuit of a self-sustaining supply of meat. The Court's ready confirmation of the local appointments made after Bazett's promotion shows the balance struck between central control and the island's own management. The Company reserved the great decisions to itself, yet endorsed the consequential arrangements the Governor and

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			Council made on the spot, recognising that a government so far away had to be trusted to fill the lower places while the Court retained the final word.
346	342	Storekeeper on the Death of Mr Powell and the Appointment of George Bazett to succeed Mr Doveton as assistant. The Appointment of Mr Farrell and the Company Surgeons Mate we also approve as be an act of displeasure Necessity. but at the same time we cannot avoid with respect testifying our displeasure at the liberty you have taken to the absolute in the absolute Appointment of Robert Leech to the appointment Station of a Writer. and tho' we shall not in this Instance of Mr Leech disannul the same. you are to observe it as a standing Order. when any Vacancies shall happen in future by the decease or otherwise of our Servants who enter into Covenants that you do not make any absolute new Appointment. as we are determined to reserve that power within ourselves. however we do not mean to prevent you from recommending such persons for our approbation. as you may deem qualified for the stations they shall be intended to fill. 15 The usual Covenants will be sent by the Alfred for Mr Leech to execute which are to be returned Mr Leechs to Us. and he must also name two persons to be Covenants Security in £ 500 for the performance of the Conditions mentioned in those Covenants. 16 We have agreeable to your desire strickly enjoined the Commanders of our Ships to Commanders supply themselves in India or China with a of Ships enjoined sufficient Quantity of Arrack. for the Ships Store to supply themselves homeward bound. should therefore any of them make use Arrack in India of any part of the Arrack or Stores consigned to you from India or China you must not fail to acquaint us therewith. that we may properly resent such a disobedience of our Orders. 17 Having considered your representation that the pay of the Steward is inadequate to the Duty	Doveton had been promoted to the office of storekeeper on the death of Powell, and George Bazett appointed to succeed Doveton as assistant. The Court also approved the appointment of Farrell as surgeon's mate as an act of necessity. At the same time, it could not avoid expressing its displeasure at the liberty the Governor and Council had taken in the absolute appointment of Robert Leech to the station of a writer. Though it would not in this instance disannul the appointment, the Governor and Council were to observe it as a standing order that, when any vacancies arose in future through the death or otherwise of servants who had entered into covenants, they were not to make any absolute new appointment, the Court being determined to reserve that power to itself. It did not mean to prevent them from recommending such persons for its approval as they judged qualified for the stations to be filled. 15: The usual covenants would be sent by the *Alfred* for Leech to execute, which were to be returned to the Court. He also had to name two persons to stand security in £500 0s 0d for the performance of the conditions in those covenants. 16: The Court had, at the island's desire, strictly enjoined the commanders of its ships to supply themselves in India or China with a sufficient quantity of arrack for the ships' stores homeward bound. Should the commanders make use of any part of the arrack or stores consigned to the island from India or China, the Governor and Council were not to fail to inform the Court, so that it might properly resent such a disobedience of its orders. 17: The Court had considered the island's representation that the pay of the steward was inadequate to the duty [...] **Interpretations** The rebuke over Leech's appointment marks the Court drawing a firm line between filling a post and confirming its holder. By reserving to itself the power of absolute appointment while leaving the island free to recommend, the Court kept ultimate control of who entered its covenanted service, treating the right to appoint as a central authority not to be assumed by a distant government however pressing the vacancy. The bond of £500 0s 0d required of Leech's sureties shows the financial guarantee the Company exacted from those it admitted to responsible office. A writer handled Company property and accounts, so binding two named men to so large a sum against his good conduct gave the Company solid recourse if he defaulted, the security serving as a pledge that stood behind the trust placed in a new servant. The order to report any commander who drew on the island's consigned arrack reveals how jealously the Company guarded supplies earmarked for its settlements. Ships were to victual themselves separately at the eastern ports, so a commander who dipped into stores meant for St Helena committed a breach the island was bound to expose, the Court enlisting its own government to police the captains against pilfering the goods in transit.
347	343	his Office obliges him to perform. and therefore desiring the same may be augmented. and it appearing that he has the same allowance as was given to his predecessors. we do not think proper to make any increase therein. and and here we are to remark. that they are continual	The steward's office obliged him to perform his duty, and the island therefore wished his pay increased. Since it appeared he had the same allowance as his predecessors, the Court did not think proper to make any increase. It remarked that continual applications of this kind were made to it, and that unless it put a stop to the practice, every servant on the island would in time expect an increase of salary. The Court therefore directed that

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		Applications made to us of this kind. And where we not to put a stop to this practice every Servant on the Island would in time Expect an Augmentation of Salary. We therefore direct that you do not give Encouragement to such applications in future by your recommendation without more substantial reasons can be assigned than appear in the Instance before Us. 18 Having strong reason to believe that it has for some Years been a Custom with the Commanders and Officers of our China Ships to leave at St Helena or sell to our Servants a Considerable Quantity of Tea which is afterwards put on board our Ships on their Return from Madrass. Bengal. & Bombay. and disposed of in the Channel. and being determined to prevent the continuance of this illegal practice. we do hereby possitively direct that you keep a true and Perfect Register. of all goods and Merchandise. that shall hereafter. be landed on the Island particularizing the Quantities and Qualitys and the Names of the Ships Register of the same may be delivered from. and if reshipped the goods & Names of such Ships. and as far as you can ascertain Merchandise to acquaint us. with the names of the Persons. to to be kept whom the same may belong. a Copy thereof is to be transmitted to us in Duplicate. And we further inform you that should. come to our knowledge. that you. or any other of our Servants shall have bought. and sold Tea in the manner abovementioned. or shall not fully comply	the Governor and Council give no encouragement to such applications in future by their recommendation, unless more substantial reasons could be assigned than appeared in the case before it. 18: The Court had strong reason to believe that for some years it had been a custom with the commanders and officers of its China ships to leave at St Helena, or sell to its servants, a considerable quantity of tea, which was afterwards put on board its ships on their return from Madras, Bengal and Bombay, and disposed of in the Channel. Determined to stop this illegal practice, the Court positively directed that the Governor and Council keep a true and perfect register of all goods and merchandise landed on the island, setting out the quantities and qualities and the names of the ships they were delivered from. If any were re-shipped, they were to record the names of those ships, and, so far as they could ascertain, the names of the persons to whom the goods belonged. A copy of the register was to be transmitted to the Court in duplicate. The Court further informed the Governor and Council that, should it come to its knowledge that they, or any other of its servants, had bought and sold tea in the manner described, or should not fully comply [...] **Interpretations** The tea-smuggling scheme the Court moved to suppress reveals St Helena being used as a covert entrepôt in a fraud against the Company monopoly. Officers of the China ships left tea on the island, to be reloaded later onto vessels returning from India and slipped ashore in the English Channel, so the island's position on the homeward route made it the perfect hiding place for goods meant to evade the Company's exclusive right to sell tea in England. The demand for a full register of everything landed and re-shipped shows the Court fighting the smuggling with documentation as its chief weapon. By requiring the island to record the quantity, quality, ship and ownership of all goods passing through, the Court created a paper trail that would expose any tea moved in breach of the monopoly, turning the settlement's own records into the means of catching the fraud its officers had concealed. The Court's refusal of the steward's pay claim, and its warning against a flood of like applications, exposes the pressure a fixed establishment placed on the Company purse. Every officer who saw another's pay raised pressed for the same, so the Court held the line on precedent to prevent a general creep of salaries, insisting that the settled rate for an office stand unless a truly exceptional case was made. **Speculations** The Court, suspecting its own commanders and servants of running tea through St Helena, might have moved directly against the officers it distrusted or stationed inspectors to watch the trade. Instead it chose to impose a comprehensive register of all goods landed and re-shipped, with duplicate copies sent home. The reasoning lay in the nature of the fraud: the smuggling had gone on quietly for years and the Court could not identify the culprits from a distance, so rather than strike blindly it built a documentary net that would catch the illicit tea by its own paper trail, preferring systematic record over accusation it could not yet prove.
348	344	comply with this order. be their Station what it may they will most assuredly experience the severest marks of our resentment We are Your loving Friends signed London George Colebrook 6 January 1773 Laurence Sulivan	Should the Governor and Council, or any other of the Company servants, fail to comply with this order, whatever their station, they would most assuredly experience the severest mark of the Court's resentment. The letter closed from London on 6 January 1773, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by George Colebrooke, Laurence Sulivan,

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		John Manship Ben Booth Henry Savage Peter DuCane Junr George Cuming Thos Rumbold John Michie J Sherlock Pet Lascelles Henry Fletcher Charles Boddam Joshua Smith Edward Wheler Thos Dutthick Henry Crabb Boulton	John Manship, Benjamin Booth, Henry Savage, Peter Ducane junior, George Cuming, Thomas Rumbold, John Michie, John Hurlock, Peter Lascelles, Henry Fletcher, Charles Boddam, Joshua Smith, Edward Wheler, Thomas Dathick and Henry Crabb Boulton.
349	345	Our Governor and Council of St Helena. Paras 1 We wrote to you under date of the 6th Instant Letter by by the Ship Royal Captain. a Duplicate of which Letter is the Royal now transmitted by the Alfred. Captain 2 Mr Hurlock. who supplied part of the Medicines consigned to you. having thro' mistake put up Rhubarb twelve pounds instead of twelve Ounces of Rhubarb by the to be sent Alfred. we direct that you take such part thereof as you may to Bencoolen want. and forward the remainder on that Ship to Bencoolen. 3 We are also to inform you that as the whole Forty Casks Quantity of Pork. could not be shipped in time for the Alfred. of Beef sent Forty Casks of Beef are put on board. more than were first in lieu of intended. in lieu of the like Quantity of Pork. Pork We are Your loving Friends. London signed 13th January 1773 Henry Crabb Boulton Laurence Sulivan Edward Wheler Willm Devaynes Robt Gregory Peter Dufane Junr Thos Pothick John Michie Charles Boddam Henry Savage Peter Lascelles James Cockburn Benjn Booth Thos Rumbold John Roberts J Manship	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court had last written on the 6th of this month, by the ship *Royal Captain*, a duplicate of which letter was now transmitted by the *Alfred.* 2: Hurlock, who supplied part of the medicines consigned to the island, having by mistake put up twelve pounds instead of twelve ounces of rhubarb by the *Alfred,* the Court directed that the Governor and Council take such part of it as they wanted and forward the remainder on that ship to Bencoolen. 3: The Court also informed the Governor and Council that, the whole quantity of pork not being ready to ship in time for the *Alfred*, forty casks of beef had been put on board, more than were first intended, in place of the like quantity of pork. The letter closed from London on 13 January 1773, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by Henry Crabb Boulton, Laurence Sulivan, Edward Wheler, William Devaynes, Robert Gregory, Peter Ducane junior, Thomas Pothick, John Michie, Charles Boddam, Henry Savage, Peter Lascelles, James Cockburn, Benjamin Booth, Thomas Rumbold, John Roberts and John Manship. **Interpretations** The rhubarb error, twelve pounds shipped for twelve ounces, points to the medicinal value the drug held in the Company's supplies rather than any culinary use. Rhubarb root was a widely used purgative in eighteenth-century medicine, so a sixteenfold surplus was worth redirecting to Bencoolen rather than wasting, the mistake turned to account by sending the excess where it too could serve the sick. The substitution of beef for pork when the pork could not be readied in time shows the flexibility the Company allowed itself in meeting the island's provision needs. Both were salt meats serving the same purpose, so the Court simply shipped more of what was ready rather than delay the vessel, keeping the sailing to its schedule while still sending the island the quantity of preserved meat it required.
350	346	Our Governor and Council of St Helena. 1 Since we wrote to you by the Ship Alfred under date of the 13 January last. we Letters have received your Several Advices dated the 1 and 15 recd February. 15. 18 and 23 March. 7. 13. 17 and 24 April 9. 10. 13. 17 and 24. May. 6 and 21 June 3. 19 and 31 July and 7 and 29 August last. 2 Agreeable to the Intimation in our Letter of the 6 January last. we now consign to you the Ship Eagle. burthen 220 Tons 36 Men and 2 Guns Commanded by Captain Edward Willson. from St Helena. she is to proceed to Fort St George. and from	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. Since it wrote by the ship *Alfred* on 13 January, the Court had received the island's several advices dated 1 and 15 February, of 15, 18 and 23 March, of 7, 13, 17 and 24 April, of 9, 10, 13, 17 and 24 May, of 6 and 21 June, of 3, 13 and 31 July, and of 7 and 29 August. 2: In line with the intimation in its letter of 6 January, the Court now consigned to the island the ship *Eagle*, of 220 tons, 36 men and 2 guns, commanded by Captain Edward Wilson. From St Helena she was to proceed to Fort St George, and from there was to be sent with stores and other necessaries to Balambangan, but principally to convey some instructive orders on an extensive plan of conduct that the Court's chief and Council there

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		Arrival the latter place she is to be sent with Stores and of the Eagle other necessaries to Balambangan. but principally Burthen to convey some instructive Orders on an expensive Plan of Conduct our Chief and Council there had formed. As We have not laden any Stores on board her for St Helena you are not upon any Account whatever to detain her longer than shall be absolutely necessary for the Refreshment of the People. but give orders to the Commander to make best of his way to Fort St George. 3 Herewith you will receive a List List of of the Ships sailed for and arrived from the East Ships Indies since the departure of the Alfred. 4 We have taken up sixteen Ships follow for the Companys Service this Season the Names of Ships the Ships and Commanders their Burthen and taken up the Places they are consigned to are as follow Viz Ships	had formed. Since the Court had laden no stores on board her for St Helena, the Governor and Council were on no account to detain her longer than was absolutely necessary for the refreshment of the people, but were to give the commander orders to make the best of his way to Fort St George. 3: The Court transmitted a list of the ships sailed for and arrived from the East Indies since the departure of the *Alfred*. 4: The Court had taken on sixteen ships for the Company service this season. The names of the ships and commanders, their burthen, and the places they were consigned to were as follows. **Interpretations** The *Eagle*'s mission reveals the Company extending its reach to a new settlement at Balambangan, an island off the north coast of Borneo taken up as a trading post to open commerce in the eastern archipelago. That a vessel was despatched chiefly to carry an extensive plan of conduct there shows the establishment of a fresh station in distant seas, the Company probing further east in search of new markets and a foothold in the spice trade. The order not to detain the *Eagle* beyond what the refreshment of her people required exposes the competing pull between St Helena's needs and the Company's wider designs. Because she carried no stores for the island and bore urgent orders for the east, her time at St Helena was cut to the minimum for the health of her crew, the settlement serving here purely as a place of rest on the way to a more pressing errand.
351	347	Ships Names Commanders Tons Consignmt Asia Willm Dick Gamage 575 Speke Jeffery Jackson 636 Sea Horse David Arthur 592 Dutton Henry Rice 676 Pacifick Charles Barkley 585 Bute Richard Bendy 575 Coast & Bay Norse George Kent 864 Free Briton John Bradley 758 Coast & China Ceres Thos Norte 716 York George Baylor 758. St Helena & Bencoolen Stafford Thos Steill Junr 804. Bombay & China Northumberland James Piers 575 Thames Danl Clarke 592 Calcutta Willm Thompson 666 Bombay 5 The York mentioned in the said List York being is now at Gravesend and will be ready to sail in about at Gravesend three Weeks. 6 The following Gentlemen comprise our Secret Committe for the Present Year viz. Edward Wheler Esqr Chairman. John Harrison Esqr Deputy Gentlemen who compose Chairman. Benjamin Booth. John Manship. the Secret Frederick Pigou. and Henry Savage Esqrs whose Orders Committee or the Orders of any three of them respecting the safety of the Company's Shipping must be duly obeyed by all Persons to whom the same shall be directed 7 We have appointed the Revd Mr Mr Gavin Robartes leave to succeed Mr Beacroft as Chaplain appointed with the usual Salary and Allowances from We to succeed Mr Company to commence upon the Arryval of the York. Beacroft on board which Ship he takes his Passage	The names, commanders, tonnage and consignments of the ships taken on were as follows. The *Asia*, under William Dick Gamage, of 575 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Speke*, under Jeffery Jackson, of 636 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Sea Horse*, under David Arthur, of 592 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Dutton*, under Henry Rice, of 676 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Pacific*, under Charles Buckley, of 585 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Bute*, under Richard Bendy, of 575 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Morse*, under George Kent, of 864 tons, was bound for the coast and China. The *True Briton*, under John Bradley, of 758 tons, was bound for the coast and China. The *Ceres*, under Thomas Norte, of 716 tons. The *York*, under George Baylor, of 758 tons, was bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The *Stafford*, under Thomas Bill junior, of 804 tons, was bound for Bombay and China. The *Northumberland*, under James View, of 575 tons, was bound for Bombay. The *Thames*, under Daniel Clarke, of 592 tons, was bound for Bombay. The *Calcutta*, under William Thompson, of 666 tons, was bound for Bombay. 5: The *York* mentioned in the list was now at Gravesend, and would be ready to sail in about three weeks. 6: The gentlemen who composed the Secret Committee for the present year were Edward Wheler as chairman, John Harrison as deputy chairman, with Benjamin Booth, John Manship, Frederick Pigou and Henry Savage. Orders that these, or any three of them, might give respecting the safety of the Company shipping were to be duly obeyed by all persons to whom they were directed. 7: The Court had appointed the Reverend Mr Robartes to succeed Bearcroft as chaplain, with the

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		as Chaplain 8 The Balances of the Estates of Balance George Sampson and Edward Groves which you advised of Estates us had been deposited in the Company's Cash have of G Sampson & E Groves paid to their Representatives been	usual salary and allowances from the Company, to begin on the arrival of the *York*, on board which ship he took his passage. 8: The balances of the estates of George Sampson and Edward Groves, which the island reported had been deposited in the Company cash, [...] **Interpretations** The tonnage figures on this list, ranging from 575 to 864 tons, mark a sharp break from the uniform 499-ton ships of the preceding seasons. The earlier fleets had been fixed just below 500 tons to avoid the heavier obligations that larger vessels carried, so the appearance of ships two-thirds as large again suggests those constraints had eased or been set aside, the Company now chartering substantially bigger carriers for the same trade. Only the *York* on this list was routed by way of St Helena, which is why the island's chaplain and its correspondence depended on that single vessel. A settlement served by so few calling ships relied on each one for its personnel, supplies and news, so the arrival of the *York* would bring not only the new chaplain but the whole season's connection with home. The estates of deceased servants deposited in the Company cash again show the Company acting as executor and banker for those who died in its service. Money realised from a dead man's effects was held in the island's treasury and accounted for to the Court, the Company routinely winding up the affairs of its servants and safeguarding the balances due to their heirs across the great distance from home.
352	348	been paid to their legal Representatives here. 9 Your additional Indent for Stores Indent for for the Fortifications came to hand too late to be complied Stores for with this Season. but the several Articles therein the Fortifications mentioned will be sent to you next Year. too late 10 Agreeable to the Orders in the 18 Par of our Letter dated the 6 January last. We shall Register expect to receive in Duplicate a faithful Register of Goods to of all Goods landed at or re shipped from the Island be sent that we may be satisfied how the Person you have annexed appointed to keep the same complies with the Duty to the Orders of his Office. and whether he is entitled to the large of the 6 Allowance you have made him for his Services in that January 1773 capacity 11 Mr Matthew Purling having signified his Intention of resigning the Company's Service. we have thought fit to appoint Mr William Mr Wrangham Wrangham to succeed as youngest of Council. but he Wrangham is not to take his Seat at the Board or enjoy the appointed Emoluments as one of the Council until Mr Purling in Council shall think proper to resign the Companys Service who is to continue in full Possession of his Salary and all other Allowances whatsoever until that Period. Mr Wrangham. upon his Succession must nominate two Persons for Approbation to be security in the Sum of £ 1000 for his Fidelity to the	The balances had been paid to the legal representatives of the deceased on the island. 9: The island's additional indent for stores for the fortifications came to hand too late to be complied with this season, but the several articles named in it would be sent the following year. 10: In line with the orders in the 18th paragraph of the letter of 6 January, the Court would expect to receive in duplicate a faithful register of all goods landed at or re-shipped from the island. It wished to be satisfied that the person the Governor and Council had appointed to keep the register complied with the duty of his office, and whether he was entitled to the large allowance they had made him for his services in that capacity. 11: Matthew Yerling having signified his intention of resigning the Company service, the Court had thought fit to appoint William Wrangham to succeed as youngest of Council. Wrangham was not to take his seat at the board, however, nor enjoy the emoluments as one of the Council, until Yerling should think proper to resign, who was to continue in full possession of his salary and all other allowances until that time. Wrangham, on his succession, was to nominate two persons for approval, to stand security in the sum of £1,000 0s 0d for his fidelity to the Company. Since it did not appear that Bazett had provided any security since his admission into Council, the Court directed that the Governor and Council call on him to name two persons in the same sum as mentioned for Wrangham. **Interpretations** The security of £1,000 0s 0d required of a member of Council marks the high value the Company placed on guarding against loss at the top of its establishment. The sum was double the £500 0s 0d demanded of a writer, reflecting the greater trust and larger sums that a seat in Council carried, the bond scaled to the responsibility so that those who handled most were pledged for most.

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		Company. And as it does not appear that Mr Bazett has proposed any security since he was admitted into Council. We direct that you call upon him to name two Persons in the same two Persons in the same Sum as abovementioned for Mr Wrangham.	The discovery that Bazett had given no security since his admission reveals a lapse in the Company's own procedures that the Court moved to close. A member had taken his place in Council without the required bond, so the Court reached back to enforce the omitted guarantee, showing that even at this level the safeguards were meant to be universal and that an oversight, once found, was to be corrected rather than let pass. The arrangement holding Wrangham out of his seat and emoluments until Yerling actually resigned shows the Company avoiding any doubling of pay during a transition. By keeping the departing man in full possession until he chose to go, and admitting his successor only then, the Court ensured a single holder drew the office's rewards at any moment, the succession fixed in advance yet costing nothing extra while the change was pending.
353	349	12 Mr Purling having conducted himself to our Satisfaction during his long and faithful Services as a member of the Council and being inclined to Mr Purling shew him some Mark of our favour. We direct. in first to be case you shall have Occasion for Money for the Company paid in Service. that you give Mr Purling or his Agents the preference Preference of paying such Sums as he or they on his Account may desire into our Cash for Bills of Exchange. on us. 13 As upon the Resignation of Mr Purling his share of the Profits arising from the sales of Arrack will remain to be disposed of. We are Opinion that Governor & Lieut the Governor and Lieutenant Governor appointed Governor excluded any Checks to prevent any improper use of that Indulgence Share in Arrack to our other Servants should be excluded from any Society & share of those profits. we have thought proper and Mr Bazetts accordingly direct. that the same be in future divided disposed of in the following manner Viz To Mr Matthew Bazett Third. and William Wrangham Fourth of Council each three Sixteenths Six Sixteenths To the Chaplain. the two Senior Servants next under Council the Captain who ranks next to the Lieut Governor and to the Surgeon. each two sixteenths Ten Sixteenths 14 Persuaded that you were under an the appt absolute Necessity of entertaining John Doveton and of Doveton Nathaniel Kennedy as Writers We confirm this & N Kennedy Appointment. By the York we shall send the confirmed Covenants which they must sign and they must as Writers propose the Names of two Persons to be security for each of them in the Sum of £ 500.	12: Yerling having conducted himself to the Court's satisfaction during his long and faithful service as a member of the Council, and the Court being inclined to show him some mark of its favour, it directed that, should the Governor and Council have occasion for money for the Company service, they give Yerling or his agents the preference of paying such sums as he or they on his account might desire into the Company cash for bills of exchange on the Court. 13: Since on Yerling's resignation his share of the profits arising from the sales of arrack would remain to be disposed of, and the Court being of opinion that the Governor and lieutenant governor appointed checks to prevent any improper use of that indulgence should be excluded from any share of those profits, it thought proper to direct that the same be in future divided in the following manner. To Matthew Bazett third of Council and William Wrangham fourth of Council, each three sixteenths, together six sixteenths To the chaplain, and to the two senior servants next under Council, the captain who ranks next to the lieutenant governor and the surgeon, each two sixteenths, together ten sixteenths 14: Persuaded that the Governor and Council were under an absolute necessity of taking on John Doveton and Nathaniel Kennedy as writers, the Court confirmed the appointment. By the *York* it would send the covenants which they had to sign, and they had to propose the names of two persons to stand security for each of them in the sum of £500 0s 0d. **Interpretations** The division of the arrack profits into sixteenths lays bare a system of official perquisites by which the island's senior servants shared in the revenue of the liquor monopoly. Rather than paying salaries alone, the Company let its leading men draw a portion of the profits from the controlled sale of arrack, so that a share of the trade's return formed part of the reward of office, the fractions carefully allotting each rank its slice. The exclusion of the Governor and lieutenant governor from the arrack profits reveals the principle that those who policed a system must not profit from it. Since the two senior officers set the checks meant to prevent abuse of the liquor monopoly, allowing them a share would have compromised their oversight, so the Court kept them clear of the money to preserve the integrity of the very controls they administered. The preference given to Yerling in paying money into the Company cash for bills of exchange shows a valued servant rewarded with a financial privilege rather than a mere gratuity. By letting him place his funds with the Company in return for bills

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			on the Court, the arrangement offered him a safe and convenient means of remitting his fortune home, the favour costing the Company little while giving a faithful officer a real advantage on his retirement.
354	350	15 We have given leave to Lieut Lt Gibson Robert Gibson to return to the Rank he lately returned held in the Artillery. who will accordingly take to his Rank Passage on the York. in Artillery 16 Having considered your Representation of the unhappy Case of Captain Richard Beale We direction direct that. if his Friends cannot find an Opportunity respecting of conveying him to England to some person who will the unhappy take proper care of him. on his Arrival and during case of his stay here. and they should prefer his Continuance Capt Richd on the Island. they must transmit the proper Beale Testimonials which the Rules of the Military Fund require. that We may consider his Qualifications to partake thereof and grant him such Relief as he may be entitled to receive from that Fund. & in the mean time you are to continue the Allowance to him which you have already alloted for his support. 17 We confirm Mr Solomon St Maurice the appt as Captain of a Company. and as by his promotion & of Capt St the Resignation of Lieut Richard Powell there are Maurice two Vacancies of Lieutenants We have thought & Lieuts proper to comply with your Recommendation in favor Elgin & of Sergeant James Elgin and Mr Watkin Greentree Greentree and accordingly direct that they be appointed the in consequence youngest Lieutenants to rank in the Order above as before mentioned. 18 We are given to understand that Relaxation a general Relaxation of Discipline prevails both of Discipline in the Infantry and Artillery which not only censured in reflects great Discredit on the Officers of the different Infy & Arty Companys but also manifests a total want of Attention in those whose Duty it is to see that the Troops are regularly trained and exercised in a	15: The Court had given leave to Lieutenant Robert Gillson to return to the rank he lately held in the artillery, and he would accordingly take his passage on the *York*. 16: Having considered the island's account of the unhappy case of Captain Richard Beale, the Court directed that, if his friends could not find an opportunity of conveying him to England to some person who would take proper care of him, the Governor and Council were to arrange his care on his arrival and during his stay on the island. Should they prefer his continuance there, they had to transmit the proper testimonials which the rules of the military fund required, so that the Court might consider his qualifications to share in it and grant him such relief as he might be entitled to receive from that fund. In the meantime, the Governor and Council were to continue the allowance they had already assigned for his support. 17: The Court confirmed Solomon St Maurice as captain of a company. Since his promotion and the resignation of Lieutenant Richard Powell left two vacancies of lieutenant, it had thought proper to comply with the island's recommendation in favour of Sergeant James Elgin and Watkin Greentree, and directed that they be appointed the youngest lieutenants, ranking in the order above. 18: The Court was given to understand that a general relaxation of discipline prevailed in both the infantry and artillery, which not only reflected great discredit on the officers of the different companies, but also showed a total want of attention in those whose duty it was to see that the troops were regularly trained and exercised [...] **Interpretations** The unhappy case of Captain Beale, treated with such care yet through the machinery of the military fund, points to a man incapacitated by illness or infirmity and left dependent on the Company's provision. The requirement of proper testimonials before he could draw on the fund shows even a sympathetic case bound by the same rules that guarded the charity, his relief conditional on the documented proof of qualification that the fund demanded of all. The promotion of a sergeant to lieutenant reveals that advancement from the ranks was open in the Company's service, merit lifting a non-commissioned man into the officer class. James Elgin's rise from sergeant to the commissioned rank of lieutenant shows the garrison's hierarchy was not wholly closed, capable men promoted on the island's recommendation to fill the vacancies that death and resignation opened above them. The Court's alarm at a general slackness in both infantry and artillery returns to the recurring anxiety over discipline that ran through its dealings with the island. A relaxed and poorly drilled garrison was the standing fear of a Company whose remote possession depended on a small body of trained men, so the Court fixed the blame squarely on the officers charged with exercising the troops, holding the failure of readiness to be a failure of command.
355	351	a Soldierlike manner. from which Negligence the Defence of the Island is much weakened and the Company's Property exposed to the utmost Danger. such disregard of one of the most important points of your duty induces us to lay it down as an invariable and Standing Rule. that you do once in every Month	Through this negligence the defence of the island was much weakened and the Company property exposed to the utmost danger. Such disregard of one of the most important points of duty led the Court to lay it down as an invariable and standing rule that the Governor and Council once in

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		Field appoint a Field Day for the General Exercise of all Day the Forces on the Island. taking care that all the once a Outguards do in their turn be present. And the Company Month of Artillery be also Monthly at least Exercised and practiced in all the Branches of their Duty and particularly in the firing at a Targets. And you must not fail to Notice. on your Consultations when the troops are exercised in the manner abovementioned. 19 By this Ship you will receive Articles of twenty Copies of the Articles of War. and by the York War sent we shall send you the like Number. 20 As it has frequently happened that Soldiers. who have. been. sent home from St Helena as unfit for Service. with Certificates from the Surgeon of the Causes of their dismission. have. on coming before Surgeon Us. represented their Complaints very differently from at home what they are said to be in their Certificates. You will Orders direct the Surgeon to be as accurate and exact as he to be very can in ascertaining and Specifying the Disorders Accurate of such Men as he may have occasion to give similar & exact in his Certificates to. for the time to come. Certificates granted London 19 Novr 1773. We are Your loving Friends signed John Smith Henry Savage Edward Wheler John Michie Peter DuCane Junr John Harrison R Hall Wm James J Manship Joseph Sparkes Charles Boddam Fredk Pigou Chas Chambers Junr Samuel Peach	every month appoint a field day for the general exercise of all the forces on the island, taking care that all the outguards attended in their turn. The company of artillery was also to be exercised monthly at least, and practised in all the branches of their duty, and particularly in firing at a target. The Governor and Council were not to fail to record in their consultations when the troops were exercised in the manner described. 19: By this ship the Governor and Council would receive twenty copies of the Articles of War, and by the *York* the Court would send the like number. 20: Since it had frequently happened that soldiers sent home from St Helena as unfit for service, with certificates from the surgeon of the causes of their dismissal, had on coming before the Court represented their complaints very differently from what was stated in their certificates, the Governor and Council were to direct the surgeon to be as accurate and exact as he could in ascertaining and specifying the disorders of such men as he might have occasion to give similar certificates to in future. The letter closed from London on 19 November 1773, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by John Smith, Henry Savage, Edward Wheler, John Michie, Peter Ducane junior, John Harrison, Richard Hall, William James, John Manship, Joseph Sparkes, Charles Boddam, Frederick Pigou, Charles Chambers junior and Samuel Peach. **Interpretations** The order for a monthly field day, entered in the consultations as proof it was held, shows the Court enforcing discipline through a recorded routine rather than mere exhortation. By fixing a regular exercise and requiring written record of each, the Court created an auditable check on the garrison's readiness, so that the officers could no longer let training lapse unnoticed, the paper entry serving as evidence that the standing rule had been obeyed. The particular stress on firing at a target reveals how easily practical gunnery could be neglected in a garrison drilled only in show. Live firing consumed powder and demanded organisation, so it was the first thing to slip when discipline relaxed, which is why the Court named it expressly, insisting that the artillery practise the one skill on which the island's defence would actually turn in an attack. The mismatch between the surgeons' certificates and the soldiers' own accounts exposes a persistent weakness in the medical documentation the military fund depended on. Men reached England describing ailments quite unlike what their papers recorded, so the Court pressed for exact certification, since the whole system of pensioning genuine invalids rested on the surgeon's accuracy, and loose or mistaken certificates threatened both to admit false claims and to fail deserving ones.
356	352	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Paras 1 By the Companys Ship Eagle We Duplicate wrote to you under the date of the 19 of last. Month a Duplicate of the Letter of that Letter you will receive here with by the York. which by the Ship having taken on Board such Stores and Provisions as Eagle sent We have thought proper to Consign to you this Season is by the now under Dispatch with this Letter. York 2 For the Particulars of our Consignments York's Cargoe to you by the York We refer you to the accompanying	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: By the Company ship *Eagle* the Court had written on the 19th of last month, a duplicate of which letter the Governor and Council would receive by the *York*. That ship, having taken on board such stores and provisions as the Court thought proper to consign to the island this season, was now under despatch with this letter. 2: For the particulars of its consignments by the *York*, the Court referred the Governor and Council to the accompanying invoice and bill of lading. On her arrival they were strictly enjoined to use all possible means to unload her and despatch the ship for Fort Marlborough within the ten days fixed in the charter party, so that the Company might not be

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		referred Invoice and Bill of Loading. and on her Arrival Cif you are to Invoice strictly enjoined to use all possible means to unload the & C. Also same. and dispatch the Ship for Fort Marlbrough. within Enforcing the 10 days specified in the Charter Party that the Company the particulars may not be subject to pay Demorage by your detaining of York her beyond that time. enjoining to dispatch the Ship for Ft Marlbrough 3 The Gentlemen whom We have appointed our Council in China for managing the Concerns of the Ships proceeding thither this Season are Messrs Edward Phipps Servants Francis Wood. William Harrison. Matthew Raper. John appointed Bradby Blake. James Bradshaw. William Henry Pigou in China and George Rogers who are directed to supply you with such Articles as you may have occasion for in Addition to those mentioned in your indent 4 Two Chests of Claret are laden on the Claret sent York for the use of the Publick Table. for the Table 5 As part of the Salt Provisions sent you Report to be this Year is fresh. and there is a material Difference in the made of the Price it is necessary that a very particular Report of the comparative Comparative goodness between the English and Irish should goodness of Irish & English Provisions	liable to pay demurrage through their detaining her beyond that time. 3: The gentlemen the Court had appointed the Council in China for managing the concerns of the ships proceeding there this season were Edward Phipps, Francis Wood, William Harrison, Matthew Raper, John Bradley Blake, James Bradshaw, William Henry Pigou and George Rogers, directed to supply the island with such articles as it might have occasion for in addition to those named in its indent. 4: Two chests of claret were laden on the *York* for the use of the public table. 5: Since part of the salt provisions sent this year was Irish, and there was a material difference in price, it was necessary that a very particular report of the comparative goodness between the English and Irish [...] **Interpretations** The two chests of claret shipped for the public table show the Company maintaining a standard of official hospitality even on its remote island. The public table was the shared board at which the Governor entertained officers and visitors, so furnishing it with wine from England was part of upholding the dignity of the Company's government, the cost borne as a necessary charge of representing the Company in a distant place. The continued attention to the Irish salt provisions, with a particular report again required, reveals the Company weighing a real saving against the risk of inferior supply. The Irish meat cost materially less, so the difference in price made it worth persevering with, yet the Court would not commit to the cheaper source until the island confirmed its quality, balancing economy against the danger of victualling its settlements with provisions that might not keep or satisfy. The pressure to clear the *York* within her ten lay days ties the island's labour directly to the Company's freight costs. Every day the ship lay in the road beyond the charter term added a demurrage charge, so the Governor and Council were driven to unload with all speed, the commercial penalty converting a distant accounting clause into an urgent demand on the island's men and time.
357	353	transmitted to Us. which you are hereby required to do as soon as possible. And here We cannot avoid testifying our Surprise at Provisions not receiving such Report of the Provisions sent last Year. sent last 6 which you signified in your Letter of the 6 May last should not signified be transmitted to Us. in received last year 6 Your Indents together with the Storekeepers Indents and Account of Receipts. Issues and remains must in future Stores Account be transmitted by the earliest Conveyance. after your Receipt to be sent of the Stores from England for by your desireing it till the soon as after Departure of the Latter Ships. We find it very inconvenient the receipt to furnish the several Articles you have Occasion for. which of the has been particularly so this Season. as We did not receive Indent your Indent till the arrival of the Speaker in the every year Month of September. a future 7 We have embarked Forty Recruits on	The report on the provisions was to be transmitted to the Court as soon as possible. It could not avoid expressing its surprise at not receiving the report on the provisions sent the previous year, which the island had said in its letter of 7 May would be sent. 6: The island's indents, together with the storekeeper's account of receipts, issues and remains, had in future to be transmitted by the earliest conveyance after receipt of the stores from England. Since the island deferred it until the departure of the latter ships, the Court found it very inconvenient to furnish the several articles wanted, which had been particularly so this season, as it did not receive the island's indent until the arrival of the *Speaker* in September. 7: The Court had put on board the *York* forty recruits for the service of the garrison, and hoped the number would be sufficient to complete the establishment. 8: The Governor and Council were directed to be particularly careful to take a written agreement from the invalid soldiers they might send to England in future, that they would demand no wages for the voyage home, so that the Court might not afterwards be troubled with applications on this account, as it had been by their neglecting to take such an obligation from the invalids who came in the *Lapwing*.

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		Recruits Board the York for the Service of your Garrison. and hope that sent by Number will be sufficient to Compleat the Establishment. York 8 You are hereby directed to be particularly careful to take an Agreement in Writing from the Invalid Agreement Soldiers you may send to England in future. not to demand in writing any Wages for the Voyage home. that We may not hereafter to be taken be troubled with applications in this respect. as was the case from Invalids by your neglecting to take such Obligation from the Invalid not to who came in the Lapwing. demand Wages for them Voyage 9 As by an Act of Parliament which Passed in the last Sessions the Court of Directors are restrained from accepting of Bills of Exchange drawn Governor & Council from the several Settlements beyond a certain Amount to be very in any one Year. it becomes your Duty. and We accordingly careful direct. that you be very careful not to draw for more than your in granting Occasions shall require. Bills 10 The Friends of Bryan Smith having applied to Us to know what is become of him. whom they say	9: By an act of parliament passed in the last session, the Court of Directors was restrained from accepting bills of exchange drawn from the several settlements beyond a certain amount in any one year. It therefore directed the Governor and Council to be very careful not to draw for more than their occasions required. 10: The friends of Bryan Smith having applied to the Court to know what had become of him, whom they [...] **Interpretations** The requirement of a written waiver of wages from invalid soldiers sent home shows the Company forestalling a recurring claim through a signed obligation taken in advance. Men shipped back as invalids had afterwards demanded pay for the passage, so the Court insisted on their agreeing beforehand to claim nothing, the written undertaking closing off a liability that earlier neglect aboard the *Lapwing* had left open. The parliamentary limit on bills of exchange reveals imperial statute reaching into the Company's financial management of its settlements. Bills drawn on the Court were the means by which distant establishments remitted and raised money, so a cap on their annual acceptance forced the island to restrain its drawing, the law binding the Company's own accounting and passing that constraint down to its remotest possession. The Court's repeated complaint about the late indent exposes how the timing of paperwork governed the island's supply across a year-long cycle. Because an indent arriving only in September left no time to gather and ship the goods that season, the delay translated directly into shortages on the island, the Court pressing for early transmission so that the long chain from requisition to delivery could run without a wasted year. **Speculations** The friends of Bryan Smith, and of John Fortune before him, turned to the Court in London to trace men who had vanished at a remote island, showing where families believed the truth of such disappearances ultimately lay. Rather than rely on the island's own government for word of a missing man, they applied to the directors at home, trusting the centre to compel an answer from its distant servants. The choice reflected the same pattern the Court itself enforced through its insistence on registers and reports: in a system where the island was slow to account for itself, the seat of authority in London was the surer place to demand that a man be found.
358	354	say was a Corporal at St Helena. and that they received a Letter from him dated the 17 April 1771. We had recourse Enquiry to the Muster Rolls of that time but could not find any to be made such Name mentioned therein. We therefore direct that you of Bryan make Enquiry and transmit to Us the best. Information you can Smith obtain respecting this Person 11 We have advanced to Lieutenant Robert Gibson the Sum of £ 40 upon his Bond to repay the Same Lt Gibsons out of his growing Salary. His Bond is transmitted in the Bond Packet and you are to take Care that the Conditions of it are Complied with 12 Having taking into Consideration the Petition of Mrs Elizabeth Powell Widow of Mr James Powell late Storekeeper together with your Recommendation	Bryan Smith's friends said he was a corporal at St Helena, and that they had received a letter from him dated 11 April 1771. The Court had looked into the muster rolls of that place but could find no such name mentioned there. It therefore directed the Governor and Council to make enquiry and transmit the best information they could obtain respecting this person. 11: The Court had advanced to Lieutenant Robert Gillson the sum of £40 0s 0d upon his bond to repay it out of his growing salary. His bond was transmitted in the packet, and the Governor and Council were to take care that its conditions were complied with. 12: Having considered the petition of Elizabeth Powell, widow of James Powell, late storekeeper, together with the island's recommendation of her case, the Court was at a loss to judge what allowance it might be proper to make her, since the island had not made it aware of her circumstances. The Governor and Council were therefore to give the Court full information on this point as soon as possible, so that it might signify its pleasure the next

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		Mrs Powells of her Case. We are at a Loss to Judge what allowance Petition it may be proper to make her. as you have not acquainted Considered Us of her Circumstances. You will therefore as soon as possible give Us full Information in this respect. that we may signify our Pleasure thereon next Season. In the mean time. if her Situation and Circumstances should require the Companys Assistance you have our Permission to grant her such Allowance as you shall think proper. provided the same does not exceed the Sum of £ 25 13 Being informed that of late several Spanish Ships and Frigates have made their Passage to and from Manilla direction by the Cape of Good hope. in Violation of their Treaties respect of with the British Crown. and as it has lately been Spanish intimated to Us. that the two Spanish Frigates Ships mentioned in your Letter of the 23 May 1770. which arrived touching from the Cape. & had there been positively refused any at the Provisions or Necessaries by the Dutch. had been nevertheless Island supplied with the Refreshment they wanted at your Island. We therefore direct that if any Spanish Ships shall	season. In the meantime, should her situation and circumstances require the Company assistance, they had permission to grant her such allowance as they thought proper, provided it did not exceed the sum of £25 0s 0d. 13: The Court had been informed that of late several Spanish ships and frigates had made their passage to and from Manila by the Cape of Good Hope, in violation of their treaties with the British Crown. It had lately been told that the two Spanish frigates mentioned in the island's letter of 23 May 1770, which arrived from the Cape, had been positively refused any provisions or necessaries by the Dutch, yet had nevertheless been supplied with the refreshment they wanted at St Helena. The Court therefore directed that, if any Spanish ships should [...] **Interpretations** The mystery of Bryan Smith, a supposed corporal absent from the muster rolls, exposes the difficulty of tracing an individual across the gulf between the island and home. His friends held a letter placing him at St Helena, yet the Company's own records knew no such man, so the Court could only send the enquiry back to the island, the gap between family belief and official record revealing how easily a person could slip through the administrative net. The permission to relieve the widow Powell up to £25 0s 0d, pending fuller information, shows the Company extending its provision beyond its servants to their dependants. By allowing the island a capped discretionary allowance for a storekeeper's widow, the Court balanced compassion against control, granting immediate relief within a fixed ceiling while reserving to itself the settled decision once her true circumstances were known. The concern over Spanish ships rounding the Cape reveals St Helena caught between commercial neutrality and the tensions of European treaty politics. Spanish vessels breaching their agreements with the Crown had been refused supply by the Dutch yet succoured at the island, so the Court had to weigh how its remote possession should treat the ships of a foreign power, the settlement's ordinary hospitality entangled with questions of alliance and diplomatic advantage far beyond its shores. **Speculations** The island, faced with two Spanish frigates that the Dutch had pointedly refused to supply, might have followed the Dutch lead and turned them away, especially as the Spanish were breaching their treaties with the Crown. Instead it gave them the refreshment they needed. The contrast the Court itself drew, between the Dutch refusal and the island's relief, exposes the choice: St Helena extended the ordinary humanity owed to ships in want rather than treat provisioning as a weapon of policy. The Court's move to direct future conduct shows it judged that instinct too generous, but the island had chosen the older custom of the sea, succouring distressed vessels over aligning its harbour with a diplomatic quarrel it was never equipped to fight.
359	355	shall continue to pursue this Navigation and Touch at St Helena. they be afforded no further Supplies than their Necessities or imminent Distress may absolutely require. being determined as the Dutch have done. to discountenance in future such infraction of Treaties. We also further order in case you may be obliged to assist any Spanish Ships	Should Spanish ships continue to pursue this navigation and touch at St Helena, they were to be afforded no further supplies than their necessities or imminent distress absolutely required. The Court was determined, as the Dutch had done, to discountenance such breaches of treaty in future. It further ordered that, should the Governor and Council be obliged to assist any Spanish ships in the circumstances described, they were not to fail to give the Court a precise statement of their condition and distress, with a very particular account of all the

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		which may be in the before described Circumstances. that you fail not to give Us a precise state of their Condition and Distress. with a very particular Account of all the Articles which shall have been afforded them. that We may be enabled to judge of the Propriety of your Conduct in those Instances. London 6th Janry 1773 We are Your loving Friends signed J Hurlock Edw Wheler P Salem John Harrison John Smith Fredk Pigou R Hall Peter DuCane Junr Chas Boddam George Cyming Chas Chambers Junr John Woodhouse Jno Michie Samuel Peach J Manship Pet Lascelles Wm James Dan Wier	articles afforded them, so that it might judge of the propriety of their conduct in those instances. The letter closed from London on 6 January 1773, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by John Hurlock, Edward Wheler, Samuel Salem, John Harrison, John Smith, Frederick Pigou, Richard Hall, Peter Ducane junior, Charles Boddam, George Cuming, Charles Chambers junior, John Woodhouse, John Michie, Samuel Peach, John Manship, Peter Lascelles, William James and Daniel Wier. **Interpretations** The instruction limiting Spanish ships to the bare relief of distress, while requiring a full account of whatever was given, shows the Company binding the island's hospitality within reporting controls. By allowing only what necessity demanded and demanding a precise record of it, the Court kept the discretion of provisioning a foreign power under its own review, the required account ensuring that the island's dealings with Spanish vessels could be judged from home rather than left to local generosity. The alignment with Dutch policy reveals St Helena drawn into the wider diplomatic posture of the maritime powers against Spanish breaches of treaty. By resolving to act as the Dutch had done in refusing supply, the Court set its remote possession's conduct in step with a common European stance, the island's harbour becoming a small instrument of treaty enforcement rather than a place of unconditional refuge for any ship that called.
360	356	Our Governor and Council of St Helena. Para 1 In the Course of the present Year your several Letters Letters under the following dates have reached our hands viz received 27 October 1773. 18 January. 22 February. 7. 16. 18 and 29 March. 1. 13 and 23 April. 4. 16. and 28. May. 6. 13. and 26 June. 9 July. 15 and 24. August and 6 of September 1774. 2 We transmit herewith a List of the Ships List Ships Sailed. and Arrived from the East Indies since the Departure of transmitted the Ship York. 3 We have thought proper to entertain the undermentioned fifteen Ships in the Companys Service this Season. and consigned them as follows viz Ships Commanders Builders Consignments Tonnage Ships Queen Geo Stainforth Junr 804 Entertained Grosvenor David Saunders 729 Coast & China Rockford John Baird 716 Lord North Wm Hamble 716. Bencoolen & Do Osterly Francis Fortescue 758 Hampshire Thos Taylor Junr 696 St Helena & Bencoolen Colebrook Arthur Morris 723 Salisbury Philip Bromfield 657 Ankerwyke James Barwell 679 Nottingham Peter Stoakes 701 Godfrey Francis Reed 716 Tilleborough Robt Preston 723 Coast & Bay Granville Burnet Abercromby 699 Talbot Raymond Snow 657 Bombay Gatton Wm Money 758. Bombay & Kedra	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: In the course of the present year the Court had received the island's several letters of 27 October 1773, of 18 January, of 22 February, of 7, 16, 18 and 29 March, of 1, 18 and 23 April, of 4, 16 and 28 May, of 6, 13 and 26 June, of 9 July, of 13 and 24 August, and of 6 September 1774. 2: The Court transmitted a list of the ships sailed for and arrived from the East Indies since the departure of the *York*. 3: The Court had thought proper to take on the fifteen ships named below in the Company service this season, and consigned them as follows. The *Queen*, under George Stainforth junior, of 804 tons builder's tonnage, was bound for the coast and China. The *Grosvenor*, under David Saunders, of 729 tons, was bound for the coast and China. The *Rochford*, under John Brand, of 716 tons. The *Lord North*, under William Hambly, of 761 tons, was bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Osterly*, under Francis Fortescue, of 758 tons, was bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The *Hampshire*, under Thomas Taylor junior, of 696 tons, was bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The *Colebrooke*, under Arthur Morris, of 723 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Salisbury*, under Philip Bromfield, of 657 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Ankerwyke*, under James Barwell, of 679 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Nottingham*, under Peter Stoakes, of 701 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Godfrey*, under Francis Reed, of 716 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Tillsborough*, under Robert Preston, of 723 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Grenville*, under Burnet Abercrombie, of 699 tons, was bound for Bombay. The *Talbot*, under Raymond Snow, of 657 tons, was bound for Bombay.

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			The *Galton*, under William Money, of 758 tons, was bound for Bombay and China. **Interpretations** The heading of builder's tonnage on this list marks the measure by which the Company reckoned and paid for the capacity of its chartered ships. Builder's tonnage was a standard formula based on a vessel's dimensions rather than her actual cargo weight, so recording it fixed the basis on which freight and charter terms were calculated, the figure serving as the agreed yardstick of a ship's size for the Company's contracts. Only two of the fifteen ships, the *Osterly* and the *Hampshire*, were routed by way of St Helena, which is why the island depended on so slender a thread of shipping for its supply and correspondence. A settlement served by a mere pair of calling vessels out of a whole season's fleet relied on each for its provisions, personnel and news, the island's connection with the wider world hanging on the few ships whose consignments brought them past its shores.
361	357	4 The Osterley mentioned in the said List is now under Dispatch to you. and will be followed in about a Month by the Ships Hampshire. which Ships on their Arrival must be un laden with Osterly & the utmost Expedition. in Order to their being dispatched to Fort Hampshire Marlborough. within the term limited by their Charter parties. to be unladen Copies whereof are inclosed for your Information. & dispatched with Expedition 5 Our Secret Committe for the present Season consists of the following named Gentlemen Viz. Edward Wheler Esq Chairman John Harrison Esq Deputy Chairman. John Manship. Frederick Secret Pigou. and Henry Savage Esqrs. and you are hereby Directed Committee punctually to obey such Orders. as you may receive from any three or more of them. so far as respects the Safety of the Companys Shipping. 6 The Ships Consigned to China this Season. We shall direct to be put under the management of Messrs Edward Phipps. Francis Wood. Matthew Raper. Wm Henry Pigou. George Rogers. Abraham Roebuck. Henry Benson. and John Harrison. China whom We also appointed the Residents there in 1775. Such Articles Residents as your occasions may require from China. you will as usual & apply to those Gentlemen for. who will be Directed to furnish additional You with the same. Indent if required to China 7 Your Indents are in General complied with. as will appear by the Invoices of the Ships Osterly and Hampshire. to which you are refered. but as We had determined the whole Indents quantity of Provisions to be sent You this Season should be English. complied with before the Receipt of Your Letter of the 6 of September last. no	4: The *Osterly* mentioned in the list was now under despatch to the island, and would be followed in about a month by the *Hampshire*. On their arrival, both ships had to be unloaded with the utmost speed, so that they might be despatched to Fort Marlborough within the term fixed by their charter parties, copies of which were enclosed for the island's information. 5: The Secret Committee for the present season consisted of Edward Wheler as chairman, John Harrison as deputy chairman, with John Manship, Frederick Pigou and Henry Savage. The Governor and Council were directed punctually to obey the orders they might receive from any three or more of them, so far as respected the safety of the Company shipping. 6: The ships consigned to China this season the Court would place under the management of Edward Phipps, Francis Wood, Matthew Raper, William Henry Pigou, George Rogers, Abraham Roebuck, Henry Benson and John Harrison, whom it had also appointed the Residents there in 1775. The Governor and Council were, as usual, to apply to these gentlemen for such articles as they wanted from China, they being directed to furnish them. 7: The island's indents were in general complied with, as would appear by the invoices of the ships *Osterly* and *Hampshire*. Since the Court had determined that the whole quantity of provisions sent this season should be English, before receipt of the island's letter of 6 September, no alteration could be made in that article this season. 8: On the tiles consigned to the island by the *Calcutta*, and the slates by the *Duke of Richmond* in the season of 1770, the storekeeper had endorsed the bills of lading to the effect that one third of the number sent on board [...] **Interpretations** The reversion to entirely English provisions, made before the island's latest letter could be considered, shows the Court settling the earlier trial of Irish salt meat in favour of the accustomed source. After several seasons of testing the cheaper Irish supply against the English, the decision to send all English this year suggests the island's reports had told against the Irish, the saving in price outweighed by a want of quality the Company would not accept in the food of its distant garrison. The storekeeper's endorsement recording a shortfall of one third on the tiles and slates reveals the checking of deliveries against the bills of lading as the routine guard against loss in transit. By noting on the shipping document exactly how much of a

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		alteration can be made in that Article this Season. 8 We observe with respect to the Tiles Consigned to You by the Calcutta. and the Slates by the Duke of Richmond in the Season of 1770. the Storekeeper has endorsed the Bill of Lading thus. One third of the Number sent on Board supposed to	consignment actually arrived, the island created a record of the deficiency, the endorsement fixing responsibility and enabling the Company to trace where goods had gone missing on the long voyage from home. The recurring pressure to clear the *Osterly* and *Hampshire* within their charter terms again ties the island's labour to the Company's freight liabilities. Each day a ship lay beyond her allotted time added a demurrage charge, so the Governor and Council were pressed to unload at speed, the distant clause of a charter party translated into an immediate and unrelenting demand on the island's hands.
362	358	to be broke when delivered here" which not being satisfactory to Us We direct that in future you take Care that the Tiles and Slates and such kind of Articles Consigned to You be Counted and that the Storekeeper do Certify possitively on the Bill of Lading the Number received and the Number Broken or Short Delivered. that by such Certificate We may be enabled on settling Accounts with the Owners. to determine with Certainty whether they should be Charged with such breakage or Short Delivery. or not. 9 Having considered your Representation in favor of Captain Tippet. We consent that one of the Companys Slave Boys be appointed to attend him as a Servant. 10 We Confirm the Dismission of Lieutenants Richard Mason and Thomas Leech. and shall endeavour to Procure an experienced Officer to supply the Place of the latter as Second Lieutenant of the Artillery Company 11 We approve of the Promotion of Second Lieutenant Stewart to the Rank of a First Lieutenant. 12 The Securitys proposed for Messrs John Doveton and Nathaniel Kennedy Writers meet with Our approbation. 13 Having considered Mrs Powells representation of her Circumstances. We direct that She be allowed the Sum of £ 25. pAnnum. to Commence from the Receipt of this Letter. 14 In Our Letter of the 3 February 1762 Paras 51 We Directed that the Sick Seamen should be sent to the Hospital. but having been lately informed that there is not Room sufficient in the Hospital to Contain the Sick Soldiers. and the great Number of Sick Seamen who are some times landed from the Ships whereby the Hospital has been often crouded and the Recovery of the Sick much retarded. And as We understand **Margin Notes:** Tiles Slates &c to be Counted & the Numbr recd to be Certified on the Bills of Lading Capt Tippet allowed a Slave Boy of the Company Dismissions of Lieut Mason & Leech Confirmed Lt Stewarts promotion approved Messrs Doveton & Kennedys Securitys approved Mrs Powell allowed the Sum of £ 25. pAnnum	The storekeeper had endorsed that a third of the tiles and slates were broken when delivered on the island, which the Court did not find satisfactory. It directed that in future the Governor and Council take care that tiles, slates and articles of that kind consigned to them be counted, and that the storekeeper certify positively on the bill of lading the number received and the number broken or short delivered. By such a certificate the Court would be enabled, on settling accounts with the owners, to determine with certainty whether they should be charged with the breakage or short delivery. 9: Having considered the island's representation in favour of Captain Tippet, the Court consented that one of the Company slave boys be appointed to attend him as a servant. 10: The Court confirmed the dismissal of Lieutenants Richard Mason and Thomas Leech, and would endeavour to procure an experienced officer to fill the place of the latter as second lieutenant of the artillery company. 11: The Court approved the promotion of Second Lieutenant Stewart to the rank of first lieutenant. 12: The securities proposed for John Doveton and Nathaniel Kennedy, writers, met with the Court's approval. 13: Having considered the representation of Powell's circumstances, the Court directed that she be allowed the sum of £25 0s 0d a year, to begin from the receipt of this letter. 14: By its letter of 3 February 1762, the Court had directed that sick seamen be sent to the hospital. Having lately been informed that there was not room enough in the hospital to hold the sick soldiers together with the great number of sick seamen sometimes landed from the ships, by which the hospital had often been crowded and the recovery of the sick much retarded, and as the Court understood [...] **Interpretations** The refinement of the tile and slate procedure shows the Company tightening its evidence against loss until it could pin breakage on the responsible party. A bare endorsement had proved unsatisfactory, so the Court now required a positive count and certification of exactly what arrived intact and what came broken, the precise figure transforming a vague complaint into proof that would let the Company charge the ship owners for the damage on settling accounts. The overcrowding of the hospital by sick seamen landed from the ships exposes the strain that passing vessels placed on the island's fixed facilities. A hospital built for the garrison could not absorb the sudden influx of ailing sailors put ashore from the fleet, so the mixing of the two retarded everyone's recovery, the episode revealing how the island's role as a waystation for shipping repeatedly overtaxed the modest establishment maintained for its own people. The granting of one of the Company's slave boys to attend Captain Tippet confirms the

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		Sick Men being sent to the Hospital discontinued but sent to private Quarters in future	treatment of enslaved people as assignable property distributed among the officers as a perquisite of rank. A servant was allotted from the Company's own holding of slaves at the island's request, the human being disposed of as a convenience of office in the same administrative breath as stores and allowances.
363	359	understand many of the Inhabitants have been at a great Expence in building Rooms to accommodate the Sick Seaman. and have given satisfaction to the Commanders and Surgeons of the Company's Ships in their Care and attendance on the Sick. as well as in the necessarys and accommodations they provide. We therefore revoke. the abovementioned Order. and Direct that in future the Commanders be at liberty to provide Accomodations for their Sick. wherever they shall think proper. Yet nevertheless should any of the Commanders make application to You to take their Seaman into the Hospital. You are to accommodate them. their Accordingly. 15 It is very pleasing to Us to find the Island is restored to so flourishing a Condition. that the Shipping can be fully supplied with such Provisions as they may have occasion for. and agreeable to your desire We shall give the Directions necessary Directions to Our several Presidencys. and to the given to the Supra Cargoes in China that five or six only of the returning Presidencys & Supra Ships may annually call at the Cape of Good Hope to Cargoes China Purchase Wheat and 50 Sheep each for the use of your for provisions Hospital. We have also enjoined the Commanders not to Lay of the returning out more than the Value of £ 5 each in the Purchase Ships to call at the of Garden Seeds. Cape to bring Wheat & Sheep to this Island 16 Having reason to apprehend that many Irregularities are practised by the Commanders and Officers of Our Ships that touch at Ascension particularly those Positive belonging to the China Ships. We possitively direct that directions not You do not on any Account whatsoever grant permission to grant to the Commanders of any of Our returning Ships in future permission to call at that Island. but you are to acquaint them with to Commanders this Prohibition. and signify to them. that We Will of Ships severely punish those who shall refuse to Comply touch at therewith. Ascension 17 The	Since many of the inhabitants had been at great expense in building rooms to accommodate the sick seamen, and had given satisfaction to the commanders and surgeons of the Company ships in their care and attendance on the sick, as well as in the necessaries and accommodations they provided, the Court revoked its earlier order. It directed that in future the commanders be at liberty to provide accommodation for their sick wherever they thought proper. Should any of the commanders nevertheless apply to the Governor and Council to take their seamen into the hospital, they were to accommodate them accordingly. 15: It was very pleasing to the Court to find the island restored to so flourishing a condition that the shipping could be fully supplied with such provisions as they might need. In line with the island's wish, the Court would give the necessary directions to its several presidencies, and to the supracargoes in China, that only five or six of the returning ships call annually at the Cape of Good Hope to buy wheat, and fifty sheep each for the use of the island's hospital. It had also ordered the commanders not to lay out more than the value of £5 0s 0d each in the purchase of garden seeds. 16: Having reason to fear that many irregularities were practised by the commanders and officers of its ships that touched at Ascension, particularly those belonging to the China ships, the Court positively directed that the Governor and Council on no account grant permission to the commanders of any of its returning ships to call at that island in future. They were to make the commanders aware of this prohibition, and to signify that the Court would severely punish those who refused to comply with it. **Interpretations** The reversal on the sick seamen shows the Company deferring to an arrangement that private enterprise on the island had already made work. Inhabitants had built rooms and cared for the sick to the satisfaction of the ships' officers, so rather than force everyone back into an overcrowded hospital, the Court freed the commanders to use whichever accommodation served best, recognising that the islanders' own provision had solved the very problem the hospital could not. The order restricting Cape purchases to a handful of ships, and capping seed spending at £5 0s 0d, reveals the Company curbing the latitude its captains had enjoyed in buying supplies. Once the island's own recovery reduced the need, the Court pared back the standing licence to provision at the Cape, fixing how many ships might buy and how much they might spend, tightening control over expenditure that had been left loosely to the commanders' discretion. The blanket ban on returning ships calling at Ascension points to that uninhabited island being used as a place for concealed and irregular dealings beyond the Company's oversight. With no settlement or authority to watch them, commanders touching there could trade or transfer goods unobserved, so the Court forbade the stop entirely, closing off a lawless waypoint where the same kind of smuggling feared at St Helena could be carried on with no record at all. **Speculations**

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			The Court, suspecting irregularities by its commanders at uninhabited Ascension, might have tried to regulate their conduct there or station some check upon it. Instead it forbade its returning ships to call at the island at all, on pain of severe punishment. The reasoning lay in what Ascension was: an empty island with no settlement, no officers and no records, where the smuggling the Court fought so hard to trace at St Helena could be carried on entirely unseen. Rather than attempt to police a place that offered no means of oversight, the Court chose to shut it off completely, judging that a waypoint beyond all record was better closed than watched.
364	360	17 The Company being restricted by an Act which passed in the 13th Year of His present Majesty from Company restricted exporting more than 500 Quarters of Flour on one Year. from exporting Flour and that quantity being necessary for St Helena only. We and Direct that you give Orders to Captain Fortescue of the Orders to be Osterley to call at the Cape of Good Hope. and purchase given to Capt the undermentioned Quantities of Wheat and Flour for Fortescue to call the use of our Presidency of Fort Marlborough and the at the Cape to Island of Balambangan Viz purchase Flour for Fort Marlbro For Fort Marlborough 1244 Bushels of Wheat and 375 & Balambangan hundred Wright of Flour. For Balambangan 100 Bushels of Wheat and 36 hundred Wright of Flour for the Value whereof you will inform Capt Fortescue. he is to pass his Bills upon Us on the most favorable Terms he shall be able to obtain. 18 As We find it difficult to raise Recruits this Season. We send only ten on Board the Osterley. but hope by Recruits sent the Hampshire to furnish you with the full Number you have desired. 19 We conceived that the Directions laid down in the 18 Par of our Letter dated the 6 January 1773 if duly observed. would have. put a stop to the illegal Practice therein Complained of. but it astonishes Us to find that Our Orders in this respect are disregarded. It is true that you have instructing appointed a Person to keep a Register of all Goods and the Register Merchandise landed on and reshipped from the Island Master and but to evince that he does not faithfully Discharge his Duty Clerk in more We need only mention that the Commander of the Earl satisfactory of Lincoln arrived in 1773. brought home a less Quantity to the Company of Tea than what was Registered with the Supra Cargoes at Canton. and being required to explain in what manner the	17: Since the Company was restrained by an act passed in the 13th year of His present Majesty from exporting more than 500 quarters of flour in one year, and that quantity was needed for St Helena alone, the Court directed the Governor and Council to give orders to Captain Fortescue of the *Osterly* to call at the Cape of Good Hope and buy the following quantities of wheat and flour for the use of the presidency of Fort Marlborough and the island of Balambangan. For Fort Marlborough, 1,244 bushels of wheat and 375 hundredweight of flour For Balambangan, 100 bushels of wheat and 36 hundredweight of flour For the value of these, the Governor and Council were to inform Captain Fortescue that he was to pass his bills on the Court on the most favourable terms he could obtain. 18: Since the Court found it difficult to raise recruits this season, it sent only ten on board the *Osterly*, but hoped by the *Hampshire* to furnish the island with the full number it had asked. 19: The Court had supposed that the directions in the 18th paragraph of its letter of 6 January 1773, if duly observed, would have stopped the illegal practice complained of there, but it was astonished to find its orders in this respect disregarded. It was true that the Governor and Council had appointed a person to keep a register of all goods landed on and re-shipped from the island. To show that he did not faithfully discharge his duty, the Court needed only mention that the commander of the *Earl of Lincoln*, who arrived in 1773, brought home a smaller quantity of tea than what was registered with the supracargoes at Canton, and, being required to explain in what manner [...] **Interpretations** The routing of the flour purchase to the Cape rather than direct from England exposes how a parliamentary export limit forced the Company to supply its eastern settlements by a roundabout means. Barred from shipping more than 500 quarters of flour a year, and needing that whole quota for St Helena, the Court had to buy grain at the Cape for Fort Marlborough and Balambangan, the statute compelling it to provision its farther posts from a nearer market it did not control. The failure of the goods register to catch the tea discrepancy reveals that a system of control was only as good as the diligence of the man who kept it. The Court had built its defence against smuggling on a faithful record of everything landed and re-shipped, so a registrar who did not do his duty left the whole scheme worthless, the shortfall on the *Earl of Lincoln* proving that the paper safeguard had been circumvented for want of honest enforcement. The discrepancy between the tea registered at Canton and that landed in England lays bare exactly how the smuggling worked and how it could be detected. Tea vanished somewhere between the loading in China and the arrival home, so comparing

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			the two records exposed the loss, the Company's cross-checking of its own documents from opposite ends of the voyage revealing the fraud that a single register at the island had failed to prevent.
365	361	the Deficiency arose. he acquainted Us that he sold twenty Chests it St Helena. upon this We had recourse to the Copy of the Register you transmitted to Us last Year. whereby it appears that no more than three Cattys of Tea were Landed from the Earl of Lincoln. This Instance alone intirely prevents Us from giving any Credit to the Accounts you have sent to Us of the Merchandise landed on the Island. but even of this had not been presented to Our view. We have strong Suspicions of another kind. that several Fishing Vessels from America have called at St Helena. and taking on Board considerable Quantities of Tea. and other Goods. which had been left on the Island out of our returning Ships. Upon reference to your Consultations. We do not find that any such Vessels have arrived with You. the Natural Inference to be drawn from this. is that the Information is false. or that you have connived at this unlawful transaction. by not entering on Consultation the Names of all Vessels which Arrive at the Island. We do not at present pronounce you culpable. but are determined to examine thoroughly into the Matter. and should the Fact be proved against You. We will most assuredly resent such notorious Breach of Duty. 20 Upon Examining further into the Copies of the Registers received from You of Goods Landed on the Island. a very inconsiderable quantity of Tea is Inattention Registered. and on the Article of Arrack not a single of the Register Gallon is mentioned to be landed. These Instances of Master. Inattention in the Officer who keeps the Register. lead obliges an Us to think that the Post is little else than a Sinecure. Examination You are therefore to acquaint him. that unless We receive more of Tea & more faithful Registers in future. he must expect to Gallon of Arrack be	The commander of the *Earl of Lincoln*, on being required to explain how the deficiency arose, told the Court that he had sold twenty chests of tea at St Helena. On looking into the copy of the register the island had transmitted the previous year, it appeared that no more than three catties of tea had been landed from the *Earl of Lincoln*. This single instance alone entirely prevented the Court from giving any credit to the accounts the island had sent of the merchandise landed there. Even had this not come before it, the Court had strong suspicions of another kind, that several fishing vessels from America had called at St Helena, and taken on board considerable quantities of tea and other goods left on the island by the returning ships. On looking into the island's consultations, the Court did not find that any such vessels had arrived. The natural inference to be drawn was either that the information was false, or that the Governor and Council had connived at this unlawful trade by not entering in their consultations the names of all vessels which arrived at the island. The Court did not at present pronounce them culpable, but was determined to examine thoroughly into the matter, and should the fact be proved against them, it would most assuredly resent so notorious a breach of duty. 20: On examining further into the copies of the registers received from the island of goods landed there, a very inconsiderable quantity of tea was registered, and on the article of arrack not a single gallon was mentioned to be landed. These instances of inattention in the officer who kept the register led the Court to think that the post was little else than a sinecure. The Governor and Council were therefore to make him aware that, unless the Court received more faithful registers in future, he must expect to [...] **Interpretations** The contrast between twenty chests sold and three catties recorded lays the smuggling bare in a single damning figure. A catty was a Chinese unit of weight of somewhat over a pound, so the gulf between the trifling amount registered and the twenty chests the commander admitted selling proved the register worthless, the very document meant to expose the trade concealing all but a fraction of it. The suspicion of American fishing vessels quietly loading tea reveals St Helena's feared role as a transfer point in a wider contraband network reaching across the Atlantic. Returning ships left goods on the island to be carried off by others bound for America, so the absence of these vessels from the consultations suggested either false denial or deliberate concealment, the gap in the record pointing to the island's own government conniving at the very trade it was charged to prevent. The judgement that the register keeper's post had become a sinecure exposes how an office of control could decay into an empty formality. A position created to police the smuggling had been filled by a man who recorded almost nothing, not a gallon of arrack among his entries, so the safeguard existed only on paper, the Court's threat aimed at forcing real diligence into a duty that had been drawing its allowance while performing no work. **Speculations** The Court, holding proof that the *Earl of Lincoln*'s commander had sold twenty chests of tea the register showed as three catties, might have declared the Governor and Council culpable and

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			moved at once to punish them. Instead it expressly withheld that judgement, resolving to examine the matter thoroughly before pronouncing. The restraint was deliberate: the evidence pointed to either a false record or active connivance, yet the Court could not from London tell which, so rather than condemn its own government on suspicion it chose to investigate first, preferring proved fact to a charge it might not sustain against the men on whom it still depended.
366	362	be removed from his Office. And in Order to obtain true Register Master Accounts as far as We are able. We direct that the Copies Register to be of the Registers which shall be sent to Us hereafter. be laid laid before before You weekly. upon Oath if required. the Govr & Sworn if required Govr &c We are London Your loving Friends 23d December 1774 signed Edward Wheler John Harrison Fredk Pigou Dan Wier Henry Fletcher Geo Cuming Chas Boddam WG Freman Jno Michie John Smith R Hall J Stables Joseph Sparkes Geo Tatem W Devaynes	The register keeper must expect to be removed from his office. To obtain true accounts as far as it was able, the Court directed that the copies of the registers sent to it in future be laid before the Governor and Council weekly, upon oath if required. The letter closed from London on 23 December 1774, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by Edward Wheler, John Harrison, Frederick Pigou, Daniel Wier, Henry Fletcher, George Cuming, Charles Boddam, William Freeman, John Michie, John Smith, Richard Hall, John Stables, Joseph Sparkes, George Tatem and William Devaynes. **Interpretations** The requirement to lay the registers before the Governor and Council weekly, on oath if needed, shows the Court adding both frequency and the sanction of perjury to a control that mere record-keeping had failed to enforce. By making the check regular and binding the keeper's truthfulness with an oath, the Court sought to convert a neglected formality into a real and answerable duty, the threat of removal and the solemnity of swearing together meant to compel the honesty that the smuggling had exposed as lacking.
367	363	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Paras 1 Since We wrote to you by the Ship Osterly under Receipt of date of the 23 December. Your Letters dated the 28th November our and 2d December last. have reached our Hands by the Alfred and Advices his Majestys Ship Warwick. And by the Hampshire now under Dispatch We transmit You a Duplicate of Our said Letter 2 We have Appointed Mr David Ray to be Mr Rays Surgeons Mate with usual Salary and Allowances to appointed Commence upon his Arrival. 3 It having been represented to Us that the Surgeon engrosses the whole Practice of the Island. and the Surgeons the Surgeons Mate has no part of the Emoluments arising Mate allowed therefrom. We are displeased at such proceeding. and Direct Practice that in future the Surgeons Mate be at full liberty to exercise his profession. by administering Relief to such of the Inhabitants who shall think proper to apply to him for that purpose. 4 Mr John Molloy having served Us very faithfully as a Sergeant on the Coast of Choromandel. Lieut We have thought proper to appoint him second Lieutenant Molloy of the Artillery Company. which became vacant by the appointed to Resignation of Lieutenant Lachlin Leslie. the Artillery	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: Since the Court wrote by the ship *Osterly* on 23 December, the island's letters dated 28 November and 2 December had reached it by the *Alfred*, and had arrived by His Majesty's ship *Warwick*. By the *Hampshire*, now under despatch, the Court transmitted a duplicate of its letter. 2: The Court had appointed David Ray to be surgeon's mate, with the usual salary and allowances, to begin on his arrival. 3: It having been represented to the Court that the surgeon engrossed the whole practice of the island, and that the surgeon's mate had no part of the emoluments arising from it, the Court was displeased at such a proceeding. It directed that in future the surgeon's mate be at full liberty to exercise his profession, by giving relief to such of the inhabitants as thought proper to apply to him for that purpose. 4: John Molloy having served the Court very faithfully as a sergeant on the coast of Coromandel, it had thought proper to appoint him second lieutenant of the artillery company, which fell vacant by the resignation of Lieutenant Lauchlin Leslie. 5: In consequence of the island's report that it feared a scarcity of rice and paddy, the Court had laden five tons of Carolina rice on board the *Hampshire*. It hoped this would arrive in time to prevent the island being in distress for want of that necessary article [...] **Interpretations** The Court's intervention on behalf of the surgeon's mate exposes a monopoly of private medical practice that one officer had claimed at another's expense. The surgeon had taken the whole of the island's paying practice, leaving his mate nothing, so the Court opened the practice to the

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		5 In Consequence of your Representation that you were apprehensive of a Scarcity of Rice and Carolina Paddy. We have laden five Tons of Carolina Rice on Rice Sent Board the Hampshire. and hope the same will arrive to the different in sufficient time to prevent your being in Distress for the Presidencys & want of that necessary Article. And that you may be consign the Duke of Kingston & Ceres	junior man, treating the right to attend the inhabitants for fee as an emolument that should be shared rather than engrossed by the senior alone. Shipping Carolina rice from England to relieve a feared shortage reveals the reach of the Company's supply lines and the interconnectedness of its trade. Rice grown in the American colonies could be sent out to provision a South Atlantic island against the failure of its Asian grain supply, the Company drawing on one quarter of the globe to cover a want in another, its provisioning of St Helena spanning the whole of its commercial world. The promotion of another sergeant to lieutenant confirms that advancement from the ranks remained a real path in the Company's service. Molloy's rise from sergeant on the Coromandel coast to a commission in the artillery at St Helena shows experienced non-commissioned men rewarded with officer rank across the Company's establishments, the vacancy filled by proven service rather than reserved to those who entered as gentlemen.
368	364	properly Supplied in future. We shall send Orders to Our several Presidences to increase the Quantities of Rice and Paddy with which You are annually supplied by Our returning Ships. 6 The Act of Parliment of the 13 Year of His present Majesty Cap. 43 requiring that a Certificate shall be transmitted to England of the landing Certificates of of such Flour and Grain. as shall be exported to St Helena Flour &c to be You are therefore constantly to send Us Certificates in sent in Duplicate of the Quantity of Flour and Grain. which Duplicate shall be landed on the Island from England. by the two first Ships which shall Sail homeward bound after the same shall have been received. 7 Should You discover any difference in the Quality of the Salt Provisions which may be If any difference attributed to any Alteration in the mode of Salting. in the Salt You must send Us a particular Account of the Provisions an Numbers of those Casks in which the Inferior Provisions Account to be made are Packed. England of the Casks 8 The Yearly allowance You have granted to the Lieut Governor of a Leager of Arrack meets with The Lieut Our approbation. and You are accordingly to continue to Governor allowed Issue that Quantity to him out of the Company's Stores. Leager of Arrack yearly 9 Application having been made to Us in behalf of Thomas Payne. who was sometime since a Sergeant in your Garrison. that his Wife and Payne. Wife & Children may be permitted to come to England at the Children to Companys Expence. We direct that You send them be sent to on board one of our Ships as Charterparty Passengers. England as Charter Party Passengers 10 We were induced to hope that the remarks contained	So that the island might be properly supplied in future, the Court would send orders to its several presidencies to increase the quantities of rice and paddy with which it was annually supplied by the returning ships. 6: The act of parliament of the 13th year of His present Majesty, chapter 43, required that a certificate be transmitted to England of the landing of such flour and grain as was exported to St Helena. The Governor and Council were therefore constantly to send the Court certificates in duplicate of the quantity of flour and grain landed on the island from England, by the first two ships that sailed homeward bound after it had been received. 7: Should the Governor and Council discover any difference in the quality of the salt provisions attributable to any change in the method of salting, they were to send the Court a particular account of the numbers of those casks in which the inferior provisions were packed. 8: The yearly allowance the Governor and Council had granted to the lieutenant governor of a leaguer of arrack met with the Court's approval, and they were accordingly to continue to issue that quantity to him out of the Company stores. 9: Application having been made on behalf of Thomas Payne, sometime a sergeant in the garrison, that his wife and children might be permitted to come to England at the Company expense, the Court directed that the Governor and Council send them on board one of the ships as charter party passengers. 10: The Court was led to hope that the remarks [...] **Interpretations** A leaguer was a large cask of liquid measure, so the yearly grant of a leaguer of arrack to the lieutenant governor was a substantial allowance in kind drawn from the Company stores. This perquisite of office, issued as a fixed quantity of spirit rather than money, formed part of the emoluments attached to the post, the drink allotted from the controlled monopoly as one more benefit of rank on the island. The instruction to identify by cask number any salt provisions spoiled by faulty salting shows the Company tracing quality failures to the precise container. Because meat was packed and shipped in numbered casks, recording which held inferior provisions let the Court pin the fault on a particular batch and method, the numbering system enabling a precise complaint that could be carried back to the supplier or the manner of curing.

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			The provision for a former sergeant's wife and children to travel home at Company expense reveals the obligations the Company assumed towards the families of its servants. By carrying dependants as charter party passengers, the Company extended its care beyond the serving man to those attached to him, treating the passage of a soldier's family as a proper charge on its shipping even after his own service had ended.
369	365	Contained in the 6 and 7 Paras of Our Letter of the 25 March Disputes & 1772. would have prevented any more disputes appearing on Altercation your Consultations. but We are concerned on perusal of the late by entering Altercation between Captain Tippet and Lieut James Greentree frivolous to find it is of so frivolous a nature that the appearance of it Complaints on on your Records surprizes Us. As you have determined the Consultation Affair. We shall not enter into the Merits of it. but declare that should any similar instances of Animosity prevail among our Servants the Parties will expose themselves to Our Displeasure. Captain Tippet who was a principal in the former We are concerned to see made one in this Dispute. 11 It having been represented to Us that Arthur Webster a Private Soldier. in the first Company of Infantry Arthur Webster is a Person of a good Family and has been well Educated recommended We therefore recommend him to your Notice. and when any Opportunity shall present. if he shall continue to behave well We direct that You Confer such mark of Your favor on him as you shall think him deserving of We are London Your loving Friends 14 Feby 1775. signed James Moffatt Charles Boddam Edward Wheler J Stables WG Freeman John Harrison Nath Smith Henry Savage J Roous Fredk Pigou Peter Lascelles Geo Cuming John Smith Geo Tatem R Hall John Michie	The Court had hoped that the remarks in the 6th and 7th paragraphs of its letter of 25 March 1772 would have prevented any more disputes appearing in the island's consultations. It was concerned, on reading the recent altercation between Captain Tippet and Lieutenant James Greentree, to find it of so frivolous a nature that its appearance on the records surprised it. Since the Governor and Council had settled the affair, the Court would not enter into its merits, but declared that, should any similar instances of animosity prevail among its servants, the parties would expose themselves to its displeasure. It was concerned to see Captain Tippet, who had been a principal in the former dispute, made one in this. 11: It having been represented to the Court that Arthur Webster, a private soldier in the first company of infantry, was a person of good family and had been well educated, it recommended him to the island's notice. Whenever any opportunity presented, if he continued to behave well, the Court directed that the Governor and Council confer such mark of their favour on him as they thought him deserving of. The letter closed from London on 24 February 1775, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by Edward Wheler, James Moffatt, Charles Boddam, John Harrison, William Freeman, Henry Savage, Nathaniel Smith, Frederick Pigou, John Rous, George Cuming, Peter Lascelles, George Tatem, John Smith, John Michie, John Stables and Richard Hall. **Interpretations** The Court's weary rebuke over the second Tippet quarrel reveals its concern with the corrosive effect of personal feuds among the officers who governed and defended the island. That the same captain figured in a fresh and trivial altercation so soon after the last struck the Court as a pattern threatening the discipline of its establishment, the repetition marking Tippet as a source of the very discord the Court had expressly warned against. The recommendation of the well-born private soldier Webster exposes the sensitivity to social rank that ran beneath the Company's military hierarchy. A man of good family and education serving in the ranks was thought misplaced, so the Court marked him for advancement should he behave well, revealing an assumption that gentle birth fitted a man for a station above the common soldier and ought in time to raise him from it.
370	366	You are right. Corrected with the margin notes: Our Governor and Council of St Helena Paras 1 Your several Letters under the following dates have reached our hands since We wrote to you by the Hampshire on the 24 February last Viz. the 2 and 27 January. 11 and 18 February 27. 29. 30 and 31 March. 6. 13 and 14 April. 8. 10 and 21 May 4 and 8 June. 8. 22 July and 18 September 1775 2 Herewith you will receive a List of the Ships Sailed for and Arrived from the East Indies since the departure of the Hampshire.	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. Letters received. 1: The island's several letters had reached the Court since it wrote by the *Hampshire* on 24 February, of the following dates: 2 and 27 January, of 8 and 18 February, of 27, 29, 30 and 31 March, of 6, 13 and 14 April, of 8, 10 and 28 May, of 4 and 8 June, of 8 and 22 July, and of 18 September 1775. List of ships sent. 2: The Governor and Council would receive a list of the ships sailed for and arrived from the East Indies since the departure of the *Hampshire*. Ships taken up. 3: The ships the Court had taken on for the Company service this season, with

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		3 The Ships We have thought proper to entertain for the Companys Service this Season with the usual Tonnage for which they are taken up. their Commanders and Consignments are as follows. Viz Ships Tons Commanders Consignments Lord Holland 804. Patrick Lawson. St Helena Bencoolen & China Greenwich 592. Robert Carr Nassau 633. Arthur Gore Prince of Wales 627. Jonathan Court Shrewsbury 592. Benjamin Jones Lioness 607. Thomas Larkins London 633. Daniel Webb Duke of Cumberland 627. Augustus Savage Triton 558. Willm Elphinstone Coast & Bay Royal Henry 804. Robert Rous Earl of Sandwich 804. Charles Deane Norfolk 723. James Buggin Granby 786. John Johnstone Coast & China Lord Camden 707. John Reddall **Margin Notes:** Letters Received List of Ships Sent Ships taken up	the tonnage for which they were engaged, their commanders and consignments, were as follows. The *Lord Holland*, under Patrick Lawson, of 804 tons, was bound for St Helena, Bencoolen and China. The *Greenwich*, under Robert Carr, of 592 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Nassau*, under Arthur Gore, of 633 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Prince of Wales*, under Jonathan Court, of 627 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Shrewsbury*, under Benjamin Jones, of 592 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Lioness*, under Thomas Larkins, of 607 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *London*, under Daniel Webb, of 633 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Duke of Northumberland*, under Augustus Savage, of 627 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Triton*, under William Elphinstone, of 558 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Royal Henry*, under Robert Rous, of 804 tons, was bound for the coast and the bay. The *Earl of Sandwich*, under Charles Deane, of 804 tons, was bound for the coast and China. The *Norfolk*, under James Buggin, of 723 tons, was bound for the coast and China. The *Granby*, under John Atkinson, of 786 tons, was bound for the coast and China. The *Lord Camden*, under John Reddall, of 707 tons [...] **Interpretations** The single ship routed by way of St Helena on this list, the *Lord Holland*, again exposes how narrow the island's connection to the wider world could be in a given season. When only one vessel out of the whole fleet was consigned to call there, the island's correspondence, supply and personnel all depended on that one ship, the settlement's lifeline hanging on a solitary sail out of many. The tonnage recorded here as the measure for which each ship was taken up shows the Company contracting by an agreed capacity rather than a vessel's actual lading. Engaging a ship for a stated tonnage fixed the basis of the freight payable regardless of what she finally carried, the figure serving as the settled term of the charter on which the Company's costs were reckoned.
371	367	Ships Names Tons Commanders Consignments Fox 750. David Mitchell Coast and China Duke of Grafton. 804 Samuel Bull St Helena & Bencoolen Latham 627 John Prince Hector 602 Stephen Williams Bombay Marquis Rockingham 664 Alex Hamilton. Bombay and China 4 The Lord Holland mentioned in the said List. which will convey this Letter to you. is now under dispatch. and in about a Month the Duke of Grafton will also be dispatched to you. on their Arrival you are to unload the several Articles Consigned to you. as expeditiously as possible. that they may be Dispatched to their future Destination within the time limitted by their Charterparties. Copies whereof will be enclosed in the Packets for your information. 5 We have appointed the following Gentlemen to be Our Secret Committee for the Current Year viz. John Harrison Esq Chairman. John Roberts Esq Deputy Chairman. George Cuming. John Manship. Frederick Pigou. Henry Savage. and Edward Wheler	The names, tonnage, commanders and consignments of the remaining ships were as follows. The *Fox*, under David Mitchell, of 750 tons, was bound for the coast and China. The *Duke of Grafton*, under Samuel Bull, of 804 tons, was bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The *Latham*, under John Prince, of 627 tons, was bound for Bombay. The *Hector*, under Stephen Williams, of 602 tons, was bound for Bombay. The *Marquis of Rockingham*, under Alexander Hamilton, of 664 tons, was bound for Bombay and China. 4: The *Lord Holland* mentioned in the list, which would carry this letter, was now under despatch, and in about a month the *Duke of Grafton* would also be despatched to the island. On their arrival, the Governor and Council were to unload the several articles consigned to them as quickly as possible, so that the ships might be despatched to their further destinations within the time fixed by their charter parties, copies of which were enclosed in the packets for the island's information. 5: The gentlemen the Court had appointed the Secret Committee for the current year were John

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		Esquires. And you are strictly to obey the Orders of any three of them that may be addressed to you so far as regards the safety of our Shipping. 6 The Management of the Ships Consigned to China this Season. We have committed to Messrs Edward Phipps. Francis Wood. Matthew Raper. James Bradshaw. William Henry Pigou. George Rogers. Abraham Roebuck. Henry Brown. and John Harrison. And those Gentlemen except Mr Wood who is desirous of Coming home. are appointed Residents in China in the year 1777. You will accordingly apply to the abovementioned Gentlemen for such Articles as you may have occasion for from Canton. who will be furnished with Our directions to supply you with the same. **Margin Notes:** Ships to be Dispatched within the time limitted by Charterparty Secret Committee China Council & Residents Directed to supply the Indent	Harrison as chairman, John Roberts as deputy chairman, with George Cuming, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, Henry Savage and Edward Wheler. The Governor and Council were strictly to obey the orders that any three of them might address to them, so far as respected the safety of the Company shipping. 6: The management of the ships consigned to China this season the Court had committed to Edward Phipps, Francis Wood, Matthew Raper, James Bradshaw, William Henry Pigou, George Rogers, Abraham Roebuck, Henry Brown and John Harrison. All these gentlemen except Wood, who wished to return home, were appointed Residents in China in the year 1777. The Governor and Council were accordingly to apply to these gentlemen for such articles as they might want from Canton, they being furnished with the Court's directions to supply them. **Interpretations** Two ships this season, the *Lord Holland* and the *Duke of Grafton*, were routed by way of St Helena, which is why the island's supply and correspondence rested on that pair out of the whole fleet. A settlement served by so few calling vessels drew its provisions, orders and news from each one, the island's connection to home carried by a mere handful of ships among the many bound elsewhere.
372	368	7 For the particulars of the several Articles with which you will be furnished this Season We refer you to the Invoices which will be transmitted in the respective Packets of the Ships Lord Holland and Duke of Grafton. 8 We enclose Copy of an Order of His Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council. granting Us liberty to export to St Helena. and Our several Presidencies. 1000 Barrels of Gun Powder. also Sundry Ordnance. Small Arms and other Warlike Stores to the amount of 1500 Tons on the Conditions in the said Order mentioned. You are therefore without fail to furnish us in Triplicate with the Certificates required. that the heavy Penalty may not be incurred to which We shall be subject if the Bond given to the Crown on this Occation should hereafter be put in force. 9 Captain Henry Bazett having obtained our Permission to return to his Station in the Military at St Helena he will accordingly take Passage on the Duke of Grafton. 10 The raising of a sufficient number of Recruits for the service of Our Settlements in the East Indies being attended with great difficulty. We apprehend it will not be in Our power to supply you with half the number you have desired this Season. We hope you will not suffer any inconvenience thereon. and in Order to prevent it as much as possible. We recommend it to you to use your best endeavors to induce the Soldiers. who have served their Contracted times at the Companys several Presidencies on their return home to re inlist in Our Service. and for **Margin Notes:** Invoices to be had to Invoices for particulars sent His Majesty's permission for the exportation of Warlike Stores to St Helena Certificates of the same to be sent in Triplicate Capt H Bazett to return to his Station Difficulty of Raising Recruits Recommended to Enlist Men from the Companys homeward Ships who have	7: For the particulars of the several articles the island would be furnished with this season, the Court referred the Governor and Council to the invoices transmitted in the respective packets of the ships *Lord Holland* and *Duke of Grafton*. 8: The Court enclosed a copy of an order of His Majesty's Privy Council, granting it leave to export to St Helena and its several presidencies 1,000 barrels of gunpowder, along with sundry ordnance, small arms and other warlike stores to the amount of 1,500 tons, on the conditions named in the order. The Governor and Council were therefore without fail to furnish the Court in triplicate with the certificates required, so that the heavy penalty might not be incurred to which it would be subject if the bond given to the Crown on this occasion were hereafter put in force. 9: Captain Henry Bazett having obtained the Court's permission to return to his station in the military at St Helena, he would accordingly take his passage on the *Duke of Grafton*. 10: Since raising a sufficient number of recruits for the service of the Company settlements in the East Indies was attended with great difficulty, the Court feared it would not be in its power to supply the island with half the number it had asked this season. It hoped the Governor and Council would not suffer any inconvenience from this. To prevent it as far as possible, it recommended that they do their utmost to induce the soldiers who had served their contracted terms at the Company several presidencies to re-enlist in the Company service on their return, and [...] **Interpretations** The requirement of a bond to the Crown, backed by triplicate certificates and a heavy penalty, reveals how tightly the state controlled the export of munitions even to the Company's own possessions. Gunpowder and warlike stores could not simply be shipped out, but were released only under a formal undertaking that they reached their declared destination, the bond forfeit if the certificates of landing were not produced, the Company bound by the government's grip on the movement of arms. The recurring difficulty of raising recruits, and the standing remedy of persuading time-served men to re-enlist, exposes the chronic manpower shortage

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		served in India. & to give them such Bounty as thought necessary	that dogged the Company's scattered garrisons. Fresh recruits were hard to find and costly to season, so the Court leaned again on retaining soldiers already trained and acclimatised, the re-enlistment of veterans offering the surest way to keep the distant establishments manned when new levies fell short.
373	369	for this purpose you may offer them such bounty as you shall think adequate to the Service expected from them 11 Having appointed Mr George Fletcher who is now in the Station of Third Mate of the Ship Norse to be a Writer on the Bengal Establishment. We direct that if the Norse should not have passed St Helena on her Return home before the Receipt of this Letter you procure his Discharge from the said Ship and grant him a Passage by way of Bencoolen to his Station in Bengal. We inclose the Covenants he is to enter into with the Company which are to be executed and Witnessed by two Persons and returned to Us by the first Opportunity. and in such case. you are to grant Mr Fletcher a Certificate of that Fact. that he may on his Arrival in Bengal deliver it to the Governor General and Council who are to be also properly apprised thereof in your Advices to them. but should the Norse have left the Island. the Covenants are to be sent back to Us as they are. 12 We are much displeased at the slight manner in which you mention the disagreeable Intelligence brought by a Dutch Ship respecting Our affairs at the Presidency of Bombay. In a matter of such importance it behoved you to have enquired strictly into all Circumstances. and particularly as to the time when the Event was said to have happened. and transmitted us the fullest information possible that We might have been able to judge what degree of foundation there was for the Report. We have before had occasion to Complain of your remissness in obtaining Intelligence from Foreign Ships. and therefore expect that you will in future be very careful **Margin Notes:** Mr George Fletcher 3 Mate of Ship Norse appointed Writer at Bengal. & his Covenants sent Displeased at the slight manner in which the disagreeable News of Bombay is mentioned	For this purpose, the Governor and Council might offer the men such bounty as they thought adequate to the service expected from them. 11: The Court had appointed George Fletcher, then third mate of the ship *Morse*, to be a writer on the Bengal establishment. It directed that, should the *Morse* not have passed St Helena on her return home before receipt of this letter, the Governor and Council procure his discharge from the ship and grant him a passage by way of Bencoolen to his station in Bengal. The Court enclosed the covenants he was to enter into with the Company, which were to be executed and witnessed by two persons and returned to it by the first opportunity. In that case, the Governor and Council were to grant Fletcher a certificate of the fact, so that on his arrival in Bengal he might deliver it to the governor general and Council, who were also to be properly informed of it in the island's advices to them. Should the *Morse* have left the island, the covenants were to be sent back to the Court as they were. 12: The Court was much displeased at the slight manner in which the Governor and Council mentioned the disagreeable intelligence brought by a Dutch ship respecting its affairs at the presidency of Bombay. In a matter of such importance, they should have enquired strictly into all the circumstances, and particularly as to the time when the event was said to have happened, and transmitted the fullest information possible, so that the Court might judge what foundation there was for the report. It had before had occasion to complain of the Governor and Council's remissness in obtaining intelligence from foreign ships, and therefore expected that they would in future be very careful [...] **Interpretations** The elaborate arrangements for transferring Fletcher from ship's officer to writer, complete with executed covenants and a certificate to carry to Bengal, reveal how the Company documented every change of a servant's status across its scattered establishments. Because a man appointed at one place had to take up office at another far distant, the paperwork travelled with him as proof of his engagement, the covenants and certificate ensuring the Bengal government would recognise and admit him on his arrival. The Court's renewed anger at the island's casual handling of news from a Dutch ship exposes how vital passing foreign vessels were as a source of intelligence about the Company's affairs elsewhere. In an age of slow and scattered communication, a chance encounter with another nation's ship might carry the first word of events at a distant presidency, so the island's failure to question the visitors closely and report fully struck the Court as a repeated neglect of a standing duty to gather every scrap of information.
374	370	careful to obtain and send Us the fullest information possible of the State of affairs in India by all opportunities. 13 The undertaking you have determined on for conveying Water from Chubs Spring which you represent as more wholesome than that in the Valley meets with our entire approbation. We now supply you with parts of the Articles you have desired. the remainder will be sent on the	The Governor and Council were to obtain and send the Court the fullest information possible on the state of affairs in India by every opportunity. 13: The scheme the Governor and Council had decided on for bringing water from Chubb's Spring, which they reported as more wholesome than that in the valley, met with the Court's entire approval. It now supplied part of the articles they had asked for, and the remainder would be sent on the *Duke of*

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		Duke of Grafton. And the better to enable you to carry the same into execution We have engaged two Plumbers named Charles Bradford and Thomas Penckston on the Conditions mentioned in the enclosed Copies of their Agreements. and by the Duke of Grafton We shall write more fully on this Subject. London We are 13 December 1775 Your loving Friends signed Edward Wheler John Harrison George Cuming John Roberts Nathl Smith Fredk Pigou Jno Michie Wm James Pet Lascelles Jno Woodhouse Rob Gregory Henry Savage Rich Fisher J Manship WG Freeman Daniel Wier J Stables Charles Boddam Jas Moffatt G Wombell **Margin Notes:** Conveyance of Water from Chubs Spring approved. & materials sent Plumbers to take Passage by the next Merchant Ship	*Grafton*. The better to enable them to carry the work into execution, the Court had engaged two plumbers, named Charles Bradford and Thomas Penckston, on the conditions set out in the enclosed copies of their agreements. By the *Duke of Grafton* the Court would write more fully on this subject. The letter closed from London on 13 December 1775, subscribed as from their loving friends, and was signed by Edward Wheler, John Harrison, George Cuming, John Roberts, Nathaniel Smith, Frederick Pigou, John Michie, William James, Peter Lascelles, John Woodhouse, Robert Gregory, Henry Savage, Richard Hall, John Manship, William Freeman, Daniel Wier, John Stables, Charles Boddam, James Moffatt and George Wombwell. **Interpretations** The scheme to pipe water from Chubb's Spring reveals the island improving its supply of drinking water by drawing on a source judged healthier than the valley's. Engaging two plumbers and shipping the materials from England shows the Company investing in the settlement's public infrastructure, the wholesomeness of the water treated as worth the cost of tradesmen and pipes carried the whole distance to lay on a better supply. The dispatch of skilled plumbers under formal agreements, like the masons and gardeners before them, confirms how completely the island depended on England for the trades it could not raise itself. A small remote population could not furnish specialists in piped water, so the Company recruited and shipped them out on fixed terms, the recurring need to import craftsmen exposing the limits of what such an isolated settlement could supply from its own people.
375	371	Our Governor and Council of St Helena. Para 1 Our last Letter to you was dated the 13 Decemr Letter recd 1775. and went by the Lord Holland and Mercury. since which of Anson We have Received your Letter of the 20 October last. by the Anson. 2 This will be conveyed to you by the Ship Invoice to Duke of Grafton. for the particulars of whose Consignments be had to of to your Island. We refer you to the Invoice and Bill Invoice for of Loading Enclosed. particulars 3 We have thought proper to grant a Majors Commission to Mr Corneille Our Lieutenant Governor. and a nother of a subsequent date to Captain Major Henry Bazett who proceeds on this Ship. but neither Corneille and of them are to receive any other allowance than they Bazett have usually had as Captains of their Companys. appointments and in consideration of Major Bazett long and Major Bazett faithful Services We have appointed him the youngest youngest of of Council at St Helena. with the usual Salary Council. His of £ 40 a Year annexed to that Station. Salary &c 4 As you have absolutely dismissed Lieut Robert Gibson from Our Service. the Act of Parliment Persons in of the 13 of his present Majestys Cap. 63 for	The Court wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter had been dated 13 December 1775, and went by the *Lord Holland* and *Mercury*. Since then it had received the island's letter of 20 October by the *Anson*. 2: This letter would be carried by the ship *Duke of Grafton*. For the particulars of her consignments to the island, the Court referred the Governor and Council to the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. 3: The Court had thought proper to grant a major's commission to Corneille, the lieutenant governor, and another of a later date to Captain Henry Bazett, who proceeded on this ship. Neither of them, however, was to receive any other allowance than they usually had as captains of their companies. In consideration of Major Bazett's long and faithful services, the Court had appointed him the youngest of Council at St Helena, with the usual salary of £40 0s 0d a year attached to that station. 4: Since the Governor and Council had absolutely dismissed Lieutenant Robert Gillson from the Company service, the act of parliament of the 13th year of His present Majesty, chapter 63, for regulating the affairs of the East India Company, had deprived the Court of the power of restoring him without the consent of the general court of proprietors. The Court therefore directed that in future any person who misbehaved be suspended until its pleasure should be signified, and not dismissed unless [...] **Interpretations** The grant of major's commissions without any increase of pay reveals rank being conferred as honour and precedence rather than as a route to higher remuneration. Corneille and Bazett rose in title yet drew only their captains' allowances, showing that a commission could mark standing and seniority in the military hierarchy while the Company

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		the Companys Regulating the Affairs of the East India Company Service who has deprived Us of the power of Restoring him misbehave without the Consent of the General Court of not to be Proprietors. We therefore direct that in future any dismissed. but Person who shall misbehave. be suspended till Our suspended pleasure shall be signified. and not dismissed. unless unless it made necessary. or referred by a Court Martial it	held the line on the emoluments actually attached to a man's substantive post. The constraint imposed by the Regulating Act exposes how parliamentary legislation had begun to circumscribe the Company's authority over its own servants. Where the island had once dismissed a man outright, the law now reserved the power of restoration to the general court of proprietors, so the Court had to substitute suspension for dismissal, the statute reaching into the internal discipline of the service and stripping the local government of a power it had freely exercised before. The careful dating of the two majors' commissions, one later than the other, confirms how precisely seniority was fixed by the moment of appointment. Because rank among officers of equal grade turned on the date of commission, giving Bazett's a subsequent date placed him below Corneille, the paper order settling their relative standing as exactly as any explicit statement of precedence.
376	372	ests may be really necessary, and unless Cashard by a Court Marteal. We hereby confirm your Appointments of Richard Knipe and Arthur Upton as second Lieutenants, and John Leech as Cadet and We direct you to appoint Lieu.t Adlam of his Majesty's Marines a second Lieutenant of Infantry on his Arrival at your Island, and having Received a good Character of John Potts a Serjeant in the first Company. We direct you to appoint him a second Lieutenant in the Artillery, provided you shall esteem him capable of that Post and his Behavior shall have been to your satisfaction. — In consequence of your request for the Appointment of an Organist, We agree to allow £30 a Year for that purpose and no more. — Upon considering the Surgeons representation; that his Emoluments are lessened by the Surgeon's Mate being allowed to practice in conformity to Our Orders of last Year, We have resolved that his Salary be increased from £70 to £100 p.r Annum We direct you to transmit to Us a particular account and Description of the several Houses belonging to the Company, by whom the same are Occupied and whether at any or what Rent; with the Costs of their Building, and time when erected that We may be the better enabled to consider your Request with regard to their disposal. **Margin Notes:** Lieut. Knipe & Upton and Cadet John Leech's Appointmts approved. Lt Adlam of Marines upon his Arrival to be appointed a 2d Lt of Infantry Potts to be appointed 2d Lt of the Artillery Agreed to allow £30 a Year for an Organist Surgeons Sallary increased A particular description of the Comp.s Houses by whom Rented at what Rent when Erected & their Costs to be sent	Positions may genuinely be needed, and unless a court martial removes them, the Court confirmed the appointments described. 5: The Court confirmed the appointment of Richard Knipe and Arthur Upton as second lieutenants, and John Leech as cadet. The Court directed the Governor to appoint Lieutenant Adlam of His Majesty's Marines as a second lieutenant of infantry on his arrival at the island. Having received a good character of John Potts, a sergeant in the first company, the Court directed that he be made a second lieutenant in the artillery, provided the Governor found him fit for the post and satisfied with his conduct. 6: In answer to the request for the appointment of an organist, the Court agreed to allow £30 0s 0d a year for that purpose and no more. 7: On considering the surgeon's account that his income had been reduced by the surgeon's mate being allowed to practise under the Court's orders of the previous year, the Court resolved to raise his salary from £79 0s 0d to £100 0s 0d a year. 8: The Court directed the Governor to send a detailed account and description of the several houses belonging to the Company, showing who occupied each, whether any rent was charged and at what rate, together with the cost of building and the date each was erected, so that the Court might better judge any request about their disposal. **Interpretations** The surgeon's mate had been licensed to practise medicine privately under the Court's earlier orders, which drew away the fee-paying patients whose custom formed part of the surgeon's real income rather than his fixed salary. The rise from £79 0s 0d to £100 0s 0d was compensation for that lost private practice, showing that a Company surgeon's pay was understood to combine a modest official stipend with earnings from treating islanders who could afford to pay. The instruction to record who occupied each Company house, at what rent and at what building cost, was a step towards treating the island's housing stock as an asset to be managed for revenue. The Court wanted the data before deciding whether to sell, lease or reassign properties, so the survey was the groundwork for a policy on disposal rather than a routine census. **Speculations** For the artillery post the Court did not simply confirm John Potts outright, as it had done with Knipe, Upton and Leech, but made his commission conditional on the Governor's own assessment of his fitness and conduct. A good character reported

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			from London was enough to name the others, yet for the man to be promoted from sergeant on the island itself the Court deferred to local judgement, holding back a firm appointment where the candidate's suitability could only be tested in the post he was to fill.
377	373	In order to encourage the undertaking for conveying Water from Chubbs Spring, We have supplied you with all the Articles you desired, amounting to upwards of eleven hundred pounds, and when the Work shall be Compleated you must acquaint Us with the whole expence, that We may determine what further Charge the Company shall be put to this account. You having transmitted Us a Petition from the Widow of the late Lieutenant Baldwell who died at St Helena, without accompanying it either with a proof of Marriage, or the necessary Affidavit; for want of those documents We cannot admit her a Pensioner on the Military Fund, but if She will make the Affidavit usually required, that her Husband (nor any Person or Persons in trust for him) did not Die seized or Possessed of Real and Personal Estate to the amount in Value of £1000, and produce a proper Certificate of Marriage; She may be admitted a Pensioner, when such Vouchers shall have been received in England. It having been represented to Us that several of the Widows of European Officers, either from being Natives of India, or from other causes, cannot conveniently repair to England to receive the benefits of our Military Fund and being fully sensible of the hardship it might be to such Widows, to insist on their proceeding hither for that purpose, and as the Deed for establishing the said Fund does not expressly require the objects of it to reside in any particular place; We have come to the following Resolutions Viz.t **Margin Notes:** When Chubbs Spring Water Works are Compleated the Company to be acquainted the whole expence No Justification of the Widow Caldwell's Marriage Affidavit sent. In consequence of which she cannot be admitted a Pensioner till they are rec.d in England Military Fund	9: To encourage the scheme for bringing water from Chubb's Spring, the Court supplied all the articles requested, amounting to more than £1,100. Once the work was finished the Governor was to report the whole cost, so that the Court could decide what further charge the Company should bear on the account. 10: The Governor had sent the Court a petition from the widow of the late Lieutenant Baldwell, who died at St Helena, but it came without either proof of marriage or the necessary affidavits. Lacking those documents, the Court could not admit her as a pensioner on the Military Fund. If she made the affidavit usually required, showing that neither her husband nor anyone holding property in trust for him died possessed of real and personal estate worth £1,000, and produced a proper certificate of marriage, she might be admitted a pensioner once the vouchers reached England. 11: The Court had been told that several widows of European officers, whether through being natives of India or from other causes, could not readily travel to England to receive the benefit of the Military Fund. Fully aware of the hardship this might cause such widows, and wishing to avoid forcing them to come over for that purpose, and since the deed establishing the fund did not expressly require its beneficiaries to reside in any particular place, the Court came to the following resolutions. **Interpretations** The Military Fund paid pensions to the widows of the Company's officers, but only to those who could prove the marriage and swear that their husbands had left estates below a set value threshold. The £1,000 limit was a means test, reserving the fund for genuine dependants and barring widows already provided for from claiming a benefit meant to relieve poverty. The requirement that vouchers be received in England shows the fund was administered from London, so an island widow's claim could not be settled locally however clear her case. The difficulty over widows who were natives of India exposed a structural mismatch in the fund's design. Officers serving in the East had married local women who had no means or reason to travel to England, yet the pension machinery assumed a claimant who could present herself there. The Court's reading of the founding deed, that it named no compulsory place of residence, was the legal opening it used to extend relief without amending the trust itself.
378	374	"That upon proper proofs of their Husbands "Deaths, and other Testimonials specified in the deed being "transmitted by Our Governor and Council, such Persons "as are or shall be entitled to a Pension, but cannot "leave India, be admitted by the Court of Directors. "That upon the admission of any such "Pensioners, advice be sent out by the first dispatch or "to the Governor and Council where they reside, with "Orders to pay such Persons the amount of their Pensions "at the times of Payment mentioned in the printed "deed and Regulations	On proper proof of their husbands' deaths, and the other testimonials named in the deed, sent over by the Governor and Council, those widows who were or would be entitled to a pension but could not leave India were to be admitted by the Court of Directors. Once any such pensioner was admitted, notice was to be sent out by the first dispatch to the Governor and Council where she lived, with orders to pay her the amount of her pension at the times of payment set out in the printed deed and regulations. The Governor and Council were to keep a separate account of all money so paid and to send it home regularly on a distinct paper in the packet. In the meantime they were to grant to any widow who

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		"That the Governors and Councils to keep "a distinct account of all Monies so paid, and regularly "transmit the same home upon a separate Paper "in the Packet, and that in the mean time they do "grant such Persons as may already have appeared "or shall hereafter appear to have a just claim to the "Pension, but cannot repair to Europe, an allowance "equal to, but not exceeding the Sum they will be "respectively entitled to (according to the Rank of "their Husbands as prescribed by the Deed) until "the proper Vouchers be received by the Court of "Directors, and their Final determination shall "be had thereupon." We therefore direct that in future you govern yourselves according to the foregoing Resolutions We have considered the Complaint contained in your Letters of the 9th July and 15 of August 1774, against Captain Paul Commander **Margin Notes:** To be Governed by the above Resolutions	had already shown, or would later show, a just claim to the pension but could not travel to Europe an allowance equal to but not exceeding the sum she would be entitled to according to her husband's rank as fixed by the deed, until the proper vouchers reached the Court of Directors and a final decision was made. The Court therefore directed the Governor and Council to govern themselves in future according to these resolutions. 12: The Court had considered the complaint made in the Governor's letters of 9 July and 15 August 1774 against Captain Paul, commander of the [...] **Interpretations** The scheme let a qualifying widow in India draw money at once from the local treasury on the strength of an interim allowance, capped at the pension her husband's rank would command, while London waited for the documents that would confirm or reject the claim. This advance-and-verify arrangement solved the practical problem that a widow unable to travel might otherwise wait years for relief, and it placed the risk on the Company, which paid before the entitlement was proved rather than after. The order to record such payments on a separate sheet in the packet kept the pension accounts distinct from ordinary settlement business, so the Directors could audit the fund as a self-contained trust.
379	375	of the Ship Harcourt, for behaving himself in a very ungenteel manner to you, in not going a shore during the Ships stay at St Helena; and for making a very illiberal Charge against Mr Doveton the Storekeeper in a Letter which he wrote to you, of charging him 100 P Cent premium upon the Stores supplied him; and We have examined Captain Paul with Respect to the said Complaint, who says that he did not mean any offence to the Governor and Council by not going ashore that he sent a Letter to them dated the 2nd July 1774, which he intended as an apology, and that with regard to his Charge on the Storekeeper, it was owing to a mistake that he meant only 20 P Cent instead of 120. We have permitted Mr Thomas Long to proceed to St Helena on the Duke of Grafton in Order to adjust some private Affairs there. In Consequence of the very great difficulty which has prevailed some time from the situation of Public Affairs, of procuring Recruits for the Company's Service. We have found ourselves under the necessity of accepting as such, several growing young Lads notwithstanding they are under the prescribed Standard, We have likewise permitted a few Men to be taken as Recruits who are also under the Standard, but these latter are chiefly Soldiers who have returned to England after having served their contracted time in the Company's Forces in India. Since Writing the foregoing We have Received your Letters of the 2 of **Margin Notes:** Captain Paul examined respecting his behavior at St Helena Mr T. Long permitted to proceed to St Helena Recruits sent, and Difficulty of Raising them a Letter rec.d by the Eagle	The complaint concerned the commander of the ship *Harcourt*, for behaving very rudely towards the Governor, for not going ashore during the ship's stay at St Helena, and for making an unfair charge against Doveton the storekeeper in a letter, accusing him of charging 10 per cent premium on the stores supplied to the ship. The Court examined Captain Paul about the complaint. He said he meant no offence to the Governor and Council by not going ashore, and that he had sent them a letter dated 2 July 1774 intended as an apology. As for his charge against the storekeeper, it was owing to a mistake, and he had meant only 2 per cent instead of 120. 13: The Court permitted Thomas Long to travel to St Helena on the *Duke of Grafton* to settle some private affairs there. 14: Because of the very great difficulty that had long prevailed, owing to the state of public affairs, in finding recruits for the Company's service, the Court had been obliged to accept as recruits several growing young lads even though they fell below the prescribed standard. The Court had likewise allowed a few men under the standard to be taken, but these last were chiefly soldiers who had returned to England after serving their contracted time in the Company's forces in India. 15: Since writing the above, the Court had received the Governor's letter of 2 [...] **Interpretations** Captain Paul's defence that he had written 2 per cent but meant to be read against a figure the Court recorded as 120 turned on the difference between a routine handling markup and an accusation of gross profiteering. A charge of 10 or 120 per cent premium on stores would have branded the storekeeper as fleecing the Company's ships, so reducing the figure to 2 per cent recast the whole dispute as a clerical slip rather than an allegation of fraud. The examination shows the Court treating a captain's written charge against a Company servant as a serious matter requiring formal answer, since an unretracted accusation on the record could have justified action against Doveton. The acceptance of underage lads and of returned India veterans below the physical standard

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			reveals how far the recruiting shortfall had pushed the Company to relax its own entry rules. Wartime competition for manpower left the garrison unable to fill its ranks with men who met the standard, so the Court traded quality for numbers, preferring seasoned former soldiers and unfinished youths to an under-strength establishment.
380	376	November last by the Ship Eagle. We are London Your loving friends 5th March 1776 (Signed) John Harrison John Roberts Fred.k Pigou Henry Savage Dan Wier Rob.t Gregory Geo Cuming Ben Booth C. Michie Cha.s Boddam J. Stables Wm James W.G. Freeman	The letter of the previous November had come by the ship *Eagle*. The Court closed as the Governor's loving friends, writing from London on 5 March 1776, and it was signed by: John Harrison John Roberts Fredk Pigou Henry Savage Danl Wier Robt Gregory Geo Cuming Ben Booth C. Michie Chas Boddam J. Stables Wm James W. G. Freeman
381	377	Our Governor and Council of St Helena We have received your several Letters under the following dates since We wrote to you P Duke of Grafton on the 5th March last Viz.t the 8th January, 12. 23 and 27 February 8. 22 and 28th March 24 April 1 and 12 June 1 and 6th July 1 and 22 August and 12 September 1776. Herewith you will receive a List of the Ships Sailed for and Arrived from the East Indies since the departure of the Duke of Grafton. The Ships We have entertained in the Company's Service this Season, with the exact Tonnage for which they are taken up, their Commanders and Consignments are as follow Viz.t Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Alfred: 758, Capt.n James Williamson, St Helena & Bencoolen Stormont: 723, John Rogers, Madeira Coast and China Egmont: 700, Cha.s Mears Valentine: 676, James Ogilvie, do. do. and Bay Duke of Portland: 723, John Sutton Houghton: 707, Will.m Smith Ceres: 723, Thomas Newte Europa: 676, Will.m Applegarth Duke of Kingston: 723, Robert Hall Sea Horse: 676, David Arthur Earnest Royal: 864, Robert Kerr Prime: 864, James Dundas Resolution: 804, Tho.s Poynting Royal Charlotte: 758, Joseph Cotton Coast and Bay Coast China	The Court had received the Governor and Council's several letters, sent since it wrote by the *Duke of Grafton* on 5 March, dated 8 January, 12, 23 and 27 February, 8, 22 and 28 March, 24 April, 1 and 12 June, 1 and 6 July, 1 and 22 August, and 12 September 1776. 2: A list of the ships sailed for and arrived from the East Indies since the *Duke of Grafton* left accompanied the letter. 3: The ships taken into the Company's service this season, with the tonnage at which they were engaged, their commanders and their consignments, were as follows. The *Alfred*, 758 tons, commanded by Captain James Williamson, consigned to St Helena and Bencoolen. The *Stormont*, 723 tons, commanded by John Rogers, consigned to Madras, the Coast and China. The *Egmont*, 700 tons, commanded by Charles Mears. The *Valentine*, 676 tons, commanded by James Ogilvie, consigned to Madras, the Coast and Bay. The *Duke of Portland*, 723 tons, commanded by William Smith. The *Houghton*, 707 tons, commanded by William Smith. The *Ceres*, 723 tons, commanded by Thomas Newte. The *Europa*, 676 tons, commanded by William Applegarth. The *Duke of Kingston*, 723 tons, commanded by Robert Hues. The *Sea Horse*, 676 tons, commanded by David Arthur, all consigned to the Coast and Bay. The *Earl of Mansfield*, 864 tons, commanded by Robert Kerr. The *Prime*, 864 tons, commanded by James Dundas. The *Resolution*, 804 tons, commanded by Thomas Poynting. The *Royal Charlotte*, 758 tons, commanded by Joseph Cotton, all consigned to the Coast and China.
382	378	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Worcester: 723, John Cook True Briton: 758, John Broadley Coast and China Bridgewater: 804, Will.m Parkers, St Helena & Bencoolen Northington: 676, John Durand Jun.r Bombay & Bengal Rochford: 723, John Baird, Bombay & Fort St George Hawke: 723, John Cotton	The list of ships continued. The *Worcester*, 723 tons, commanded by John Cook. The *True Briton*, 758 tons, commanded by John Broadley, both consigned to the Coast and China. The *Bridgewater*, 804 tons, commanded by William Parkers, consigned to St Helena and Bencoolen. The *Northington*, 676 tons, commanded by John Durand junior, consigned to Bombay and Bengal. The *Rochford*, 723 tons, commanded by John Reid, consigned to Bombay and Fort St George. The *Hawke*, 723 tons, commanded by John Cotton. The *York*, 758 tons, commanded by John Atkinson Blanshard, both

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		York: 758, John Atkinson Blanshard Bombay Desborough: 864, Alex.r Montgomery, do. and China The Alfred mentioned in the said List which will Convey this Letter to you, is now under dispatch and in about a Month the Bridgewater, will also be dispatched to you. On their Arrival you are to unload the several Articles Consigned to you as expeditiously as possible, that they may be dispatched to Fort Marlborough within the time limited by their Charterparties, Copies whereof will be enclosed in the Packets for your information We have appointed the following Gentlemen to be Our secret Committee for the Current Year Viz.t John Roberts Esq.r Chairman, Wm James Esq.r Deputy Chairman, George Cuming, John Harrison, Jehon Manship, Frederick Pigou, Henry Savage and Edward Wheeler Esq.rs And you are hereby Directed strictly to obey such Orders as you may receive from any three or more of them, so far as respects the safety of the Company's Shipping. We have directed the management of the Ships Consigned to China this Season to be Committed to Mess.rs Edward Phipps, Matthew Roper James Bradshaw, Will.m Henry Pigou, George Roper Abraham Roebuck, Henry Brown, John Harrison,	consigned to Bombay. The *Pigot*, 864 tons, commanded by Alexander Montgomery, consigned to Bombay and China. 4: The *Alfred* named in the list, which would carry this letter, was now under dispatch, and in about a month the *Bridgewater* would also be dispatched. On their arrival the Governor was to unload the several articles consigned to St Helena as quickly as possible, so that both ships could be sent on to Fort Marlborough within the time set by their charterparties, copies of which would be enclosed in the packets for information. 5: The Court had appointed the following gentlemen to its secret committee for the current year. John Roberts was chairman and William James deputy chairman, together with George Cuming, John Harrison, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, Henry Savage and Edward Wheler. The Governor was directed to obey strictly any orders received from any three or more of them, so far as concerned the safety of the Company's shipping. The Court had directed that the management of the ships consigned to China this season be committed to Edward Phipps, Matthew Roper, James Bradshaw, William Henry Pigou, George Rogers, Abraham Roebuck, Henry Brown, John Harrison [...] **Interpretations** The secret committee was a small inner body of directors empowered to issue binding orders on shipping movements without reference to the full Court, and the instruction that any three of them could command the Governor's obedience shows it was built for speed in wartime. With American privateers and hostile European powers threatening the East India trade, decisions about convoy timing and ship safety could not wait on the ordinary machinery of the whole directorate, so authority was concentrated in a quorum small enough to act quickly. The tight coupling of the *Alfred* and *Bridgewater* to the time limits in their charterparties reveals how the Company's obligations to ship-owners shaped its island operations. The vessels were hired, not owned, and demurrage or penalty clauses ran against the Company if unloading at St Helena delayed them beyond the agreed date, so the order to discharge quickly protected the Company from paying for its own ships' idle time before they reached Fort Marlborough.
383	379	George Cuming, Alexander Bruce, and Charles Edward Pigou, who are all except Mr Phipps appointed Residents there in 1778. The above named Gentlemen are Directed to Comply with the Indents you may have occasion to make, for such Stores and necessaries as you shall want to be supplied with from China. We enclose Copy of an Order of His Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council granting Us liberty to export to St Helena, and Our several Presidencies 1500 Barrels of Gun Powder, also sundry Ordnance small Arms, and other Warlike Stores to the amount of 2000 Tons, on the Conditions mentioned in the said Order. You are therefore without fail to furnish Us in Triplicate with the Certificates required that the heavy penalty may not be incurred, to which We shall be subject, if the Bond given to the Crown on this occasion should hereafter be put in force. And We send in each Ships Packet an exact account of the Military Stores for which Bonds have been given, that your Certificates may Correspond with the particulars inserted in the abovementioned Bonds The Governor and Council at Fort Marlbro	The China supracargoes were George Cuming, Alexander Bruce and Charles Edward Pigou, all of whom except Phipps had been appointed residents there in 1778. 7: These gentlemen were directed to meet the indents the Governor might have occasion to make for such stores and necessaries as he needed supplied from China. 8: The Court enclosed a copy of an order of His Majesty's Privy Council granting it liberty to export to St Helena and its several presidencies 1,500 barrels of gunpowder, together with sundry ordnance, small arms and other warlike stores to the amount of 2,000 tons, on the conditions named in the order. The Governor was to furnish the Court without fail with the certificates required, so that the heavy penalty to which it would be liable might not be incurred if the bond given to the Crown on this occasion were afterwards found breached. The Court sent in each ship's packet an exact account of the military stores for which bonds had been given, so that the certificates might agree with the particulars entered in the bond. 9: The Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough had reported the great advantages that

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		having represented the great advantages that will result from the Bason at Rat Island, as a security to Our Europe Shipping, We have been induced to send out Chains for the purpose of Moorings therein. And as the Governor and Council have further represented that the Coral Rock on that Coast is found too Eight to resist the fire of the Water, which sometimes rushes in that extremity of the Bason **Margin Notes:** China Council to Comply with Indents His Majesty's permission for the exportation of Gun Powder & sundry Certificates thereof which to be sent in Triplicate Acc.t of Military Stores for which Bond is given, sent Iron Ships to be taken in a large quantity of Stores for the Bason at Rat Island	would come from the basin at Rat Island as a shelter for the Company's European shipping, and the Court had therefore been moved to send out chains to serve as moorings there. The Governor and Council had further reported that the coral rock on that coast was found too hard to waste away under the force of the water, which sometimes rushed into that end of the basin [...] **Interpretations** The gunpowder and ordnance licence turned on a bond given to the Crown, a formal financial guarantee that the exported munitions would reach their declared destination and not be diverted, with a heavy penalty falling on the Company if the terms were broken. The system of matching certificates to the particulars entered in the bond was an audit trail linking each ship's cargo to the sworn account in London, so that the government could satisfy itself no war material had leaked into unauthorised hands on the long passage east. The care taken shows how tightly the state controlled arms exports even to its own chartered company's settlements. The basin at Rat Island was a natural harbour at Bencoolen being fitted as a protected anchorage, and the observation that the coral rock resisted the scouring force of the water bears directly on whether the moorings would hold. Coral that did not erode gave a firm bed for anchor chains but also meant the inflowing water could not carve a deeper channel of its own, so the Company had to supply the chains and fixings the site would not form naturally.
384	380	(We at their recommendation) direct that the Commanders of the Store Ships do take in for the above purpose as large a quantity of Stone Ballast as they can conveniently carry without being detained for the same, and that you give them every assistance in your power for effecting this Service. The several Articles Indented for, for the use of the Engineer, Master at Arms, Armourer, Mason and Carpenter are placed under one head, without distinguishing what Articles are wanted for each of those Persons respectively, which method must be altered in future; And as the Thickness of the Oldnscob and Elm Boards, under the above head are not described, they are not sent. Separate accounts of Remains should be transmitted of the Stores under the Charge of the several Persons beforementioned, as not any part of them appear in the Storekeepers Accounts A General Return of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores, describing the Calibre of each Gun Mortar, the Weight and size of the Shot and shells and the nature of other Stores together with the different parts of the Fortifications where mounted or otherwise disposed of, should be sent to England annually in Duplicate. The quantity of Lead Pipe desired in the 5 Par of the General Letter dated the 1 July last; will be sent, but it will be necessary to mention by what means it happened that the Pipes which those now Ordered are intended to replace, were lost in getting ashore from the Duke of Grafton. **Margin Notes:** The Indents of the Engineer, Master at Arms &c to be in future separate Thickness of Elm Boards &c not described they are not sent Separate Acc.t of Remains to be sent by the Master at Arms &c Gen.l Return of Ordnance Stores &c which required to be sent in Duplicate yearly Lead Pipe will be sent, but to mention how those now lost in getting ashore from the Duke of Grafton	On the recommendation of the Governor and Council, the Court directed that the commanders of the storeships take in for this purpose as much stone ballast as they could conveniently carry without being detained for it, and that the Governor give them every assistance in his power to carry out the service. 10: The several articles indented for, for the use of the engineer, master at arms, armourer, mason and carpenter, had been placed under one head, without distinguishing which articles were wanted for each of these men. That method was to be corrected in future. As the thickness of the oakum and elm boards under the above head had not been described, they were not sent. 11: Separate accounts of remains should be sent of the stores in the charge of the several men named above, since none of them appeared in the storekeeper's accounts. 12: A general return of ordnance and ordnance stores should be sent to England each year in duplicate, giving the calibre of each gun and mortar, the weight and size of the shot and shells, the nature of the other stores, and the different parts of the fortifications where they were mounted or otherwise placed. 13: The quantity of lead pipe requested in paragraph 5 of the general letter dated 8 July last would be sent, but it was necessary to state by what means it happened that the pipes now ordered, intended to replace those lost, had been lost in getting them ashore from the *Duke of Grafton*. **Interpretations** The instruction to separate the indents by trade exposed a control weakness in how the garrison drew its stores. Lumping the engineer's, armourer's, mason's and carpenter's requirements under a single head meant London could not see who was consuming what, so misuse or over-ordering by any one department stayed hidden. The demand for separate accounts of remains, tied to the observation that these stores never surfaced in the storekeeper's accounts, shows the Court closing a gap through

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			which materials issued to individual officers escaped the central audit entirely. The requirement that the ordnance return record the exact position of every gun and mortar in the fortifications served a military purpose beyond bookkeeping. A remote garrison's defensive strength could only be assessed in London from paper, so a return listing calibre, shot weight and the precise part of the works where each piece stood let the directors judge whether the island was properly armed without seeing it, and plan reinforcements against any gap the schedule revealed.
385	381	As far as appears to Us you acted properly with respect to the American Fishing Vessels, which touched at the Island on the 22 May and 29 July last. We send 53 Recruits on the Alfred for the use of your Garrison, and hope to Compleat the number to eighty by the Bridgewater, agreeable to your request, but from the present situation of Public Affairs, and the great difficulty We find in procuring Recruits, We have been under the necessity of taking several under the prescribed Standard. The Friends of Henry Bachelor a Serjeant in the second Company at your Garrison, having applied for his Discharge; We direct that you discharge him accordingly, and permit him to come to England on one of the returning Ships. Mr Richard Goodwin whom We have lately appointed a Cadet for Fort St George being desirous of seeing his Relations at St Helena. We have given him leave to take Passage thither on Board the Alfred for that purpose, from whence he has liberty to proceed on the Bridgewater to Bencoolen, in Order to repair to his Station as expeditiously as possible the Company being at no Charge on his Account. Enclosed you will receive, Copy of an Order of His Majesty's most Honble Privy Council authorizing the Company to send Provisions to Bombay, Fort Marlbro, Bencoolen and St Helena notwithstanding the present Embargo, under the restrictions therein mentioned, and in consequence thereof it is absolutely necessary for you to be extremely circumspect in the making **Margin Notes:** Acted properly respecting the American Vessels Recruits Sent, & Difficulty of Raising Men Henry Batchelor to be discharged & permitted to Return to England Mr R. Goodwin app.d a Cadet of Madrass Company authorized to send Provisions to Bencoolen & St Helena Certificate of which to be necessary and in Duplicate	14: As far as the Court could see, the Governor had acted properly with regard to the American fishing vessels that touched at the island on 22 May and 29 July last. 15: The Court sent 53 recruits on the *Alfred* for the use of the garrison, and hoped to bring the number up to eighty by the *Bridgewater*, as the Governor had requested. Because of the present state of public affairs and the great difficulty found in getting recruits, the Court had been obliged to take several who fell below the prescribed standard. 16: The friends of Henry Batchelor, a sergeant in the second company at the garrison, having applied for his discharge, the Court directed that he be discharged accordingly and allowed to come to England on one of the returning ships. 7: Richard Goodwin, lately appointed a cadet for Fort St George, wished to see his relations at St Helena, and the Court had given him leave to take passage there on board the *Alfred*. From St Helena he was free to go on by the *Bridgewater* to Bencoolen, so as to reach his station as quickly as possible, the Company being at no charge on his account. 18: The Court enclosed a copy of an order of His Majesty's Privy Council authorising the Company to send provisions to Bombay, Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen and St Helena despite the present embargo, under the restrictions named in the order. Because of that order it was absolutely necessary for the Governor to be extremely careful in the making [...] **Interpretations** The embargo mentioned in paragraph 18 was a wartime government ban on the export of provisions, imposed to keep food and supplies within Britain during the American war, and the Privy Council order was a specific exemption letting the Company victual its eastern settlements despite it. The warning that the Governor must be extremely careful shows the exemption came hedged with conditions whose breach would expose the Company to penalty, so the freedom to ship provisions was conditional on strict compliance with the terms of the licence rather than a general release. Richard Goodwin's free passage strung together two of the season's ships to carry one cadet by way of a family visit at St Helena, yet the Company bore no cost. The arrangement shows how the Company folded personal favours to its junior appointees into shipping already committed to the eastern run, granting a young officer leave to see his relations at no charge because the berths on the *Alfred* and *Bridgewater* were sailing regardless.
386	382	out, and returning in Duplicate by the first conveyances attested Certificates of the particulars consigned to your Island. His Majesty has been pleased to Order the Rippon of 64 Guns, the Honble Captain William Waldegrave, and the Cormorant of 14 Guns, Captain	The Governor was to send back, in duplicate by the first conveyances, attested certificates of the particulars consigned to the island. 19: His Majesty had ordered the *Ripon* of 64 guns, commanded by Captain William Waldegrave, and the *Cormorant* of 14 guns, commanded by Captain George Young, to sail for the East Indies under the command of Sir Edward Vernon, who hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Ripon*. He

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		George Young, to proceed to the East Indies under the Command of Sir Edward Vernon, who hoists his broad Pendant on Board the Rippon. He is to take upon him the Chief Command of His Majesty's Fleet upon the departure of Sir Edward Hughes for Europe. The said two Ships sailed from Spithead the 24th Instant. As it appears by the Records that Alterations have passed at the Board regarding the Trade of the place, it becomes necessary for Us to give such Orders as may prevent the like in future. We are sorry to observe that the Governor and Lieutenant Governor should give liberty to Captain Lawson to leave a Person after his departure to keep a Shop and dispose of the remains of his Effects before the Shopkeepers Licences were expired without consulting the Council, when they knew that the Shopkeepers had paid the Company for a Licence with an exclusive right to keep Shops which did not expire till the 1 July, and which it seems has been the Established Custom; As these Licences are granted by the Board, no infringement on that right can be allowed but by Consent of a Majority of the said Board. **Margin Notes:** Two of his Majesty's Ships sent to India under the Command of S.r Edward Vernon to Relieve S.r Edw.d Hughes The Company think it necessary to give such Orders relative to Trade Governor & Lt Governor blamed for giving liberty to Lawson to keep a Retail Shop after his Departure	was to take the chief command of His Majesty's fleet on the departure of Sir Edward Hughes for Europe. The two ships sailed from Spithead on the 24th of this month. 20: Since the records showed that comments had passed at the Board about the trade of the place, it became necessary for the Court to give such orders as might prevent the like in future. 21: The Court was sorry to see that the Governor and Lieutenant Governor had given Captain Lawson liberty to leave a man behind after his departure to keep a shop and dispose of the remains of his effects before the shopkeepers' licences had expired, and without consulting the Council. They knew that the shopkeepers had paid the Company for a licence carrying an exclusive right to keep shops, which did not expire until 1 July, and which appeared to have been the established custom. As these licences were granted by the Board, no infringement of that right could be allowed except by consent of a majority of the Board. **Interpretations** The shopkeepers' licences were a saleable monopoly right: traders paid the Company for the exclusive privilege of keeping shops on the island until a fixed expiry date, and that payment bought protection from competition for the licence term. Letting Captain Lawson's man sell off goods before 1 July undercut the very exclusivity the licensed shopkeepers had bought, so the Court treated the Governor's permission as a breach of a property right the Company itself had sold. The insistence that only a majority of the Board could authorise such an infringement shows the licence was a Board-granted franchise that no local officer could set aside on his own authority. The rebuke over the trade comments in paragraph 20 and the Lawson affair together mark the Court reasserting London's control over the island's commercial regulation. Both turned on local officers making trading decisions that belonged to the Board, and the Court's response was to require that such matters run through the proper body rather than be settled by the Governor's discretion on the spot. **Speculations** Faced with Captain Lawson wanting to clear the remains of his effects, the Governor let a man stay behind to run a shop and sell them off rather than requiring the goods be disposed of within the licensing rules the Company had sold to others. The obvious course, knowing the licensed shopkeepers held an exclusive right paid for and running until 1 July, was to refuse or to put the matter to the Council. Instead the Governor granted the liberty on his own, and the record shows the conflict plainly in the note that the shopkeepers had bought an exclusive right which did not expire until that date. The convenience of settling a departing captain's affairs was allowed to override a monopoly the Company had itself sold, which is why the Court took the trouble to spell out that only a majority of the Board could sanction such a breach.
387	383	We disapprove of the restraint upon the Commanders of Our Ships, and others, trading under Our Licence from selling their Goods to whom they please, and positively forbid the like in future. You must immediately give Publick Notice that the Commanders and Officers of our Ships have full liberty to Trade with whom they please, and to leave a Person behind if they chuse it; That the Inhabitants of the Island have liberty to trade	22: The Court disapproved of the restraint on the commanders of the Company's ships, and others trading under its licence, from selling their goods to whom they pleased, and it firmly forbade the like in future. 23: The Governor was to give public notice at once that the commanders and officers of the Company's ships had full liberty to trade with whom they pleased, and to leave a man behind if they chose. The inhabitants of the island were likewise free to trade ashore on paying the established duties

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		on shore paying the Established Duties, and conforming in other respects to the Order of the Governor and Council We also positively forbid any Military Officer or Soldier keeping a Shop observing that it has been attended with inconveniencies. The Orders given out by the Governor to the Military to purchase what they want at a certain Shop We disapprove and forbid the like in future. We are surprised to find that an Idea was suggested at any time of a duty of 5 P Cent to be taken on all money paid into our Treasury, and the amount to be devided amongst the Members of the Board. The great impropriety of the measure was too glaring We suppose for any proceedings to be had thereon, any Persons who should make a proposal of that kind will incur our highest displeasure. Our Governor and Council must issue such Orders as will prevent the Shopkeepers from permitting any irregularities in their Houses. The Charge brought against Mess.rs Bazett and Wrangham as Monopolizers and oppressors in Trade **Margin Notes:** Commanders of Ships to sell their Goods to whom they please Advertisement to be published for the above purpose No Military Officer or Soldier to keep Shops The Governor Orders by which the Military to purchase what Articles they want limited to a certain Shop forbid The Company displeased at an Idea of a 5 P Cent being said to be taken relative to the Trade Irregularities in Shops to be prevented	and otherwise conforming to the orders of the Governor and Council. 24: The Court also firmly forbade any military officer or soldier to keep a shop, noting that the practice had been attended with inconvenience. 25: The Court disapproved of the orders the Governor had given out to the military to buy what they wanted at a certain shop, and forbade the like in future. 26: The Court was surprised to find that an idea had at some time been suggested of a duty of 5 per cent to be taken on all money paid into the Company's treasury, the amount to be divided among the members of the Board. The gross impropriety of the measure was too glaring to suppose any action would be taken on it, and anyone who made such a proposal would incur the Court's highest displeasure. 27: The Governor and Council were to issue such orders as would prevent the shopkeepers from allowing any irregularities in their houses. 26: The charge brought against Messrs Bazett and Wrangham as monopolisers and oppressors in trade [...] **Interpretations** The proposed 5 per cent levy on all money paid into the treasury, split among the Board, would have converted the members' public office into a private income stream skimmed from the Company's own revenue. The Court's sharp reaction marks the line between administering the Company's funds and treating them as a fund for the administrators, a form of self-dealing it condemned as too grossly improper even to investigate. The threat of its highest displeasure against anyone merely proposing it shows the Court policing the integrity of the treasury against insiders as firmly as against outside fraud. The run of orders reversing the trade restrictions reveals the Court dismantling a local system in which the Governor had steered custom and privilege towards favoured shops and away from the Company's own ships' officers and the general inhabitants. Directing the military to buy at a certain shop, barring commanders from selling freely and letting soldiers keep shops had concentrated trade in particular hands, and the Court's blanket reversal opened the island's commerce to anyone paying the established duties.
388	384	would have deserved Censure had been clearly proved, which does not appear by the Records, they have been very Candid in offering their Books and all their accounts to the inspection of the Board, it was the Business of those that brought the Charge, provided they were not satisfied, to have accepted the Offer, that not having been the case, We must deem those Gentlemen innocent. You will receive our Directions by the Ship Bridgewater regarding such matters, as very lately came to Our hands by the Mercury, as well as the other points on which We have not yet acquainted you with Our Sentiments. London We are 28 Nov.r 1776 Your loving Friends (Signed) John Roberts Will.m James John Harrison Henry Savage Edward Wheler Benj.n Booth Joseph Sparkes W.G. Freeman Fred.k Pigou	Bazett and Wrangham would have deserved censure had the charge against them been clearly proved, which the records did not show. By offering their books and all their accounts for the Board's inspection, they left it to those who brought the charge, if they were not satisfied, to accept the offer. Since that had not been done, the Court held both men innocent. 29: The Governor would receive the Court's directions by the *Bridgewater* on the matters lately come to hand by the *Mercury*, as well as on the other points on which the Court had not yet made its views known. The Court closed as the Governor's loving friends, writing from London on 28 November 1776, and it was signed by: John Roberts William James John Harrison Henry Savage Edward Wheler Benjn Booth Joseph Sparkes W. G. Freeman Fredk Pigou Saml Peach

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		Sam.l Peach George Tatem J. Manship George Cuming Rob.t Gregory J. Brooks **Margin Notes:** Mess.rs Bazett & Wrangham deemed innocent with respect to the Charge brought against them of being Monopolizers Directions relative to other Matters to be sent P the Bridgewater	George Tatem J. Manship George Cuming Robt Gregory J. Roberts **Interpretations** The resolution of the charge against Bazett and Wrangham turned on where the burden of proof lay once the accused opened their records. By putting their books and accounts before the Board, the two men shifted the onus onto their accusers to examine the evidence and make good the allegation, and the accusers' failure to take up that offer was treated as fatal to the charge. The Court's reasoning shows a working presumption of innocence in commercial disputes: an unproven accusation, met by a full offer of disclosure the other side declined to test, could not stand.
389	385	Our Governor and Council of St Helena. The Ship Alfred carried our last Letter to you dated the 28 November 1776, a Duplicate whereof you will receive by the Bridgewater now under Dispatch for the particulars of whose Conveyance to your Island, we refer you to the Invoice and Bill of Lading enclosed We have been informed that our homeward bound China Ships often bring a greater Quantity of Tea from thence than is Registered which is distributed on board Ships from the Different parts of India at your Island, in order to be Smuggled in the English Channel; And this Abuse being very prejudicial to our Sales, we direct that you exert yourselves in preventing it, and give us every intelligence in your power relative thereto, as we are determined to take the most effectual Measures to putt a Stop to so growing an Evil. Before the receipt of your General Letter of the 22 August last, five Field Pieces with their Carriages were Shipped on board the Alfred; these are the only Carriages intended to be sent, the others which had been ordered in consequence of your Indent; having been since countermanded. We approve your Sending the Mercury to the Cape for the several articles entered on Consultation **Margin Notes:** Par 1 Duplicate P Bridgewater sent Care to prevent the illicit distribution of Tea in the Ships in the Road Field Carriages sent P Alfred Mercury sent to the Cape	The ship *Alfred* carried the Court's last letter to the Governor, dated 22 November 1776, a duplicate of which would come by the *Bridgewater*, now under dispatch. For the particulars of what that ship carried to the island, the Court referred the Governor to the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. 2: The Court had been told that its homeward-bound China ships often brought a greater quantity of tea than was registered, distributed on board ships from the different parts of India, to be smuggled in the English Channel at the island. As this abuse was very harmful to the Company's sales, the Court directed the Governor to work hard to prevent it and to send every piece of intelligence in his power about it, being determined to take the most effective measures to stop a growing evil. 3: Before the Governor's general letter of 22 August last arrived, five field pieces with their carriages had been shipped on board the *Alfred*. These were the only carriages meant to be sent, the others having been ordered in consequence of the Governor's indent and since countermanded. 4: The Court approved the Governor's sending the *Mercury* to the Cape for the several articles entered on the consultation of 22 June [...] **Interpretations** The tea-smuggling scheme worked by loading homeward China ships with more tea than the manifest declared, then spreading the excess across vessels arriving from India so it could be run ashore in the English Channel before the ships reached port. Because the Company paid duty and set its own sale prices on registered tea, untaxed tea slipped into the market undercut its revenue twice over, evading the customs and depressing the price, which is why the Court called it a growing evil and demanded intelligence rather than mere vigilance. St Helena mattered here as the mid-ocean point where homeward fleets gathered, giving the crews their chance to redistribute cargo before the final run home.
390	386	24 June, but we have been greatly embarassed in discharging Capt. Feibe's Bill, by your not mentioning the receipt of those Articles, either in your Letter or Consultations. On considering your request for directions respecting the disposal of the Company's Houses, we have resolved that the Members of Council be each accommo dated with one, and that the remaining four be allotted to the Chaplain; Secretary, Surgeon and Engineer, on	The articles were entered on the consultation of 22 June, but the Court had been greatly hampered in discharging Captain Foote's bill, because the Governor had not recorded the receipt of those articles either in his letter or in the consultations. 5: On considering the Governor's request for directions about the disposal of the Company's houses, the Court resolved that the members of Council be each accommodated with one, and that the remaining four be allotted to the chaplain, secretary, surgeon and engineer, on condition that they kept them in sufficient repair, and requiring that

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		the Condition of their keeping them in sufficient repair requiring that you do not in future presume to erect any Buildings, without our especial Licence for so doing. We have considered your recommendation of the Case of Mr Philip Mahoney, and for the reasons you mention, have agreed to allow him the same pay and Allowances he enjoyed as Clerk of the peace, during his life. Mr Blam who was appointed by your Letter of the 5 March last, a Second Lieutenant of Infantry at your Island, having since been appointed an Ensign on the Fort St George Establishment, we direct that you appoint Mr John Leech, whom you recommend as very deserving, a Second Lieutenant in his room. We cannot comply with your recommendation that a Capt Lieutenant be added to the Field Officers Company, being determined unless under the most urgent necessity, not to increase the very heavy Military Expences of the Island. We are greatly concerned to see your Records filled with the Disputes which have prevailed among the **Margin Notes:** Capt. Feibe's Bill not entered upon Consultation Disposal of the Company's Houses Mr Mahoney's Allowance for Life Mr Blam app.d to Fort St George, Mr J. Leech app.d a Second Lieut Cannot comply that a Capt Lieut being added to the Field Officers Company	no building be erected in future without the Court's express licence. 6: The Court had considered the Governor's recommendation in the case of Philip Mahoney, and for the reasons given had agreed to allow him for life the same pay and allowances he enjoyed as clerk of the peace. 7: Adlam, appointed by the Governor's letter of 5 March last a second lieutenant of infantry at the island, having since been made an ensign on the Fort St George establishment, the Court directed the Governor to appoint John Leech, whom he recommended as very deserving, a second lieutenant in his place. 8: The Court could not agree to the recommendation that a captain lieutenant be added to the field officers company, being determined not to increase the very heavy military expenses of the island except under the most urgent necessity. 9: The Court was greatly concerned to see the Governor's records filled with the disputes that had prevailed among the [...] **Interpretations** The scheme for the Company's houses tied occupation to office rather than ownership: each councillor and the four senior civil officers held a house only while serving in his post and only on keeping it in repair, so the dwellings functioned as a perquisite of rank that reverted to the Company. The bar on erecting new buildings without express licence kept control of the island's building stock in London's hands, preventing officers from raising structures the Company would later have to maintain or buy out, and reserving all expansion to a central decision. The refusal to add a captain lieutenant to the establishment shows the Court holding the line on the garrison's fixed costs during the war. Every additional officer meant a permanent charge on the island's accounts, and the directors weighed that recurring expense against the marginal military benefit, admitting new posts only under the most urgent necessity rather than on the Governor's assessment of local need.
391	387	Members of your Board, and particularly on the matter regarding Lieutenant Statham, which having been carried on with great Asperity, we hereby declare that if the necessary Harmony towards the Good Conduct of our Affairs is so studiously interrupted and a decent respect towards our Governor is not constantly maintained, we shall with reluctance be obliged to shew some strong marks of our Resentment towards those who shall persist in distracting your Councils. In answer to the Governor's Letter of the 22 August last, requesting Directions respecting the Military Compliments to be paid to the Members of the Chief Administration in Bengal on their arriving at St Helena. we direct that the Governor General be saluted with two more Guns and a Member of the Council receive the same Compliment as is is formerly paid to the Governors of any of our Presidencies in India London We are the 5 February 1777 Your loving Friends (Signed)	The disputes had prevailed among the members of the Board, and particularly the matter concerning Lieutenant Statham, which had been carried on with great bitterness. The Court declared that if the necessary harmony towards the good conduct of its affairs was so seriously interrupted, and a proper respect towards the Governor was not constantly maintained, it would reluctantly be obliged to show some strong marks of its resentment against those who persisted in disturbing the councils. 10: In answer to the Governor's letter of 22 August last, asking for directions about the military compliments to be paid to the members of the chief administration in Bengal on their arrival at St Helena, the Court directed that the Governor General be saluted with two more guns, and that a member of the Council receive the same compliment as was formerly paid to the governors of any of the Company's presidencies in India. The Court closed as the Governor's loving friends, writing from London on 5 February 1777, and it was signed by: R. Hall W. Rous John Smith James Moffatt Thos Rumbold John Harrison Ben Booth G. Wombwell Joseph Sparkes

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		R. Hall John Roberts W. Rous Wm James John Smith Fred.k Pigou James Moffatt J. Stables Tho.s Rumbold W.G. Freeman John Harrison George Tatem Ben Booth George Cuming G. Wombwell Samuel Peach Joseph Sparkes Henry Savage **Margin Notes:** Company blamed at the disputes which have prevailed at the Board Compliments to be paid to the Members of the Chief Administration when arriving from India	John Roberts William James Fredk Pigou J. Stables W. G. Freeman George Tatem George Cuming Samuel Peach Henry Savage **Interpretations** The graduated gun salute was a calibrated language of rank, in which the number of guns fired marked a visitor's precise standing in the Company's hierarchy. Directing that the Governor General of Bengal receive two guns more than a presidency governor fixed his seniority above them in a public, audible form, so that the honours paid at St Helena's landing mirrored the chain of authority running from Bengal downward. Standardising the compliment removed the risk of a local officer giving offence by misjudging the salute due to a senior official passing through. The warning over the Statham quarrel shows the Court treating internal discord as a threat to governance itself, not merely a personal falling-out. By making continued factionalism grounds for marks of its resentment, the directors put the members on notice that loyalty to the Governor's authority was a condition of their places, using the threat of disfavour to enforce the discipline that distance prevented them from imposing directly.
392	388	Our Governor and Council of St Helena Since Our Letter to you of the 5th February last which went per Bridgewater, We have received your several Letters dated the 9th December 1776, 27 January, 13 March 5 April, 10th May, 14 May 20 July and 20th September 1777. You will herewith receive a List of the Ships sailed for and Arrived from the East Indies since the Departure of the Bridgewater. The Gentlemen who compose Our Secret Committee for the present Direction are George Wombwell Esq Chairman of the Court, William Devaynes Esq.r Deputy, with Benjamin Booth, George Cuming, John Harrison, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, John Purling and Henry Savage Esq.rs and you are hereby directed strictly to obey such orders as you may receive from any three or more of them, so far as respects the safety of the Company's Shipping. The Ships We have entertained in the Company's Service this season, their Tonnage, Commanders and Consignments are as follows Viz.t Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Earl of Mansfield: 758, William Fraser, St Helena & China Queen: 804, Peter Douglas, St Helena & Bencoolen Godfrey: 716, Francis Reed Mount Stewart: 758, John Stewart, Madeira Coast & Bay **Margin Notes:** Par 1 Letters received List of Ships Secret Committee Ships taken up	Since the Court's letter of 5 February last, which went by the *Bridgewater*, it had received the Governor's several letters dated 9 December 1776, 27 January, 13 March, 3 April, 10 May, 14 May, 20 July and 30 September 1777. 2: A list of the ships sailed for and arrived from the East Indies since the *Bridgewater* left accompanied this letter. 3: The gentlemen composing the secret committee for the present direction were George Wombwell, chairman of the Court, William Devaynes, deputy, together with Benjamin Booth, George Cuming, John Harrison, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, John Purling and Henry Savage. The Governor was directed to obey strictly any orders received from any three or more of them, so far as concerned the safety of the Company's shipping. 4: The ships taken into the Company's service this season, with their tonnage, commanders and consignments, were as follows. The *Earl of Mansfield*, 758 tons, commanded by William Fraser, consigned to St Helena and China. The *Queen*, 804 tons, commanded by Peter Douglas, consigned to St Helena and Bencoolen. The *Godfrey*, 716 tons, commanded by Francis Reed. The *Mount Stewart*, 758 tons, commanded by John Stewart, consigned to Madras, the Coast and Bay.

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393	389	Grosvenor: 724, John Coxon Asterley: 758, Samuel Rogers Coast and Bay Lord Holland: 804, Patrick Lawson Willsborough: 723, P.W. Collett Latham: 723, John Vince Royal George: 758, Tho.s Tovall Glatton: 758, Rich.d Doveton Coast & China Nassau: 723, Arthur Gore Shrewsbury: 676, Benjamin Jones Southampton: 758, John Lennox Calcutta: 761, Will.m Thomson Coast and Bay Gatton: 758, Charles Chisholm, Madeira Coast & Bay Morse: 864, George Worth, Madeira Fort St George & Bombay Royal Henry: 804, Ralf Dundas, Bombay & Bengal Colebrook: 723, Arthur Morris, Madeira Bombay & China Halford: 804, Tho.s Hall, Coast & Bay Royal Admiral: 903, Edward Bewow, Bombay The Earl of Mansfield mentioned in the foregoing List will carry this Letter to you and will be followed in a short time by the Queen. On their Arrival you are to unload the Articles consigned to you Island as expeditiously as possible, that they may be dispatched to their future Destinations within the time limitted by their Charterparties Copies whereof are enclosed in the Packetts for your Information. The Gentlemen we have appointed for the management of Our Affairs in China the ensuing Season are Mess.rs Matthew Roper, James Bradshaw, William Henry Pigou, George Rogers, Abraham Roebuck, Henry Brown John Harrison, George Cuming, Alexander Bruce, Charles Edward Pigou, Henry Lane and David Lance who are all to reside in China in the Year 1779 **Margin Notes:** Iron Ships to be dispatched within the time limitted by Charter Party China Council & Presidents	The list of ships continued. The *Grosvenor*, 724 tons, commanded by John Coxon. The *Ostesby*, 758 tons, commanded by Samuel Rogers, both consigned to the Coast and Bay. The *Lord Holland*, 804 tons, commanded by Patrick Lawson. The *Willsborough*, 723 tons, commanded by William Collett. The *Latham*, 723 tons, commanded by John Vince. The *Royal George*, 758 tons, commanded by Thomas Tovall. The *Glatton*, 758 tons, commanded by Richard Doveton, all consigned to the Coast and China. The *Nassau*, 723 tons, commanded by Arthur Gore. The *Shrewsbury*, 676 tons, commanded by Benjamin Jones. The *Southampton*, 758 tons, commanded by John Lennox. The *Calcutta*, 761 tons, commanded by William Thomson, all consigned to the Coast and Bay. The *Gatton*, 758 tons, commanded by Charles Chisholm, consigned to Madras, the Coast and Bay. The *Morse*, 864 tons, commanded by George Ward, consigned to Madras, Fort St George and Bombay. The *Royal Henry*, 804 tons, commanded by Ralph Dundas, consigned to Bombay and Bengal. The *Colebrooke*, 723 tons, commanded by Arthur Morris, consigned to Madras, Bombay and China. The *Belford*, 804 tons, commanded by Thomas Hall, consigned to the Coast and Bay. The *Royal Admiral*, 903 tons, commanded by Edward Berrow, consigned to Bombay. 5: The *Earl of Mansfield* named in the list, which carried this letter, would be followed shortly by the *Queen*. On their arrival the Governor was to unload the articles consigned to the island as quickly as possible, so that both ships could be sent on to their further destinations within the time set by their charterparties, copies of which were enclosed in the packets for information. 6: The gentlemen appointed for the management of the Company's affairs in China, the current supracargoes, were Matthew Roper, James Bradshaw, William Henry Pigou, George Rogers, Abraham Roebuck, Henry Brown, John Harrison, George Cuming, Alexander Bruce, Charles Edward Pigou, Henry Lane and David Lance, all to reside in China in the year 1779.
394	390	The abovenamed Gentlemen are directed to comply with the Indents you may have occasion to make to them for such Stores and Necessaries as you shall want to be supplied with from China. In the Packetts by the Ships Earl of Mansfield and Queen several Copies of an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament for preventing the clandestine unshipping from and receiving Goods at Sea on board Vessels employed in the Company's Service are forwarded for your information and by the same Conveyances and for the same purpose are also transmitted Copies of several Standing orders lately established by the Court of Directors for preventing the	7: These gentlemen were directed to meet the indents the Governor might have occasion to make for such stores and necessaries as he needed supplied from China. 8: In the packets by the *Earl of Mansfield* and *Queen*, the Court forwarded several copies of an act passed in the last session of Parliament for preventing the secret unshipping and receiving of goods at sea on board vessels employed in the Company's service. By the same conveyances, and for the same purpose, it also sent copies of several standing orders lately made by the Court of Directors to prevent ships in the Company's service from straying off course, and to detect and punish anyone concerned in illicit trade. 9: The Court enclosed a copy of an order of His Majesty's Privy Council granting it liberty to export to St Helena and its several presidencies 1,500 barrels of gunpowder, together with sundry ordnance, small arms and other warlike stores to the amount of 2,000 tons, on the conditions named in the order. It also enclosed a copy of an order of the

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		Deviation of Ships employed in the Company's Service and for the detection and punishment of Persons who shall be concerned in Illicit Trade. We enclose Copy of an Order of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council granting Us liberty to export to St Helena and Our several Presidencies 1500 Barrels of Gunpowder also sundry Ordnance small Arms and other Warlike Stores to the amount of 2000 Tons on the Conditions mentioned in the said Order We also enclose Copy of an Order of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council authorizing us to send Provisions to Bombay, Fort Marlborough Bengal and St Helena notwithstanding the present Embargo and you are to follow the directions We gave last Year for the return of the Certificates required. We do not agree in Opinion with you respecting the propriety of separating the Commissions of Engineer and Captain of Artillery at your Island and We have appointed Mr William Renou Gentleman of whose Abilities We have received the most ample Testimonials to fill these Posts in the room **Margin Notes:** China Council to Comply with Indents Acts of Parliament sent respecting Shipping unshipping Goods at Sea, & Copy of the Comp.s Standing Orders His Majesty's Permission for the exportation of Gun Powder &c Do for Provisions Certificates to be sent as Ordered last Year Mr W. Renou app.d Engineer and Cap.t of Artillery	Privy Council authorising the Company to send provisions to Bombay, Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen and St Helena despite the present embargo. The Governor was to follow the directions given the previous year for returning the certificates required. 10: The Court did not agree with the Governor about the wisdom of separating the commissions of engineer and captain of artillery at the island, and it had appointed William Preston, a gentleman of whose abilities it had received the fullest testimonials, to fill those posts in the room [...] **Interpretations** The three enclosures worked as a single enforcement package against smuggling within the Company's own fleet. The act of Parliament made the secret unshipping of goods at sea a statutory offence, giving the criminal law behind what had been an internal disciplinary matter, while the standing orders on ships straying off course attacked the method by which contraband was moved, since a vessel that left its proper track could rendezvous with another to transfer cargo. Together they gave the Company both the legal weapon and the navigational rule needed to catch and punish crews trading on their own account. The Court's refusal to split the posts of engineer and captain of artillery, against the Governor's advice, reflects the economy of a small garrison where one qualified man was expected to cover two technical roles. Fortification and gunnery drew on overlapping engineering skill, so combining them in a single well-tested appointee like William Preston saved a salary and avoided importing two specialists where the island's establishment could support only one.
395	391	of and with the same pay and Allowances as were enjoyed by Capt Feibet Capt Renou will proceed accordingly, on the Earl of Mansfield by which Ship a Copy of his Commission is transmitted, he has also our permission to take his Wife with him. On Account of the present Situation of Public Affairs We shall not be able to send more than thirty Recruits to St Helena this Season. William Jenkins whom you mentioned in your Letter of the 20th September last had secretly quitted your Island, has represented to us that on board the Duke of Cumberland having some business with the Gunner during which time the Ship got under way and it was impossible for him to get on shore and Capt Savage confirming the same and informing us that he has every reason to believe the Mans leaving the Island was not intentional as he frequently expressed the greatest uneasiness at being brought away from his family We have under these particular Circumstances	Preston was to hold the same pay and allowances as Captain Foote, and Captain Pirie would sail accordingly on the *Earl of Mansfield*, by which ship a copy of his commission was sent. He also had leave to take his wife with him. 11: Because of the present state of public affairs, the Court would not be able to send more than thirty recruits to St Helena this season. 12: William Jenkins, whom the Governor mentioned in his letter of 20 September last as having secretly left the island, had explained to the Court that he was aboard the *Duke of Cumberland* on business with the gunner when the ship got under way, and that it was impossible for him to get ashore. Captain Savage confirmed this and told the Court he had every reason to believe the man's leaving the island was not intentional, since Jenkins had often shown the greatest anxiety at being carried away from his family. In these particular circumstances, and given his distressed situation, the Court returned him to St Helena at the Company's expense. 13: The Governor would receive the Court's further directions by the *Queen*, which would be dispatched soon after the *Earl of Mansfield*. 14: As the Court found from the Governor's account of the case of Eleanor Shirtley that she was entitled to the benefit of the Military Fund, it confirmed the allowance the Governor had made her as the widow of a lieutenant of artillery in the Company's service. The Governor was therefore to continue paying her the pension of a lieutenant of

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		and the distressed Situation of Jenkins returned him to St Helena at the Company's Expence. By the Ship Queen which will be dispatched soon after the Earl of Mansfield you will receive our further Directions. As we find in your Representation of the Case and Circumstances of Mrs Eleanor Shirtley that she is entitled to the Benefit of the Military Fund, We confirm the Allowance you have made her as the Widow of a Lieutenant of Artillery in the Company's Service You will therefore continue to pay her the Pension, of a Widow of a Lieutenant of Artillery as established by the Deed, & Carry it to Account the Military Fund, and such Accounts you **Margin Notes:** Not able to send more than 30 Recruits Wm Jenkins to return to St Helena further directions to be sent P Queen Mrs E. Shirtley admitted a Pensioner	artillery's widow as fixed by the deed, and to charge it to the account of the Military Fund, and such accounts he must [...] **Interpretations** The handling of William Jenkins turned on intent: an unauthorised departure from the island would ordinarily be a serious matter, but the Court accepted the man's account and the captain's corroboration that he had been carried off accidentally while doing legitimate work aboard ship. His repeated distress at being separated from his family served as evidence of good faith, and on that basis the Company bore the cost of returning him, treating an involuntary removal as a misfortune to be remedied rather than a desertion to be punished. Eleanor Shirtley's pension shows the Military Fund operating exactly as designed, with the widow of a qualifying officer admitted on the Governor's verified account and paid at the rate fixed for her late husband's rank. The requirement to charge the pension to the fund's own account and keep separate records confirms the fund was ring-fenced from general Company money, so that its liabilities could be tracked against its resources as a distinct trust.
396	392	must not fail to transmit Us on a separate paper in your Packetts of each Season. London We are the 8 December 1777. Your loving Friends (Signed) George Wombwell William Devayne Fredrick Pigou J. Manship Samuel Peach James Moffatt Joseph Sparkes Rich.d Becher Tho.s Cheap George Cuming Nath. Smith Ben Booth Charles Boddam George Tatem John Harrison Henry Savage	Such accounts the Governor was not to fail to send to the Court on a separate paper in the packets of each season. The Court closed as the Governor's loving friends, writing from London on 8 December 1777, and it was signed by: George Wombwell William Devayne Fredrick Pigou J. Manship Samuel Peach James Moffatt Joseph Sparkes Richd Becher Thos Cheap George Cuming Nath Smith Ben Booth Charles Boddam George Tatem John Harrison Henry Savage
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