

St Helena Records 1756-1757

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

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-1-38>.

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.

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

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

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

Pagination: The pages are unnumbered. Therefore, for reference purposes, the first page of the records on Film No. 6 is designated as page 1 (location 6/1), with numbering continuing sequentially through the end of the volume.

Dates: The Council's first meeting took place on 29 July 1756, with the final meeting occurring on 31 October 1757. All sessions were convened during Captain Charles Hutchinson's administration (1747-1764).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

Governor Charles Hutchinson presided over St Helena's governor and council for the whole period covered here, from 29 July 1756 to 31 October 1757, generally supported by Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark, the three men signing each weekly or fortnightly consultation in turn

and thereby giving the written record its own legal standing. Their proceedings survive alongside the East India Company's parallel bookkeeping: quarterly paymaster's and storekeeper's accounts, monthly gunner's and livestock returns, wills proved before the council and correspondence exchanged with the Company's presidencies at Madras, Bombay and Bengal. Together these sources describe a small garrison island governed as a commercial outpost, in which wages, rations, punishments and property transfers alike passed through ledgers and consultations that the council read, approved and signed before any of it acquired standing at all.

The period falls within the opening phase of the Seven Years War, declared between Britain and France in May 1756 and formally read to the assembled garrison on 21 February 1756/7. Its clearest practical effects on the island were the naval convoys that gathered at St Helena to protect the homeward China and India fleets, under His Majesty's ship *Hampshire* in August 1756 and His Majesty's ship *Colchester* in August 1757, together with the resupply of powder and shot to homebound Indiamen that had already engaged an enemy at sea. Beyond shipping, the war's operational impact on the island's own daily business, provisioning ships, paying soldiers, proving wills, remained modest, though a case of suspected disloyalty examined in October 1757 shows the council alert to the wider conflict even in a routine domestic dispute.

Read as a whole, the record falls into recognisable clusters of business: the weekly governance of a tiny official class in which the same men held land, sat in council and filled the Company's paid offices; the defence and provisioning of a fortified island that served every nation's homeward Indian and Chinese trade; land tenure governed by lease rather than freehold; a currency composed entirely of foreign coin and the Company's own paper notes; a judiciary that combined civil disputes, criminal discipline and probate within the same body of councillors; and slavery, which appears throughout as an unremarked structural fact rather than a subject of debate, in the rationing of yams, the branding and whipping of runaways, the bequest of named individuals by will, and a bureaucratic habit of recording slave births and deaths in the same returns used for livestock. The narrative that follows draws these threads together by theme and presents them in chronological order, dated as precisely as the surviving entries allow, while considering critically what the council's own account can and cannot tell a modern reader. The record was compiled for the Company's own purposes, ultimately for the Directors in London, and its very thoroughness in matters it chose to formalise is matched by near-total silence on the interior lives of the slaves whose labour and rationing appear on almost every page.

Governance and Administration

The council met weekly at the castle throughout the period, each meeting opening with the reading, approval and signing of the previous week's consultation before new business was taken, a procedure recorded consistently from 29 July 1756 through 31 October 1757. This ritual of confirmation gave the consultation book its authority: nothing entered the record until the men present at the prior meeting had formally endorsed the previous account of it, and the book itself became the point of reference whenever a dispute later arose over what had actually been said or decided. That reliance on the written record was tested directly in October 1756, when Adamson challenged a minute alleging that Francis Wrangham, senior, had forfeited his lease, denying that the word forfeit had been used, and Lieutenant Clark, asked to give his own recollection, confirmed the word but not the intention behind it, exposing the consultation book as a contested document whose wording could be disputed by the very officials who had signed it [Film No. 49].

A change in senior personnel took effect on 11 October 1756, when Mr Goodwin's resignation created a vacancy in the accountant's office: Matthew Purling, already a substantial planter, was appointed accountant, with James Powell named storekeeper and Matthew Bazett his assistant [Film No. 50]. The small civil establishment continued to absorb change by shifting individuals between posts rather than by fresh recruitment. Around 15 November 1756, with Bazett moved up to assistant storekeeper, Thomas Dunn, a recruit, was allowed £20 a year to fill the vacancy in the secretary's office so long as he behaved so as to deserve it, and by the quarter's end Bazett combined the offices of factor and assistant storekeeper while Richard Beale held those of judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk together [Film No. 123, 148]. On 22 November 1756, with both Adamson and Clark absent through sickness, Hutchinson alone examined and approved that month's plantation, gunners' and stewards' accounts, and no substitute member was called in [Film No. 123]. By 15 November 1756 the council had also written to George Pigot, president and

governor of Fort St George at Madras, enclosing a duplicate of its letter of 21 June 1756 and pressing for a reply, showing that St Helena, though answerable directly to the Court of Directors in London, also depended on the Company's senior Indian presidency for matters it could not resolve locally [Film No. 122-123].

On 18 February 1756/7 the arrival of the ship *Onslow* from England brought a packet from the Court of Directors resulting in three senior appointments the same day: Sergeant Solomon Jacobs as adjutant, Richard Beale confirmed at £40 a year as judge advocate, and Robert Barclay confirmed principal surgeon, illustrating how far real patronage over senior office lay with the Directors rather than with the governor on the spot [Film No. 180]. A genuine tension between local and metropolitan authority emerged when Lieutenant George Hay wrote to the governor on 28 February 1756/7 asking to be tried locally under the Articles of War, there being, he said, too few officers on the island to form a lawful general court martial. The council, meeting on 3 March 1756/7, told Hay his case had already been referred to the Court of Directors and ordered him to attend the following Thursday to hear the evidence against him, a stated procedural obstacle that sits awkwardly beside the affair's actual resolution: on 12 March 1756/7 the council recorded that Hay had made a private acknowledgement of misbehaviour to the governor the previous Friday, for conduct dating back to 12 December 1756, and the governor accepted it and released him from arrest without any court martial at all [Film No. 189, 196]. Adamson himself was recorded absent through sickness from at least 21 March 1756/7 and through 28 March 1757, reducing the council to Hutchinson and Clark alone for several weeks [Film No. 178, 198, 202].

The council's dependence on so small an official class was again exposed in the following year. John Adamson was absent through sickness for several meetings in April 1757, and again through much of September 1757, when on 5 September 1757 even Lieutenant Clark was absent ill, leaving Hutchinson to sit alone. Meetings nonetheless continued at their usual weekly or fortnightly interval throughout 1757, on 6, 11, 18 and 25 April, on 2 and 5 May, and on 5, 8, 11, 15, 22, 26 and 29 August, 5, 12, 19 and 26 September, and 3, 11 and 17 October [Film No. 207, 210, 215, 217, 221, 255, 361, 363, 365, 366, 369, 373, 374, 381, 382, 383, 390, 394, 395, 399]. On 11 April 1757 the island's planters met at the chapel to choose parish officers for the coming year, returning churchwardens and overseers for the East, West and South divisions, and the council confirmed only some of those returned by warrant, a two-stage process giving settlers a voice in nomination while keeping the power of appointment in the Company's own hands [Film No. 210]. Correspondence with the Indian presidencies continued as a fixed quarterly discipline: on 4 July 1757 the council wrote to Madras, Bengal and Bombay, each letter naming the date and ship of its own last despatch and of the reply received, since a single letter could be lost at sea along with months of correspondence [Film No. 296-297], and the same despatch dealt with a parcel of 44 quilts intended for the Company's factory at Tellicherry that had been carried to St Helena by mistake, which the council could only return by invoice and await correction by a later ship [Film No. 297].

Private property continued to require the council's leave to change hands throughout 1757: John Desfountain was allowed on 16 May 1757 to assign his lease of 5 acres of cabbage tree land to John Clark, and John Goodwin, selling his effects before quitting the island, was granted leave on 4 July 1757 to dispose of his freehold [Film No. 274, 301]. On 29 August 1757 the council ordered notice published requiring every inhabitant to send a signed account of family, land and cattle to the secretary's office by 30 September 1757 and to attend the castle on 11 October 1757 to pay rents, with the Company's stores shut from 17 September to 13 October 1757 for a full inventory [Film No. 378, 379]. The council's willingness to rule on matters touching its own members recurred on 24 October 1757, when Thomas Clough petitioned to assign his interest in 2 acres of leasehold land in Fryer's Valley to Lieutenant John Clark, who then sat as one of the three signatories approving a transfer of land to himself [Film No. 409].

Military Affairs and Defence

Gunpowder was treated throughout the period as a strategic resource under direct Company control. Captain Parson Fenner, writing to Hutchinson on 31 July 1756, explained that he had damaged some of his own powder at sea and lacked enough to leave the island safely, and the council agreed to supply 3 barrels from its stores [Film No. 10]. On 22 August 1756, His Majesty's ship *Hampshire* sailed for England under convoy of the Company's ships *Pelham*, *Streatham*, *Exeter*, *Duke of Dorset* and *St George*, a despatch of five merchantmen together under Royal Navy escort reflecting the immediate hazard of the sea route once the

Seven Years War had begun; salutes were fired for Captain Knowler and Sir William Hewitt going aboard the *Hampshire* the same day and again as she departed under Captain Norbury [Film No. 31, 41]. The fleet's departure exposed a routine hazard of garrison discipline: Job Harrison, a soldier missing since the Friday before 23 August 1756, was not found in a search of every Company ship, and the council concluded he must have concealed himself aboard one of the naval vessels, though his fate was never resolved [Film No. 31]. The gunner's accounts for July and August 1756 itemise powder expended on alarms and salutes and also on the funerals of Phillip Cole and Thomas Loveland, who died on 8 August 1756, at 2 lb 4 oz apiece, alongside a far larger single issue of 300 lb of powder delivered to resupply the departing *St George* on 8 August 1756 [Film No. 33].

Routine gunnery maintenance, known as scaling, continued through the following months: at Turk's Cap on 22 September and Sandy Bay on 23 September 1756, an alarm using 6 guns on 1 October, and a salute of 9 guns for the arrival of the *Earl of Holderness* on 6 October 1756 [Film No. 66]. The same account records powder for the funerals of four soldiers within the month to 11 October 1756, John Prosser, John Denny, Makepiece Woodington and Joseph Thompson, and for blowing rock at Plantation House and Sandy Bay [Film No. 66]. Clothing issued from store for the quarter ending 11 October 1756 dressed the whole garrison by rank, from scarlet broadcloth for officers down to shirts, shoes, stockings and hats for the ordinary sentinel, at a total cost of £718 13s 11d [Film No. 82, 83]. The garrison of two infantry companies drew pay reckoned strictly to the day: Philip Cole was paid only to 15 July 1756 before his death, John Penny from 12 July to 30 September 1756 before he died, and Job Harrison to his discharge on 22 August 1756 [Film No. 101-105].

By the quarter closing 11 January 1756/7 the garrison had grown to four infantry companies and a separate artillery company, each infantry company built to an identical pattern of a first and second lieutenant, three sergeants, three corporals and two drummers [Film No. 106, 148-154]. Pay continued to be reckoned to the day of any change: Thomas Loveland died on 8 August 1756, and promotions were similarly dated exactly, Thomas Pearce from sentinel to corporal from 9 August 1756, John Clough from drummer to corporal from 6 November 1756, and John Bolton from sentinel to drummer from 13 December 1756 [Film No. 108, 110, 149, 154]. Recruitment drew heavily on men already on the island: William Perry, Richard Swaits and Edward Attis each enlisted for 5 years at St Helena, on 21 July, 27 July and 20 September 1756 respectively, Attis's enlistment on 20 September 1756 made for a bounty of £5 with the Articles of War read to him the same day [Film No. 39, 112]. A cluster of further enlistments, John Pugh, James Sinclove, Robert Bennett, John Davies and Thomas Green, followed within a single week of late October 1756, and Corporal Benjamin Swaits, enlisted on 8 November 1756, and William Hayes, enlisted on 10 January 1756/7, were each described as natives of the island yet received the same £5 bounty applied to recruits brought from England [Film No. 120, 140, 149-153]. The artillery company, headed by master gunner Thomas Hall, was staffed by gunners' mates, quarter gunners and matrosses, with Nathan Sample drawing a higher rate as chief mate; superannuated men including Thomas Eastwage and Isaac Sach held reduced pay, and Sach died between 12 July and 30 August 1756 [Film No. 110-111].

The island's coastal defences extended well beyond the main fort: Roger Nevinson was paid around October 1756 for making a flag for the main fort and a pendant for Munden's Point, and an advertisement of 6 December 1756 required fishermen to return to shore immediately upon any alarm, sighting or flag hoisted at Castle Rock or Horse Pasture Point [Film No. 130]. A full 21-gun salute marked the King's birthday on 10 November 1756, and the garrison kept up near-weekly practice firing at Rupert's through November and December 1756 and into January 1756/7 [Film No. 114, 125, 130, 134, 145]. Military honours were reserved for particular occasions rather than every death: a volley marked the funeral of Joseph Thompson, who died on 10 October 1756, and further powder was expended for the drummer Charles Smith, who died on 12 December 1756, and the quarter gunner John Spencer, who died on 5 January 1756/7; against this the sexton William Dufton was paid for digging graves for nine soldiers within the single quarter ending 11 October 1756 alone, most deaths passing without comparable ceremony [Film No. 114, 125, 145].

On 21 February 1756/7 Governor Hutchinson ordered the garrison under arms and had the declaration of war against France read to them, afterwards affixing it in three places about the island, the formal opening of the Seven Years War's presence in the island's own records [Film No. 181]. The gunner's accounts show

a fixed pattern of practice firing at Rupert's through January 1756/7 interspersed with scaling at Banks's, Bell's fort, Turk's Cap and Munden's Point; 11 guns marked Lieutenant Colonel Bagshaw's coming ashore on 27 February 1756/7 and his going aboard again on 11 March 1756/7, and 27 guns answered the combined departure of the *Edgcote*, *Portfield* and *Onslow* the same day [Film No. 183, 200]. Powder marked the funerals of Joseph Clay, who died on 23 February 1756/7, and William Caker, who died on 11 March 1756/7 [Film No. 200], and an outbreak of illness severe enough to exceed the hospital's capacity led the council on 21 March 1756/7 to hire 2 small houses of 8 rooms for the sick at £16 a year rather than crowd the existing infirmary further, though the disease itself is not named [Film No. 201].

Wartime resupply reached its height in April 1757: on 6 April the commanders of the homeward China ships *Suffolk*, *Houghton* and *Godolphin* wrote separately asking to be resupplied with powder and shot, each citing a recent engagement at sea and fearing a further attack on the passage home, William Hutchinson of the *Godolphin* itemising losses of 1,664 lb of cannon powder and hundreds of round and double-headed shot [Film No. 207, 208]. The council granted Wilson and Walpole their request in full but pared back Hutchinson's larger claim only after hearing that the captains could not otherwise proceed safely to England [Film No. 209]. The gunner's account for 12 March to 11 April 1757 records a double alarm at the Ridge House on 31 March and a further alarm for three ships on 1 April, followed by salutes for the arriving *Suffolk*, *Godolphin* and *Houghton*, and powder for the funerals of John Hargrave and William Watkins within the same month [Film No. 219]. The three China ships then took from the magazine 600 lb of powder for the *Suffolk*, 700 lb for the *Houghton* and 1,400 lb for the *Godolphin*, together with hundreds of rounds of nine-pounder shot, a transfer dwarfing the island's own monthly gunnery use [Film No. 219]. Stores issued to the fortifications between January and April 1757 went to the guard at Lemon Valley, the powder magazines at Munden's Point and Rupert's, the flying parties' ammunition chests and the castle's portcullis, showing the island's defence organised as a network of dispersed batteries [Film No. 252].

The establishment for the quarter to 11 April 1757 confirmed four infantry companies and a separate artillery company, each carrying its own lieutenants, sergeants, corporals and drummers at graded pay [Film No. 222, 223]. From 18 February 1756/7, when the Directors' instructions reached the island, a large body of new soldiers was entertained onto the garrison's strength, and several men were promoted within the same quarter: Solomon Jacob from sergeant to adjutant, Edward Robinson from corporal to sergeant and John Buck from sentinel to corporal [Film No. 223]. Sixty recruits shipped from England earlier that year were given arrack, pork and rice on landing and later fitted out with cots made from English canvas [Film No. 250, 251], and scarlet broadcloth, silk, mohair and silver buttons were issued for Solomon Jacob's new adjutant's coat [Film No. 250]. Death cut through the newly swollen ranks: Joseph Clay died on 23 February 1756/7, William Caker on 11 March 1756/7, John Slipyard on 15 March 1756/7 barely a month after enlisting, and William Lyon within a fortnight of joining in January 1756/7, while Sergeant William Watkins of the third company died on 21 March 1756/7 [Film No. 224, 226, 227, 228]. The third company was commanded by Onesiphorus Beale as first lieutenant, with George Hay as second lieutenant restored to full pay by April 1757, an earlier disciplinary matter closed without cost to his rank [Film No. 227], while a fourth company under William Kennedy and Samuel Price completed the infantry, and one superannuated gunner, Thomas Easthope, still drew a full quarter's pay [Film No. 229, 231, 232]. The paymaster John Clark drew £2,547 4s 8d from the cash chest on 11 April 1757 to meet the whole quarter's wage bill [Film No. 233], within which the largest single item, £100 3s 9d, paid soldiers for work at the island's own fortifications, and smaller sums went for baking bread, mending flags, breaking oxen, fetching lime, painting gun carriages and clearing roads [Film No. 236].

An inspection of the small arms in store, carried out by the armourer Paul Heritage and the gunsmith Edward Terry and reported on 26 May 1757, found that of 327 arms held under Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick's charge only 168 were fit for service, the remaining 159 unserviceable, a serious weakness on an island resupplied only by the next Company ship [Film No. 280]. The garrison's strength continued its steady cycle of discharge and enlistment: Daniel Sergeant was discharged on 1 June 1757 and John Frazier petitioned for discharge on 24 May 1757, while John Ward enlisted for the standard 5 years at £10 bounty on 1 June 1757, William Harris was re-enlisted on the same terms in the month to 11 May 1757, and James Garnett, a seaman left behind by the *Hector*, was taken into the garrison on 23 June 1757 for only £3 [Film No. 277, 280, 294]. Salutes and alarms punctuated April, May and June 1757: guns for the *Suffolk*, *Godolphin* and *Houghton* on 14 April 1757, a Danish ship saluted twice on 23 April and again on 7 May 1757, and

double alarms fired from Munden's Point and Prosperous Bay on 2 June 1757 for three ships passing at once [Film No. 279, 289]. Military honours marked further deaths: John Steward, John Gaynor, Robert Bennett and William Williams on 7 May 1757, and Robert Baker on 2 June 1757, Gaynor's funeral falling within days of the will he had signed on 21 April 1757 and Baker's within three weeks of his will of 12 May 1757 [Film No. 274-275, 279, 289], while broken bills, handspikes and lint stocks recorded at Munden's Point, Rupert's, the main fort and Lemon Valley through May and June 1757 show the constant small repair the coastal batteries demanded [Film No. 279, 289].

The gunner's account for the month to 11 July 1757 records the heaviest powder expenditure of the whole run, 322 lb against 128 lb the month before, driven by salutes for the *Oxford*, *Falmouth*, *Clinton*, *Hector*, *Harcourt*, *Stormont*, *Griffin* and *Delaware*, together with His Majesty's ship *Colchester* under Captain O'Brien, and by a fixed observance of 21 rounds fired for the King's accession to the throne on 22 June 1757 with a further volley of small arms [Film No. 315]. The same account records powder spent exercising the East, West and Sandy Bay flying parties, the Sandy Bay allowance the heaviest at over 13 lb, and further funerals, Lieutenant Thomas Easthope on 1 July 1757 and Francis Marsh and Thomas Brown both on 9 July 1757 [Film No. 315, 316]. Three soldiers, William Campbell, Arthur Evans and William Herrald, petitioned for discharge on grounds of infirmity in these weeks, and the council required a written medical opinion from the surgeon Robert Barclay before granting their release on 25 July 1757 [Film No. 315, 316].

By 1 August 1757 the council had bought a six-oared cutter from Captain O'Brien of the *Colchester* at prime cost, £22 13s, the Company having no proper boat of its own for the governor to inspect the island's scattered forts, and the same captain later supplied a ton and six hundredweight of junk for artillery wads against repayment in England [Film No. 361, 362]. On 9 August 1757 the whole homeward convoy sailed together, His Majesty's ship *Colchester* escorting the Company's ships *Oxford*, *Harcourt*, *Griffin*, *Stormont* and *Delaware* [Film No. 365]. The gunner's account for 12 July to 11 August 1757 records salutes for the sloop of war *King's Fisher* under Captain Saby and for the departing *Colchester*, powder for the funerals of four men, McDaniels, Pritchard, McClaine and Murry, within the same month, and further charges fired on fixed anniversary dates, 29 December and 28 February, at Sandy Bay and Banks [Film No. 371]. The following month's account, for 12 August to 11 September 1757, records powder for the funeral of Lieutenant Stephen Herbert on 17 August, scaling at Turk's Cap, Lemon Valley and Sandy Bay, and a tally of worn-out gun carriages by calibre, from 32-pounders down to 9-pounders, distinguishing the pieces at the Main Fort from those at the outlying signal stations known as the reports [Film No. 385]; the Company table's account for the same month shows veal appearing on the bill as calves were slaughtered, while sheep skins from the same stock were turned into powder bags and gun sponges [Film No. 372].

The gunner's account for the month to 11 October 1757 records powder for the funerals of William Adams, William Turner and Benjamin Swaits, alongside the exercise of the East and West Flying Parties and a further tally of worn-out gun carriages, from 32-pounders down to 3-pounders, across five batteries at Bank's, Turk's Cap, Munden's Point and the Alarm House [Film No. 407]. The warehouse inventory taken the same day records standing naval and military capital rather than routine consumption: four anchors and a fifth on the West Rocks, ship's blocks including cat blocks and dead eyes, spare masts including one 76 feet long and a topmast salvaged from the ship *Stretham*, and two screw jacks together worth over £17 [Film No. 443, 445, 449]. In the last days of October 1757 the council also examined a representation touching military security in wartime: Thomas Levins, the Company's carpenter, complained of Thomas Stanley, a former servant of Adamson, whose conduct combined a domestic quarrel with talk of roaming the island's remote creeks and corners and the wearing of a crucifix, details that, on a fortified island at war with Catholic France, prompted the council to send the marshal to forbid Stanley from entering the country or leaving the settlement on the pretense of fishing, a restriction on movement discussed further below under Personalities [Film No. 459, 460].

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

Land on St Helena was held from the Company by lease rather than freehold, and the lease itself, not the underlying ground, was the asset a planter could transfer. Two petitions of 2 August 1756 illustrate the pattern: John Worrall asked leave to give up his lease of 7.5 acres in Sandy Bay valley so that it might pass to his servant William Pardoe, and Nathan Sample asked leave to assign the residue of his lease to John Clark so that he could sell his house standing on the land, both petitions granted the same day [Film No. 9].

The annual rent roll, collected following advertisement on 6 September 1756 and paid in on 4 October 1756, totalled £563 13s 4d across 2,199 acres of assessed land and a further 1,825.5 spare acres, revealing a striking concentration of landholding: Francis Wrangham, senior, was assessed at over £44, while numerous smaller tenants held only a few acres, some at a nominal peppercorn rent kept alive without charging its true value [Film No. 50, 51, 52]. Land held in the name of deceased planters' orphans, such as Samuel Doveton's orphans and John Bazett's orphans, continued to be assessed and taxed through the heirs' minority rather than reverting to the Company [Film No. 37, 50, 51, 52]. That same advertisement of 6 September 1756 required every inhabitant to render an exact account of family, land and cattle by 30 September, tying the island's census function to its revenue collection, and a parallel notice demanded a signed return of horses and mares from every owner [Film No. 37, 50, 51, 52]. A dispute that ran from late September 1756 into October 1756 over a wall and diverted watercourse behind the Company's great house, and its later continuation through October 1756 into a formal ruling, is treated in full below under Judiciary, since it turned chiefly on the wording of leases and the governor's own judicial finding [Film No. 46-64].

The livestock account for 12 September to 11 October 1756 tracked the Company's neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, horses and asses, recording increases, losses and a small theft of 11 ducks, while a species-changed line reclassified calves and lambs grown into adult categories without altering the herd's overall total [Film No. 65]. The plantation stores account for the same quarter supplied rice and paddy for the poultry and horses, cart wheels and an axletree, spades, hoes, scythes and tar for casks, the ordinary equipment of husbandry on an island that manufactured almost none of it for itself [Film No. 84, 85].

Grants of Company waste land proceeded only after inspection. Francis Wrangham, junior, applied on 8 November 1756 to enclose about 2 acres for sowing, and the council ordered the land viewed before any grant was confirmed [Film No. 120]. Sarah Junge, a widow, petitioned on 17 January 1756/7 to enclose 1 acre of waste land at Sandy Bay, at a place called the Writing Stones, so that she might build a house there; the council's minute records agreement to a 21-year lease at 3s a year, yet the lease as sealed the same day set the rent at 5s for the acre, due at Michaelmas, a discrepancy the record does not explain, and bound Sarah Junge and her heirs to fence and maintain the ground, to plant the required trees, and not to dispose of her interest without the governor's consent [Film No. 142-143]. Elizabeth Gurling petitioned on the same day to give up 1.25 acres of hired land next to James's Valley, which she held on the understanding that her son Thomas Bazett had permission to sell it, and the council granted her request, together with Sarah Junge's case showing small parcels of land changing hands or reverting to the Company through direct petition rather than any more formal conveyancing [Film No. 141-142]. The plantation stores for the quarter to 11 January 1756/7 drew on nails, deals and iron ware for maintenance across the island's working buildings, and paint bought for the gates of a new burial ground was recorded in the same account as routine carpentry [Film No. 173].

On 21 March 1756/7, James Powell petitioned to assign his right in the remaining term of a lease of 15 acres at Sandy Bay Valley to George Alexander, granted the same day, while Francis Wrangham, senior, brought in a mortgage from his son Francis for registration, keeping a family debt on the public record rather than seeking an outside lender [Film No. 198]. A more complex matter reached the council on 28 March 1757, when Richard Beale, as sole executor of the late Gabriel Harper's will, petitioned for leave to assign 1 acre of leasehold land held for the benefit of Harper's orphans, adjoining 11 acres of freehold Beale had already sold on their behalf, to Benjamin Mason, the council's requirement of formal approval even for a single acre held in trust showing direct oversight of orphaned children's property [Film No. 202]. The livestock account for 12 March to 11 April 1757 recorded 560 lb of beef issued to each of three departing ships, goats sent to the sick slaves and the hospital, and a discrepancy of 5,990 lb between the overseers' monthly yam total and the weekly returns, acknowledged rather than concealed in the council's own certification [Film No. 218]. Lambing continued strongly through March and April 1757, 83 lambs added to the flock, even as the goats fell under heavy slaughter to supply departing ships and the sick [Film No. 218], and stores issued for the plantation in the same months supplied nails for repairs to the black house, the Lieutenant Governor's dwelling in the wood and the crane in the Great Wood, rice and paddy for the poultry and horses, and iron for carts and pickaxes [Film No. 251, 252].

The will of Lieutenant Thomas Easthope, proved before the council on 18 July 1757 though dated 1 August 1751, illustrates the ordinary English pattern of provision by sex applied to a modest colonial estate: his dwelling house and adjoining freehold and leasehold land descended to his two sons, Henry and James, while his daughter Mary was to receive a money portion raised from the estate, Easthope treating his leasehold explicitly as personal rather than real property so that his executors could value it and pay Mary her share without breaking up the freehold the sons would inherit [Film No. 310, 311]. Anticipating that dividing his land between his sons might leave one without water for his cattle, Easthope directed that the watering place be held in common between them, and appointed his sons executors alongside Richard Bagley, senior, and Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale, the sons to join at the age of 18 [Film No. 311].

A memorial from the Widow Seale, presented through John Bland on 29 August 1757, set out that her late husband John Seale had bought a Sandy Bay lease from James Vaughan when the land carried some 25,000 yams, and that the couple's labour clearing rock and hillside had raised the yam count to 70,000, the family having held the ground since 1726 [Film No. 379, 380]. The memorial explained that when Governor Dunbar called in all leases in 1744, the executor Gabriel Harper had mishandled the promised renewal, and the widow, trusting entirely to her executors, discovered the lapse only after Harper's own death, by which time she was too infirm to press the matter without help [Film No. 380]. William Wrangham visited the widow at the governor's request and, on 5 September 1757, confirmed to the council that the memorial had been made at her own wish, that losing the lease would leave her with nowhere else to live, and that her house stood so near collapse she dared not repair it until the lease was secured [Film No. 381]. On 12 September 1757 the council agreed to renew the lease for the widow and her orphans, reserving that the Company's own land, above or below, should in no way be deprived of its water, and the lease was formally sealed on 19 September 1757, granting 7.5 acres in Sandy Bay for 21 years at 5s an acre payable at Michaelmas, binding the tenants to keep the ground planted with wood and furze, to replace fruit trees as they died, and never to assign their interest without the Company's consent [Film No. 382, 387-389]. On the same day, Orlando Bagley's petition to assign his lease of 27.5 acres in the south division to Thomas Cotgrave was granted, putting into immediate practice the very restriction on assignment written into the Seale lease only hours before [Film No. 389]. On 11 October 1757 the planters attended to pay their year's rents and revenues, totalling £561 12s 2d across 2,144.5 acres granted and 1,820 acres actually planted, the roll recording for each tenant both the ground held and the ground under cultivation [Film No. 395-398].

The final week of October 1757 brought three further land petitions, illustrating continuing pressure on the island's limited flat ground even among serving soldiers of modest rank: on 24 October 1757 Thomas Clough sought leave to assign 2 acres of leasehold in Fryer's Valley to Lieutenant John Clark, a transfer discussed above under Governance, and on 31 October 1757 Corporal Gilbert Clough and John Jacks, quarter gunner, each sought a small plot of Company waste land in James Valley on which to build a dwelling house, Jacks pinning his request to a plot adjoining the house lately inhabited by the late William Turner and grounding his claim in being married and unlikely to leave the island; the council answered both petitions not with an immediate grant but with an order that the land be viewed [Film No. 409, 456, 457]. The quarterly stores issued to the plantation from 12 July to 11 October 1757 included paddy issued as seed rice to the growers Doveton and House, spades, scythes, ditching shovels and pruning knives for the gardens, and cartwheels for the carts, alongside iron worked locally into hatchets and ditchers rather than imported ready-made; a separate account for the island's boats drew cordage, linseed oil and paint brushes for their upkeep, marking the small craft's standing as essential working plant and the settlement's sole link to the ships in the road [Film No. 426].

Supply and Provisioning

The Company's ship *Prothaim* arrived from Bombay on 28 July 1756 with an invoice of chellows, Surat chintz and Batavia arrack rendered in rupees, and the *Pelham* arrived on 31 July 1756 with batty rice packed in gunny bags [Film No. 6, 8]. A further supply arrived with the *Duke of Dorset* on 8 August 1756, including wax candles, fine rice, paddy and further Batavia arrack measured in leaguers [Film No. 8, 15]. Shortfalls between goods invoiced and goods landed were checked with care: the storekeeper reported on 3 August 1756 that casks from the *Prothaim* were 68 gallons short of 1,117 gallons gauged, and that rice from the *Pelham* arrived short by 5 candy 3 maunds 25 seers, and a further report of 16 August 1756 recorded rice, candles and paddy from the *Duke of Dorset* similarly short, alongside 17.5 gallons missing from her arrack casks [Film No. 19, 25]. Homeward-bound captains applied for provisions to complete their passage:

Captain George Lindsay of the *Pelham* asked on 16 August 1756 for 6 casks of beef, 4 of pork and 20 hundredweight of rice, Captain Charles Mason of the *Prothaim* the same day for 10 casks of pork, 30 hundredweight of rice and 12 seams of twine, and Captain Forester of the *Duke of Dorset* for 4 casks of salt provisions and 6 hundredweight of rice, the council granting all three requests while noting it could ill spare them [Film No. 27, 28]. St Helena's cattle economy operated as a tightly regulated resource: a list compiled in August 1756 recorded 28 planters' stock sold both to Company ships and to four visiting Swedish and Danish East Indiamen, the *Prince Charles of Sweden*, the *Princess Sophia Albertina*, the *Queen Juliana Maria of Denmark* and the *Anna Princess of Denmark*, as well as to His Majesty's ship *Hampshire*, which alone took 30 head [Film No. 29, 30]. Concern over undeclared livestock led the council, on 2 August 1756, to order every owner of unreturned stock to declare it on pain of penalty [Film No. 13]. The Company's own herds were tallied monthly: the account for 12 July to 11 August 1756 recorded 279 head of neat cattle, 697 sheep, 358 goats, 31 hogs and substantial poultry, with 14 calves born, and the following month's account, to 11 September 1756, recorded a sharp increase of 35 lambs and 43 kids even as the *Hampshire* and homeward ships drew heavily on the mature stock, taking 2 cattle, 10 sheep, 4 hogs, 500 lb of hay and 8 turkeys for the warship alone [Film No. 32, 40].

Goods sold from Company stores over the quarter ending 11 October 1756 were priced at three rates, 10 per cent to Company servants, 25 per cent to planters and 40 per cent on high-demand staples such as arrack, sugar, flour and tea [Film No. 71-77], while sales to the Company's own ships were dominated by salt beef and pork sold by the puncheon, together worth more than £600 [Film No. 78, 79]. Charges against general stores in the same quarter paid for the fort's upkeep, repairs to the portcullis recurring across several accounts, and a worm tub and still bought for the surgeon's use, the costliest single item in that section [Film No. 80, 81]. The warehouse inventory taken at 11 October 1756 showed an enormous stock of imported timber, more than 3,000 single deals besides double deals, spars and Riga timber, spare masts including one left by the *Pelham*, upward of 100 hundredweight of cordage and more than 80,000 fishing hooks [Film No. 89-91, 95]. European and Indian goods remaining in the warehouse at that date were together valued at £4,092 9s 7d [Film No. 99], and the accounts for the same quarter preserved several unreconciled entries, for meat dishes, nails, locks and hinges, and one running total for the sentinels' pay that simply repeated an earlier figure rather than adding correctly [Film No. 99-103].

Bread for the garrison was bought in rather than baked by the Company directly: Robert Evans and Edward Barlow were paid for baking 78 batches at 1s 8d a batch in the quarter ending 11 October 1756 [Film No. 113]. The monthly livestock accounts graded the yam harvest by quality, issuing good yams for the slaves' own consumption, over 25,000 lb in the month to 11 November 1756 alone, while diverting refuse yams to feed stock, and drew on the herds for the hospital, the sick, the market and named individuals [Film No. 124, 133, 144]. The Governor's table consumed a considerable range of imported wine, port, Lisbon, Madeira and mountain wine, alongside beer, while mutton, at over 350 lb in some months, was plainly the principal fresh meat drawn from the island's flocks [Film No. 126, 135, 146]. The storekeeper's account of waste for the year ending 11 October 1756 itemised loss by leakage, wastage and short weight across goods including corks, leather, starch, rosin, soap, salt, arrack, chinaware, candles and sugar, and among the paints held in store, smalts was recorded separately from red and white lead, sky blue, stone colour and mahogany; a shortfall of rice and paddy found short on unloading the *Denham*, noted on 7 November 1756, was kept as a separate account of goods never received in full [Film No. 117-118].

The Company's cash account for the month to 11 October 1756 shows lines of local revenue beyond garrison and civil pay, £1,088 9s 4d for store goods sold, £15 for public house licences, £8 6s 3d for plantation provisions, £1 for medicines and £563 13s 4d in rents [Film No. 115]. Goods sold from Company stores between 12 October 1756 and 11 January 1756/7 continued the graduated system of internal retail, Company servants at a fixed 10 per cent, planters at 20 per cent on dry goods, and staple provisions, sugar, candy, rice, flour and tea, at 40 per cent regardless of purchaser [Film No. 161, 164, 165]. Provisions for slaves and garrison were kept on entirely separate ledgers, headed respectively Blacks and Garrison, even where identical goods, tea, oil, canvas and duffel cloth, passed to each [Film No. 171], and arrack was issued to soldiers not as a ration but as payment in kind for extra labour, hauling up the long boat, cleaning the magazine, killing and skinning hogs, and unloading the *Denham's* stores at Sandy Bay [Film No. 168]. Company shipping continued to bring supply from every direction of its trade: the *Portfield* arrived from Bombay on 17 February 1756/7 with batty and broken rice reckoned in rupees, annas and

pies, the *Chesterfield* arrived from Madras on 26 February 1756/7 under Captain Caster with graded long cloth priced in pagodas, fanams and cash, from 2 pagodas a piece up to superfine varieties commanding up to 12, and on 1 April 1757 the *Suffolk*, *Houghton* and *Godolphin* arrived direct from China, reckoned in taels, mace and candareens, the *Houghton* carrying sugar and tea and the *Godolphin* a large consignment of chinaware priced with an allowance for expected breakage [Film No. 180, 186, 187, 204, 205]. Rice from the *Portfield* was found three candies short, certified on 20 February 1756/7, and a further account of 7 March 1756/7 recorded goods missing or broken from the *Onslow*, including whole chests of Madeira, Lisbon and Mountain wine short by a bottle or more apiece and two chests of Lisbon wine arriving under a separate bill of lading [Film No. 186, 194].

Goods sold from Company stores between 12 January 1756/7 and 11 April 1757 continued the graduated pricing, 10 per cent to servants, 25 per cent to planters and 40 per cent on staples, the single largest item being nearly 222 hundredweight of baked flour sold for £198 15s [Film No. 237, 238]. Long cloth was the largest textile line at nearly £149, sold alongside schoolbooks, hornbooks, primers, Bibles and prayer books [Film No. 240], and shirts were sold at markedly different prices to two ranks of the garrison [Film No. 241]. The Company's own ships bought canvas, cordage, oil and paint from the store at 40 per cent, while a visiting Danish ship was charged 50 per cent for flour, the steepest markup in the account [Film No. 244, 253]. Stores issued under charges general between January and April 1757 lit the castle and council chamber with 255 lb of candles and drew on Riga timber and English deals for a run of public works, and arrack was issued through the same quarter as a customary reward for the heaviest labour, moving guns, fixing the portcullis, working the crane, unloading the *Onslow*, *Godolphin* and *Houghton*, and hunting the wild cats that preyed on the plantation's poultry [Film No. 245-247]. The account issued for the Blacks between January and April 1757 lists fishing hooks and lines in several grades, beef and pork, and sugar and candy set aside for the sick and for a group of Malay people among the island's dependents [Film No. 249].

The Governor's table cost rose from £24 10s 3½d in the month to 11 May 1757 to £29 0s 9¾d in the month to 11 June 1757, the increase falling almost entirely on meat as the arrival of the *Clinton* and the *Hector* filled the table with visiting commanders [Film No. 277, 290]. Durable stores that only a ship could supply, cheese, currants, raisins, mustard and pickles, were bought from Captain Dale of the *Delaware* around the end of June and beginning of July 1757 [Film No. 295]. The monthly livestock accounts for April to June 1757 recorded heavy slaughter, 560 lb of beef to each of the *Clinton* and the *Hector* in the month to 11 June 1757, and good yam issued for the slaves, running between 20,000 lb and 26,000 lb a month, remained by far the largest item on the provisioning books [Film No. 278, 288]. With little arrack left in store and no supply expected from Bengal, half a butt was bought from Captain Thomas Stevens at 4s a gallon around 25 June 1757, while a request from Captain Nanfan for cartridge paper on 20 June 1757 was refused outright since the garrison's own stock was judged barely sufficient [Film No. 287, 294]. On 4 July 1757 the commanders of the *Griffin*, the *Stormont* and the *Oxford* all wrote pleading for salt beef and pork, live cattle, flour, biscuit and coal, and the council granted what could be spared while holding back live cattle until each ship was actually ready to sail [Film No. 299-300].

The storekeeper's account of goods short-received in early July 1757 catalogued shortfalls across four ships: from the *Oxford*, 3 hundredweight 23 lb of sugar short through packages in bad order; from the *Delaware*, 4 leaguers of arrack falling 56 gallons short of a gauged 605, so that only 549 gallons were received; and from the *Harcourt*, 21 hundredweight of sugar candy short in weight and a substantial quantity of chinaware found smashed [Film No. 306]. A further account of 11 July 1757 recorded stores short-received from the *Falmouth*, including timber and buffers destined for the Royal Navy ship *Colchester*, window glass shattered in transit, and casks of port, Madeira and beer each gauged short by several gallons [Film No. 307]. The stock account for the month to 11 July 1757 recorded the heaviest single draught on the Company's cattle of the whole run, 6 ships each taking exactly 560 lb of beef, a total of 3,360 lb, and 11 head of neat cattle slaughtered to meet the demand [Film No. 314]; the same account records a slave named Puding dying during the month and the good yam issued to feed the slaves falling to 17,620 lb from just over 20,000 lb the month before, the ration moving in step with the count of deaths [Film No. 314]. The storekeeper's collection of goods sold across the whole quarter from 12 April to 11 July 1757 shows more than £194 of salt beef and pork, £237 of flour of which the greater part had been baked into bread, and £38 of imported shoes [Film No. 318-328], and among goods sold to the general population were 149 sentinels' shirts costing £29 and a modest stock of Bibles, testaments, prayer books, spelling books and hornbooks [Film

No. 322, 324]. The Castle and council together burned nearly £29 of candles in the quarter, the armourer's forge consumed more than £4 of coal, and arrack was issued to soldiers as payment in kind for the heaviest physical labour of the road [Film No. 329-331].

The gunner's account for 12 July to 11 August 1757 has already been discussed under Military Affairs; the Company table's account for the same month shows veal appearing as calves were slaughtered [Film No. 372]. The storekeeper's collection of goods sold from Company stores across the quarter from 12 July to 11 October 1757 shows the same graduated retail margins, the general sale to servants alone closing at £967 9s 5½d across salt beef and pork, sugar and candy, tea graded from cheap bohea through congou to single, flour of which more than half had already been baked into bread, and cloth ranging from coarse osnaburg through shalloon and long ells to fine scarlet broadcloth [Film No. 410-415]. Goods sold to planters at the higher tiers of 25 and 40 per cent totalled £194 1s 5d, the Company evidently charging its own employees less than independent settlers, while goods sold to the Company's own ships came to £501 18s, dominated by more than £360 of salt beef and pork [Film No. 416-420]. The account of stores issued for the slaves from 12 July to 11 October 1757 shows a bare functional subsistence, rice and salt pork for food and kersey and ready-made sailor's clothing for covering, with sugar, candy and tea reserved for the sick, closing with deals and nails charged to coffins and repairs to the slaves' house [Film No. 423]. The soldiers' clothing account for the same quarter came to £491 7s 2½d, graded by rank from bulk sentinels' coats and breeches through corporals, sergeants, gunner's mates, quarter gunners, matrosses and drummers to a single marshall's coat, and the full garrison stores account for the quarter closed at £697 14s 3½d [Film No. 424, 425]. The warehouse inventory of 11 October 1757 divided the island's standing stock between European goods, closing at £4,017 13s 4d, and India goods, bringing the combined total to £4,827 5s 8d, within which sugar and candy alone accounted for over £412 [Film No. 444, 452, 453]; the same inventory held over 73,000 fishing hooks across five graded sizes, and £248 worth of materials, dominated by 738 pieces of fir timber, was set apart for the barracks, with a further unpriced schedule of timber, glass, locks and hinges earmarked for the hospital [Film No. 446, 454].

Trade and Shipping

On 18 October 1756 Lieutenant Clark mustered the *Earl of Holderness*, under Captain Robert Brooke, to search for deserters and found none [Film No. 59, 60]. Brooke wrote to the council on 22 October 1756 asking for nested casks and coal for his forge, and with only 3 chaldron of coal left in store the council granted him half a chaldron [Film No. 60, 61]. The *Denham*, under Captain George Meade, arrived on 25 October 1756 carrying a Bengal cargo of wax candles, rice, paddy and doreas cloth valued at just over 751 current rupees, and Meade also brought five deserters, recruits bound for India who had absconded at Madagascar from the *Chesterfield*, who were drafted straight into the island's companies rather than punished or returned [Film No. 64, 68]. The *Denham's* muster roll showed a crew composed largely of lascars, with a seacunny as helmsman and a tindal as foreman, and a marked run of Portuguese names reflecting recruitment from the Luso-Indian communities of India's western coast [Film No. 69]. Captain Norbury of His Majesty's ship *Hampshire* drew sugar, tea, soap and chinaware from the same store that supplied the Company's own East Indiamen, in an account dated 11 October 1756 [Film No. 87]. Company shipping continued to pass through at regular intervals: the *Prince Henry*, under Captain John Mumford, arrived on 29 October 1756 and sailed again as a packet on 8 November 1756, while the *Denham* and *Hardwicke* sailed together on 3 November 1756 [Film No. 117, 120, 122]. On 28 January 1756/7 a Danish vessel from Tranquebar, the *Queen Sophia Wilhelmina* under Captain Wath, of 1,000 tons and carrying 130 men and 26 guns, called at the island loaded with pepper, saltpetre, hardwood and goods produced by slave labour, bound for Copenhagen [Film No. 147].

The *Suffolk*, the *Godolphin* and the *Houghton* arrived together on 1 April 1757 and were mustered for deserters on 11 April, none being found, before sailing again on 14 April 1757 [Film No. 211, 215, 219]. The *Suffolk* carried home three passengers of standing, Mr Frederick Pigou, Mr Francis Annersley and Mr Archibald Campbell, each attended by his own servant [Film No. 212], and the *Godolphin's* muster roll showed a crew mixing English names with Dutch, German and Iberian ones [Film No. 213]. The *Houghton's* roll carried Mr Richard Wood and Mr John Hull as supercargoes, alongside a butcher, a poulterer and a baker among her crew [Film No. 214]. Goods received from the *Houghton* and the *Godolphin* were checked closely: sugar from the *Houghton* fell short in weight, and chinaware from the *Godolphin* was found broken on opening, with a quantity of tea dishes proving short of a full crate [Film No. 210, 211]. A Danish East Indiaman, the

King of Denmark, of about 900 tons and carrying 150 men and 26 guns under Captain Sluff, arrived from China on 25 April 1757 laden with tea and chinaware bound for Copenhagen, and sailed again on 1 May [Film No. 221]. Three men left ashore from the *Godolphin*, William Leeling, Thomas Elwart and Thomas Harding, applied on 18 April 1757 to be enlisted in the garrison rather than starve, and were taken on for 5 years at a bounty of 20 shillings apiece [Film No. 215]; stores issued the same quarter also clothed five sailors landed from the *Chesterfield* out of Madras [Film No. 215, 250].

St Helena drew an unusually dense convergence of shipping within a few weeks of the middle of 1757: the *Clinton* and *Hector* arrived from Anjengo on 17 May 1757, the *Falmouth* reached the island from England with a packet from the Court of Directors on 21 June 1757, the *Oxford* arrived from Bencoolen the same day, the *Harcourt* and *Stormont* arrived from Canton and the *Griffin* from Surat on 25 June 1757, the *Delaware* arrived from Bengal on 30 June 1757, and His Majesty's ship *Colchester* arrived on 9 July 1757 [Film No. 276, 287, 291, 295, 301]. Cargoes reached the island's books in whatever currency they had been invoiced in: the *Hector* and *Clinton* cargo from Anjengo, chelloes, batta grain and beaten rice, was cast in rupees, mace and candareens and signed by the accountant Charles Crommelin on 23 May 1757, while the *Harcourt* and *Stormont* cargoes from Canton, sugar candy, three grades of tea and chinaware, were reckoned in tael, mace, candareens and cash and signed by Theodore Phipps, Thomas Shore and John Searle in June 1757 [Film No. 276, 293-294]. A Prussian ship from China, the *Prince Ferdinand* under Captain Moreen, of 1,000 tons and carrying 26 guns and 120 men, called on 18 June 1757 bound for Emden, evidence that the short-lived Prussian Asiatic Company's shipping also used St Helena as a way station [Film No. 287]. Lieutenant Clark boarded and mustered every homeward ship that called, the *Clinton* and *Hector* on 14 June 1757 and the *Stormont*, *Griffin*, *Harcourt*, *Delaware* and *Oxford* on 11 July 1757, checking each crew for deserters and finding none, the full rolls showing crews filled with Scandinavian, Dutch and German seamen and men noted as having entered in India, alongside soldiers and family passengers carried between Company stations [Film No. 285-286, 301-305].

Between July and August 1757 the ships *Falmouth*, *Oxford*, *Harcourt*, *Griffin*, *Stormont*, *Delaware*, *Hector* and *Clinton* each settled their own balance with the island store [Film No. 359, 375]. In the month to 11 August 1757 the *King's Fisher* and the *Colchester* both drew heavily on the plantation's stock, a cow and calf, live cattle, hogs, sheep, fowls, turkeys and ducks going to the *Colchester* alone [Film No. 370]. On 5 August 1757 Richard Bowers, described in the record as a free black man, was granted leave to sail for England on the *Stormont*, a status set plainly apart from the slaves entered elsewhere in these same accounts as property [Film No. 361].

Judiciary

A protracted debt dispute between Captain Thomas Brown, commander of the ship *Bombay Castle*, and Samuel Falconer, the island's former surgeon, dominated the council's judicial business through August 1756. Brown had arrived on 18 May 1756 and sailed on 24 June 1756 without settling accounts with Falconer, and before departing executed a power of attorney appointing Adamson to recover the debt on his behalf, the deed sworn on 21 June 1756 and signed on unstamped paper, none being available on the island [Film No. 11, 12]. Adamson pursued the claim before the council, proposing that Falconer pay £50 5s 10d alleged as owed to Brown in exchange for security and the return of certain papers. Falconer, answering on 3 August 1756, stated that Brown's own letter of 20 May 1756 had already acknowledged a balance owed to Falconer rather than by him, that the two men had discussed the account amicably over several meals, and that Adamson had rejected a sufficient bond offered jointly by Falconer and Francis Wrangham, the younger, demanding instead immediate payment or a mortgage on Falconer's house [Film No. 16, 17, 18]. Falconer also disputed a specific point of law, that only the payee, not the drawer, of a bill of exchange could properly initiate a protest for non-payment, casting doubt on Brown's claim that a bill drawn on Captain Adam Cook for £80 had genuinely failed [Film No. 18]. Separately, Robert Barclay, the Company's surgeon, reported that Falconer had continued practising physic despite being expressly forbidden, in defiance of the Directors' repeated instructions communicated in letters of 28 November 1753 and 27 November 1754 that he be sent home once his accounts were settled; Falconer was ordered on 9 August 1756 to prepare for passage, and when he petitioned on 12 August 1756 for further time, citing debts owed him too entangled to settle quickly, the council held his continued presence groundless after nearly three years' indulgence, yet permitted him to remain until the first homeward ship arrived [Film No. 23-26].

A dispute over a wall and diverted watercourse behind the Company's great house ran from late September 1756 through the following month and shows the council acting in a judicial capacity. On 27 September 1756, Francis Wrangham, senior, and Onesiphorus Beale petitioned Hutchinson and council, stating that a wall newly built by Adamson's order, and a bank cut down beside it, had blocked a passage and watercourse to their back yards that had served them beyond living memory [Film No. 46, 47]. Adamson answered on 4 October 1756 that a recent flood had damaged Company property and that he had deepened and walled the watercourse as flood defence, and to check the disorderly conduct of soldiers and slaves from neighbouring houses [Film No. 46, 47]. Wrangham and Beale returned to the matter on 11 October 1756, denying that the aspersions cast on them were justified, and Adamson's continued defence rested on the wording of leases: the petitioners' leases, granted about 14 years earlier, mentioned neither watercourse nor right of way nor even a back door, unlike the lease granted to the late Mr Goodwin, whose house Adamson now occupied, which conveyed cellars, springs, wells, gutters, watercourses and appurtenances in the most ample terms; he further noted that Wrangham had never formally executed the counterpart of his lease despite long possession [Film No. 48, 56]. Wrangham and Beale answered that the wall served no genuine defensive purpose, since any determined trespasser could still cross the channel without it, and disclosed that the original diversion of the watercourse had been carried out and funded by a named group of planters, Jonathan Doveton, Charles Steward, John Goodwin, Richard Goodwin and Wrangham himself, with the leave of the then governor and council; they pointed to drains still visible in the end walls as proof that water had once served the yards [Film No. 53, 54]. On the forfeiture charge, Wrangham replied that any fault in the unexecuted counterpart lay with the Company's own officers, and that his failure to build a substantial house had been caused by the former governor Goodwin diverting the necessary timber to the Company's own account; Wrangham, then aged 70, protested at having to defend a character never previously questioned in some 70 years on the island [Film No. 46, 55].

On 18 October 1756 the dispute moved from paper to sworn testimony, when Thomas Kirkpatrick described an exchange he had witnessed between Adamson and Mrs Alcock, Wrangham's daughter, at the disputed wall, in which Adamson admitted he had built the wall for Mrs Alcock rather than for her father [Film No. 57]. The same testimony exposed a second and graver matter: Adamson had commissioned a soldier, William Richards, to draw plans of several of the island's fortifications without the governor's own knowledge [Film No. 58]. Wrangham and Beale set out their case again, arguing that water taken at second hand through a neighbour's ground left them dependent on his goodwill, and tying their request to the plantain trees they grew partly for the Company's own ships [Film No. 61]. The governor delivered his opinion as part of the consultation of 22 October 1756, conceding that the petitioners had a right to complain without yet deciding whether it was justified, and ordering a practical compromise, the wall to be shortened and fitted with a door, and the petitioners permitted to draw water directly from the main run [Film No. 62, 63]. On the question of Wrangham's lease, Hutchinson found for Wrangham the same day, citing the Directors' own general letter of 10 January 1745, which showed considerable lenity toward tenants holding leases upon lives, and held that the Company's declared policy of indulgence outweighed Adamson's strict claim of default [Film No. 63, 64]. The dispute gains a further edge from the officers' list for the quarter ending 11 October 1756, which shows Francis Wrangham holding the paid office of secretary to the very council he was petitioning, with his son William serving as a writer under the same establishment [Film No. 61, 101].

An earlier advertisement had offered 40 shillings reward for information leading to conviction of anyone breaking the Company's gates; following a fresh instance of the gate leading to the common, below John Goodwin's house, having its hinges broken off, the council on 13 December 1756 raised the reward to 20 dollars, suggesting the original sum had failed to produce a conviction [Film No. 131]. A genuine jurisdictional dispute over the trial of Lieutenant George Hay ran through late February and March 1756/7 and is discussed above under Governance and Administration, since it turned on the relationship between the island's own authority and the Company's home government rather than on the substance of Hay's conduct [Film No. 189, 196].

The affair began on 2 May 1757, when Lieutenant George Hay wrote demanding that James Powell either prove or answer for having called him a villain, and Hutchinson ordered it examined in formal council the following day, 3 May 1757 [Film No. 256]. The enquiry gathered sworn testimony describing Hay entering

Powell's house and his daughter Elizabeth's bedchamber by window at night over several months: Powell's servant Sam Bowers, the slave girl Sophia, Powell's other daughter Sarah and the household member Margaret Harper each gave detailed and consistent accounts, corroborated by the discovery of disturbed plaster beneath a nailed window, and on 7 May 1757 Sarah Powell, aged 21, and Margaret Harper, aged 25, swore to the truth of their declarations [Film No. 257-264]. Hay's defence rested on argument rather than flat denial, in a letter to an intermediary, Mr Durling, dated 30 April 1757, and on a detailed alibi for the night of 22 April 1757, when he claimed to have supped at Robert Barclay's house and gone to bed, an account Barclay and his servant Richard McNolty confirmed under oath [Film No. 264-267, 272]. Council member John Clark set down the finding in writing: the depositions, taken with corroborating circumstances, showed that Hay had several times entered the house and bedchamber at unseasonable hours, and that McNolty's alibi could not rule out Hay slipping out and back by another way and so carried no weight against two positive sworn witnesses; whether Hay's conduct excused the harsh word used against him was left for the Court of Directors in London to decide [Film No. 271, 273]. The same case is recorded under two different surnames for the same family, Powell in the depositions from 3 May 1757 and Dowell from 10 May onward, the participants and the underlying complaint identical throughout, almost certainly a single family under a name garbled somewhere in transcription [Film No. 256, 270-271, 273]. No flogging or branding of a slave is recorded in this stretch of the consultations, unlike earlier periods, yet the council treated the accusation against Hay as grave enough to warrant a sworn examination running from 3 to 10 May 1757, its final judgement deferred to London rather than settled by local sentence [Film No. 256, 273].

On 1 August 1757 the council heard a dispute between George Nichols, quartermaster of the ship *Delaware*, and James Hues, a foremast man accused of claiming goods Nichols had left in trust with Gabriel Isaacks under Nichols's own name. Finding Hues guilty on sworn testimony, the council ordered him whipped publicly, and the hearing further revealed that Hues had earlier been caught stripping iron hoops from the ship's water casks to sell to Chinese buyers at Canton [Film No. 362, 363].

On the night of 30 September 1757, Thomas Peter Stanley, servant to Lieutenant Governor Adamson, was struck repeatedly, knocked backwards over a chair and seized by the throat by his own master, in a quarrel over Stanley's being found absent from the house after nine o'clock. Stanley brought his complaint formally before Hutchinson and council on 17 October 1757 [Film No. 399, 400]. Recounting the affair the same day, the governor admitted that on first hearing Stanley's complaint on the night itself he had presumed some provocation on the servant's part, observing that a master might lawfully correct his servant, and warned Stanley that such conduct in England would have earned him the house of correction [Film No. 401]. Adamson's own declaration recast the incident: he had called for Stanley to lock the doors as usual, found him repeatedly out against the terms of his engagement, and struck him only after Stanley raised his fist and declared, in words the record repeats twice, that he was no slave and would not be confined [Film No. 402]. The sentry Hendrick Scharnhurst, called to corroborate Adamson's account, testified that he had heard no cry for help and that a servant sent to fetch Adamson had refused because he could not leave his post [Film No. 402, 403]. Adamson further weakened Stanley's standing by producing character evidence reaching back through his earlier service under a China supercargo and aboard the ship *Stretham*, where Captain Mason was said to have turned him away in disgrace for mischievous conduct [Film No. 403, 404]. A written contract of 20 August 1756, binding Stanley to a year's service at £16 with half a year's notice on either side, was entered into the record alongside the wages receipt Stanley signed on 3 October 1757 [Film No. 404, 405], and Margaret Alcock's declaration, added after the assault itself had already been weighed, accused Stanley of visiting her house at unreasonable hours and drawing her maid Myrtilla from her work [Film No. 405]. On 17 October 1757 the council found wholly against Stanley, reprimanding him and ordering him onto the first ship bound for England, closing the matter without censuring Adamson for the beating itself, a judgement delivered by a bench on which the accused's own superior officer sat as a judging colleague [Film No. 405].

James Powell, the storekeeper, grew suspicious that the bakers Robert Evans and William Cooksey were failing to make honest returns, a suspicion grown from repeatedly seeing slaves in possession of bread and from Evans's insistence that two pounds of flour went into every loaf. On 28 October 1757 Powell had William Moore, the Company's steward, weigh out a single cask of flour and observe its baking, a controlled test that yielded 27 loaves more than the bakers' usual return. Confronted on 31 October 1757, Cooksey

confessed he had received three to four shillings a week from Evans for surplus bread sold on the side, while Evans admitted dividing sometimes seven and sometimes nine shillings with Cooksey on each baking day; the council judged this a notorious fraud and ordered both men imprisoned [Film No. 458, 459]. The same final week of October 1757 uncovered a separate theft when John Langbridge, a soldier, brought Francis Wrangham, the secretary, three gold rings on 30 October 1757, which Wrangham recognised at once as belonging to the estate of the late Richard Gurling and as taken from a cupboard in his own office. Langbridge admitted he had pawned the rings for 7 rupees to William Boddington, a clerk who wrote occasionally under Wrangham, while John Legg, who kept a punch house, separately brought forward three further rings taken in pawn from Boddington for liquor, his suspicion aroused by a mourning ring whose distinctive character exposed Boddington's claim that a friend had given it to him as false [Film No. 460]. Boddington confessed before the council to taking the rings and pledging them to both men, and the council ordered him imprisoned while fining Langbridge and Legg 20 shillings each and stripping them of the money they had advanced, noting specifically that they stood to gain an unreasonable premium on redemption [Film No. 460, 461].

Finance, Currencies, Bartering and Accounting

The Company's cash account for the month ending 11 August 1756 recorded a total of £4,159 3s 2d, made up chiefly of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors payable 90 days after sight, together with balances received from the ships *St George* and *Exeter* [Film No. 36]. The credit side itemised the island's specie coin by coin: 2,167 venetians at 10 shillings, 1,500 pagodas at 8 shillings, 4,000 Spanish dollars at 5 shillings, 8,286 rupees at 2 shillings 3 pence, and 441 French pieces, alongside locally issued cash notes [Film No. 36]. The following month's account, to 11 September 1756, showed gold rising from £1,683 to £2,020 while silver fell correspondingly, and recorded the sale of an old ship's yawl for £5 [Film No. 45]. Monthly accounts for the Company's own table totalled £34 10s 2½d for the month to 11 August 1756 and £28 13s 6½d for the month to 11 September 1756, drawing on port, Lisbon wine, Madeira and mountain wine [Film No. 34, 42]. Samuel Harrison's payment of £75 into the Company's cash on 18 October 1756 was met with bills of exchange drawn on the Directors payable 90 days after sight, and the Bengal cargo brought by the *Denham* the same month was reckoned throughout in current rupees [Film No. 60, 68].

The Company's cash balance was held in a genuinely mixed currency, venetians, pagodas, dollars, rupees and French pieces, sorted into gold, silver and Company paper cash notes at fixed denominations from 20 shillings down to half a crown [Film No. 116, 128, 137]. The overall balance rose sharply from £2,225 0s 3½d on 11 October 1756 to £4,343 15s 11d by 11 November 1756, an increase accounted for chiefly by balances brought in from the *Earl of Holderness* and the *Denham* and by bills of exchange sold to Samuel Harrison, Captain Robert Brooke and Captain George Meard, and then held steady through 11 December 1756 [Film No. 128, 137]. Not every total in these accounts can be taken at face value: the subtotal for the superannuated artillerymen's pay does not visibly reconcile with the figures above it, and an itemised list of stores bought for a visiting ship of war likewise fails to sum correctly against its own stated total [Film No. 111-112].

The cash account for the quarter ending 11 January 1756/7 recorded total receipts of £5,345 19s 1½d, including £950 4s 1½d from James Powell for store goods sold, £15 from public house licences and £37 2s 1d from plantation produce, against which £2,301 0s 3d was advanced to the paymaster [Film No. 177]. The following month's account, to 11 February 1756/7, showed the balance fallen sharply to £3,044 18s 10½d, the drop accounted for entirely by that advance, while the specie itself, 1,020 venetians, 1,200 pagodas, 3,080 dollars, 6,591 rupees and 441 French pieces, remained essentially unchanged in composition [Film No. 188]. By 11 March 1756/7 the balance had recovered slightly to £3,112 7s 7½d, the increase made up of four departing East Indiamen, the *Onslow*, *Edgcote*, *Portfield* and *Chesterfield*, settling their individual accounts before sailing, sums ranging from £7 12s 2d to £34 19s 11d, with gold rising to £1,008 and silver to £1,564 [Film No. 203]. The paymaster John Clark's account for the quarter to 11 January 1756/7 itemised enlistment bounties varying strikingly by individual, from £5 paid to John Clough, Benjamin Swaits and James Long in the closing months of 1756 up to £10 apiece paid to Abraham Ratcliff, William Brooks, James Cartwright, Derby Coyles, Richard Billington, William Robinson and Joseph Uffin in January 1756/7 [Film No. 158]. The same account records Nagunda Tacolen, described as a Malay prisoner sent from Bencoolen upon the ship *Exeter*, paid 27 weeks' subsistence at 2s 6d a week, and

extensive payments for fencing and clearing plantations damaged by an earlier flood, over £22 in this single quarter alone [Film No. 160].

The council counted the Company's cash for the month ending 11 April 1757 and found the balance fallen to £751 6s 8d in silver and £330 in gold, the reduction accounted for almost entirely by the £2,547 4s 8d advanced to the paymaster for the quarter's wages [Film No. 254]. An invoice for tea and sugar carried by the *Godolphin*, examined by early April 1757, was reckoned in taels, mace and candareens as was standard for goods bought at Canton, each chest's gross weight set against its tare [Film No. 206]. The Company's cash balance then stood at exactly £1,621 1s 8d on both 11 May and 11 June 1757, matching to the penny between the two accounts [Film No. 281, 292], and specie continued to move between ships under careful numbered control, a chest of Company treasure numbered 386 taken from the *Falmouth* on 4 July 1757 and receipted to her captain [Film No. 298].

The council's dependence on private remittances was exposed on 14 July 1757, when it found that its treasure and expected cattle sales would fall well short of running expenses before the next storeship, and ordered a second chest of treasure from the *Falmouth*, numbered 320, sent ashore and reported to Fort Marlborough; the shortfall was resolved only a week later when Thomas Brown paid in £100 and Moses Smith £101 on 20 July 1757 [Film No. 308, 309, 312]. The paymaster's account for the quarter ending 11 July 1757 shows Clark drawing £2,590 1s 3d from the cash chest on the closing day, with enlistment bounties ranging from a full £10 paid to James Hendree, William Harris and William Ward down to £1 apiece for William Keeling, Thomas Elwart and Thomas Harding and £3 for James Garnet, alongside payments to Captain Nanfan for a barrel of pitch and to Captain Williams for a barrel of tar [Film No. 354, 355].

The cash account for the quarter ending 11 July 1757 drew its income from store goods sold, £966 12s 3d, bills of exchange, a chest of treasure from the *Falmouth* worth £1,004 7s 8d, and the sale of dead settlers' houses, Falconer's alone bringing in £291, together with £15 for public house licences [Film No. 359]. That quarter's balance of £4,249 8s 4½d was struck before £2,590 1s 3d was advanced to the paymaster, and Miss Helena Griffith, sailing for England on the *Oxford*, paid £90 into the cash the same month for a bill of exchange [Film No. 360]. On 8 August 1757, with the convoy about to sail, Henry Young, Thomas Hall, Richard Beale and Arthur O'Neill each remitted a sum into the Company cash to secure bills home, and Thomas Kirkpatrick remitted twice in the same sitting, £75 and then £116 8s [Film No. 363, 364]. By 11 August 1757 the cash account also carried three bills drawn directly on the Commissioners of the Navy, the Sick and Hurt Board and the Victualling Board, reimbursing sums advanced to Captain Toby of His Majesty's sloop *Kingsfisher* and to Captain Lucius O'Bryen and his purser aboard the *Colchester*, and the same balance introduced double ryals, ryals and half ryals alongside the Venetians, pagodas, dollars and rupees already familiar [Film No. 376]. The same figures for silver, gold and cash notes recurred unchanged a month later, on 11 September 1757, an identity that sits oddly with a month of ordinary payments passing between the two counts [Film No. 376, 392]. A bill of £40 entered as payable to Richard Brooke on 8 August 1757 names a different man from the Richard Beale whom the consultation of the same day records paying in the identical sum, a discrepancy the record leaves unresolved [Film No. 364, 377]. In October 1757 old and unserviceable Company plate, silver salvers, spoons, bowls and a tankard, was written off the books at its bullion value alone, £45 18s 8½d by weight [Film No. 398].

The council's cash account for the month ending 11 October 1757 drew together the quarter's revenue, £561 12s 2d in planters' rents, £15 in public house licences, £18 2s 9d from plantation produce and £1,161 10s 10½d from store goods sold [Film No. 455]. The balance remaining after £2,470 17s 9½d had been advanced to the paymaster was held in Venetian sequins, Indian pagodas, Spanish dollars, rupees, double and half ryals and French pieces, alongside Company cash notes in denominations from 2s 6d to £10 [Film No. 456]. The paymaster's account for the same quarter records the disbursement of £2,470 17s 9½d against the detailed muster and pay list of every officer, soldier and gunner, with smaller payments including 26 weeks' subsistence at 2s 6d a week to Ragivendo Peccolem, described as a Malay prisoner, and £4 for the rent of 2 houses lodging sick soldiers [Film No. 439, 440, 442].

Throughout the period, the £15 recorded quarter after quarter for public house licences marks a small but deliberate regulatory lever, requiring anyone keeping a house that sold liquor to be licensed and to pay for

the privilege, giving the Company both revenue and oversight of the island's drinking houses in a single measure [Film No. 115, 359, 455].

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Slaves appear throughout this record not as a subject of separate policy but as an unremarked structural fact of island life, visible in the rationing of yams, the bequest of named individuals by will, and the language of trespass applied equally to soldiers and slaves. A slave child named August was recorded born during the account for July to August 1756, entered without further comment amid the same monthly tally as the animal births [Film No. 32, 40]. The clearest instance of a named slave in this early period comes from Isaac Leech's will, proved on 27 September 1756: after household goods were sold at auction to defray funeral expenses and debts, the surplus, alongside the bequest of the slave Manuel, passed to his son John as executor, one of the file's few sources of individual identity for a slave [Film No. 43, 44]. The livestock account for 12 September to 11 October 1756 recorded good yams issued to the slaves rising to 25,160 lb against 5,600 lb of bad yams kept for stock, with 7 goats supplied besides for the sick among them, and a separate account of stores issued for the slaves' use over the same quarter listed rice, beef, pork, tea, sugar, shoes, doreas cloth, blankets and fishing hooks and lines, the last suggesting that the slaves fished to add to their own diet, with arrack issued to them as drams too [Film No. 65, 83, 84]. The contrast with the garrison's pay record is instructive: sentinels were named individually and the exact day of a death or discharge entered, while the slaves who appear throughout the same accounts are never named at all, counted only as an aggregate quantity of yams, cloth and hooks consumed [Film No. 65, 83, 84].

An advertisement of 6 December 1756 forbade any black person from boarding a ship without a letter from their master signifying approval, and prohibited fires on the hills, near the sea or in boats at night, with a white offender fined and a black offender severely punished for the identical act [Film No. 130]. On 3 January 1756/7 the council ordered every free black man on the island aged 16 and upwards to attend before the governor and council on 10 January, on pain of unspecified consequence [Film No. 138]. Billy, a free black lad said to be about 18 years old, had been born and raised in the household of Thomas Greentree before hiring himself out to Lieutenant Herbert; Greentree complained of his insolence and asked that Billy remain in his family without wages until he turned 21, as was said to be customary, and the council agreed on 10 January 1756/7, fixing his age at 18 that day, before also ordering him 25 lashes for having hired himself elsewhere without leave [Film No. 140-141]. The livestock account for the month to 11 December 1756 recorded, immediately alongside its tallies of cattle and poultry, the birth of two slave children, their names too faded on the page to be read, and provision at Christmas 1756 included a bull killed specifically for the slaves, distinct from the ox killed for the market, with goats regularly set aside for the sick among them [Film No. 124, 133, 144].

Simon, a slave belonging to Francis Wrangham, senior, had deserted his master's service for several weeks by around mid-November 1756, surviving by theft; the council ordered him whipped on three separate occasions, 150 lashes each time, a total of 450 lashes, its minute taking unusual care to justify the severity as a deterrent against slaves surviving at large through theft [Film No. 121]. Greenwich, a slave belonging to Mrs Swaits, was accused by Benjamin and John Seale of stealing a sheep, found guilty on witness testimony and his own admission, and ordered whipped and branded on the cheek [Film No. 129]. Simon offended again on 14 February 1756/7, this time proved to have stolen a sheep on the evidence of Edward Bagley, Wrangham's overseer, and of a black boy also belonging to Wrangham, and was again ordered whipped and branded [Film No. 179]. The monthly stock accounts through this period consistently distinguished good yam grown for slave consumption from refuse yam kept for livestock, the account for 12 January to 11 February 1756/7 recording 20,820 lb of good yam against 7,600 lb of refuse, and the following month, to 11 March 1756/7, recording 20,270 lb against 8,390 lb, with 3 goats killed specifically for the sick slaves in the February account [Film No. 182, 199].

The muster rolls of the China ships arriving on 1 April 1757 record slaves as part of a ship's human cargo alongside its working crew: the *Chesterfield's* roll lists five Madagascar slaves without individual names, while the *Portfield's* roll names its five black slaves individually, Caesar, Pompey, Ned, Alexander and one recorded only under the ship's own name [Film No. 190, 191]. The separation of provisions between the Blacks and Garrison accounts continued: identical commodities, tea, oil, canvas and duffel, were issued through parallel but distinct ledgers according to whether the recipient was a slave or a soldier, and duffel appears issued

specifically to lying-in women alongside blankets and thread, one of the few entries that individualises pregnancy and childbirth among the slaves [Film No. 171]. The account issued for the Blacks between January and April 1757 lists fishing hooks and lines in several grades, beef and pork, and sugar and candy set aside for the sick and for a group of Malay people among the island's dependents [Film No. 249].

On 18 April 1757 a slave woman named Moll, belonging to Mrs Elizabeth Gurling, was found by her own confession guilty of breaking into a house and stealing a rupee and a halfpenny; the council ordered her whipped three times at 100 lashes each and branded on the cheek, a sentence tied not to the trifling sum stolen but to her standing, in the record's own words, as a notorious runaway [Film No. 216]. A slave man named Landoon, belonging to Mr Thomas Colgrave, received an identical sentence for running away and hiding for three weeks, recorded at the head of the consultation of 5 May 1757, the repetition suggesting a fixed disciplinary tariff applied to runaways regardless of individual circumstance [Film No. 255]. Slaves within James Powell's household gave testimony central to the enquiry into Lieutenant Hay's conduct in May 1757, Sam Bowers, Sophia, Ellen and the boy Domus, who admitted carrying letters between Hay and Elizabeth Powell, all describing what they had seen or done, their word accepted as evidence in a formal council proceeding touching the honour of a senior officer's family [Film No. 256, 258, 263].

The livestock account for the month to 11 June 1757 recorded that five Malabar slaves had hanged themselves and a sixth had died, set down in the same plain register as livestock, and the council's letter to Anjengo of 4 July 1757 revealed that these men had been transported to the island as delinquents, its objection resting on their being of no service but an expense to the Company rather than on any concern for what had driven them to take their own lives; the same letter shows St Helena used as a penal destination within the Company's Indian Ocean system, and the council's request that no more such people be sent exposes a tension in which one station disposed of unwanted labour by shipping it elsewhere while the receiving station protested only at the cost of maintaining it [Film No. 288, 298]. The same monthly account recorded, in the plainest terms, that one man slave, named Roger, had died and one boy, named Will, had been born in the month to 11 May 1757 [Film No. 278].

The quarterly account of stores issued to the slaves from 12 April to 11 July 1757 shows a plain but carefully itemised ration, clothing issued separately by sex and age, checked shirts, jackets and hemp gunny breeches for the men, monmouth caps and scotch bonnets for their heads, and separate cloth for the women and children, the account closing with nails issued for a coffin, so that the whole span of a slave's life, as the ledger reckoned it, ran from provisioning through clothing to a final small charge for burial [Film No. 332, 333]. A stock lock issued for the slaves' house in the garden was charged to the same account as their food and clothing, and osnaburg canvas, described as the coarse standard cloth of plantation labour across the wider slaveholding world, was sold through the store's general collection [Film No. 324, 333]. The will of Thomas Easthope, proved on 18 July 1757, listed among the property due to his daughter Mary a black man named Guilford, a black woman named Hannah with her three children, a black boy named Frank, and two girls named Doll and Mary, entered in the same clause as household linen [Film No. 310].

On 26 August 1757 eight slaves belonging to Mr James Powell, named James, Cupidore, Adonis, Walpole, Bacchus, Lena, Sarah and Ellen, fled together from fear of wire whips they believed their master had prepared; the council acquitted five of them but ordered James, judged the most active and the author of a false report, whipped 300 lashes in three instalments, and Cupidore and Adonis, judged next most culpable, 150 lashes each [Film No. 373]. The livestock account for 12 August to 11 September 1757 recorded the death of a slave woman named Betty Scanderbeg and the birth of a slave girl named Dorothy amid its routine tally of goats and sheep [Film No. 384]. Aequedah Pocholum, a Malay man sent from Bencoolen and held in confinement, was released only on 9 August 1757, once the homeward convoy had sailed, having promised to make no further attempt at escape [Film No. 365]. In October 1757, a slave woman named Myrtilla, belonging to Mr Alcock, appears in the carpenter Thomas Levins's complaint against Thomas Stanley, discussed above under Judiciary, not as the subject of any charge herself but as the occasion for a dispute between two free men, Levins objecting to her nightly presence and characterising her, without supporting evidence, as a known thief [Film No. 459].

Social Order and Mortality

Death recurred through these consultations as an unremarked but constant feature of garrison life. Isaac Leech, a superannuated gunner's mate kept on the Company's books after his active service had ended, died on 30 August 1756, and Mary, wife of Thomas Harper Marshall, died on 7 September 1756 [Film No. 15, 35, 38, 47]. A cluster of soldiers' deaths followed at the end of September 1756, John Prosser on 28 September, John Denny on 29 September, and Makepiece Woodington on 30 September, three deaths within three days that the record notes without explanation [Film No. 15, 35, 38, 47]. Isaac Leech's will, proved on 27 September 1756 upon the oath of witnesses Richard Swaits and William Duffton, followed the standard order of a modest garrison estate, household goods sold at public auction to defray funeral expenses and debts first, with only the surplus passing to his son John as executor [Film No. 43, 44]. Further deaths followed in October 1756: Margaret Whaley on 16 October, the infant Mary Bland on 18 October, and the Company's former surgeon Samuel Falconer on 24 October 1756 [Film No. 57, 64, 66]. William Duffton, the sexton, successfully petitioned on 25 October 1756 to have his customary fee of 2s 6d a grave restored, the council explaining that nobody could otherwise be found willing to dig graves or perform the other offices of a soldier's burial without payment [Film No. 70]. A dinner given each year to the Company's servants and inhabitants on paying their rents, recorded in the account for the month ending 11 October 1756, was folded into the ordinary account of the governor's table, a small ritual binding tenant and officer within the same commercial relationship [Film No. 67].

Notice was given in November 1756 that all persons with claims upon, or debts to, the late Samuel Falconer should bring their accounts to the secretary's office by 15 November, with his effects afterward put up for public sale on 25 November on 2 months' credit. When William Burnham died, his widow and executors brought in an inventory on 6 December 1756 appraised by Joseph William Young and John Deafountain, the widow swearing that she had produced every article of her husband's effects, and John Leech, heir and executor of his late father Isaac Leech, followed the same process on 20 December 1756 [Film No. 121, 130, 135]. John Spencer, quarter gunner in the artillery, made his will on 4 September 1756 while, in his own words, weak of body but of sound mind, leaving all his goods to Thomas Bridge and John Shirley, boatswains in the same company, whom he also named his executors; the will was proved after his death on 5 January 1756/7, on the oaths of witnesses R. Billington, John Clavey and John Hollings [Film No. 139-140]. George Young, one of the Company's overseers, told Adamson around 17 December 1756 that he was very indifferent whether he remained in the Company's service, and when called before the council to answer for it declared himself willing to quit immediately, upon which the council dismissed him on the spot, with no notice period recorded on either side [Film No. 135-136, 148].

Death continued at its ordinary pace into 1757: Joseph Clay died on 23 February 1756/7, William Caker on 11 March 1756/7 alongside Benjamin, the infant son of Benjamin and Mary Beale, and John Hargrave, a soldier, and William Watkins, a sergeant, both died on 16 March 1756/7 [Film No. 186, 196, 198, 219]. Samuel Powell, a cook of the ship *Doddington* who had been left ashore dangerously ill, also died during this period, one of several instances of incapacitated seamen from passing ships dying under the island's care rather than continuing their voyage [Film No. 196, 198]. Timothy Wilson, a sailor from the *Earl of Holderness* left sick ashore, made his will on 17 January 1756/7, bequeathing his clothing to a local mattress-maker, John Shirtley, and the residue of his estate to a London citizen named as executor, while William Caker made his own will on 4 March 1756/7 using his mark rather than a signature, one of his two witnesses doing likewise, leaving his entire estate to a fellow soldier, James Truelove, as heir and executor [Film No. 178, 196, 197].

John Gaynor, who signed his will with his mark on 21 April 1757, and Robert Baker, who signed his own name on 12 May 1757, each left his whole estate to a fellow private soldier as sole executor, and both wills were proved before the council on 16 May 1757 [Film No. 274-275]. Samuel Powell, fifth mate of the ship *Doddington* and left on the island out of the ship *Portfield*, died around May 1757, and his effects were sold at public auction, his island debts, funeral costs and the auction fees paid from the proceeds and the balance of £3 4s 5d carried to the Company's account current in London [Film No. 283-284]. The estate of the late Samuel Talbot continued to be wound up through May 1757: £20 11s 4¾d in debts was collected from named islanders on 9 May 1757, and Talbot's house, advertised for sale on 8 April 1757, was bought at public auction by Lieutenant Governor John Adamson himself for £2,491, a striking sum for a member of the same council that administered the estate to have paid into it [Film No. 269, 274]. Margaret Harper's

remark that James Powell had punished her for visiting her mother without leave on a Sunday around April 1757, and the servants' shared fear that he would react violently if he learned of his daughter's conduct, together with Elizabeth's own threat in May 1757 to stab herself with her father's sword rather than have the secret told, reveal a household bound together by dread of its master's temper [Film No. 260, 265].

Joseph Drite, a mattress maker, died on 19 July 1757, Lochland McLane, a soldier, died on 20 July 1757, and the pay roll for the quarter to 11 July 1757 records further deaths caught precisely in stopped or split wages, including Thomas Brown paid only to 30 June 1757 and William Williams to 11 May 1757 [Film No. 313, 315, 344, 345, 348]. The salary list for the quarter ending 11 July 1757 set out the whole civil establishment in strict order of rank, from Governor Hutchinson at £125 down through the council, the accountant, secretary and storekeeper to writers paid as little as £5, each figure supplemented by diet money and house rent [Film No. 339, 340]. The matross Joseph Prichard, sick and near death, made his will on 23 July 1757, leaving all he had to his friend William Dufton as sole executor, witnessed by his fellow gunners John Jacks and John Shirley, and the soldier John Murray made his will on 16 July 1757, bequeathing his goods and any arrears of pay to his fellow soldier David Miles [Film No. 366-368]. The gunner's mate William Turner's will, made on 13 September 1757, went further still, naming the governor and council themselves as executors and as guardians of his young heir, James Pritchard, until he came of age [Film No. 392, 393]. The estate of Thomas Easthope, whose will had been proved in July, continued to be settled: an inventory taken on 11 September 1757 by independent appraisers, alongside a sworn declaration from his sons that nothing had been concealed, guarded the probate against both undervaluation and concealment [Film No. 392].

The garrison pay list for the quarter to 11 October 1757 continued the pattern of wages serving as a precise register of the garrison's losses: William Adams was paid only to 29 September 1757, when he died, Benjamin Swaite similarly stopped on 23 September 1757, and William Turner, the gunner's mate whose will had earlier been proved, paid only to his death on 21 September 1757. Each death opened an immediate vacancy filled by promotion, Thomas Morris advanced from sentinel to corporal on 24 September 1757, the day after Swaite's death, and James Robinson moved between quarter gunner and matross rank on the same principle [Film No. 435-437].

Religion and Education

In the establishment list for the quarter ending 11 October 1756, William Lee served the island as chaplain, while Richard Beale combined the offices of judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk in a single person, the small civil establishment stretching individual officers across several distinct functions at once [Film No. 101, 102]. By the quarter ending 11 January 1756/7, William Lee drew a modest salary of £2 10s alongside £25 diet money and £15 house rent, Beale continuing to hold judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk together [Film No. 148]. The Company's store sold and issued spelling books, hornbooks, primers, Bibles, prayer books and catechisms between January and April 1757, the catechisms delivered directly to Lee to give to the island's children, evidence of the Company's provision for both schooling and religious instruction [Film No. 240, 248]. A charge of 12 shillings to the minister and sexton for conducting Samuel Powell's funeral in June 1757 is one of the few glimpses of religious provision in that stretch of the record [Film No. 284]. By the quarter ending 11 July 1757, William Lee's chaplain's salary had risen to £40 with diet money, the Company maintaining religion as a fixed charge on the establishment exactly as it maintained a surgeon or storekeeper, the settlement able to look to no other church than the one the Company itself provided and paid for [Film No. 339, 340].

Personalities

Samuel Falconer, the island's dismissed surgeon, emerges as the most fully documented individual of 1756, his own words preserved across detailed petitions between August and October of that year. His prose was precise and combative, willing to challenge Adamson's account of dates and sums and to contest the propriety of a bill's protest, and his repeated pleas for more time to settle debts he claimed were owed to him rather than by him present a man contesting his expulsion vigorously rather than accepting it passively; he died on the island on 24 October 1756, before the passage home he had fought so long to delay ever came [Film No. 16-18, 26, 64, 66].

Francis Wrangham, senior, appears across the whole run of records in shifting capacities. Aged 70 during the watercourse dispute of October 1756, his own defence recalled some 70 years of residence on the island and an unblemished character never previously questioned, an appeal that adds a distinctly individual voice to an otherwise procedural dispute; his prominence as the island's largest single ratepayer, assessed at over £44, gives added context to Adamson's evident wish to see his claim discredited [Film No. 51, 55]. He held the paid office of secretary to the very council he petitioned against, with his son William serving as a writer under the same establishment [Film No. 61, 101], and in March 1756/7 he registered a mortgage from his own son Francis, keeping a family debt on the public record [Film No. 198]. His household nonetheless furnished the file's harshest recorded punishments: his slave Simon was whipped 450 lashes in three instalments for desertion and theft in November 1756, and whipped and branded again in February 1756/7 for stealing a sheep [Film No. 121, 179]. By October 1757, still serving as secretary, Wrangham's position at the centre of the island's documentary record made him the natural point at which a theft of stolen rings surfaced and was traced to its source, his son William having separately acted as the governor's emissary to the Widow Seale in September 1757 [Film No. 381, 460].

John Adamson, lieutenant governor throughout the period, appears in numerous capacities that together sketch a man of vigorous, sometimes overbearing, authority: as Captain Brown's attorney pursuing Falconer's debt, as the official against whom the Wrangham-Beale watercourse complaint was directed, as a councillor whose own recollection of a disputed minute became a matter for internal enquiry, and finally, in September and October 1757, as a master who beat his own servant, Thomas Stanley, and whose first instinct on hearing the complaint was to presume provocation on the servant's part [Film No. 11, 46, 49, 401]. Charles Hutchinson, governor throughout, shows a broadly similar inclination toward compromise tempered by deference to established authority: in October 1756 he was willing to concede Wrangham and Beale's standing to complain while resting his ruling on the Company's declared policy of lenity, yet in October 1757 he too presumed some fault in Stanley before hearing the fuller evidence, and ultimately allowed Adamson to sit in judgement on the very case brought against him [Film No. 62-64, 401, 405]. John Clark, sitting on the council throughout, combined civil, financial and military responsibility more completely than any other man on the island, keeping the paymaster's ledger, serving as first lieutenant of the First Company, personally boarding and mustering every homeward ship that called across May, June and July 1757, and setting down in writing the council's finding against Lieutenant Hay [Film No. 112-114, 271, 285, 301].

Lieutenant George Hay appears in two distinct episodes. In the jurisdictional dispute of February and March 1756/7 he first demanded a formal local court martial and then, on 12 March 1756/7, closed the matter with a private acknowledgement of misbehaviour to the governor, a reversal the surviving record does not explain [Film No. 189, 196]. In May 1757 he conducted a sustained clandestine relationship with Elizabeth Powell, arming himself with pistols for his visits, timing his entries to avoid Sergeant Bazett's notice and, when discovery threatened, urging the girl through her brother to help him deny everything, a pattern of calculation running through his conduct from the affair itself to the reasoned letter and detailed alibi he offered in his own defence [Film No. 259-267]. James Powell, the storekeeper, figures first as the aggrieved father in the Hay affair and, in October 1757, as a methodical investigator in his own right, turning circumstantial suspicion of his bakers into demonstrable evidence through a controlled weighing of flour against bread yield [Film No. 256, 458]. Thomas Hall, the master gunner, appears throughout this run of records as a bare signature at the foot of powder and stock accounts until the salary list of July 1757 names him a salaried officer paid on a scale approaching the lieutenants, confirming him as a figure of genuine institutional standing rather than a mere clerical formality [Film No. 351].

John Pritchard, engaged as surgeon's mate on 18 April 1757 after marrying at Madras on his way home, appears within a week among the debtors called in against the estate of the late Samuel Falconer, a rapid entanglement in the settlement's web of local debt for a man so newly arrived [Film No. 215, 220]. The Beale family's reach through 1757, Richard Beale senior registering a land purchase in August 1757, Richard Beale junior raised to lieutenant on Stephen Herbert's death that same month, and men such as Thomas Kirkpatrick remitting substantial sums home in the same weeks, traces the emergence of an established colonial family accumulating land, office and savings together across a generation of Company service [Film No. 364, 366, 369]. Thomas Peter Stanley, formerly a servant to Adamson himself, appears in the final months of 1757 first as the victim of his master's violence and then, once his own character had been

undermined by testimony of earlier disgrace aboard the *Stretham* and by Margaret Alcock's accusations, as a man whose complaint the council dismissed entirely; weeks later he resurfaces through the eyes of an aggrieved landlord, accused of keeping company with a slave woman against his employer's wishes and of wearing a crucifix while roaming the island's remote corners, prompting the council to restrict his movement without the record disclosing whether any further charge followed [Film No. 403-405, 459, 460].

Conclusion

Across the 15 months from 29 July 1756 to 31 October 1757, St Helena's governor and council governed an island almost entirely through paper: leases, petitions, invoices, wills, powers of attorney and monthly ledgers, each entered, read aloud, approved and signed before it acquired any standing at all. The very thoroughness of this documentary culture is both the file's great strength as a historical source and its central limitation, since it records with precision what the council chose to formalise while leaving silent or barely visible whatever fell outside that process, most conspicuously the interior lives of the slaves whose labour and rationing appear on almost every page yet whose own voices appear nowhere in them [Film No. 32, 40, 43, 65, 423].

The same small circle of men, Hutchinson, Adamson and Clark in council, Wrangham as secretary, Powell as storekeeper, Beale as judge advocate and schoolmaster together, appears again and again as party, judge and record-keeper in matters touching its own members: the Brown-Falconer debt dispute, the Wrangham-Beale watercourse complaint, the Hay-Powell affair and the Stanley-Adamson assault each show a council ruling on the conduct of its own officers or their households, a structural feature of small colonial administration that the record itself never questions but that a critical reading must. Several of these disputes end without a clean resolution, the watercourse claim left pending Adamson's reply, the Hay jurisdiction question closed by private submission rather than open trial, and the Stanley assault closed against the complainant without any censure of the master who had beaten him, reminding the reader that a chronological run of consultations, however detailed, captures process more reliably than it captures justice.

The Seven Years War, declared in 1756 and read to the garrison on 21 February 1756/7, touched the island's shipping directly, in the convoys of the *Hampshire* and the *Colchester*, the resupply of powder to the homebound China fleet, and a late suspicion of disloyalty examined in October 1757, even as the island's day-to-day business of land, livestock and provisioning continued largely unaffected by the wider conflict. Throughout, St Helena functioned as a way station for more than one nation's Asian trade, victualling Danish, Swedish and Prussian East Indiamen alongside its own Company's ships and, on occasion, His Majesty's navy, its treasury handling venetians, pagodas, dollars, rupees, taels and ryals within the same accounts that reckoned a soldier's pay in pounds, shillings and pence.

Slavery on St Helena was administered with exactly the same bureaucratic thoroughness applied to every other resource on the island, in the counting of yams by the pound, the naming or non-naming of slaves in a ship's muster roll, the branding of runaways, and the entry of births, deaths and even mass suicide within the same monthly returns used for cattle and goats, yet it was almost never treated in these records as a subject requiring separate moral or legal reflection in its own right. Set beside the meticulous, almost obsessive precision applied to a numbered treasure chest, a penny-perfect stranger's estate or a muster roll naming every hand aboard six ships, the record's occasional lapses into silence, a slave's death noted only by a forename, five Malabar men's suicide recorded in a single unadorned line, show plainly whose lives this administration's bookkeeping was built to account for in full and whose it was content merely to note. Even the record's own account of time was not immune to error: the surviving reports disagree among themselves about whether the island's Julian calendar, with its year beginning on 25 March, still governed local practice after Great Britain's reform of 1752, an inconsistency this report has resolved throughout by the modern reckoning, presenting the affected dates in slash form. That the clerks who kept St Helena's accounts to the exact day of a soldier's promotion or the last ounce of a cask's short weight could nonetheless lose track of which year they were living in stands as a fitting final caution against treating any part of this documentary record, however precise it appears, as beyond the need for critical scrutiny.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1756-1757 Photographer Shelley Date photographed 4.01.2022 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
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5		29 July 1756 to 31 Octr 1757 - 21 Febry 1757 Declaration of War promulgated 6 April " Ammun.n supplied to Ships (Indiamen) to replace what they had fired "in a late engagement" 11 Octr. 1756 Diversion of the Channel of The Run	
6	1	Island St. Helena. At a Consultation held on Thursday the 29 Day of July 1756 at the Castle. PRESENT Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, Dated the 26 July 1756. Yesterday the 28 Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Fretham from Bombay, and brought us the following supply viz. Invoice of Ship Fretham. Chellows 1 Bale 3s 5d @ 31 4 6 405 .. Surat Chars Customs 2½ Cent 8 40 - Packing 7 ... 15 . 40 420 . 40 Batavia Arrack 8 Casks containing 1160 Gallons 1 P Gallon 1900 .. Charges on Merchandize Vz Europe Casks 8 75 ... Hamallidge on the Arrack . 3 . 49 D° Chellows . 15 Boat hire 3 . 1 . 87 . 79 . 1 51 1245 . 1 . 51 Rupees 1665 . 1 . 91 Errors Excepted (Signed) Cha Crammelin Accomptt Cha Hutchinson. Jno Adamson John Clark.	A consultation held on Thursday 29 July 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 26 July 1756. The Honourable Company's ship <i>Prothaim</i> had arrived from Bombay the day before, on 28 July, and brought the following invoice of supply. Chellows, 1 bale, 5 cwt at 81 rupees 16 annas per cwt, 405 Surat chintz Customs, 2.5 per cent, 8.40 Packing, 7, 15.40 420.10 Batavia arrack, 8 casks containing 1160 gallons and 1 pint, 1 rupee per gallon, 1160 Charges on merchandise viz: Europe casks, 8, 75 Hammallage on the arrack, 3.49 Ditto on the chellows, 15 Boat hire, 3.87 79.51 1245.51 Total, rupees 1665.91 Errors excepted, signed Charles Chambelein, accountant. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Chellows (chelloes) were a plain cotton cloth woven in Bengal, typically striped or checked, produced for the export trade and used in the Company's Asian and African commerce as both a saleable commodity and a medium of exchange, including in provisioning contracts and payments to slaves and garrison personnel. Surat chintz was a glazed, painted or printed cotton cloth from the Gujarat coast, prized for its patterned surface and colourfast dyes, and formed a separate category of textile within the same bale. Batavia arrack was a spirit distilled in Java from fermented sugarcane molasses and red rice, forming a staple of the Company's provisioning trade to island garrisons such as St Helena, where imported spirits substituted for the absence of local distilling. Hammallage was the customary charge for portorage, the labour of loading and carrying goods between ship and shore, distinct from the freight or customs charges levied on the goods themselves. Speculations The invoice was rendered and totalled in rupees rather than sterling, reflecting Bombay's position as the immediate source of the cargo and the Company's practice of costing Asian-sourced goods in the currency of the port of origin before conversion, if any, into sterling accounts kept at St Helena; the choice to leave the account in rupees, rather than the pounds sterling used elsewhere in the island's own transactions, shows the invoice travelling to St Helena as a Bombay-originated document rather than being recast into the island's own accounting convention on arrival.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
<u>7</u> 8	2 3	Blank page At a Consultation held on Monday the 2 Day of August 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, Dated the 29 July 1756. Saturday, the 31 July arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Pelham, and brought us the following supply viz. Invoice of Ship Pelham Batty 48 Bags containing 3.25 @ 22.2 P Md 86 . 60 Price bought 22 Bags 150 P Md @ 3.50 P Md 154 . 1 .. Charges on Merchandize Gunny Bags 35 for Rice bags 6 . 2 40 D° 96 for Batty D° 24 .. Duty bags 22 for rice D° 16 . 2 .. Twine for Sewing D° . 1 . 93 Sircars Sewing the Rice & Batty 2 .. 40 Hamallage and Boat hire 4 . 3 .. 53 . 3 75 Rupees. 271 . 2 . 35 Errors Excepted (Signed) Cha Crammelin Accomptt Wr John Worrall presented the following Petitionvz	A consultation held on Monday 2 August 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 29 July 1756. The Honourable Company's ship <i>Pelham</i> had arrived the day before, on Saturday 31 July, and brought the following invoice of supply. Batty, 48 bags containing 8 candy 22 maunds 22.2 lb at 1 rupee 8 annas per maund, 86.1.60 Rice, 22 bags containing 150 maunds at 1 rupee 3.5 annas per maund, 154.1 Charges on merchandise: Gunny bags, 35 for rice bags, 6.2.40 Ditto, 96 for batty, 24 Ditto bags, 22 for rice, 16.2 Twine for sewing, 1.93 Sircars for sewing the rice and batty, 2.46 Hammallage and boat hire, 4.3 53.375 Total, rupees 271.2.35 Errors excepted, signed Charles Chambelein, accountant. Mr John Worrall presented the following petition, viz. Interpretations Batty was unhusked rice, distinguished in the Company's Bombay provisioning accounts from the milled rice recorded separately in the same invoice, and formed a staple ration commodity shipped to island garrisons. Gunny bags were coarse sacking woven from jute fibre, the standard packing material for bulk grain in the Company's Indian trade, and were costed here as a charge distinct from the value of the grain itself. A candy and a maund were units of weight used on the Bombay coast, the candy comprising a fixed number of maunds, the exact figure varying by locality, and both served as the standard measures for bulk commodities such as rice and batty in Company accounts. A sircar, here paid for sewing the sacks, was a term used in Company service for a subordinate agent or overseer, in this instance engaged for manual and supervisory labour on the cargo rather than in his more usual clerical or commercial role.
<u>2</u>	4	To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor & Council. The humble Petition of John Worrall Sheweth That your Petitioner being Desirous to Dispose of his right in a Lease for seven Acres and an half of Land lying in Sandy Bay Valley, humbly begs that your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him liberty s to Do, and accept of William Pardon Servant for the same St Helena 2 August 1756. And your Petitioner will ever pray. (Signed) John Worrall. Granted Wr Nathan Sample Presented the following Petition viz. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor & Council The humble Petition of Nathan Sampell Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous to Sell his House in the Valley, which stands on Lease Land, humbly prays that he may have liberty to assign his Right in the Lease for the Time to Come to Mr John Clark. St Helena 2 August 1756 And your Petitioner will ever pray. (Signed) Nathan Sampell Granted	John Worrall petitioned Governor Charles Hutchinson and council, stating that he wished to dispose of his right in a lease of seven and a half acres of land in Sandy Bay valley, and asked that he be permitted to give up the lease and that it be granted instead to William Pardoe, his servant. The petition, dated 2 August 1756, was granted. Nathan Sample then presented a petition to Governor Hutchinson and council, stating that he wished to sell his house in the valley, which stood on leased land, and asked leave to assign his right in the lease for the remainder of its term to John Clark. The petition, dated 2 August 1756, was granted. Interpretations The transactions recorded here show the Company's practice of leasing land at St Helena rather than granting freehold title, with the lease itself, not the underlying land, treated as the transferable asset. A tenant wishing to leave or sell up could not simply vacate or sell outright but had to petition the governor and council for leave to assign the residue of the lease term to a named successor, giving the administration continuing oversight of who held land on the island and for what purpose.

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<u>10</u>	5	The Governor then Day laid the following Letter before the Gentlemen of the Council. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Sir Yesterday Requested of you three Barrels of Gun powder, I having the Misfortune to damage Some of my Powder at Sea, and not having Sufficient to Go away from hence with Safety without a Supply. Beg of you to comply with my Request I am Sir with Respect Worshipful Sir Your most Obedient Servant (Signed) Parson Fenner St Helena 31 July 1756. Agreed to let Captain Fenner have the Powder he request Mr Adamson the Lieutenant Governor as attorney to Captain Brown Desired the following Accounts & c^o might be entered in Consultation, which we agreed to; they are as follows viz. Captain Brown arrived here the 18 of May last, and upon the 19 he wrote a letter to Mr Falconer desiring him to settle Accounts which although Capt Brown did not sail unhill the 24 of June, he never could get Mr Falconer to settle, under various pretences, but chiefly liquor by which he	The governor read the following letter before the gentlemen of the council. Captain Parson Fenner had written to Governor Hutchinson, dated at St Helena 31 July 1756, explaining that he had requested three barrels of gunpowder the previous day, having had the misfortune to damage some of his own powder at sea and not having enough to leave the island safely without a fresh supply, and asking that his request be complied with. The council agreed to let Captain Fenner have the powder he had requested. John Adamson, the lieutenant governor, acting as attorney to Captain Brown, desired that the following accounts might be entered in consultation, which the council agreed to. Captain Brown had arrived on 18 May last, and on the 19th he wrote a letter to Mr Falconer desiring him to settle the accounts between them. Although Captain Brown's ship did not sail until 24 June, he could never get Mr Falconer to settle, Falconer putting him off under various pretences but chiefly through drink, by which he... Interpretations The petition from Captain Fenner illustrates the Company's control over gunpowder as a strategic supply on the island: even a ship's captain needing powder to depart safely had to apply formally to the governor and council rather than obtain it through ordinary trade, reflecting the military and administrative sensitivity attached to munitions at a garrison island.
<u>11</u>	6	he rendered himself incapable. This obliged Capt. Browne to leave a letter of attorney with me, an Account Current, and Affidavit made before the Governor the 24 of June. Upon the 25 D^o I sent for Mr Falconer in presence of Mr James Powell, at which time he promised to be with me in two or three Days, but never came, nor did I see or hear from him untill the 26 of July, which day he was sent to by the Governor and Council, when before them he said the affair should be settled, the Wednesday following he came, but would not pay the Money, nor give a Security upon his House, Therefore finding his litigious disposition, I gave him proposals in writing, and desire the same may be entered in Consultation, also the Letter of Attorney, Account Current, and Affidavit, I likewise request that an Attachment may be laid upon his house, or otherwise as you may judge proper as a security for Capt. Brown's Debt Upon Samuel Falconer paying fifty Pounds five Shillings, and ten Pence Sterling a debt due by him to Captain Thomas Brown I as his Attorney do promise to give the said Sam Falconer Security that the above Sum shall never be charged to him or his Heirs What ever papers Mr Falconer desires may be delivered to him that he has given Capt. Brown, I shall take care to see returned or such security as the Law thinks necessary to insemnify him from any future Charges provided that Mr Falconer makes clear affidavit before the Governor of every paper so delivered. Island St. Helena Know all Men by these presents that I Thomas Brown Commander of the Ship Bombay Castle	Falconer had rendered himself incapable through drink. This obliged Captain Brown to leave John Adamson a letter of attorney with an account current, and an affidavit was made before the governor on 24 June. On 25 June Adamson sent for Falconer in the presence of James Powell, at which time Falconer promised to attend on him within two or three days, but he never came, nor did Adamson see or hear from him until 26 July, when he was sent for by the governor and council. When told the matter should be settled, Falconer came the following Wednesday but would not pay the money, nor give security upon his house. Adamson, finding him disinclined to litigation, gave him proposals in writing and desired that the same be entered in consultation, together with the letter of attorney, account current and affidavit. Adamson further requested that an attachment be laid upon Falconer's house, or such other measure taken as the council might judge proper as security for Captain Brown's debt. The proposal was that, upon Samuel Falconer paying £50 5s 10d sterling, a debt owed by him to Captain Thomas Brown, Adamson, as Brown's attorney, would promise to give Falconer security that the sum would never again be charged to him or his heirs. Whatever papers Falconer wished delivered up, that he had given to Captain Brown, Adamson would take care to see returned, or such security given as the law thought necessary to indemnify Falconer from any future charges, provided that Falconer made a clear affidavit before the governor of every paper so delivered. Thomas Brown, commander of the ship <i>Bombay Castle</i>, then made a declaration beginning with the formula "know all men by these presents". Interpretations A letter of attorney of the kind Brown left with Adamson authorised the holder to act and receive payment on the principal's behalf during the principal's absence, a common arrangement for ship's commanders who could not remain on the island to pursue their own debts before sailing. An attachment upon a debtor's house was a legal measure seizing or encumbering the property as security for a debt, used here as the remedy Adamson sought when Falconer refused to pay or offer voluntary security.

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<u>12</u>	7	in the service of the Honorable the United English East India Company for divers good causes and considerations me hereunto moving have made, ordained, constituted and appointed & by these presents, do make, ordain, constitute & appoint my trustly friend John Adamson of the said Island Lieutenant Governor in the said Honorable Companys Service, my true and lawful Attorney, for me, & in my Name, and to my use to Ask, Demand, receive, and receive, of & from Samuel Falconer, late Surgeon of the said Island, in the said Honorable Companys Service, the Sum of Fifty Pounds, four Shillings, & ten Pence. Giving & by these presents Granting to my said Attorney my Sole & full power, and Authority to take pursuit & follow such legal courses for the recovery, receiving & obtaining the same as myself might, or could do, were I personally present & upon the receipt of the same acquittances, or other sufficient Discharges for me, in my Name, to make, Sign, Seal, & deliver, as also one or more Attorney or Attorneys, under him to substitute, or appoint, & again at his pleasure to revoke & further to do, perform & finish, for me & in my Name, all & singular thing or things, which shall or may be necessary, touching and concerning the Premises as fully throughly, & entirely, as I the said Thomas Brown in my own person might or could do, in or about the same, Ratifying, Allowing & Confirming whatsoever my said Attorney shall lawfully do, or cause to be done, in & about the execution of the premisses by Virtue of these presents, In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand & Seal this 24 Day of June in the thirtieth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain &c and in the year of our Lord God 1756 (Signed) Tho Brown Signed Sealed & Delivered (where no Stamp'd paper is to be had) in the presence of (Signed) M. Bearing John Ligg	Thomas Brown, in the service of the Honourable United English East India Company, appointed his friend John Adamson, lieutenant governor of the island, in the Company's service, as his true and lawful attorney, to ask, demand, recover and receive from Samuel Falconer, late surgeon of the island in the Company's service, the sum of £50 4s 10d. Brown gave Adamson full power and authority to pursue such legal courses for the recovery of the sum as Brown might himself have taken, as fully as if he were present in person, and to make acquittances or other sufficient discharges in Brown's name upon receipt of the same. Adamson was further empowered to appoint one or more substitute attorneys under him, and to revoke or replace them at pleasure, and to do whatever else might be necessary touching the matter as fully as Brown could have done himself. Brown ratified and confirmed whatever his attorney should lawfully do in execution of the power granted. The deed was signed and sealed on 21 June, in the thirtieth year of the reign of King George the Second, in the year of Our Lord 1756. The deed was signed, sealed and delivered, no stamped paper being available, in the presence of M Easling and John Ligg. Interpretations A power of attorney of this kind allowed a departing ship's commander to pursue a personal debt on the island after his own ship had sailed, delegating full legal authority, including the power to sue, settle and discharge the claim, to a resident official acting in his place. The note that the deed was executed on unstamped paper because none was to be had points to a shortage of the government-issued stamped paper normally required for legal instruments under English stamp duty law, a shortage evidently common enough on a remote island to warrant recording as an exception.
<u>13</u>	8	Dr Doctor 1753 July 25 To 3 pce Vejac Cambrick £ 5 . 11 . 6 2 pce D^o 4 . .. 4 pce Yard Wide Madrass Cambrick 3 ... 6 pce Malda Cossars 5 . 9 . 4 2 pce Bandano Handkerchiefs 1 . 13 .. 2 pce Thread Spatterdashes . 12 20 . 5 . 10 To Mr John Horne Passage and Accommodations at my Table and Wine &ca Liquors which you engaged yourself to be answerable for 30 .. 30 . 5 . 10 Balance due £ 29 . 14 . 2 £ 80 .. Memorandum. for all the above particulars you gave a Bill on Captain Ldm Cook which you was well assured would be paid tho it was not (Signed) Tho Brown It having been falsely said by some Persons upon the Island that the Planters had Cattle to sell if they could get permission we therefore ordered the following advertisement to be published Whereas a malicious report has been industriously spread by some Ill designing Persons that there are many Cattle upon the Island that the Owners of would be glad to sell	Doctor to Falconer, account 1753. 25 July, 3 pieces voyac cambric, 5.11.6 2 pieces ditto, 4 1 piece yard wide madras cambric, 3 6 pieces Madras coffras, 5.9.4 2 pieces bandana handkerchiefs, 1.13 2 pieces thread stockings, 12 Sum, 20.5.10 To Mr John Morse, passage and accommodations at sea, table and wine and other liquors which you engaged yourself to be answerable for, 30 Total, 50.5.10 Balance due, £29 14s 2d Total, £80 Memorandum: for all the above particulars you gave a bill on Captain Adam Cook which, you well knew, would be paid although it was not. Signed, Thomas Brown. Falsely alleging that the planters had cattle to sell if they could get permission, the council ordered the following advertisement to be published. A malicious report had, they stated, been industriously spread by ill-designing persons that there were many cattle upon the island that the owners would be glad to sell if allowed liberty to do it. The council therefore ordered all persons who had any cattle not included in the number already returned for slaughter for the year 1756 to give immediate account to the secretary's office of what they might have, on pain of answering the contrary at their peril. Interpretations Madras coffras were a variety of coloured cotton cloth manufactured on the Coromandel coast for the export trade, sold alongside cambrics and handkerchiefs as part of the range of Indian textiles routinely carried by Company officers for private sale

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		had they liberty to do it, It is therefore to Order all Persons that have any of the that are not included in the number already returned for Slaughter for the Year 1756 to give an immediate Account into the Secretarys Office of what they may so have, as they shall answer the Contrary at their Perils.	or personal use. The advertisement reveals the Company's tight control over livestock on St Helena: with cattle numbers already fixed by an annual return for slaughter, any animal not accounted for in that return was treated as a matter for official declaration, since unregulated private sale threatened the managed food supply of a small island garrison. Speculations The council's advertisement responded not to an actual surplus of cattle but to a report it judged false, choosing to compel disclosure of unreturned livestock rather than either ignore the rumour or investigate individual planters; by ordering account to be given on pain of penalty, the council used the rumour itself as a lever to tighten its existing register of livestock, treating a piece of gossip as an opportunity to close a gap in its own records of what animals the island actually held.
14	9	Samuel Falconer Cr 1753 July 23 By a Draught on Captain Edm Cook £ 80 .. £ 80 . St Helena 24 June 1756. I Thomas Brown Commander of the Ship Bombay Castle in the Service of the Honorable the English East India Company do depose before Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor of the Island St Helena that Samuel Falconer formerly the said Honorable Companys Surgeon of the said Island, is justly Indebted unto me the said Thomas Brown in the full Sum of fifty Pounds, four Shillings, and ten Pence of Lawful Money of Great Brittain (Signed) Tho Brown Island St Helena 24 June 1756 Sworn before me (Signed) Chas Hutchinson Chas Hutchinson. John Adamson John Clark.	Samuel Falconer, credit, account 1753. 23 July, by a draught on Captain Adam Cook, £80 Total, £80 Thomas Brown, commander of the ship <i>Bombay Castle</i> in the service of the Honourable English East India Company, deposed before Governor Charles Hutchinson at St Helena on 21 June 1756 that Samuel Falconer, formerly the Company's surgeon on the island, was justly indebted to him, Brown, in the full sum of £50 4s 10d of lawful money of Great Britain. The deposition was sworn before Charles Hutchinson at St Helena on 21 June 1756, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
15	10	At a Consultation held on Monday the 9 Day of August 1756 at the Castle. PRESENT Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Lieutenant John Clark absent being Ill. John Adamson Lieutenant Governor The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed Dated the 2 August 1756. Yesterday Died Thomas Loveland Corporal D° Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Duke of Dorset and brought us the following supply. Invoice of Ship Duke of Dorset BA, N 1 to 6, Batavia Arrack C° Thirds Leaguer, 130 R P Leagre 260 .. Batta 8 P Cent 20 12 9 280 12 9 WC, 1 to 2, Wax Candles 2 Chests P M ds @ 50 P M 236 .. FR, 1 to 50, Fine Rice 50 Bags P wt Md @ 55 12 P R 111 14 .. Batta 8 P C° 8 12 . 120 16 .. P, 1 to 10, Paddy 10 Bags P Wt 29 @ 100 @ 16 P R 10 .. Batta 8 P C° . 12 9 10 12 9 Charges Merchandize. 648 . 36 . 110 Gunny Bags @ 15 P 100 R° 16 . 8 .. Packing	A consultation held on Monday 9 August 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson and Lieutenant Governor John Adamson as present, Lieutenant John Clark being absent through illness. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 2 August 1756. Corporal Thomas Loveland had died the day before, and the Honourable Company's ship <i>Duke of Dorset</i> had arrived, bringing the following supply. Batavia arrack, 6 chests, third leaguer, at 130 rupees per leaguer, 260 Batta, 8 per cent, 20.12.9 280.12.9 Wax candles, 2 chests, 2 maunds, at 50 rupees per maund, 236 Fine rice, 50 bags, 60 maunds, at 55 rupees 12 annas per maund, 111.14 Batta, 8 per cent, 8.12 120.10 Paddy, 10 bags, 14 maunds 20 seers, at 100 rupees 16 annas per maund, 10 Batta, 8 per cent, 12.9 10.12.9 Charges merchandize: 648.36 110 gunny bags at 15 rupees per 100, 16.8 Packing, 4.6 10.15.6 2 chests and packages, 18.5.3 Boat hire, 3.14 Ditto, 2.2.6 11 empty casks, 21.9.6 Molasses, 3.1 Sloop hire, 31.8

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		. 6 . 6 16 15 6 2 Chest & Packages 18 5 3 Boathire 3 14 .. 11 Empty Casks 2 2 6 Molasses 21 9 6 Sloop hire 3 1 .. 31 8 .. 80 8 3 Current Rupees 728 11 9 EE (Signed) Paul Richard Bearkes Ovt	80.8.3 Total, rupees 728.11.9 Errors excepted, signed Paul Richard Bearkes, accountant. Interpretations Paddy was rice still in its husk, distinct from the milled fine rice recorded separately in the same invoice, and both formed staple provisions shipped to the island's garrison. A leaguer was a large cask used for shipping bulk liquids such as arrack, its capacity varying by trade but standard enough within the Company's Bombay accounts to serve as a unit of sale. Batta was an additional allowance or premium added to the base price of goods, commonly applied in Company accounts to cover exchange variation, handling loss or a local surcharge on the stated rate.
16	11	Mr Falconer Desired that the following Answer and Objections to the Papers & Accounts given in by Mr Adamson the Lieutenant Governor in our last Consultation might be entered, which we agreed to, and they are as follows viz. St Helena 5 August 1756 The Answer and Objections of me Samuel Falconer to the Charge preferred before the Governor & Council against me by John Adamson Esqr Lieutenant Governor as Attorney to Capt Thomas Brown 1st The said Samuel Falconer say that Capt Brown did arrive here in the Ship Bombay Castle the 18 of May last, and that he did Sail the 24 of June following, and that he the said Capt Brown Delivered a Letter to me Dated May the 20 and not May the 19 as Mr Adamson sets forth, In which Letter the said Captain Brown has entered a sort of a blind Account between him and me, and therein acknowledged a balance due to me, and therein said that he would settle the Account before he Sailed or to that effect 2d That During the time of Capt Brown's Stay in St Helena I was often in Company with him alone, both at Breakfast and dinner, and at several other times, and that we had many times Conversation together in relation to the said Account, which I never refused to settle nor made any pretences whatsoever upon Account of Liquor or otherwise, But on the Contrary I was willing, at any Time, and when we were so in Company together offered, (upon delivery up of all the papers Vouchers and writings in his Custody or power which were given by me as a Security to him when he carried Mr John Moor to England) to accmpt with and pay him the said Capt Brown his Demand if he had any, tho in the above mentioned Letter and Accmpt he acknowledged the balance due to me 3 That the said Capt Brown might leave a Letter of Attorney and Accmpt Currant with the said Mr Adamson, and make such Affidavit before the Governor as Mr Adamson charges	Falconer desired that the following answer and objections to the papers and accounts given in by Adamson, the lieutenant governor, at the last consultation might be entered, which the council agreed to, and they were as follows. The answer and objections of Samuel Falconer to the charge preferred before the governor and council against him by John Adamson, lieutenant governor, as attorney to Captain Thomas Brown, dated at St Helena 3 August 1756, were set out under numbered points. 1: Falconer stated that Captain Brown arrived in the ship <i>Bombay Castle</i> on 18 May last and sailed on 24 June following, and that Brown had addressed a letter to him dated 20 May, not 19 May as Adamson had set forth, in which letter Brown had entered a sort of running account between them and acknowledged a balance due to Falconer, stating that he would settle the account before he sailed or soon after. 2: Falconer stated that during Captain Brown's stay at St Helena he was often in company with him alone, both at breakfast and dinner and at several other times, and that they had many conversations together concerning the account, which he had never refused to settle nor made any pretence whatsoever about, whether on account of liquor or otherwise. On the contrary he had been willing at any time, and when they were together, offered, upon delivery to him of all the papers, vouchers and writings in his custody or power which had been given to him as security, to hand them to Captain Brown when he carried Mr John Morse to England, to account with Brown and pay him his demand if he had any, since in the letter and account mentioned above Brown had acknowledged the balance due to Falconer. 3: Falconer stated that Captain Brown might leave a letter of attorney and account current with Adamson, and make such affidavit before the governor as Adamson requested.
17	12	4th That since the said Capt Brown's sailing, the said Mr Adamson has applied to me for payment of £50.5.10, as a Debt due from me to the said Capt Brown, tho at the time the said Capt Brown took Mr Moor on board, I gave to him the said Capt Brown a Bill of Exchange drawn in his favour on Capt Edmund Cook, for £80, which is near £30 more than Captain Brown's charge, and I verily believe that if the said papers Vouchers and writings were produced by the said Captain Brown the Agreement between Capt Brown and me for Mr Moor's passage was only £20 that is £5 to the Owners for his passage and £15 for his Diet at the third Makes Table, and not £30 as the said Capt Brown and Mr Adamson now charge; Yet I then was and still am ready to accmpt with and pay to what shall appear to be due to	4: Falconer stated that since Captain Brown's sailing, Adamson had applied to him for payment of £50 5s 10d as a debt owed by him to Brown, though at the time Brown took Mr Morse on board, Falconer had given Brown a bill of exchange drawn in Brown's favour on Captain Edmund Cook for £80, nearly £30 more than Brown's own charge. Falconer verily believed that, if Brown's papers, vouchers and writings were produced, it would appear that the agreement between Brown and himself for Morse's passage was only £20, that is £5 to the owners for his passage and £15 for his diet at the third mate's table, and not £30 as Brown and Adamson now charged. He stated that he had then been, and still was, ready to accept and pay whatever should appear due to Brown upon delivery to him of all the papers, vouchers and writings mentioned

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		him the said Capt Brown upon delivery up of all the papers Vouchers and writings above mentioned or proper Security for the delivery thereof, And for that purpose Mr Francis Wrangham the younger offered a sufficient or proper security for such Delivery offered to Join with me in a sufficient Bond to the said Capt Brown for the Sum of £30 5 10 which the said Mr Adamson refused to accept, and in a great passion said he would have nothing to do with the Wrangham's or to that effect, and then insisted on immediate payment of the Money or a Mortgage of my dwelling house tho at the same time he had not the said papers Vouchers and Writings to produce, and would give me no other Security for the delivery of them than a promissory Note, tho that only for such papers as I could punctually swear to the Delivery of, which promissory Note I do not refuse to accept, as I do not think the same proper security to me, having already given such Bills of Exchange to the said Capt Brown for £80 as aforesaid, And as I have no remedy either at Law or in Equity against the said Capt Cook for the said Money or any other charges or expence I have been at on the said Mr Moor's Account without the delivery up of all the said papers Vouchers and Writings, an affidavit of the delivery of which the said Capt Brown is here produced	above, or upon proper security for their delivery, and that for that purpose Francis Wrangham, the younger, had offered to join with him in a sufficient bond to Brown for the sum of £30 5s 10d, which Adamson had refused to accept, declaring in a great passion that he would have nothing to do with Wrangham, or to that effect, and had then insisted on immediate payment of the money or a mortgage of Falconer's dwelling house, though at the same time Adamson did not have the said papers, vouchers and writings to produce, and would give no other security for their delivery than his own promissory note, which note Falconer did not think proper security, having already given such bills of exchange to Captain Brown for £80 as aforesaid, and as he had no remedy either at law or in equity against Captain Cook for the money or any other charge or expense he had been at on Mr Morse's account, without the delivery up of all the papers, vouchers and writings, an affidavit of the delivery of which by Captain Brown was here produced.
18	13	I the said Samuel Falconer therefore pray that this my Answer and objections to the said Mr Adamson's charge may be read in Consultation on the hearing of this matter (he the said Mr Adamson as a party not to be then in Council) and that on payment by me to the said Mr Adamson, or giving good, sufficient and undeniable Bond Security for payment of what shall appear to be due from me to the said Capt Brown, he the said Mr Adamson may be ordered to deliver up to me all the said papers Vouchers and writings in the Custody or power of the said Capt Brown, and also the power of Attorney from him the said Capt Brown to the said John Adamson if the same Power concern no other Accompts than between me and the said Capt Brown, And if it do concern any other Accompts to then that the said Mr Adamson may deliver to me a true Copy thereof Signed by him the said Mr Adamson, with a promise to produce and shew the Original at any time when required by me my heirs Executors or Administrators, And that in Case the said Mr Adamson cannot deliver up to me the said papers Vouchers and Writings, that he may give me Bond Security for delivery up of the same (Signed) Sam Falconer Note Capt Brown in his letter to me Dated may the 29, 1756 says that the Bill drawn by me on Capt Cooke was protested by Cock and noted for non payment, which could not be, for it is the business of the Person in whose favour the Bills drawn and receives the Money to protest it for non payment so that it is very likely the said Bill was not protested. (Signed) Sam Falconer	Falconer therefore prayed that his answer and objections to Adamson's charge might be read in consultation on the hearing of the matter, Adamson, being a party, not to be present in council at the time, and that upon Falconer's payment, or upon his giving good, sufficient and undeniable bond security for payment of whatever should appear due from him to Captain Brown, Adamson might be ordered to deliver up to him all the papers, vouchers and writings in Adamson's custody or power belonging to Captain Brown, together with the power of attorney given by Brown to Adamson. Falconer stated that if the power concerned no other accounts than those between himself and Captain Brown, and if it concerned any other accounts, then Adamson might deliver to him a true copy, signed by Adamson, with a promise to show the original whenever required by Falconer, his heirs, executors or administrators, and that in case Adamson could not deliver up the papers, vouchers and writings, he should instead give bond security for their delivery. The answer was signed, Sam Falconer. Falconer added a note stating that Captain Brown, in his letter to him dated 20 May 1756, had said that the bill drawn by Falconer on Captain Cook was protested by Cook and noted for non-payment, which Falconer stated could not be so, since it was the business of the person in whose favour a bill was drawn, and who received the money, to protest it for non-payment, so that it was probable the bill had not in fact been protested. The note was signed, Sam Falconer. Interpretations Protesting a bill of exchange was a formal legal procedure by which the payee, on non-payment, had a notary certify the default, preserving the payee's right to recover against the drawer or endorsers; Falconer's point turned on the rule that only the party owed the money, not a third party, could properly initiate that procedure, which he used to cast doubt on Brown's claim that the bill had failed.
19	14	The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Stores short received from the Ships Fretham and Pelham viz. Account of Stores Short received from the following Ships viz. Ship Fretham Leaguer Number,Gauge (Gallons),Wants to fill (Gallons) N 1:155,6	The storekeeper brought in the following account of stores short received from the ships <i>Prothaim</i> and <i>Pelham</i>. <i>Ship Prothaim.</i> Number 1 leaguer, arrack gauge 155 gallons, wants to fill, 6 gallons Number 2 ditto, 148 gallons, wants to fill, 5 gallons 3 quarts

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		2:148,5 $\frac{3}{4}$ 3:155,7 $\frac{1}{4}$ 4:150,4 $\frac{3}{4}$ 5:150,4 6:150,5 $\frac{3}{4}$ 7:150,6 4 hhds in bad Condition:50,28 $\frac{3}{4}$ Total:1117,68 Received 1049 Gallons Ship Pelham 3 August 1756 5 . 3 . 23 Rice Short Weight (Signed) Mc Curling Storek Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ships Pelham, Fretham, and Duke of Dorset, to Muster their Companys and enquire for Deserters but found none their Muster Rolls is as follows viz	Number 3 ditto, 155 gallons, wants to fill, 7 gallons 1 quart Number 4 ditto, 150 gallons, wants to fill, 4 gallons 3 quarts Number 5 ditto, 150 gallons, wants to fill, 6 gallons Number 6 ditto, 150 gallons, wants to fill, 5 gallons 3 quarts Number 7 ditto, 150 gallons, wants to fill, 6 gallons 1 cask in bad condition, 39 gallons, wants to fill, 28 gallons 3 quarts Total gauge, 1,117 gallons, total short, 68 gallons Received, 1,049 gallons Ship <i>Pelham</i>. 5 candy 3 maunds 25 seers of rice short weight Signed, M Curling, storekeeper, 3 August 1756. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ships <i>Pelham</i>, <i>Prothaim</i> and <i>Duke of Dorset</i> to muster their companies and enquire for deserters, but found none, their muster rolls being as follows.
20	15	Muster Roll of Ship Pelham George Lindsay Commander James Quallet 1 Mate Hercules Hemmer 2d D° Patk Maitland 3d D° Robt Lindsay 4th D° David Lindsay Surgeon Wm Holloway Sawier Magnus Prince Boatswain David Kennear Gunner Henry Burton Carpenter Daniel Martinet Midship David M Duff D° Henry Sarbin D° Wm Lindsay D° David Mills D° James Mellson D° Charles Greenhill D° Marker Rich D° Wm Breeben Gr Master Charles Nettles D° John Robinson D° John Bentland D° Thos Wapplemouth Capt Norris Loughman Steps D° Wm Doolcaulther Wm Ogilby Payner Walter M Nabb Cooper Wm Bramil Sailmaker Thos White Ropelock John Carpenter Cap D° John Smith Butcher Thos Waite Poulterer James Oakman Armourer Thos Landon Carp Mate Math Elyet D° 2d D° John Wood Gunner D° John Jackson Boats D° Wm Wilby Sergeant D° Thos Higgins Fault D° Alexr Thomson Corpor D° Robt Prue Cap Servant John Robinson D° R Agar Taylor Foraker D° James Skinner D° D° James Ratry Surg D° John Flet Carp D° Peter Agen Spint D° John Hill Boat D° Joseph Pastore Seaman George Sale D° Robt Salter D° John Lyall D° James Catdell D°	Muster roll of the ship <i>Pelham</i>. George Lindsay, commander James Quallet, first mate Hercules Hemmerd, second ditto Patrick Maitland, third ditto Robert Lindsay, fourth ditto David Lindsay, surgeon William Holloway, second surgeon Magnus Prince, boatswain David Kennear, gunner Henry Barton, carpenter Daniel Martinet, midshipman David M'Duff, ditto Henry Garbin, ditto William Lindsay, ditto David Mills, ditto James Mattson, ditto Charles Greenhill, ditto Marten Rich, ditto William Brewson, second master Charles Norkes, ditto John Robinson, ditto John Bentland, ditto Thomas Wigglesworth, captain's steward Norris Loughnan, ship's steward William Poolcaulker William Ogilby, sailmaker Walter M'Nabb, cooper William Brown, tallow chandler Thomas White, ship's cook John Carpenter, cook John Smith, butcher Thomas Waite, poulterer James Oakman, armourer Thomas Landon, carpenter's mate Matthew Elyot, second ditto John Wood, gunner's mate John Robson, ditto William Wilby, sergeant Thomas Higgins, cadet Alexander Thomson, corporal Robert Vance, captain's servant John Robinson, ditto Robert Agar, seaman toward James Thermer, third ditto James Robey, sergeant John Alsop, sailor Peter Agen, quartermaster John Hill, boatswain Joseph Rufford, seaman George Sale, ditto Robert Salter, ditto John Lyall, ditto James Cutdell, ditto

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		John Wakelin D° John Dyaldson D° Wm Broon D° Neil Steart D° Chas Rob D° Daniel Sherwood D° Jefsamy Robertson D° Robert Maver Seaman Wm Robinson D° Wm Walsh D° James Stevens D° John Patton D° Henry Freeman D° Arch Dunnean D° Isaac Oliver D° John Slater D° David Jolly D° John Henly D° Edwd Bryand John Turner John Sopplewell David Reid D° Thos Charles D° Amiel Marshall D° Stephen Cotton D° John Henderson D° John Pritchard D° David Wilkie D° John Capito D° Anthony Schroeder D° John Ozing D° David Scott D° Jonathan Baker D° Isaac Johnson D° John Butler D° Henry Thomson D° Robt Mills D°	John Mahelon, ditto John Dyndson, ditto William Brown, ditto Neil Steward, ditto Charles Robson, ditto Daniel Sherwood, ditto Jeffrey Robertson, ditto Robert Maver, seaman William Robinson, ditto William Walsh, ditto James Stevens, ditto John Patton, ditto Henry Freeman, ditto Archibald Dunnean, ditto Lewis Oliver, ditto John Slater, ditto David Jolly, ditto John Henly, ditto Edward Bryant, ditto John Turner, ditto John Dopplewell, ditto David Reid, ditto Thomas Charles, ditto Amos Hawksbill, ditto Stephen Cotton, ditto John Henderson, ditto John Pritchard, ditto David Wilkie, ditto John Cupito, ditto Anthony Schroeder, ditto David Orange, ditto David Scott, ditto Jonathan Baker, ditto Ivan Johnson, ditto John Butler, ditto Henry Thomson, ditto Robert Mills, ditto
21	16	John Edwards Seaman John Bruce D° George Boswell D° Matthew Turner D° Francisco Lewis D° Joseph Roderiguas Seaman Mand de Ward D° Mr George Stewart Passenger Mr Wm Launce D° Mr Bazil Heith D° Mr Danl Deering Passenger Mr Wm Walker D° Mr Wm Greaves D° Mr Thos James D° Mr Edm Turner D° Muster Roll of Ship <i>Fretham</i> Charles Mason Commander Andw Enicke 1 Mate James Ramsay 2 D° James Holt 3 D° Andw Smith 4 D° John Marner 5 D° Peter Rufsell Surgeon Wm Clark Purser James Teal Gunner John Bothham Carpenter James M Cleod Boatn Thos Tayner Caulker Alexr Mather Surg Mate Wm Bowne Sailmaker Thos Head Cooper Robt Cox Armourer Thos Stanly Capt Steward Fran Nosh D° D° Thos Suckon Ships Thos Andrew Carp Mate Jos Harper 2 D° John Waterfield Caulker D°	John Edwards, seaman John Bruce, ditto George Boswell, ditto Matthew Vieres, ditto Francisco Lewis, ditto Joseph Roderigues, seaman Manuel de Ward, ditto Mr George Stewart, passenger Mr William Launce, ditto Mr Basil Heath, ditto Mr Dan Deering, passenger Mr William Walton, ditto Mr William Greaves, ditto Mr Thomas James, ditto Mr Edward Turner, ditto Muster roll of the ship <i>Prothaim</i> . Charles Mason, commander Andrew Cwicke, first mate James Ramsay, second ditto James Holt, third ditto Richard Smith, fourth ditto John Mason, fifth ditto Peter Rufsell, surgeon William Clark, purser James Teal, gunner John Boltham, carpenter James M'Cloud, boatswain Thomas Joyner, cauker Alexander Mather, surgeon's mate William Bowne, sailmaker Thomas Head, cooper Robert Cox, armourer Thomas Stanly, captain's steward Francis Nosh, ditto Thomas Tucker, ship's cook Thomas Andrew, carpenter's mate Joseph Harper, second ditto John Waterfield, gunner's mate

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		John Sparks Cooper D° Andw Christie Gunner D° Robt Sturgeon Boat D° Edward Sounds Midshipman Robt Young D° William Lloyd D° Mate Ramsay D° Jos Bushbook D° Sam Harlih D° Sam Hough Steu D° John Coman Boat 2 Mate John Sounce Pr Master Daniel Rieff D° Thos Smith D° Wm Griffiths D° John Chowder Seaman Robt Chambers D° John Powel D° James Jack D° Robt Sea D° Thos Meadows D° Wm Kennedy D° Benj M Kenzie D° Abraham Harris D° James Marline D° Alex Paterson D° Andrew Frazier D° Moses Hall D° Wm Penn Seaman James Smith D° John Salter D° James Blackall D° Robt Young D° Andw Helgeson D° John Lewis D° John Harman Midshfk John Knight Seaman James Bennet D° George Spam D° Wm Iley D° John Love D° Robt Bothwick D° Wm Swaid D° Chas M Kallister D° Robt Reeves D° Wm Knight D° Thos Sompson D° Alex Forbes D° Walter Wrine D° Jos Christie D° Otho Lookoff D° Andw Smith D° John Hamon D°	John Sparks, cooper's ditto Thomas Christie, gunner's mate Robert Sturgeon, boatswain's mate Edward Sounds, midshipman Robert Young, ditto William Lloyd, ditto Mate Ramsey, ditto Joseph Buelbrok, ditto Sam Harlick, ditto Samuel Hough, ditto John Coman, boatswain's second mate John Sounce, first master Daniel Kiff, ditto Thomas Smith, ditto William Griffiths, ditto John Clounder, seaman Robert Chambers, ditto John Sonel, ditto James Jack, ditto Robert Sea, ditto Thomas Meadows, ditto William Kennedy, ditto Benjamin M'Kenzie, ditto Abraham Harris, ditto James Marline, ditto Alexander Paterson, ditto Andrew Frazier, ditto Moses Hill, ditto William Penn, seaman James Smith, ditto John Salter, ditto James Blackall, ditto Robert Young, ditto Andrew Helgeson, ditto John Lewis, ditto John Harman, shipfast John Knight, seaman James Bennet, ditto George Spear, ditto William Iley, ditto John Low, ditto Robert Bothwick, ditto William Sward, ditto Charles M'Callister, ditto Robert Reeves, ditto William Wright, ditto Thomas Simpson, ditto Alexander Forbes, ditto Walter Wrine, ditto Christie, ditto Otho Lostoff, ditto Andrew Smith, ditto John Hanson, ditto
22	17	Barth Guenoloor Seaman Jos Burton D° George Blake D° Robt Smith D° Thos Walling D° Mark Castle D° Joseph Robinson D° Wm Flowd D° John Williamson D° Anthony Worcaly D° Thos Lake D° Jacob Magan Seaman Wm Genn D° John Wells D° Wm Bane D° Richd Hall D° James Meddie D° Benj Sutton Capt Serv Mark Genn 1 Mate John Haycroft 2 D° John Sterling Bosn James Wale Gun	Bartholomew Gwentaton, seaman Joseph Burton, ditto George Blake, ditto Robert Smith, ditto Thomas Watling, ditto Mark Castle, ditto Joseph Robinson, ditto William Howard, ditto John Williamson, ditto Anthony Worosly, ditto Thomas Lake, ditto Jacob Magan, seaman William Yems, ditto John Wells, ditto William Bane, ditto Richard Hall, ditto James Meddie, ditto Benjamin Sutton, captain's servant Mark Lynes, first mate John Haycroft, second ditto John Sterling, ditto James Waldie, gunner

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		James Mower Boat 2d John Vigi Carpen Servant Wm Green Seaman Jos Black D° Capt Thos Uncater Passenger Loft Dawling D° Servant Mr Wm Hewitt D° Edw Blackmore D° Mr Manwarren Passing Mr Reptie D° Mr Crottie D° Mr Herland D° Muster Roll of Ship Duke of Dorset Bernard Forester Commander Samuel Gambier 1 Mate Arthur Moon 2 D° John Comer 3 D° Robt Domineca 4 D° Barnaby Dorder 5 D° James Poesse 6 D° Nath Little 6 D° David Duncomb Surgeon Tho Carne D° Mate Andrew Thompson Purser Thos Branson Carpenter John Nell Gunner David Jones Boatswain Alexr Gair Ships Steward Peter Elland Capt D° Thos Leky Cooper Jeffery Moores Caulker Joseph Bower Sailmaker Benj Johnson Capt Cook John Asprinal Ropfeck John Stewart Midshipman Peter Rofs D° Patrish M Buggid D° John Alexander D° Wm Dicky D° John Ricke farp 2 Mate Isaac Lockyer 2 D° Robt Anrichan Coopers D° Richd Davis Caulkers D° Chas M Donald Boatn D° Henry M Donald Armour Joseph Bell P Master Thos Humer D° Enoch Hughes D° Hector Frasser D° James Elbington Seaman Matthew Roe D° Robt Lever D° Wm Barr D° Wm Morgan Seaman David Jennis D° Ralph Nixon D° Wm Green D° John Boulton D° Alex Morison D° Robt Ghelter D° John Milis D° John Davidson D° John Mouse D° Robt Sutherland D° James Doick D° John Turnis D° James Ash D° John Ramsay D° Dennis Fowler D° Peter Doulton D° John Campbell D° Thos Thompson D° Wm Rigby D°	James Mower, boatswain John Vigo, carpenter's servant William Speer, seaman Josiah Black, ditto Captain Thomas Wooster, passenger Loftus Dowling, first mate William Hewitt, ditto Edward Blackmore, tailor William Manwarren, passenger William Replie, ditto William Crottie, ditto William Horland, ditto Muster roll of the ship <i>Duke of Dorset</i> . Bernard Forester, commander Samuel Gambier, first mate Arthur Moore, second ditto John Comer, third ditto Robert Dominicus, fourth ditto Barnaby Dorset, fifth ditto James Rees, sixth ditto Nathaniel Little, seventh ditto David Duncomb, surgeon Thomas Carne, second mate Andrew Thompson, purser Thomas Branson, carpenter John Shell, gunner David Jones, boatswain Alexander Gair, ship's steward John Elland, captain's cook Thomas Seky, cooper Jeffery Moores, sailmaker Joseph Bonner, tailmaker Benjamin Johnson, captain's cook John Asprinal, shipfast John Stewart, midshipman Peter Rafe, ditto Patrick M'Leggid, ditto John Alexander, ditto William Riley, ditto John Fletcher, second waiter Isaac Lockyer, second ditto Robert Strichan, cooper's second Richard Davis, sailmaker's ditto Charles M'Donald, boatswain's ditto Henry M'Donald, armourer Joseph Bell, second master Thomas Humer, ditto Edward Hughes, ditto Hector Frazer, ditto James Ellington, seaman Matthew Hoe, ditto Robert Lever, ditto William Barr, ditto William Morgan, seaman David Jennis, ditto Ralph Nixon, ditto William Grean, ditto John Poulton, ditto Alexander Morison, ditto Robert Ghoster, ditto John Mills, ditto John Davidson, ditto John Moure, ditto Robert Fotheringham, ditto James Borick, ditto John Furnis, ditto James Ash, ditto John Ramsay, ditto Dennis Fowler, ditto Peter Doulton, ditto John Campbell, ditto Thomas Thompson, ditto William Kirby, ditto
23	18	Robt Young Seaman Richd Harding D°	Robert Young, seaman Richard Harding, ditto

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		Wm Boford D° Wm Dunn D° George Coats D° James Mc Miller D° Alexr Mordy D° Roger Bruce D° Matthew Elithorn D° George Bell D° Alexr Tweed D° John Moore D° Edward Wingfield D° Miss Sarah Eaton Passing Johnson Naylor Seaman John Bayliss D° Wm Miller D° Thos Invernefs D° John Roberts D° Peter Jeffreys D° Oliver Turner D° John Brutong D° Lewis Dagom D° John Debuch D° Jacob Brewer D° Peter Johnson D° Robt Conner D° Mr Thos Jenkins Passing Godfrey Leghornsmen John Marshall D° John Auster D° David M Kenzie Capt Serv Wm Allean 2d Mate John Sewn Serft Henry Boutwitgen D° Benj Thate Sont Thos Tichburn Rich Tichburn Wm Wm M Guire Chef Capt Thos Senicks D° Miss Jane Gurring D° Katherine Bohea Servants Mr Robert Barclay the Honorable Companys Surgeon, having represented to us that Mr Samuel Falconer has practised Physic lately to his detriment, although he was forbid it by the Governor, and Council, and gave them assurances of not doing it, upon his Dismission, and as it is the repeated Orders of the Honorable the Court of Directors, by their Letter of Grantham dated the 28 November 1753, and by the Exeter dated the 27 November 1754 that Mr Samuel Falconer should be sent home, after a reasonable Time was allowed him for Settling his Accounts, and he having upwards of two Years indulgence, for that purpose, we therefore sent him the following Order to prepare himself	William Bosell, ditto William Dunn, ditto George Coats, ditto James M'Miller, ditto Alexander Moody, ditto Roger Bruce, ditto Matthew Elkhorn, ditto George Bell, ditto Alexander Tweed, ditto John Muire, ditto Edward Wingfield, ditto Miss Sarah Eaton, passenger Johnson Naylor, seaman John Baylies, ditto William Miller, ditto Thomas Inverness, ditto John Roberts, ditto Peter Jeffreys, ditto Oliver Turner, ditto John Brulong, ditto Lewis Dagom, ditto John Debuch, ditto Jacob Brewer, ditto Peter Johnson, ditto Robert Conner, ditto Mr Thomas Jenkins, passenger Godfrey Leghorn, seaman John Marshall, ditto John Auster, ditto David M'Kenzie, captain's servant William Allean, second mate John Sear, first ditto Henry Boutfeit, gunner Benjamin Charleston, third ditto Thomas Tickburn Jack Tickburn William M'Guire, chaplain Captain Thomas Fenwick, ditto Miss Jane Goring, passenger Catherine Boheas, servant Robert Barclay, the Honourable Company's surgeon, had represented to the council that Samuel Falconer had lately practised physic to his detriment, although he had been forbidden it by the governor and council and had given assurance of not doing so upon his dismission. As it was the repeated order of the Honourable Court of Directors, by their letters to <i>Grantham</i> dated 28 November 1753 and to <i>Exeter</i> dated 27 November 1754, that Falconer should be sent home after a reasonable time had been allowed him for settling his accounts, and he having had upwards of two years indulgence for that purpose, the council therefore sent him the following order to prepare himself to...
24	19	to take his Passage for England on one of the Ships now in the Road. To Mr Samuel Falconer Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you, that you are hereby Ordered to prepare yourself to go for England upon one of the Ships, that are now in the Road. St Helena 9 August 1756. Pr Order of Council (Signed) T Wrantham Secretary Cha Hutchinson. John Adamson John Clark.	Take his passage for England on one of the ships now in the road. The secretary wrote to Samuel Falconer, stating that he was directed by the governor and council to inform him that he was ordered to prepare himself to go for England upon one of the ships then in the road. The letter was dated at St Helena, 9 August 1756, by order of council, and signed by Wrantham, secretary. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
25	20	At a Consultation held on Monday the 16 Day of August 1756 at the Castle. PRESENT Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council	A consultation held on Monday 16 August 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 9 August 1756.

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		The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed Dated the 9th August 1756 The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods short received from Ship Duke of Dorset viz. Account of Stores Short received from Ship Duke of Dorset 5.14 Rice 2.8 Candles } Short Weight 6 Bags Paddy Short delivered N 1 to 6 of a Leagr Arrack Gage 142¾ wants to fill 3¾ Leaguer Number,Gauge (Gallons),Wants to fill (Gallons) 2:42,4 3:45,¾ 4:45,2¾ 5:45,2½ 6:45,4 Total:204¼,10½ Received 245 Gallons (Signed) Mc Curling Storekr Wr Samuel Falconer wrote the following Letter to the Governor on Thursday last, he this Day laid it before the Gentlemen of the Council	The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods short received from the ship <i>Duke of Dorset</i>. 5 candy 14 maunds of rice, short weight 2 maunds 8 seers of candles, short weight 6 bags of paddy short delivered Number 1, part of a leaguer, arrack gauge 42.75 gallons, wants to fill, 3.75 gallons Number 2, ditto, 42 gallons, wants to fill, 4 gallons Number 3, ditto, 45 gallons, wants to fill, 0.75 gallons Number 4, ditto, 45 gallons, wants to fill, 2.75 gallons Number 5, ditto, 45 gallons, wants to fill, 2.25 gallons Number 6, ditto, 45 gallons, wants to fill, 4 gallons Total gauge, 264.75 gallons, total short, 17.5 gallons Received, 245 gallons Signed, M Curling, storekeeper, 16 August 1756. Samuel Falconer had written the following letter to the governor on Thursday last, which he this day laid before the gentlemen of the council.
26	21	Island St. Helena 12 August 1756 To Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Sir On Monday last you signified to me that I was to leave the Island on Monday next. I presume to take the Liberty of the following Address. That I have Debts due to me upon the Island, to a considerable Value, and that my affairs are so intricate with most of the Inhabitants and people here that so short a time as I have allowed to continue will not admit of having the same regularly adjusted and Settled, which with a great loss and detriment to me, as those Accounts cannot be regularly settled by any other person than my Self. But by the Ships that arrive here homeward bound I shall be then glad to leave the Island, being much my loss to stay here. I hope this will meet with a favourable Reception and am Sir your most humble Servant (Signed) Sam Falconer Although we look upon the pretence that Mr Falconer has made in the above Letter to be groundless, having had near three Years allowed him for that purpose only, and frivolous, we have however indulged him so far as to permit him to remain here until the arrival of the first Ship acquainting him at the same time that we should not admit of any further application or excuse for his continuing, any longer upon the Island We this day received the following Letters from Captains Lindsay and Mason viz.	Falconer wrote to Governor Hutchinson from St Helena, dated 12 August 1756, stating that on Monday last the governor had signified to him that he was to leave the island on the following Monday. Falconer took the liberty to offer the following address, that he had debts due to him upon the island of considerable value, and that his affairs were so intertwined with most of the inhabitants and people there that so short a time as he had been allowed to remain would not admit of having them regularly adjusted and settled, which would be a great loss and detriment to him, since those accounts could not be regularly settled by any other person than himself. He stated that by the first ship bound homeward he would then be glad to leave the island, being much less his choice to stay, and hoped the letter would meet with a favourable reception. He signed himself the governor's most humble servant, Sam Falconer. The council held that although Falconer's letter made his continued presence appear groundless and frivolous, having already had nearly three years allowed for that purpose only, they had nevertheless indulged him so far as to permit him to remain until the arrival of the first ship, at the same time making clear that they would not admit any further application or excuse for his continuing any longer on the island. The council that day received the following letters from Captains Lindsay and Mason.
27	22	To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr & Council Worshipful Sir & Sirs The Ship Pelham being in great want of Provisions, thus waits on you to beg the Favour of the following supply 6 Casks of Beef 4 D° of Pork, and 20 Wight of Rice for the use of the above Ship, as she cannot proceed to England without it. I beg Leave to be Worshipful Sir & Sirs Your most obedt humble Servant (Signed) Geo Lindsay Monday 16 August 1756 To the Worshipful Chas Hutchinson Esqr Govr & Council Worshipful Sir & Sirs Gentlemen Having had a long passage to this Island, which is the occasion of my Provisions proving Short, that I have not sufficient to proceed on my passage to England, unless	Captain George Lindsay wrote to Governor Hutchinson and council, stating that the ship <i>Pelham</i> was in great want of provisions and requesting the following supply. 6 casks of beef 4 casks of pork 20 hundredweight of rice Lindsay stated that these were for the use of the ship, as she could not proceed to England without them. The letter was dated Monday 16 August 1756 and signed by George Lindsay. Captain Charles Mason then wrote to Governor Hutchinson and council, stating that he had had a long passage to the island, which had caused his provisions to run short, so that he had not enough to proceed on his passage to England unless supplied by the governor and council out of the Honourable Company's stores, and requesting ten casks of pork sufficient to carry him to Europe, together with 30 hundredweight of rice. Interpretations

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		supplied by your Worship and Council out of the Honorable Companys Stores with ten Casks of Pork which will be sufficient to Carry me to Europe, also thirty Hundred Wight of Rice.	The two captains framed their requests as necessity rather than convenience, stressing that neither ship could reach England without the additional stores, which obliged the council to weigh the island's own reserves against the Company's interest in keeping its homeward ships adequately provisioned. Rice supplied by the hundredweight, alongside salted beef and pork in casks, formed the standard shipboard ration for the long voyage to Europe, the salting being the only practical means of preserving meat for a passage of several months.
28	23	And as my Sails are in a very bad condition for want of Twine to mend them, I also beg the favour you will be pleased to Order me twelve Seams of twine out of the Stores so that I may be able to Repair them till I can get further supply your Granting the above Petition will greatly oblige Gentlemen Your most Obedient most humble Servant to Com (Signed) Chas Mason 16 August 1756 St Helena. Captain Forrester likewise applied to us for four Casks of Salt Provisions, and 6 Wight of Rice. As these Gentlemen have represented their necessitys to us to be very pressing we have agreed to comply with their Requests altho we can but ill spare the Provision they require Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	Mason added that his sails were in very bad condition for want of twine to mend them, and asked that the council order him twelve seams of twine out of the stores so that he might repair them until he could get further supply. The letter was dated at St Helena, 16 August 1756, and signed by Charles Mason. Captain Forester likewise applied to the council for four casks of salt provisions and 6 hundredweight of rice. As these captains had represented their necessities to be very pressing, the council agreed to comply with their requests, although it could but ill spare the provisions they required. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
29	24	List of Cattle Returned for Slaughter by Sold to the Honorable Companys Ships. Planters Names, Number of Stocks, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter, Killed for this Market, Hardwicke, Griffin, London, Drake, Britannia, Rhoda, Prince of Wales, Kent, Prince George, Warren, Anson, Oxford, Bombay Castle, Eastcourt, St George, Exeter, Stretham, Pelham, Duke of Dorset Fran Wrangham Senr: Number of Stocks 128, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 46, Killed for this Market 5, Hardwicke 11, Griffin 1, London 1, Drake 0, Britannia 1, Rhoda 1, Prince of Wales 2, Kent 0, Prince George 1, Warren 0, Anson 0, Oxford 3, Bombay Castle 1, Eastcourt 3, St George 3, Exeter 3, Stretham 0, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 0 John Clark: Number of Stocks 88, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 36, Killed for this Market 3, Hardwicke 4, Griffin 2, London 4, Drake 2, Britannia 0, Rhoda 0, Prince of Wales 1, Kent 1, Prince George 2, Warren 1, Anson 1, Oxford 1, Bombay Castle 4, Eastcourt 0, St George 0, Exeter 1, Stretham 3, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 0 Matthew Purling: Number of Stocks 78, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 30, Killed for this Market 2, Hardwicke 2, Griffin 2, London 1, Drake 0, Britannia 2, Rhoda 0, Prince of Wales 0, Kent 1, Prince George 0, Warren 1, Anson 3, Oxford 3, Bombay Castle 0, Eastcourt 1, St George 1, Exeter 0, Stretham 2, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 0 Rich Bagley: Number of Stocks 74, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 28, Killed for this Market 2, Hardwicke 3, Griffin 2, London 3, Drake 0, Britannia 1, Rhoda 0, Prince of Wales 1, Kent 1, Prince George 0, Warren 3, Anson 0, Oxford 1, Bombay Castle 0, Eastcourt 2, St George 0, Exeter 2, Stretham 1, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 1 Thos Greentree: Number of Stocks 68, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 23, Killed for this Market 2, Hardwicke 3, Griffin 1, London 3, Drake 1, Britannia 0, Rhoda 1, Prince of Wales 0, Kent 1, Prince George 0, Warren 1, Anson 1, Oxford 0, Bombay Castle 2, Eastcourt 2, St George 1, Exeter 0, Stretham 0, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 0	A list of cattle returned for slaughter, the columns giving each planter's name, the number in his stock, the number returned for slaughter, the number killed for the market, and the numbers sold to each of the Honourable Company's ships in turn: <i>Hardwicke, Griffin, London, Drake, Britannia, Rhoda, Prince of Wales, Kent, Prince George, Warren, Anson, Oxford, Bombay Castle, Eastcourt, St George, Exeter, Streatham, Pelham</i> and <i>Duke of Dorset</i>. Francis Wrangham, senior, stock 128, returned for slaughter 46, killed for market 5 John Clark, stock 88, returned for slaughter 36, killed for market 3 Matthew Purling, stock 78, returned for slaughter 30, killed for market 2 Richard Bagley, stock 74, returned for slaughter 28, killed for market 2 Thomas Greentree, stock 68, returned for slaughter 23, killed for market 2 Samuel Doveton's orphans, stock 58, returned for slaughter 21, killed for market 3 John Mountain, stock 51, returned for slaughter 18, killed for market 2 Matthew Bazett, stock 43, returned for slaughter 15, killed for market 1 Orlando Bagley, stock 32, returned for slaughter 13, killed for market 2 John Bazett's orphans, stock 40, returned for slaughter 12, killed for market 1 John Goodwin, stock 46, returned for slaughter 12, killed for market 1 John Alexander, stock 35, returned for slaughter 11, killed for market 1 Charles Steward, stock 30, returned for slaughter 10, killed for market 1 John Doveton, stock 34, returned for slaughter 10, killed for market 1 Thomas Cotgrave, stock 34, returned for slaughter 10, killed for market 0 Francis Mowatt, stock 26, returned for slaughter 8, killed for market 0 William Young, stock 36, returned for slaughter 8, killed for market 0

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		Sam Doveton's Orp: Number of Stocks 58, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 21, Killed for this Market 3, Hardwicke 4, Griffin 0, London 5, Drake 0, Britannia 0, Rhoda 0, Prince of Wales 0, Kent 0, Prince George 2, Warren 0, Anson 1, Oxford 0, Bombay Castle 1, Eastcourt 0, St George 0, Exeter 0, Stretham 0, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 0 John Mountain: Number of Stocks 51, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 18, Killed for this Market 2, Hardwicke 3, Griffin 1, London 2, Drake 1, Britannia 0, Rhoda 0, Prince of Wales 0, Kent 0, Prince George 1, Warren 1, Anson 1, Oxford 0, Bombay Castle 1, Eastcourt 0, St George 0, Exeter 1, Stretham 0, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 0 Matthew Bazett: Number of Stocks 43, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 15, Killed for this Market 1, Hardwicke 1, Griffin 0, London 2, Drake 1, Britannia 0, Rhoda 1, Prince of Wales 0, Kent 0, Prince George 0, Warren 1, Anson 0, Oxford 0, Bombay Castle 0, Eastcourt 0, St George 0, Exeter 0, Stretham 0, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 0 Orlando Bagley: Number of Stocks 32, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 13, Killed for this Market 2, Hardwicke 0, Griffin 1, London 1, Drake 0, Britannia 0, Rhoda 0, Prince of Wales 1, Kent 0, Prince George 0, Warren 1, Anson 0, Oxford 0, Bombay Castle 0, Eastcourt 0, St George 1, Exeter 0, Stretham 0, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 0 John Bazett's Orpt: Number of Stocks 40, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 12, Killed for this Market 1, Hardwicke 0, Griffin 1, London 0, Drake 0, Britannia 0, Rhoda 0, Prince of Wales 1, Kent 0, Prince George 1, Warren 2, Anson 0, Oxford 0, Bombay Castle 0, Eastcourt 1, St George 2, Exeter 0, Stretham 0, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 0 John Goodwin: Number of Stocks 46, Number of Stock returned for Slaughter 12, Killed for this Market 1, Hardwicke 1, Griffin 1, London 0, Drake 0, Britannia 1, Rhoda 0, Prince of Wales 0, Kent 0, Prince George 6, Warren 0, Anson 0, Oxford 0, Bombay Castle 0, Eastcourt 0, St George 0, Exeter 0, Stretham 0, Pelham 0, Duke of Dorset 0	Gabriel Harper's orphans, stock 26, returned for slaughter 8, killed for market 1 Thomas Kirkpatrick, stock 29, returned for slaughter 7, killed for market 1 Jonathan Doveton, stock 29, returned for slaughter 6, killed for market 0 Richard Beale, stock 22, returned for slaughter 6, killed for market 0 Francis Wrangham, junior, stock 29, returned for slaughter 6, killed for market 0 Samuel Alexander, stock 23, returned for slaughter 6, killed for market 0 Mary Swaits, stock 25, returned for slaughter 5, killed for market 1 Isaac Doveton, stock 25, returned for slaughter 5, killed for market 0 George Alexander, stock 16, returned for slaughter 5, killed for market 0 Samuel Knipe, stock 18, returned for slaughter 4, killed for market 0 James Greentree, stock 44, returned for slaughter 4, killed for market 1 Total, stock 1,187, returned for slaughter 373, killed for market 31 The remaining columns record the numbers sold to each ship. The market and ship allocations for each planter were as follows. Francis Wrangham, senior: <i>Hardwicke 11, Griffin 1, London 1, Britannia 1, Rhoda 1, Prince of Wales 2, Prince George 1, Oxford 3, Bombay Castle 1, Eastcourt 3, St George 3</i> John Clark: <i>Hardwicke 4, Griffin 2, London 4, Drake 2, Prince of Wales 1, Kent 1, Prince George 2, Warren 1, Anson 1, Oxford 1, Bombay Castle 4, Exeter 1, Streatham 3</i> Matthew Purling: <i>Hardwicke 2, Griffin 2, London 1, Britannia 2, Prince of Wales 1, Warren 1, Anson 3, Oxford 3, Eastcourt 1, St George 1, Exeter 2</i> Richard Bagley: <i>Hardwicke 3, Griffin 2, London 3, Britannia 1, Prince of Wales 1, Kent 1, Warren 3, Bombay Castle 1, Eastcourt 2, Streatham 2, Exeter 1, Duke of Dorset 1</i> Thomas Greentree: <i>Hardwicke 3, Griffin 1, London 3, Drake 1, Kent 1, Warren 1, Bombay Castle 1, Eastcourt 1, St George 2, Exeter 2, Streatham 1</i> Samuel Doveton's orphans: <i>Hardwicke 4, London 5, Anson 2, Oxford 1, Eastcourt 1</i> John Mountain: <i>Hardwicke 3, Griffin 1, London 2, Drake 1, Anson 1, Oxford 1, Eastcourt 1, Streatham 1</i> Matthew Bazett: <i>Hardwicke 1, Drake 2, Britannia 1, Rhoda 1, Anson 1</i> Orlando Bagley: <i>London 1, Drake 1, Rhoda 1, Kent 1, Anson 1, Streatham 1</i> John Bazett's orphans: <i>London 1, Rhoda 1, Prince George 1, Warren 2, Bombay Castle 1, Eastcourt 2</i> John Goodwin: <i>Hardwicke 1, Griffin 1, Britannia 1, Prince George 6</i> John Alexander: <i>Hardwicke 1, London 1, Drake 2, Britannia 1, Anson 2, Streatham 1, Pelham 1</i> Charles Steward: <i>Hardwicke 1, Griffin 2, London 1, Drake 1, Kent 1, Oxford 1</i> John Doveton: <i>Hardwicke 1, London 1, Drake 3, Bombay Castle 1, Streatham 1, Duke of Dorset 1</i> Thomas Cotgrave: <i>London 1, Drake 1, Oxford 1, Bombay Castle 1, Eastcourt 1, St George 1, Duke of Dorset 1</i> Francis Mowatt: <i>London 1, Kent 1, Prince George 1, Anson 1, Oxford 4</i> William Young: <i>London 1, Oxford 1, Bombay Castle 1, St George 1</i> Gabriel Harper's orphans: <i>Hardwicke 1, Drake 2, Rhoda 1, Anson 1, St George 1</i> Thomas Kirkpatrick: <i>Hardwicke 1, Griffin 1, Drake 2, St George 1, Exeter 1</i> Jonathan Doveton: <i>London 1, Prince of Wales 1, St George 1, Exeter 1</i> Richard Beale: <i>London 1, Britannia 1, Rhoda 1</i>

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			Francis Wrangham, junior: <i>London</i> 1, <i>Prince of Wales</i> 1, <i>St George</i> 2, <i>Exeter</i> 1 Samuel Alexander: <i>Kent</i> 1, <i>Anson</i> 1, <i>Oxford</i> 1, <i>Bombay Castle</i> 1, <i>Exeter</i> 1 Mary Swaits: <i>Hardwicke</i> 1, <i>Griffin</i> 1, <i>Kent</i> 1 Isaac Doveton: <i>Kent</i> 1, <i>Anson</i> 1, <i>Duke of Dorset</i> 1 George Alexander: <i>Rhoda</i> 1, <i>Kent</i> 1, <i>Exeter</i> 1, <i>Duke of Dorset</i> 1 Samuel Knipe: <i>Drake</i> 2 James Greentree: <i>Hardwicke</i> 1 Total: <i>Hardwicke</i> 40, <i>Griffin</i> 15, <i>London</i> 38, <i>Drake</i> 6, <i>Britannia</i> 6, <i>Rhoda</i> 5, <i>Prince of Wales</i> 8, <i>Kent</i> 8, <i>Prince George</i> 6, <i>Warren</i> 18, <i>Anson</i> 9, <i>Oxford</i> 16, <i>Bombay Castle</i> 14, <i>Eastcourt</i> 12, <i>St George</i> 17, <i>Exeter</i> 16, <i>Streatham</i> 8, <i>Pelham</i> 6, <i>Duke of Dorset</i> 5
30	25	the Planters for the Service of the Year 1756 viz. Sold to Foreign Ships, Sold to his Majesty's Ship. Total, Prince Charles Sweed, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed, Queen Juliana Maria Dane, Anna Princess Dane, Total, Hampshire Fran Wrangham Senr: Total 31, Prince Charles Sweed 1, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 1, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 1, Anna Princess Dane 1, Total 4, Hampshire 2 John Clark: Total 27, Prince Charles Sweed 1, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 2, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 3, Hampshire 4 Matthew Purling: Total 19, Prince Charles Sweed 1, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 1, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 2, Hampshire 3 Rich Bagley: Total 21, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 1, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 1, Total 2, Hampshire 4 Thos Greentree: Total 17, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 1, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 1, Hampshire 0 Sam Doveton's Orp: Total 13, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 1, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 1, Hampshire 4 John Mountain: Total 12, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 1, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 1, Hampshire 3 Matthew Bazett: Total 7, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 1, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 1, Hampshire 2 Orlando Bagley: Total 6, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 1, Total 1, Hampshire 3 John Bazett's Orp: Total 8, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 1, Total 1, Hampshire 1 John Goodwin: Total 9, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 John Alexander: Total 8, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 Charles Steward: Total 7, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 1 John Doveton: Total 9, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 Thos Cotgrave: Total 8, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 1 Fran Mowatt: Total 8, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0	The heading continues, recording the cattle returned for slaughter by the planters for the service of the year 1756. The right-hand columns give a running total of the numbers already accounted for, then the numbers sold to foreign ships, being the <i>Prince Charles</i> of Sweden, the <i>Princess Sophia Albertina</i> of Sweden, the <i>Queen Juliana Maria</i> of Denmark and the <i>Anna Princess</i> of Denmark, then a total of those, and finally the number sold to His Majesty's ship <i>Hampshire</i>. Francis Wrangham, senior, total 31, <i>Prince Charles</i> 1, <i>Princess Sophia Albertina</i> 1, <i>Queen Juliana Maria</i> 1, <i>Anna Princess</i> 1, foreign total 4, <i>Hampshire</i> 2 John Clark, total 27, <i>Prince Charles</i> 1, <i>Queen Juliana Maria</i> 2, foreign total 3, <i>Hampshire</i> 4 Matthew Purling, total 19, <i>Prince Charles</i> 1, <i>Queen Juliana Maria</i> 1, foreign total 2, <i>Hampshire</i> 3 Richard Bagley, total 21, <i>Princess Sophia Albertina</i> 1, <i>Anna Princess</i> 1, foreign total 2, <i>Hampshire</i> 4 Thomas Greentree, total 17, <i>Princess Sophia Albertina</i> 1, foreign total 1, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 Samuel Doveton's orphans, total 13, <i>Princess Sophia Albertina</i> 1, foreign total 1, <i>Hampshire</i> 4 John Mountain, total 12, <i>Queen Juliana Maria</i> 1, foreign total 1, <i>Hampshire</i> 3 Matthew Bazett, total 7, <i>Queen Juliana Maria</i> 1, foreign total 1, <i>Hampshire</i> 2 Orlando Bagley, total 6, <i>Anna Princess</i> 1, foreign total 1, <i>Hampshire</i> 3 John Bazett's orphans, total 8, <i>Anna Princess</i> 1, foreign total 1, <i>Hampshire</i> 1 John Goodwin, total 9, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 John Alexander, total 8, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 Charles Steward, total 7, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 1 John Doveton, total 9, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 Thomas Cotgrave, total 8, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 Francis Mowatt, total 7, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 1 William Young, total 8, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 Gabriel Harper's orphans, total 8, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 Thomas Kirkpatrick, total 8, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 1 Jonathan Doveton, total 4, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 1 Richard Beale, total 5, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 Francis Wrangham, junior, total 5, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 Samuel Alexander, total 4, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 Mary Swaits, total 4, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 Isaac Doveton, total 5, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 George Alexander, total 5, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 1 Samuel Knipe, total 3, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 0 James Greentree, total 3, foreign total 0, <i>Hampshire</i> 1

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		William Young: Total 8, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 Gabriel Harpers Orp: Total 4, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 1 Thos Kirkpatrick: Total 5, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 Jonathan Doveton: Total 5, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 Richard Beale: Total 4, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 Fran Wrangham Jun: Total 4, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 Samuel Alexander: Total 5, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 Mary Swaits: Total 5, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 1 Isaac Doveton: Total 3, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 George Alexander: Total 3, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 1 Samuel Knipe: Total 4, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 James Greentree: Total 2, Prince Charles Sweed 0, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 0, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 0, Anna Princess Dane 0, Total 0, Hampshire 0 Total: Total 253, Prince Charles Sweed 3, Prince Christopher Albertina Sweed 4, Queen Juliana Maria Dane 6, Anna Princess Dane 4, Total 17, Hampshire 30	Total, 253, <i>Prince Charles</i> 3, <i>Princess Sophia Albertina</i> 4, <i>Queen Juliana Maria</i> 6, <i>Anna Princess</i> 4, foreign total 17, <i>Hampshire</i> 30 Interpretations The presence of Swedish and Danish East Indiamen alongside the Company's own ships shows St Helena provisioning foreign vessels on the same homeward route, the island serving as a common victualling stop for the northern European India trades and not the Company's ships alone. The separate column for His Majesty's ship <i>Hampshire</i>, taking thirty head, marks the distinct claim of the Royal Navy on the island's cattle, a warship being supplied on a different footing from the merchantmen and taking a larger single share than any private vessel.
31	26	At a Consultation held on Monday the 23 Day of August 1756 at the Castle. PRESENT Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed Dated the 16 August 1756. Yesterday the 22 Sailed his Majestys Ship Hampshire for England and under her Convoy the Honorable Companys Ships, Pelham, Stretham, Exeter, Duke of Dorset, and St George. Job Harrison Soldier having been missing ever since Friday last a Search was made for him on board of all the Companys Ships on Saturday but could not be found, we therefore suppose that he must be on board the Ship of War The Plantation, Gunners, and Steward's Accounts for the Month ending the 11 instant were this Day brought in which were examined, approved, and are as follows viz.	A consultation held on Monday 23 August 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 16 August 1756. His Majesty's ship <i>Hampshire</i> had sailed for England the day before, on 22 August, and under her convoy went the Honourable Company's ships <i>Pelham</i>, <i>Streatham</i>, <i>Exeter</i>, <i>Duke of Dorset</i> and <i>St George</i>. Job Harrison, a soldier, had been missing since Friday last. A search was made for him on board all the Company's ships on Saturday, but he could not be found, so the council supposed that he must be on board one of Her Majesty's ships. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month ending 11 August were this day brought in, examined and approved, and were as follows. Interpretations The despatch of the Company's homeward ships under the convoy of a Royal Navy warship reflects the wartime hazard on the sea route to England, the <i>Hampshire</i> escorting the merchantmen against enemy privateers and men of war during the Seven Years War then under way. The council's assumption that the missing soldier had slipped aboard one of the departing ships points to desertion by concealment as a recognised risk when a fleet lay in the road, the search

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			of every Company vessel being the standard response before the ships sailed.
32	27	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12 July to the 11 August 1756 viz. Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Yearlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Turkeys, Ducks, Geese, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, She Ases, She Foes, Total Remaining the 12: Bulls 4, Cows 86, Calves 68, Heifers 24, Yearlings 67, Steers 16, Oxen 14, Total 279, Ewes 384, Weathers 138, Lambs 168, Rams 7, Total 697, Ewes 192, Weathers 112, Kids 47, Rams 7, Total 358, Sows 8, Shoats 12, Pigs 10, Boars 1, Total 31, Fowls 184, Turkeys 28, Ducks 41, Geese 15, Total 6, Horses 9, Mares 15, Total 2, She Ases 3, She Foes 5 Increased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 14, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 14, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Turkeys 0, Ducks 2, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 86, Calves 82, Heifers 24, Yearlings 67, Steers 16, Oxen 14, Total 293, Ewes 384, Weathers 138, Lambs 168, Rams 7, Total 697, Ewes 192, Weathers 112, Kids 47, Rams 7, Total 358, Sows 8, Shoats 12, Pigs 10, Boars 1, Total 31, Fowls 184, Turkeys 28, Ducks 41, Geese 17, Total 6, Horses 9, Mares 15, Total 2, She Ases 3, She Foes 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 1, Heifers 1, Yearlings 0, Steers 5, Oxen 0, Total 8, Ewes 0, Weathers 10, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 11, Ewes 4, Weathers 5, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 10, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 25, Turkeys 5, Ducks 11, Geese 3, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 3, Heifers 0, Yearlings 1, Steers 1, Oxen 0, Total 6, Ewes 3, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 1, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 1, Fowls 0, Turkeys 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 1, Boars 0, Total 1, Fowls 0, Turkeys 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0 Remaining 11: Bulls 4, Cows 84, Calves 78, Heifers 23, Yearlings 66, Steers 10, Oxen 14, Total 279, Ewes 381, Weathers 128, Lambs 167, Rams 7, Total 683, Ewes 188, Weathers 107, Kids 46, Rams 7, Total 348, Sows 8, Shoats 11, Pigs 10, Boars 1, Total 30, Fowls 159, Turkeys 23, Ducks 30, Geese 14, Total 6, Horses 9, Mares 15, Total 2, She Ases 3, She Foes 5 Four Goats for the Slaves Beef to the Stretham 560 D° Pelham 560 D° Duke of Dorset 560 NB 10 Ducks missing. A Slave Child born named August. Yams expended for the Slaves 19055 Bad Yam for Stock 7575 26630	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 July to 11 August 1756. The columns run: bulls, cows, calves, heifers, yearlings, steers, oxen and total under neat cattle; ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total under sheep; ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total under goats; sows, shoats, pigs, boars and total under hogs; fowls, turkeys, ducks and geese under poultry; horses, mares and total under horses; and she asses, he asses and total under asses. Remaining the 12th, neat cattle: bulls 4, cows 86, calves 68, heifers 24, yearlings 67, steers 16, oxen 14, total 279; sheep: ewes 384, wethers 138, lambs 168, rams 7, total 697; goats: ewes 192, wethers 112, kids 47, rams 7, total 358; hogs: sows 8, shoats 12, pigs 10, boars 1, total 31; poultry: fowls 184, turkeys 28, ducks 41, geese 15; horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15; asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Increased, calves 14, neat cattle total 14, ducks 2 Total, neat cattle: bulls 4, cows 86, calves 82, heifers 24, yearlings 67, steers 16, oxen 14, total 293; sheep: ewes 384, wethers 138, lambs 168, rams 7, total 697; goats: ewes 192, wethers 112, kids 47, rams 7, total 358; hogs: sows 8, shoats 12, pigs 10, boars 1, total 31; poultry: fowls 184, turkeys 28, ducks 41, geese 17; horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15; asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Killed, cows 1, calves 1, heifers 1, oxen 5, neat cattle total 8; sheep: wethers 10, lambs 1, total 11; goats: ewes 4, wethers 5, kids 1, total 10; poultry: fowls 25, turkeys 5, ducks 11, geese 3 Died, cows 1, calves 3, steers 1, yearlings 1, neat cattle total 6; sheep: ewes 3, total 3; hogs: pigs 1, total 1 Sold, poultry: ducks 1 Remaining the 11th, neat cattle: bulls 4, cows 84, calves 78, heifers 23, yearlings 66, steers 10, oxen 14, total 279; sheep: ewes 381, wethers 128, lambs 167, rams 7, total 683; goats: ewes 188, wethers 107, kids 46, rams 7, total 348; hogs: sows 8, shoats 11, pigs 10, boars 1, total 30; poultry: fowls 159, turkeys 23, ducks 30, geese 14; horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15; asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Four goats were issued for the slaves. Beef was supplied to the ships as follows. Beef to the <i>Streatham</i>, 560 Beef to the <i>Pelham</i>, 560. Beef to the <i>Duke of Dorset</i>, 560. Ten ducks were noted as missing. A slave child was born, named August. Yams were expended as follows. Yams expended for the slaves, 19,055 Bad yams for stock, 7,575 Total, 26,630 Interpretations Neat cattle meant horned cattle, the oxen, bulls, cows and their young kept as the Company's working and eating stock, counted here apart from the sheep, goats, hogs and poultry that made up the rest of the plantation herd. Shoats were young weaned pigs, ranked between the suckling pigs and the full grown sows and boars in the hog count. The heavy consumption of yams, nearly twenty thousand issued to the slaves in a single month against the beef and goats recorded elsewhere, shows the yam serving as the staple carbohydrate of the slave diet on the island, the root crop that could be grown locally in bulk where imported grain could not.
33	28	Gunnery Stores expended from the 12 July to the 11 August 1756 viz. 4 lb, 1 lb, 5 lb, 2 lb, Powder Expended 1756	An account of gunner's stores expended from 12 July to 11 August 1756. The first columns record the number of guns fired and the weights of powder used,

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		July the 28 An Alarm An Alarm: 4 lb 6, 1 lb 2, 5 lb 2, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 12 Arrived the Stretham, returned the Salute Arrived the Stretham, returned the Salute: 4 lb 9, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 9, Powder Expended 9 Powder for Priming Powder for Priming: 4 lb 0, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 1.8 29 Fired to Salute Capt Snowber & Sr William Hewitts arrival on Shore Fired to Salute Capt Snowber & Sr William Hewitts arrival on Shore: 4 lb 13, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 13, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 13 Powder for Priming Powder for Priming: 4 lb 0, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 31 Alarm Alarm: 4 lb 6, 1 lb 2, 5 lb 2, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 12 Arrived the Pelham, returned the Salute Arrived the Pelham, returned the Salute: 4 lb 9, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 9, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 Powder for Priming Powder for Priming: 4 lb 0, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 1.8 August 8 Alarm Alarm: 4 lb 6, 1 lb 2, 5 lb 2, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 12 Arrived the Duke of Dorset returned the Salute Arrived the Duke of Dorset returned the Salute: 4 lb 9, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 9, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 Powder for Priming Powder for Priming: 4 lb 0, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 1.8 D° Delivered for the use of the St George D° Delivered for the use of the St George: 4 lb 0, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 300 D° for Cleaning the Water Course in Sandy Bay D° for Cleaning the Water Course in Sandy Bay: 4 lb 0, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 3 D° for the Funeral of Phillip Cole D° for the Funeral of Phillip Cole: 4 lb 0, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 2.4 D° for the D° of Thomas Loveland D° for the D° of Thomas Loveland: 4 lb 0, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 2.4 D° for replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Fort D° for replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Fort: 4 lb 0, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 2.8 D° for Signal D° for Signal: 4 lb 0, 1 lb 0, 5 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 1 Total: 4 lb 58, 1 lb 6, 5 lb 6, 2 lb 40, Powder Expended 6 353.8 Copper Rivets for the use of the St George 50 Spunge Staves for repairing Halberts 3 D° Broke at the Alarm House 1 Spunge Heads at D° 2 Rammer Heads at D° 1 Sheep Skins for Coating the Spunges at D° 1 Trunk Nails for D° 50 Paper for making of great Gun Cartridges 7 Qr Needles broke with meaking D° 15 Tompeons wore out & unserviceable at the Main Fort 6 Iron Shod Trucks wore D°	in pounds, at 4 lb, 5 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb charges, with the total powder expended in pounds and ounces. 28 July, an alarm, guns 6, at 4 lb 2, at 2 lb 2, at 1 lb 2, powder 12 lb 0 oz Arrived the <i>Streatham</i>, returned the salute, guns 9, at 5 lb 9, powder 9 lb 0 oz Powder for priming, 1 lb 8 oz 29 July, fired to salute the Company's snow and Sir William Hewitt's arrival on shore, guns 13, at 5 lb 13, powder 13 lb 0 oz Powder for priming, 2 lb 0 oz 31 July, alarm, guns 6, at 4 lb 2, at 2 lb 2, at 1 lb 2, powder 12 lb 0 oz Arrived the <i>Pelham</i>, returned the salute, guns 9, at 5 lb 9, powder 9 lb 0 oz Powder for priming, 1 lb 8 oz 8 August, alarm, guns 6, at 4 lb 2, at 2 lb 2, at 1 lb 2, powder 12 lb 0 oz Arrived the <i>Duke of Dorset</i>, returned the salute, guns 9, at 5 lb 9, powder 9 lb 0 oz Powder for priming, 1 lb 8 oz Powder delivered for the use of the <i>St George</i>, 300 lb 0 oz Powder for cleaning the water courses in Sandy Bay, 3 lb 0 oz Powder for the funeral of Phillip Cole, 2 lb 4 oz Powder for the funeral of Thomas Loveland, 2 lb 4 oz Powder for replenishing the cartridges at the Main Fort, 2 lb 8 oz Powder for signal, 1 lb 0 oz Total, guns 58, at 4 lb 6, at 5 lb 6, at 2 lb 40, at 1 lb 6, powder 393 lb 8 oz Further gunner's stores were expended as follows. Copper rivets for the use of the <i>St George</i>, 50 Sponge staves for repairing halberts, 3 Sponge staves broke at the alarm house, 1 Sponge heads at the alarm house, 2 Rammer heads at the alarm house, 1 Sheep skins for coating the sponges at the alarm house, 1 Trunk nails for the alarm house, 50 Paper for making of great gun cartridges, 7 quires Needles broke with making cartridges, 15 Tompions worn out and unserviceable at the Main Fort, 6 Iron shod trucks worn out at the Main Fort, 4 Copper clouts for the gun carriages at the Main Fort, 4 Hatch burnt at the Main Fort, 4 Speaking trumpets lost by the wind from the Sugar Loaf, 1 Signed, Thomas Hall. Interpretations Priming powder was the fine powder poured into the touch hole to ignite the main charge in the barrel, accounted separately from the heavier charges because it was measured out for every firing regardless of the gun's size. A tompion was the wooden plug driven into a cannon's muzzle to keep out damp and spray, its wear at the Main Fort a routine cost of keeping the guns serviceable in a salt sea air. The very large single issue of 300 lb of powder for the <i>St George</i>, set against the few pounds spent on salutes and alarms, shows the Company resupplying a departing ship's own magazine rather than expending powder in the island's defence, the warship leaving with far more than the fort itself burned in a month. Speculations Powder was drawn from the same store for two soldiers' funerals as for salutes and alarms, the gunner charging two pounds four ounces each for the funerals of Phillip Cole and Thomas Loveland; the choice to spend a scarce and strategically guarded munition on funeral honours, rather than reserve it wholly for defence and salutes, shows the garrison treating

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		4 Copper Clouts for the Gun Carriages at D° 44 Hatch burnt at D° 9 Speaking Trumpet lost by the Wind from the Sugar Loaf	military ceremony for its own dead as a claim on stores strong enough to be entered and accounted alongside the working expenditure of the guns.
34	29	Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending 11 August 1756 viz. 7 Bottles Port Wine . 9 5½ 37 Lisbon 2 10 1½ 26 Mountain 1 13 2½ 21 Maderia 2 9 10½ 83 Arrack 2 15 6 9¾ Beer . 19 1½ 34 6 Flour 3 3 216½ Mutton 4 11 4½ 37 6 Beef 4 14 . 1 Lamb . 10 . 1 Head . 3 . 65 Veale 1 11 6 78 Goat 1 6 . 25 Fowls 1 17 6 11 Ducks . 16 6 3 Turkeys 1 5 . 3 Geese . 15 . 4 lb Pork . 8 . 28¾ Butter 1 8 9 136 Candy 1 19 . £ 34 10 2½ Being much in want of some Pump Leather we therefore bought of Captain George Lindsay 40 lb for which we paid him fifty Shillings. Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	An account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 August 1756. 7 bottles port wine, £0 9s 3.5d 37 bottles Lisbon wine, £2 10s 1.5d 26 bottles mountain wine, £1 13s 2.5d 21 bottles Madeira, £2 9s 10.5d 83 bottles arrack, £2 15s 6d 9.5 gallons beer, £0 19s 4.5d 346 lb flour, £3 3s 0d 210.5 lb mutton, £4 11s 4.5d 370 lb beef, £4 14s 0d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 1 head, £0 5s 0d 63 lb veal, £1 11s 6d 78 lb goat, £1 6s 0d 25 fowls, £1 17s 6d 11 ducks, £0 16s 6d 3 turkeys, £1 5s 0d 3 geese, £0 8s 0d 4 lb pork, £0 15s 0d 28.5 lb butter, £1 8s 9d 136 lb candy, £1 19s 0d Total, £34 10s 2.5d Being much in want of pump leather for the use of the Honourable Company, the council therefore bought 40 lb of Captain George Lindsay, for which it paid him 50 shillings. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Mountain wine was a sweet Malaga wine from the hills of southern Spain, and Lisbon a Portuguese white, both shipped alongside Madeira and port as the ordinary table wines of the Company's officers, the range showing the island drawing its drink from the Atlantic wine trade that its own ships passed through. Pump leather was thick tanned hide cut into washers and valve seals for the ship's and fort's water pumps, a wearing part that had to be renewed and was bought here from a passing captain because the island could not make it, the purchase off Lindsay filling a want the plantation stores could not.
35	30	At a Consultation held on Monday the 30 Day of August 1756 at the Castle. PRESENT Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed Dated the 23 August 1756. This Day Died Isaac Leech Superannuated Gunners Mate. Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending, the 11 instant, which is as follows viz.	A consultation held on Monday 30 August 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 23 August 1756. Isaac Leech, a superannuated gunner's mate, died this day. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 August, which was as follows. Interpretations A superannuated gunner's mate was one retired from active duty on account of age or infirmity, kept on the island's books and provided for after his working service had ended, the term marking a form of pension within the Company's garrison establishment.
36	31	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr	The Company's cash account, debit side, for 1756. 12 July, to balance remaining, £3,023 12s 6d

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		1756 July 12 To Balance remaining £ 3023 12 6 19 To Exchange for one Sett of Bills drawn on the Honble Court of Directors, payable to John Adamson Esqr or Order, 90 Days after sight Dated this Day 36 - 26 To D° for one Sett D° drawn as above Dated this Day payable to Matthew Purling, or Order 200 - To D° for one Sett D° drawn, as above Dated this Day payable to John Bland or Order 70 - To D° for one Sett D° drawn, as above Dated this Day payable to Nicholas Mosely, or Order 150 - To D° for one Sett D° drawn, as above Dated this Day payable to Thomas Brown, or Order 140 - To D° for one Sett D° drawn, as above Dated this Day payable to Capt William Fernell, or Order 200 - 28 To Ship St George the Balance of her Account 58 1½ To Ship Exeter the D° of her D° 275 10 6½ £ 4159 3 2 1756 Aug 11 By Balance remaining, in the following Species viz. 2167 Venetians @ 10s £ 1083 10 1500 Pagodas 8s 600 Gold Amounting to £ 1683 10 - 4000 Dollars @ 5s £ 1000 8286 Rupees 2s 3d 932 3 6 441 French Pieces 2s 3 13 6 Odd Money 1 2 Silver Amounting to £ 1935 18 2 146 Cash Notes @ 40s £ 292 - 162 D° 20s 162 - 263 D° 5s 65 15 160 D° 2s 6d 20 Cash Notes Amounting to £ 539 15 - £ 4159 3 2 Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	19 July, to exchange for one set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to John Adamson or order, 90 days after sight, dated this day, £36 0s 0d 26 July, to exchange for one set of bills drawn as above, dated this day, payable to Matthew Purling or order, £200 0s 0d 26 July, to exchange for one set of bills drawn as above, dated this day, payable to John Bland or order, £70 0s 0d 26 July, to exchange for one set of bills drawn as above, dated this day, payable to Nicholas Mosely or order, £150 0s 0d 26 July, to exchange for one set of bills drawn as above, dated this day, payable to Thomas Brown or order, £140 0s 0d 26 July, to exchange for one set of bills drawn as above, dated this day, payable to Captain William Fenner or order, £200 0s 0d 28 July, to ship <i>St George</i>, the balance of her account, £58 0s 1.5d 28 July, to ship <i>Exeter</i>, the balance of her account, £275 10s 6.5d Total, £4,159 3s 2d The credit side, per contra, showed the balance remaining on 11 August in the following species. 2,167 venetians at 10s, £1,083 10s 0d 1,500 pagodas at 8s, £600 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,683 10s 0d 4,000 dollars at 5s, £1,000 0s 0d 8,286 rupees at 2s 3d, £932 3s 6d 441 French pieces at 1s 2d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 1s 2d Silver amounting to, £1,935 18s 2d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 263 cash notes at 5s, £65 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The cash on the island was held in a mixture of foreign coin, the venetian being the Venetian gold sequin or zecchino, the pagoda a gold coin of the Indian coast, the dollar the Spanish silver piece of eight, alongside rupees and French pieces, showing an island economy with no coinage of its own drawing its specie from every trade that touched at the port. The bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors were the means by which the island settled its debts to captains and planters without shipping coin, a paper order payable in London ninety days after sight, so that a man owed money at St Helena could be paid in England instead. The cash notes counted separately were the Company's own paper currency circulating on the island in fixed denominations, a locally issued token money that supplemented the scarce and miscellaneous coin.
37	32	At a Consultation held on Monday the 6 Day of September 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Lieutenant John Clark John Adamson Lieutenant Governor absent being Sick The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed Dated the 30 August 1756. Ordered the following Advertizements to be Published on Thursday last viz. This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants upon this said Island, that they are hereby required to send into the Secretarys Office, on or before the 30 instant, an exact Account of their Familys, Land, and Cattle, and to attend at the Castle on Monday the 11 of next Month, to pay their Rents and Revenues, Due to the Honorable	A consultation held on Monday 6 September 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present, Adamson being sick. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 30 August 1756. The council ordered the following advertisements to be published on Thursday last. The first gave notice to all the inhabitants upon the island that they were required to send into the secretary's office, on or before 30 September, an exact account of their families, land and cattle, and to attend at the castle on Monday 4 October to pay their rents and revenues due to the Honourable Company for the year past. Further notice was given that the

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		Company for the year past. And Notice is hereby further given, that the Honorable Companys Stores will be Shut from the 18 instant untill the 14 of October, in order to take an Inventory of the same. This is further to give Notice to all Persons upon the said Island who have Horses, Mares &ca that they are hereby required to send into the Secretarys Office on or before the 30 instant an exact signed Account of the Number each Person has Cha Hutchinson John Adamson	Honourable Company's stores would be shut from 18 September until 14 October, in order to take an inventory of the same. The second gave notice to all persons upon the island who had horses, mares and the like, that they were required to send into the secretary's office, on or before 30 September, an exact signed account of the number each person held. The advertisements were signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Adamson. Interpretations The annual return of families, land and cattle tied together the island's census and its revenue, the same declaration that fixed each planter's rent also serving as the Company's count of the population and livestock it governed, so that assessment and enumeration were carried out in one act. The separate demand for a signed account of horses and mares reflects the Company's interest in the island's draught and breeding animals as a controlled resource, the requirement of a signature making each holder formally answerable for the number declared.
38	33	At a Consultation held on Monday the 13 Day of September 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed Dated the 6 September 1756. Tuesday the 7 Died Mary Wife of Thomas Harper Marshall. Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	A consultation held on Monday 13 September 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 6 September 1756. Mary, wife of Thomas Harper Marshall, died on Tuesday 7 September. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
39	34	At a Consultation held on Monday the 20 Day of September 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 13 September 1756. Friday the 17 Died Mary Daughter of James and Margaret Greentree. Relisted Edward Attes to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years at five Pounds Bounty Money, and had the Articles of War read to him. The Plantation, Gunners, and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11 instant were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows viz.	A consultation held on Monday 20 September 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 13 September 1756. Mary, daughter of James and Margaret Greentree, died on Friday 17 September. Edward Attis enlisted to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years at £5 bounty money, and had the Articles of War read to him. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month ending 11 September were this day brought in, examined and approved, and were as follows. Interpretations The reading of the Articles of War to the new recruit marked the point at which he came formally under military discipline, the recited code binding him to its penalties as a condition of the bounty he took, so that enlistment and submission to martial law were joined in a single act.
40	35	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from 12 August to the 11 September 1756 viz. Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Yearlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Turkeys, Ducks, Geese, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, She Ases, She Foes, Total Remaining the 12: Bulls 4, Cows 84, Calves 78, Heifers 23, Yearlings 66, Steers 10, Oxen 14, Total 279, Ewes 381, Weathers 128, Lambs 167, Rams 7, Total 683, Ewes 188, Weathers 107, Kids 46, Rams 7, Total 348, Sows 8, Shoats 11, Pigs 10, Boars 1, Total 30, Fowls 159, Turkeys 23, Ducks 30, Geese 14, Total 6, Horses 9, Mares 15, Total 2, She Ases 3, She Foes 5	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 August to 11 September 1756. The columns run: bulls, cows, calves, heifers, yearlings, steers, oxen and total under neat cattle; ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total under sheep; ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total under goats; sows, shoats, pigs, boars and total under hogs; fowls, turkeys, ducks and geese under poultry; horses, mares and total under horses; and she asses, he asses and total under asses. Remaining the 12th, neat cattle: bulls 4, cows 84, calves 78, heifers 23, yearlings 66, steers 10, oxen 14, total 279; sheep: ewes 381, wethers 128, lambs 167, rams 7, total 683; goats: ewes 188, wethers 107, kids 46, rams 7, total 348; hogs: sows 8, shoats 11, pigs 10, boars 1, total 30; poultry: fowls 159, turkeys 23, ducks

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		Increased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 11, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 11, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 35, Rams 0, Total 35, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 43, Rams 0, Total 43, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 24, Turkeys 1, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 84, Calves 89, Heifers 23, Yearlings 66, Steers 10, Oxen 14, Total 290, Ewes 381, Weathers 128, Lambs 202, Rams 7, Total 718, Ewes 188, Weathers 107, Kids 89, Rams 7, Total 391, Sows 8, Shoats 11, Pigs 10, Boars 1, Total 30, Fowls 183, Turkeys 24, Ducks 30, Geese 14, Total 6, Horses 9, Mares 15, Total 2, She Ases 3, She Foes 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 1, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 1, Weathers 9, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 6, Weathers 21, Kids 3, Rams 0, Total 30, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 21, Turkeys 2, Ducks 0, Geese 1, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 1, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 8, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 1, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 24, Turkeys 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Weathers 10, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 0, Weathers 1, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 2, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 3, Boars 0, Total 3, Fowls 21, Turkeys 0, Ducks 0, Geese 3, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0 Remaining 11: Bulls 4, Cows 84, Calves 89, Heifers 21, Yearlings 66, Steers 9, Oxen 13, Total 286, Ewes 372, Weathers 109, Lambs 202, Rams 7, Total 690, Ewes 181, Weathers 85, Kids 85, Rams 7, Total 358, Sows 6, Shoats 7, Pigs 7, Boars 1, Total 21, Fowls 117, Turkeys 14, Ducks 30, Geese 10, Total 6, Horses 9, Mares 15, Total 2, She Ases 3, She Foes 5 2 Cattle alive to the Hampshire 10 Sheep D° 500 Wt of Hay D° 1 Side fresh Beef D° 4 Hogs D° 2 Doz of Fowls from the Wood D° 6 Doz bought D° 8 Turkeys D° 20 Goats for the Sick Slaves 1 D° to George Young 1 Kid to Matthew Bazett 9200 Wt of Yam sold to the Ships 1400 wt D° 2 Hogs D° Eleven Ducks lost so that there remains 19 Good Yam for the Slaves 16700 Bad Yam for Stock 6025	30, geese 14; horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15; asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Increased, calves 11, neat cattle total 11, lambs 35, sheep total 35, kids 43, goats total 43, fowls 24, turkeys 1 Total, neat cattle: bulls 4, cows 84, calves 89, heifers 23, yearlings 66, steers 10, oxen 14, total 290; sheep: ewes 381, wethers 128, lambs 202, rams 7, total 718; goats: ewes 188, wethers 107, kids 89, rams 7, total 391; hogs: sows 8, shoats 11, pigs 10, boars 1, total 30; poultry: fowls 183, turkeys 24, ducks 30, geese 14; horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15; asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Killed, steers 1, neat cattle total 1, wethers 1, lambs 9, sheep total 10, ewes 6, wethers 21, kids 3, goats total 30, poultry: fowls 21, turkeys 2, geese 1 Died, yearlings 1, neat cattle total 1, lambs 8, sheep total 8, kids 8, goats total 8, hogs: pigs 1, total 1, poultry: geese 1 Sold, heifers 2, neat cattle total 2, wethers 10, sheep total 10, ewes 1, goats total 1, sows 1, shoats 1, hogs total 2, poultry: fowls 21, geese 3 Remaining the 11th, neat cattle: bulls 4, cows 84, calves 89, heifers 21, yearlings 66, steers 9, oxen 13, total 286; sheep: ewes 372, wethers 109, lambs 202, rams 7, total 690; goats: ewes 181, wethers 85, kids 85, rams 7, total 358; hogs: sows 7, shoats 7, pigs 7, boars 1, total 21; poultry: fowls 117, turkeys 14, ducks 30, geese 10; horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15; asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Various stock was issued or acquired as follows. 2 cattle alive to the <i>Hampshire</i> 10 sheep to the <i>Hampshire</i> 500 lb of hay to the <i>Hampshire</i> 1 side of fresh beef to the <i>Hampshire</i> 4 hogs to the <i>Hampshire</i> 2 dozen fowls from the wood to the <i>Hampshire</i> 6 dozen fowls bought for the <i>Hampshire</i> 8 turkeys to the <i>Hampshire</i> 20 goats for the sick slaves 1 goat to George Young 1 kid to Matthew Bazett 9,200 lb of yams sold to the ships 11,400 lb of yams sold to the ships 2 hogs sold to the ships Good yams for the slaves, 16,700 Bad yams for stock, 6,025 Eleven ducks were lost, so that 19 remained. Interpretations The seasonal increase recorded here, thirty-five lambs and forty-three kids added in the month, shows the island's sheep and goats coming into their birthing season in the southern-hemisphere late winter, the flocks replenishing themselves at the very time the <i>Hampshire</i> and the homeward ships drew heavily on the mature stock. The large victualling of the <i>Hampshire</i>, taking live cattle, sheep, hogs, hay and fowls together, marks the Royal Navy warship being stored for its onward voyage on a scale beyond the ordinary ship's purchase, the island fitting out a king's ship as well as feeding its own people and the Company's merchantmen.
41	36	Gunners Stores expended from the 12 of August to the 11 of September 1756 viz. 4 lb, 2 lb, Powder Expended 1756 August 22 Fired to Salute Capt Knowler and Sir William Hewetts going on Board Fired to Salute Capt Knowler and Sir William Hewetts going on Board: 4 lb 13, 2 lb 13, Powder Expended 13 Powder for Priming Powder for Priming: 4 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 Departed the Hampshire Capt Norbury Saluted him with	An account of gunner's stores expended from 12 August to 11 September 1756. The columns record the number of guns fired, the powder used at 2 lb charges, and the total powder expended in pounds and ounces. 22 August, fired to salute Captain Knowler and Sir William Hewitt going on board, guns 13, at 2 lb 13, powder 13 lb 0 oz Powder for priming, 2 lb 0 oz Departed the <i>Hampshire</i>, Captain Norbury, saluted him with, guns 13, at 2 lb 13, powder 13 lb 0 oz Powder for priming, 2 lb 0 oz 8 September, powder for the use of the long boat, 3 lb 0 oz

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		Departed the Hampshire Capt Norbury Saluted him with: 4 lb 13, 2 lb 13, Powder Expended 13 Powder for Priming Powder for Priming: 4 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 Sept 8 Powder for the use of the Long Boat Powder for the use of the Long Boat: 4 lb 0, 2 lb 0, Powder Expended 3 Total: 4 lb 26, 2 lb 26, Powder Expended 33.3 Tallow for the use of the Long Boat 10 D° for the use of the Carts 5 Sheep Skins for repairing the Spunges at the Main Fort 6 Spunge Staves for D° 5 Rammer heads for D° 6 Spunge Head for D° 7 Trunk Nails for D° 460 Spunge Staves to the Armourer for Hammer helves 1 Pendants wore out and unserviceable 1 (Signed) Thomas Hall Master Gunner	Total, guns 26, at 2 lb 26, powder 33 lb 0 oz Further gunner's stores were expended as follows. Tallow for the use of the long boat, 10 lb Tallow for the use of the corks, 5 lb Sheep skins for repairing the sponges at the Main Fort, 6 Sponge staves for the Main Fort, 5 Rammer heads for the Main Fort, 6 Sponge heads for the Main Fort, 7 Trunk nails for the Main Fort, 460 Sponge staves to the armourer for hammer helves, 1 Pendants worn out and unserviceable, 1 Signed, Thomas Hall, master gunner. Interpretations The salute to the departing <i>Hampshire</i> and to Sir William Hewitt going aboard shows the island marking the comings and goings of persons of rank and of a king's ship with formal gunfire, the powder spent on courtesy set down in the same account as the working stores of the fort. Helves were the wooden handles fitted to tools such as hammers, the armourer here taking a sponge stave to cut down for that purpose, which shows the fort's stores of shaped timber being turned to whatever repair was most pressing rather than reserved to their first use.
42	37	Sundrys expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11 instant viz. 10 Bottles Port Wine . 13 6½ 33 Lisbon 2 4 8½ 5 Maderia . 11 10½ 23 Mountain 1 12 6 71 Arrack 2 7 4 55 Beer . 10 7½ 287 Flour 1 13 10½ 206 Beef 2 11 6 325 Mutton 6 15 5 3 Head . 13 . 130 Goat 2 6 4 21 Fowls 1 11 6 1 Goose . 5 . 2 Turkeys . 10 . 5 lb Salt Pork . 10 . 44¼ Butter 2 1 3 106 Candy 1 10 11 £ 28 13 6½ Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	An account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 September 1756. 10 bottles port wine, £0 13s 6.5d 33 bottles Lisbon wine, £2 4s 8.5d 5 bottles Madeira, £0 11s 10.5d 23 bottles mountain wine, £1 12s 6d 71 bottles arrack, £2 7s 4d 55 gallons beer, £0 10s 7.5d 287 lb flour, £1 13s 10.5d 206 lb beef, £2 11s 6d 325 lb mutton, £6 13s 5d 3 heads, £0 13s 0d 130 lb goat, £2 6s 4d 21 fowls, £1 11s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 5 lb salt pork, £0 10s 0d 44 lb butter, £2 1s 3d 106 lb candy, £1 10s 11d Total, £28 13s 6.5d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
43	38	At a Consultation held on Monday the 27 Day of September 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed Dated the 20 September 1756.	A consultation held on Monday 27 September 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 20 September 1756.

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		The Executor of the late Isaac Leech this day presented his last Will and Testament Desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Will is as follows viz. In the Name of God Amen, this 25 Day of August in the year of Our Lord God, One Thousand Seven hundred and fifty six, I Isaac Leech of the Island St. Helena in the Service of the Honorable Company being Sick and Weak of Body, but of sound mind and memory (thanks to Almighty God) do hereby make and appoint this my last Will and Testament in Manner and form as follows, First and Principally I give and Recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God my Creator my Body I commit to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like and Decent manner my Wordly Goods to be disposed of as follows viz. Imprimis	The executor of the late Isaac Leech this day presented his last will and testament, desiring that it might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the witnesses. The will was as follows. Isaac Leech of St Helena, in the service of the Honourable Company, made his will on 25 August 1756. Being sick and weak of body but of sound mind and memory, he gave and recommended his soul into the hands of Almighty God his creator, and directed that his body be buried in a Christian and decent manner, his worldly goods to be disposed of as follows.
44	39	Imprimis I Desire that all my household Goods may be sold at Publick Auction and the Mony arising for them to Defray my Funeral Expences and other Debts that I am Engaged in to any Person or Persons, as also what Salary shall be Due to me at the time of my Death to be disposed of in the same manner Item I give to my Son John one Black man named Manuel as also the Overplus if any thing remains after my Debts &ca carefully paid and satisfied, appointing my said son Executor to this my last Will and Testament (Signed) Isaac Leech Signed Sealed and Declared to be the last Will of him the said Isaac Leech in the presence of us. (Signed) Rich Swaits Wm Duffson Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11 instant, which is as follows viz.	Leech directed that all his household goods be sold at public auction, the money arising from them to defray his funeral expenses and any other debts he owed, together with whatever salary should be due to him at the time of his death, to be applied in the same manner. He gave to his son John a black man named Manuel, together with the surplus, if anything remained after his debts were carefully paid and satisfied, and appointed his son executor of the will. The will was signed, sealed and declared to be the last will of Isaac Leech in the presence of Richard Swaits and William Duffton, and signed by Isaac Leech. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 September, which was as follows. Interpretations Manuel, the black man bequeathed to Leech's son, was a slave counted among the testator's property and passed by will like his household goods, the bequest showing the ordinary inheritance of an enslaved person as a chattel within a modest garrison estate. The direction to sell the household goods at public auction to clear the funeral costs and debts before any surplus passed to the son reflects the standard order of a small estate, the creditors and the burial satisfied first out of the movable property and only the remainder going to the heir.
45	40	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1756 Aug 12 To Balance remaining £ 4159 3 2 21 To Ship Pelham received part of the Balance of her Account 107 18 2 To Ship Duke of Dorsett the Balance of her Account 75 10 7½ 23 To Boats for one old Yaul Sold 5 £ 4347 11 11½ 1756 Sept 11 By Balance remaining in the following Species viz. 2600 Venetians @ 10s £ 1300 1800 Pagdas 8s 720 Gold Amounting to £ 2020 3407 Dollars @ 5s £ 851 15 8288 Rupees @ 2s 3d 932 8 441 French Piecces 2s 3 13 6	The Company's cash account, debit side, for 1756. 12 August, to balance remaining, £4,159 3s 2d 21 August, to ship <i>Pelham</i>, received part of the balance of her account, £107 18s 2d 21 August, to ship <i>Duke of Dorset</i>, the balance of her account, £75 10s 7.5d 23 August, to boats, for one old yawl sold, £5 0s 0d Total, £4,347 11s 11.5d The credit side, per contra, showed the balance remaining on 11 September in the following species. 2,600 venetians at 10s, £1,300 0s 0d 1,800 pagodas at 8s, £720 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,020 0s 0d 3,407 dollars at 5s, £851 15s 0d 8,288 rupees at 2s 3d, £932 8s 0d 441 French pieces at 1s 2d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 5.5d Silver amounting to, £1,787 16s 11.5d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £4,347 11s 11.5d Interpretations The gold on the island rose over the month from £1,683 to £2,020 while the silver fell, the increase in venetians and pagodas set against a drop in dollars showing the balance of the island's specie shifting as ships paid and were paid in different coin. The old yawl sold for £5 was a small ship's boat past its use to the

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		Odd Mony 5½ Silver Amounting to £ 1787 16 11½ Cash Notes Amounting to £ 539 15 £ 4347 11 11½	Company, disposed of for whatever it would fetch and entered to the cash account, the sale of worn equipment forming a minor but recorded source of the island's income.
46	41	Messrs Francis Wrantham Senr and Onesiphor as Beale presented the following representation vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor & Council. The Representation of Francis Wrantham Senr and Onesiphorus Beale. That there hath always been the Conveniency of a Passage to the back Yards below the great House, both to the Water Rien, and for other usefull Carriages, and likewise a Course of Water which was of great Service to the said Yards, but now to their Grievance and great detriment, a Wall is built, that stops the Passage, and the Bank cut down, on which the Water was conveyed, so that it renders the back Yards almost useless to us. We therefore humbly pray it of may be given us, by a free Passage, and Water Course as usual, as ever hath been time out of mind (Signed) Fran Wrantham Ones Beale Island St Helena 27th September 1756. Mr Adamson desired that he might have a Copy of the above representation which he would Answer the next Consultation day Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Francis Wrantham, senior, and Onesiphorus Beale presented the following representation to Governor Hutchinson and council, dated at St Helena 27 September 1756. They set out that there had always been the convenience of a passage to the back yards below the great house, both to the water run and for other useful carriage, and likewise a watercourse that was of great service to the yards, but that now, to their grievance and great detriment, a wall had been built that blocked the passage, and the bank cut down on which the water had been conveyed, so that the back yards were rendered almost useless to them. They prayed that relief might be given by restoring a free passage and watercourse as had always been the custom out of mind. The representation was signed by Francis Wrantham and Onesiphorus Beale. Adamson desired that he might have a copy of the representation, which he would answer the next consultation day. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The complaint turned on a customary right of way and water, the petitioners claiming a passage and watercourse used beyond living memory, the phrase marking the kind of long usage that English law treated as establishing a prescriptive right which a newly built wall could not lawfully obstruct. Adamson's request for a copy to answer at the next consultation shows him named as the party who had built the wall, the council allowing the accused member time to make his formal reply rather than deciding the grievance on the petitioners' account alone. Speculations The council, faced with a grievance against one of its own members, chose to adjourn the matter for Adamson to answer in writing at the next consultation rather than rule on the complaint as presented; the decision to give the accused councillor time and a copy of the charge, when it might have determined a plain question of a blocked passage on the spot, shows the board treating a dispute among its own as a matter to be heard on both sides before judgment, the membership of the wall-builder in the very body that would decide shaping the choice to proceed slowly and formally.
47	42	At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th Day of October 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed, Dated the 27th September 1756. Tuesday the 28th September died John Prosser Soldier Wednesday the 29th D° died John Denny D° Thursday the 30th D° died Makepiece Woodington D° Mr Adamson the Lieutenant Governor presented the following Paper in Answer to Messrs Francis Wrantham Senr and Onesiphorus Beales representation of Monday last. An Answer to the representation of Francis Wrantham Senr Planter and Onesiphorus Beale Lieutenant and Planter The late Flood having done great Damage in several places of this Valley, and particularly to the honorable Company it was therefore thought necessary by the	A consultation held on Monday 4 October 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 27 September 1756. John Prosser, a soldier, died on Tuesday 28 September. John Denny, a soldier, died on Wednesday 29 September. Makepiece Woodington, a soldier, died on Thursday 30 September. Adamson, the lieutenant governor, presented the following paper in answer to the representation of Francis Wrantham, senior, and Onesiphorus Beale of Monday last. Adamson set out that a late flood had done great damage in several places of the valley, and particularly to the Honourable Company, so that the governor had thought it necessary to dig the watercourse both deeper and wider, and to build substantial walls in as direct a line as could be, in order to guard against such accidents in future. At the same time this was to

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		Governor, to dig the Water Course both deeper and wider, also Substantial Walls was built in as direct a Line as could be, in order to guard against such accidents for the future, at the same time to prevent the many irregularities that are daily committed by the Military, as well as Slaves belonging to the Neighbouring Houses, there is a Wall built about five feet long and five high which is upon the honorable Companys Wall ground, and runs from their back building, to the Water Course, This it seems has given great offence to Francis Wrangham Senr and Onesiphorus Beale, as is expressed in their representation of the 27th of September last, and I am very sorry they should give me occasion to say, that they have not had a	prevent the many irregularities daily committed by the military as well as by slaves belonging to the neighbouring houses. A wall about five feet long and five feet high had been built upon the Honourable Company's ground, running from the petitioners' back building to the watercourse. This, it seemed, had given great offence to Wrangham and Beale, as expressed in their representation of 27 September, and Adamson was very sorry they should give him occasion to say that they had not had a strict... Interpretations Adamson's answer recast the disputed wall as flood defence and public order rather than private obstruction, tying the work to a recent flood that had damaged Company property and to the need to check the trespasses of soldiers and slaves, so that what the petitioners called a grievance he presented as a necessary work of protection on Company ground. The claim that the wall stood upon the Honourable Company's ground was the crux of the reply, since if the land was the Company's and not the petitioners', their claim to a customary passage across it fell away, the ownership of the strip deciding whether any prescriptive right could stand.
48	43	Strict regard to Truth, in asserting that there always has been a Water Course, and passage to their Back Yards, time out of Mind, For to my knowledge by the Tenor of their Leases, which were granted about Nineteen Years ago, neither Water Course, Bath Way, nor even a Back Door is in any respect mentioned; and to shew how ready they are to Complain without reason, and how little they are acquainted with their property Francis Wrangham Senr has never duly executed his Lease, although he has been so many Years in possession. I must also beg leave to observe, that the House the Honorable Court of Directors has been pleased to appoint me, did formerly belong to the late Mr Goodwin, who had a Lease for the Ground much about the time that Francis Wrangham Senr and Richard Goodwin (now Onesiphorus Beales) received theirs; notwithstanding they differ greatly, for in Mr Goodwins Lease, the then Governor and Council, did Grant him a right, To all and singular the Cellars, Chambers, Rooms, Ways, Entries, Backsides, Houses, Buildings, Springs, Wells, Gutters, Water Courses, Easements, profits, benad ties, and Appurtenances whatsoever in as ample a manner as can possibly be expressed, which makes it clear to me, that the then Governor and Council, never intended that these back Yards should enjoy the same privileges that were granted to Goodwin, for if they had they certainly would have been worded in the same ample manner, more especially, as some of these Leases were drawn much about the time, and allows little above a Year yet. This I think shews clearly, that Francis Wrangham and Onesiphorus Beale has no right to the aforesaid privileges, and consequently, there is no ground for their complaints or pretended Grievance so far to the Contrary, in the repairing the Damages done by the late Flood, in the back Yard of the House belonging to the Honorable Company when clearing a small Pond that was there formerly and endeavouring to make it hold Water, great care was taken to have a proper Conveyance made, that these very Back Yards might be indulged with Water	Adamson continued that the petitioners had not had a strict regard to truth in asserting that there had always been a watercourse and passage to their back yards beyond living memory. To his knowledge, from the terms of their leases, which were granted about fourteen years earlier, neither watercourse, right of way nor even a back door was mentioned in any respect. To show how ready they were to complain without reason, and how little they understood their own property, Adamson noted that Wrangham had never duly executed his lease, although he had been so many years in possession. Adamson further observed that the house the Honourable Court of Directors had been pleased to appoint him formerly belonged to the late Mr Goodwin, who had held a lease for the ground about the same time that Wrangham and Richard Goodwin, whose lease Onesiphorus Beale now held, received theirs. Their cases differed greatly, for in Goodwin's lease the then governor and council had granted him a right to all the cellars, chambers, rooms, edges, entries, backsides, houses, buildings, springs, wells, gutters, watercourses, easements, profits, liberties and appurtenances whatsoever, in as ample a manner as could possibly be expressed. This made it clear to Adamson that the then governor and council had never intended the back yards of the petitioners to enjoy the same privileges granted to Goodwin, for had they done so, these would certainly have been worded in the same ample manner, especially as some of the leases were drawn about the same time, and others little above a year later. This, Adamson held, showed clearly that Wrangham and Beale had no right to the privileges claimed, and consequently there was no ground for their complaint. So far to the contrary, in repairing the damage done by the late flood in the back yard of the house belonging to the Honourable Company, when clearing a small pond that was there before and endeavouring to make it hold water, great care was taken that a proper conveyance be made, so that these very back yards might be indulged with water when... Interpretations Adamson's whole answer rested on the wording of the leases, arguing that a right not written into a grant did not exist, and contrasting the bare leases of the petitioners with the elaborately comprehensive grant to Goodwin whose house he now held, so that the presence or absence of specified appurtenances in the deed governed what each tenant could claim. His remark that Wrangham had never formally executed

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			his lease, though long in possession, carried a legal sting, since a tenant who had not completed his lease stood on weaker ground in asserting rights under it, the point exposing the informality with which land was held on the island against the strict letter Adamson now invoked.
49	44	There was any, which in dry Seasons it sometimes so happens that there is almost none, And also when the Ships are here great part is taken up for them, and for the use of the Maldavian and Fort Gardens. Mr Adamson the Lieutenant Governor in Consultation of the 11th October further observed that in his Opinion Mr Wrangham Senr had forfeited his Lease for the Ground a Sepsons House formerly Stood upon, in his not having yet erected a Substantial Dwelling House thereon, according to the Tenor of the Lease, and by not having regularly executed the Counterpart which is entered in a Book kept for that purpose in the Secretary's Office Mr Adamson gave the following Paper in Answer to the last Minute of this Consultation. The above Paragraph greatly Surprizes me, as I am certain there was no Minutes to that purpose entred during the Consultation, and have never heard of it until the 22 Instant, nor do I recollect that the word forfeit was talked off, and as Mr Clark was for a considerable time doubtfull whether or not, there was such an Expression used, I desire he will give his Opinion, that in case such was really mentioned, what he understood by it. There being a Mistake in the date of the Minute of Consultation of this Day the Governor and Mr Clark are of opinion it may be altered as it is a thing that is usually done but Mr Adamson desired it might remain as it was Mr Clark says he does recollect the expression Forfeited, but does not think by that Mr Adamson meant Mr Wrangham should lose his Lease	Adamson's answer concluded that there was any water, which in dry seasons sometimes so happened that there was almost none, and also that when the ships were in the road a great part was taken up for them, and for the use of the Maldivian and Fort gardens. Adamson, the lieutenant governor, in the consultation of 11 October further observed that in his opinion Wrangham had forfeited his lease for the ground a Jepson's house formerly stood upon, in not having yet erected a substantial dwelling house thereon according to the terms of the lease, and by not having regularly executed the counterpart, which was entered in a book kept for that purpose in the secretary's office. Adamson then gave the following paper in answer to the last minute of the consultation. He stated that the above paragraph greatly surprised him, as he was certain there was no minute to that purpose entered during the consultation, and that he had never heard of it until 22 October, nor did he recollect that the word forfeit was talked of. As John Clark had for a considerable time doubted whether or not there was such an expression used, Adamson desired that Clark would give his opinion, in case such was really mentioned, on what he understood by it. There being a mistake in the date of the minute of consultation of this day, the governor and Clark were of opinion it might be altered as was usually done, but Adamson desired it might remain as it was. Clark said he did recollect the expression forfeited, but did not think Adamson had meant by it that Wrangham should lose his lease. Interpretations The dispute here shifted from the wall to the record itself, Adamson denying that a minute charging forfeiture had ever been made and challenging its later appearance, which shows how the written consultation book served as the binding account of what the council had decided, so that a contested entry could not simply stand but had to be tested against the members' own recollection. The counterpart of a lease entered in the secretary's book was the tenant's executed copy kept by the Company, and Adamson's point that Wrangham had never completed his, nor built the required dwelling, invoked the two standard conditions of a building lease, execution of the deed and performance of the covenant to build, either of which if unmet could work a forfeiture.
50	45	At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th day of October 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed, Dated the 4th October 1756. Wednesday the 6th Arrived the Earl of Holderness. This Day died Joseph Thomson Soldier. Mr Goodwins resignation having Occasioned a Vacancy in the Accountants Office and Mr Purling applying to Succeed him in it, we therefore accordingly appointed him to that Station, and Mr James Powell to be Storekeeper, and Mr Matthew Bazell assistant Storekeeper, at the usual Allowance. According to the Advertizement published on the 6th of September, the Planters this Day attended and paid their Rents and Revenues, due to the Honorable Company for the Year past which amounts to £563.13.6 the Rent Roll is as follows viz.	A consultation held on Monday 11 October 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 4 October 1756. The <i>Earl of Holderness</i> arrived on Wednesday 6 October. Joseph Thomson, a soldier, died this day. Mr Goodwin's resignation had left a vacancy in the accountant's office, and Mr Purling having applied to succeed him, the council accordingly appointed him to that station, with Mr James Powell to be storekeeper and Mr Matthew Bazett assistant storekeeper, at the usual allowance. Following the advertisement published on 6 September, the planters this day attended and paid their rents and revenues due to the Honourable Company for the year past, which amounted to £563 13s 4d. The rent roll gave for each planter the quit rent,

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		Ground Rent, Acre Land, Spare Land, £, s, d John Alexander Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 71½, Spare Land 46½, £ 14, s 0, d 6 Samuel Alexander Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 34, Spare Land 37½, £ 11, s 1, d 6 George Alexander Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 28, Spare Land 13, £ 4, s 18, d 0 Margaret Alcock 1½ at 20s P Ann Ground Rent 20, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 34, £ 1, s 5, d 0 Onesiphorus Beale Ground Rent 13, Acre Land 10, Spare Land 7½, £ 3, s 0, d 6 Richard Beale Ground Rent 51, Acre Land 41, Spare Land 33½, £ 10, s 13, d 6 John Bagley Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 36, £ 9, s 0, d 0 Richard Bagley 3 Acres at 1s 6d P Acre Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 55, Spare Land 112, £ 30, s 4, d 6 Orlando Bagley Acres Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 20, Spare Land 29½, £ 8, s 8, d 9 Matthew Bazett 5½ at 1s P Acre Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 60, Spare Land 31½, £ 9, s 15, d 6 John Bazetts Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 89½, Spare Land 37, £ 13, s 4, d 6 Thomas Bazetts Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 15, Spare Land 14, £ 1, s 1, d 3 Carried over Ground Rent 424½, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 383, £ 111, s 8, d 6	the acres of land, the spare acres, and the sum in pounds, shillings and pence. John Alexander, acres 71.5, spare acres 46.5, £14 4s 6d Samuel Alexander, acres 34, spare acres 37.5, £11 1s 6d George Alexander, acres 28, spare acres 18, £4 18s 0d Margaret Alcock, 1.25 acres at 20s per annum, quit rent 20s, spare acres 24, £1 5s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, acres 13.10, spare acres 7.5, £3 0s 6d Richard Beale, acres 51, spare acres 33.5, £10 13s 6d John Bagley, spare acres 36, £0 9s 0d Richard Bagley, 3 acres at 1s 6d per acre, acres 55, spare acres 112, £30 4s 6d Orlando Bagley, acres 20, spare acres 29.5, £8 8s 9d Matthew Bazett, 5.5 acres at 1s per acre, acres 60, spare acres 31.5, £9 15s 6d John Bazett's orphans, acres 89.5, spare acres 37, £13 4s 6d Thomas Bazett's orphans, acres 15, spare acres 1.5, £1 1s 3d Carried over, acres 424.5, spare acres 383, £111 8s 6d Interpretations The quit rent was a fixed annual payment made by a tenant to the Company as lord of the soil in place of any services, a small sum acknowledging the Company's ultimate ownership while the tenant held and worked the land, here levied by the acre alongside the record of each holding. The distinction between land and spare acres separated the ground a planter actually cultivated or held under rent from the additional uncultivated acreage attached to his holding, the two figures together fixing both the extent of each planter's estate and the rent due upon it, so that the roll served at once as a register of landholding and as the instrument of the yearly revenue.
51	46	Ground Rent, Acre Land, Spare Land, £, s, d Brought Over Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 424½, Spare Land 383, £ 111, s 8, d 6 William Barnham's Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 29, Spare Land 14, £ 4, s 19, d 0 John Bland Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 13½, £ 3, s 16, d 9 John Clark 3 at 1s P Acre Ground Rent 36, Acre Land 153, Spare Land 33, £ 20, s 1, d 6 Thomas Cotgrave Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 3, Spare Land 83, £ 21, s 0, d 0 Thomas Clew Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0 Samuel Doveton's Orpt 2½ at 1s 6d P Acre Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 112½, Spare Land 8, £ 7, s 4, d 0 John Doveton Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 36½, Spare Land 4, £ 4, s 11, d 6 Jonathan Doveton 2½ at 1s 6d P Acre Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 63, Spare Land 11, £ 5, s 3, d 3 Isaac Doveton Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 77½, Spare Land 9½, £ 6, s 3, d 3 Joseph Desfountains Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 20, Spare Land 37, £ 13, s 5, d 0	The rent roll continued, giving for each planter the quit rent, the acres of land, the spare acres, and the sum in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, acres 424.5, spare acres 383, £111 8s 6d William Barnham's orphans, acres 29, spare acres 14, £4 19s 0d John Bland, acres 15.5, spare acres 3, £16 9d John Clark, 3 acres at 1s per acre, quit rent 3s, acres 153, spare acres 33, £20 1s 6d Thomas Cotgrave, acres 3, spare acres 63, £21 0s 0d Thomas Clew, acres 2, £0 10s 0d Samuel Doveton's orphans, 9.25 acres at 1s 6d per acre, acres 112.5, spare acres 8, £7 4s 0d John Doveton, acres 36.5, spare acres 1, £11 6d Jonathan Doveton, 2.5 acres at 1s 6d per acre, acres 63, spare acres 11, £5 3s 3d Isaac Doveton, acres 77.5, spare acres 9.5, £6 3s 3d Joseph Desfountain's orphans, acres 20, spare acres 37, £13 5s 0d Elizabeth Desfountain, acres 11, spare acres 2, £13 0d John Desfountain, acres 93.5, spare acres 146, £12 9d Thomas Easthope, acres 23, spare acres 44, £12 3s 0d Michael Frost, quit rent 15s, £15 0d John Goodwin, 15 acres at 1s 6d per acre, and 3 acres at 1s per acre, quit rent 19s, acres 55.5, spare acres 46, £11 8s 8d Richard Goodwin, acres 164.5, spare acres 27, £9 1s 6d

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		Elizabeth Desfountain Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 11, £ 2, s 15, d 0 John Desfountain Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 93½, Spare Land 146, £ 12, s 0, d 9 Thomas Easthope Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 23, Spare Land 44, £ 12, s 3, d 0 Michael Frost Ground Rent 15s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 13, d 0 John Goodwin 15½ at 2s Acres 3 at 1s 6d P Acre Ground Rent 45, Acre Land 55½, Spare Land 46, £ 11, s 3, d 8 Richard Goodwin Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 16½, Spare Land 27, £ 9, s 1, d 6 Thomas Greentree 3 3½ at 1s P Acre Ground Rent 9, Acre Land 55, Spare Land 60, £ 16, s 6, d 6 James Greentree Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 18, Spare Land 35, £ 16, s 3, d 0 Onesiphorus Gurling's Orphans 9 at 1s 6d P Acre Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 23, Spare Land 9, £ 1, s 16, d 6 Richard Gurling's Orphans 6½ at 1s 6d P Acre Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 16, Spare Land 36, £ 8, s 7, d 10½ Gabriel Harper's Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 22, Spare Land 26, £ 12, s 12, d 0 Thomas Harper's Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 13½, £ 3, s 6, d 3 Thomas Hayes Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 30, Spare Land 4, £ 2, s 10, d 0 Thomas Harper Senr Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 19, Spare Land 38, £ 10, s 9, d 0 Martin Harper's Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 33½, Spare Land 45, £ 11, s 0, d 10 Thomas Harper Senr Ground Rent 15s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 0 Richard Harper 6 at 1s 6d P Acre Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 17½, Spare Land 3, £ 3, s 12, d 3 Gabriel Isacke Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0 Elisha Isacke Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 23, Spare Land 5, £ 2, s 10, d 0 Mary Jarvis Ground Rent 15s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0 Thomas Kirkpatrick Ground Rent 22s, Acre Land 21, Spare Land 14½, £ 7, s 2, d 6 Isaac Knife Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 16½, £ 4, s 0, d 0 Samuel Knipe Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 38½, Spare Land 17½, £ 6, s 6, d 3 William Kennedy Ground Rent 15s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 13, d 0 Eleanor Leek Ground Rent 12s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 12, d 0 John Leech Senr	Thomas Greentree, 33.25 acres at 1s per acre, quit rent 9s, acres 55, spare acres 60, £16 6s 6d James Greentree, acres 18, spare acres 35, £16 3s 0d Onesiphorus Gurling's orphans, 9 acres at 1s 6d per acre, acres 23, spare acres 9, £1 16s 6d Richard Gurling's orphans, 6.25 acres at 6s per acre, acres 16, spare acres 36, £8 7s 10.5d Gabriel Harper's orphans, acres 22, spare acres 46, £12 12s 0d Thomas Harper's orphans, acres 13.5, spare acres 3, £6 3s 0d Thomas Hayes' orphans, acres 30, spare acres 4, £2 10s 0d Thomas Harper, junior, acres 19, spare acres 38, £10 9s 0d Martin Harper's orphans, acres 33.5, spare acres 45, £4 10s 0d Thomas Harper, senior, quit rent 15s, £10 0d Richard Harper, 6 acres at 1s 6d per acre, acres 17.5, spare acres 3, £12 3s 0d Gabriel Isaacke, acres 8, spare acres 2, £6 0d Elisha Isaacke, acres 23, spare acres 5, £2 10s 0d Mary Jarvis, quit rent 19s, £19 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, quit rent 22s, acres 21, spare acres 14.5, £7 2s 6d Isaac Knipe, acres 16, spare acres 4, £4 0d Samuel Knipe, acres 38.5, spare acres 17.5, £6 6s 3d William Kennedy, quit rent 15s, £13 0d Eleanor Leek, quit rent 12s, £12 0d John Leech, senior, spare acres 36, £9 0d John Leech, junior, quit rent 4s, £4 0d Bridget Leek, quit rent 2s 6d, £2 6d Mary Mason, acres 13.5, spare acres 2, £2 0d Carried over, acres 1,321.5, spare acres 1,235.5, £321 14s 2d Interpretations The frequent entries for orphans, holding land in the name of deceased planters' children, show the Company keeping the family holdings intact and on the rent roll through the minority of the heirs, the estates continuing to be assessed and taxed in the orphans' name rather than reverting or being redistributed on a tenant's death. The varying rates recorded against particular parcels, ranging from 1s to 6s an acre, indicate that the rent turned on the quality or use of the ground and the terms of the individual lease rather than on a flat charge, so that the roll reflected a graded assessment of land of differing value across the island's valleys.

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		Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 36, £ 9, s 0, d 0 John Leek Junr Ground Rent 4s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 4, d 0 Bridget Leek Ground Rent 2s 6d, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 2, d 6 Mary Mason Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 15½, £ 3, s 12, d 0 Carried over Ground Rent 1321½, Acre Land 1235½, Spare Land 521, £ 0, s 0, d 142	
52	47	Ground Rent, Acre Land, Spare Land, £, s, d Brought Over Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 1521½, Spare Land 1235½, £ 381, s 0, d 10½ Benjamin Mason Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 17½, £ 4, s 7, d 6 Robert Mason Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0 William Moore Ground Rent 5s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 5, d 0 James Powell Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 30, Spare Land 28½, £ 8, s 14, d 2 Matthew Purling 6½ at 1s P Acre Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 133½, Spare Land 67½, £ 22, s 3, d 9 Benjamin Pledger's Orpt 3 at 1s P Acre Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 5, Spare Land 18¾, £ 4, s 15, d 9 William Paddom Ground Rent 26, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 7½, £ 2, s 0, d 0 John Pritchard Ground Rent 10s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 0 William Seale 3½ at 1s 6d P Acre Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 7, Spare Land 44, £ 10, s 7, d 9 John Seale Ground Rent 10s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 0 Benjamin Seale Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 7½, £ 1, s 16, d 3 John Seale's Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 10, Spare Land 7½, £ 2, s 7, d 6 Charles Steward Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 30½, Spare Land 60, £ 16, s 10, d 3 Nathan Sample Ground Rent 10s, Acre Land 25, Spare Land 8½, £ 3, s 17, d 6 William Turner Ground Rent 7s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 7, d 0 James Torbett Ground Rent 24s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 1, s 4, d 0 John Twaites Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 9, Spare Land 38½, £ 10, s 1, d 6 John Worrall Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 42½, £ 10, s 12, d 6 Francis Wrangham Senr Ground Rent 46, Acre Land 216½, Spare Land 141, £ 50, s 7, d 1½	The rent roll continued, giving for each planter the quit rent, the acres of land, the spare acres, and the sum in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, acres 1,321.5, spare acres 1,235.5, £321 0s 10.5d Benjamin Mason, acres 17.5, spare acres 4, £7 6d Robert Mason, acres 2, £0 10s 0d William Moore, quit rent 5s, £5 0d James Powell, acres 30, spare acres 28.5, £8 14s 2d Matthew Purling, 6.25 acres at 1s per acre, acres 133.5, spare acres 67.5, £22 3s 9d Benjamin Pledger's orphans, 3 acres at 1s per acre, acres 5, spare acres 18.25, £4 15s 9d William Paddom, quit rent 26s, acres 7.5, spare acres 2, £10 0d John Pritchard, quit rent 10s, £10 0d William Seale, 3.5 acres at 1s 6d per acre, acres 7, spare acres 44, £10 7s 9d John Seale, quit rent 10s, £10 0d Benjamin Seale, acres 7.5, spare acres 1, £16 3d John Seale's orphans, acres 10, spare acres 7.5, £2 7s 6d Charles Steward, acres 30.5, spare acres 60, £16 10s 3d Nathan Sample, quit rent 10s, acres 25, spare acres 8.5, £3 17s 6d William Turner, quit rent 7s, £7 0d James Torbett, quit rent 24s, £1 4s 0d John Swaites' orphans, acres 9, spare acres 38.5, £10 1s 6d John Worrall, acres 4, spare acres 24, £10 12s 6d Francis Wrangham, senior, acres 196, spare acres 216.5, £44 30s 7s 1.5d Francis Wrangham, junior, 6 acres at a pepper corn, acres 39, spare acres 6, £1 19s 0d Joshua Worrall's orphans, quit rent 30s, acres 31, spare acres 33, £9 16s 0d Simon Whaley's orphans, acres 10, £0 10s 0d Joseph Whaley's orphans, acres 1.5, spare acres 23.5, £5 17s 11d Stephen Young, acres 10, spare acres 8.5, £2 12s 6d William Young, quit rent 5s, acres 79.5, spare acres 25, £10 9s 6d Total, acres 2,199, spare acres 1,825.5, £563 13s 4d Interpretations The lease of six acres to Francis Wrangham, junior, at a rent of a single peppercorn shows the peppercorn rent in its literal use, a nominal payment demanded to keep a tenancy legally alive without charging its true value, the token acknowledging the Company's title while the land was effectively granted for nothing. The great disparity across the roll, from Wrangham senior's holding assessed at over £44 down to peppercorn and few-shilling entries, maps the concentration of land on the island, a handful of established families holding extensive acreage while many others held only small parcels, the yearly revenue of £563 falling most heavily on the largest planters.

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		Francis Wrangham Junr 2 at a pepper Corn Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 39, Spare Land 6, £ 1, s 19, d 0 Joshua Worrall's Orphans Ground Rent 30, Acre Land 31, Spare Land 33, £ 9, s 16, d 0 Simon Whaley's Orphans Ground Rent 10s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 0, £ 0, s 10, d 0 Joseph Whaley's Orphans Ground Rent 0, Acre Land 1½, Spare Land 23½, £ 5, s 17, d 11 Stephen Young Ground Rent 10s, Acre Land 0, Spare Land 8½, £ 2, s 12, d 6 William Young Ground Rent 5s, Acre Land 79½, Spare Land 25, £ 10, s 9, d 6 Total£ Ground Rent 219 9s, Acre Land 1625½, Spare Land 563, £ 13, s 4, d 0	
53	48	Messrs Francis Wrangham Senr and Onesiphorus Beale presented the following Answer to the Paper of Mr Adamsons of Monday last. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor &ca Council of St Helena. Vindication of the reasonableness of the Representation that was laid before the Governor and Council on the 27th of last Month and the Grievance therein Complained of, and also a proof of the Injustice done us by Mr Adamson Lieutenant Governor in aspersing our Characters with the Odium of being Lyars and Litigious People, not knowing our own property. That the Representation is Just reasonable and no ways Litigious will appear plain from a Strict Survey of the place, for it is clear to any Impartial Judge, that the Wall which is built, and the Bank that is cut down (we Suppose by Order of Mr Adamson as he has taken upon him to Answer our Representation) can be of no Service, and will in us wise Answer the ends he purposes by it, as is set forth in his Answer to our said Representation, for any Person that is not lame, may almost as easily pass along the Channel, that is without the said Wall and Bank, if he is not afraid of Wetting the soles of his Shoes, as upon the Bank before the Wall was built, consequently his intent of stopping any Communication that way will prove ineffectual, especially, as it is to be supposed, that People when they are desperate enough to be bent upon an evil design will not stop for fear of any damage that may accrue from Wetting their Feet. We must here inform you Gentlemen that the labour and expence, of turning the Water out of its former Channel (which was very inconvenient as it lay too near the back of the Houses) and cutting a new one close to the Hill was entirely between five people Namely, Jonathan Doveton Charles Steward, John Goodwin, Richard Goodwin & Francis Wrangham Margin Notes: Fran Wrang	Francis Wrangham, senior, and Onesiphorus Beale presented the following answer to Adamson's paper of Monday last, addressed to Governor Hutchinson and the council of St Helena. They headed their reply a vindication of the reasonableness of the representation laid before the governor and council on 27 September, of the grievance complained of, and a proof of the injustice done them by Adamson in charging them with being liars and litigious people who did not understand their own property. They argued that the representation was just and reasonable and in no way litigious, as would appear plain from a strict survey of the place. It was clear to any impartial judge that the wall which had been built, and the bank which had been cut down, they supposed by Adamson's order, could be of no service to the purpose he claimed in his answer. Any person not lame might easily pass along the channel without the wall and bank, if he were not afraid of wetting the soles of his shoes, as he would have been upon the bank before the wall was built. Consequently Adamson's intent of stopping any communication that way would prove ineffectual, especially as those disposed to trespass were desperate enough to be bent upon an evil design and would not stop for fear of any damage from wetting their feet. They further informed the council that the labour and expense of turning the water out of its former channel, which was very inconvenient as it lay too near the back of the houses, and cutting a new one close to the hill, was entirely between a few people, namely Jonathan Doveton, Charles Steward, John Goodwin, Richard Goodwin and Francis Wrangham, who... Interpretations The petitioners met Adamson's defence of the wall as a barrier against trespass by arguing that it served no such purpose, since anyone determined to cross could still pass along the channel, so that the obstruction fell only on the lawful users while failing to stop the wrongdoers, an argument aimed at showing the wall pointless as security and therefore explicable only as an injury to themselves. Their disclosure that the diversion of the watercourse had been carried out and paid for by a named group of planters, themselves among them, went to the heart of the ownership dispute, since if the tenants had made and funded the channel it strengthened their claim to a right in it against Adamson's assertion that the ground and the work were the Company's.
54	49	Who voluntarily agreed to do it, at their own charge, as all the back Ground without the Channel was entirely useless until this was done, Therefore does it not appear	The petitioners continued that these people had voluntarily agreed to do the work at their own charge, as all the back ground beyond the channel was entirely

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		very unreasonable that these very people or any of them Should be deprived of the Conveniency of the Water out of the said Channel, especially, as they had the leave of the then Governor and Council for what they did. That Mr Adamson is mistaken with regard to what he alledges concerning the Water not being conveyed into our Yards behind the back Buildings of the House that he now Inhabits We appeal to any Single Person or more, that the Governor & Council Shall think proper to enquire of It being likewise expressed in the Tenor of the Lease now in the possession of Francis Wrangham Senr that he is to enjoy all the Appurtenances belonging to the said Ground, consequently, the Water Watercourse, and Bank must be included as they are the greatest Conveniences and Should be looked upon as apart of the Appurtenances, besides the drains are now to be seen in the said Walls through which the Water was Conveyed, therefore Mr Adamson saying that we have not Strictly adhered to the Truth, is certainly Groundless, as we dare say will appear to you Gentlemen, and to every other impartial Judge; And as to his saying that it was thought necessary by the Governor to make that French Fender in case of Floods, we must agree that it is very reasonable so to do, but must acquaint you that that part of the Bank that he has cut away to our prejudice is too low down to occasion any Injury to the Buildings which lie above it, and consequently, can Answer no other end than the depriving us of the Water, which is the only thing that makes these Grounds of any Value to us, He likewise says that he has been at some pains to prevent the Water Sinking through a Pond that was formerly in his Yard, that we might have the benefit of what passed him, but this does not appear to us as we are certain that he has done it too deep so that the bottom of it reaches down to the low Gravel that was thrown there when the House was built, which instead of Stopping it, what he had done must Sink it Stle more. Mr Adamson	useless until this was done. It did not appear unreasonable, therefore, that these very people, or any of them, should be deprived of the convenience of the water out of the channel, especially as they had the leave of the then governor and council for what they did. They argued that Adamson was mistaken concerning the water not being conveyed into their yards behind the back buildings of the house he now inhabited, and appealed to any person the governor and council thought proper to enquire of. From the terms of the lease now in the possession of Wrangham, it was clear that he was to enjoy all the appurtenances belonging to the ground, and consequently the water and watercourse must be included, as they were the greatest conveniences and should be looked upon as part of the appurtenances. Besides, the drains were still to be seen in the end walls through which the water was conveyed. Adamson's saying that they had not strictly adhered to the truth was therefore groundless, as would appear to the council and to every impartial judge. As to Adamson's saying that it was thought necessary by the governor to make the French drain in case of floods, the petitioners agreed it was very reasonable to do so, but informed the council that the part of the bank he had cut away, to their prejudice, was too low down to occasion any injury to the buildings which lay above it, and consequently could answer no other end than depriving them of the water, which was the only thing that made those grounds of any value to them. As to Adamson's saying that he had been at some pains to prevent the water sinking through a pond that was formerly in Wrangham's yard, so that they might have the benefit of what passed him, the petitioners stated this did not appear to them, as they were certain he had sunk it deeper, so that the bottom of it reached down to the loose gravel thrown there when the house was built, which instead of stopping it would make it sink still more. Interpretations The petitioners' answer rested squarely on the lease, arguing that a grant of all appurtenances necessarily carried the water and watercourse with it, and pointing to the physical drains in the walls as proof that the water had indeed once served the yards, so that both the words of the deed and the evidence on the ground were marshalled against Adamson's denial. Their claim that Adamson had cut the bank too low to protect any building, and had deepened the pond so as to make it drain rather than hold water, turned his own justifications against him, alleging that the works he called flood defence were in their effect and design nothing but a means of denying them the water on which the value of their back ground depended.
55	50	Mr Adamson says that Francis Wrangham Senr has not duly executed his Lease what he means by that is not easily understood unless he explains himself more clearly, if it is his not having Signed the Counterpart, he thinks that can no ways be his fault, as that is the Honorable Companys part, and consequently, should have been seen executed by the Governor and Council then residing, besides it is expressed in the said Francis Wrangham Senrs Lease that the Counterpart is Signed and Sealed, Or perhaps his meaning for what he says is because there is no House Standing upon that Ground on which the Sepsons house formerly Stood it being the Condition of the Lease for the said Ground that there should be one built in a Convenient time, this Reason may as easily be removed as the former, for it is well known that there was almost all the Materials ready for building a Substantial House, And to the Disappointment of the said Francis Wrangham, Mr Goodwin who was then Governor used most of the Deals upon the Honorable Companys Account, which is	The petitioners turned to Adamson's charge that Wrangham had not duly executed his lease, stating that what Adamson meant by this was not easily understood unless he explained himself more clearly. If it was his not having signed the counterpart, they thought that could in no way be Wrangham's fault, as that was the Honourable Company's part and should have been executed by the governor and council then holding office. Besides, it was stated in Wrangham's lease that the counterpart was signed and sealed. Or perhaps Adamson's meaning was that there was no house standing upon the ground on which Jepson's house formerly stood, it being a condition of the lease for that ground that a house should be built within a convenient time. This reason, they argued, might as easily be removed as the former, for it was well known that almost all the materials were ready for building a substantial house, and that but for the disappointment caused by Goodwin, then governor, who took most of the deals upon the Honourable Company's account,

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		the Reason that the House was not built according to his Intentions, nevertheless there are Several Rooms erected upon it like there can be another opportunity of executing that part of the said Lease. Mr Adamson likewise asperses us with the Characters of being Litigious, and not knowing our own property, this we believe we can prove to be as groundless as the former, of not adhering Strictly to the Truth, Mr Francis Wrangham first begs leave to acquaint your Worship and Council that he is now in the Seventieth Year of his Age, all which time he has lived upon this Island with reputation as some of the Gentlemen that are now in the direction are in part Judges, And thinks it is very hard usage at his time of life to be reduced to the necessity of appearing before a Court of Justice, to Defend his Character which was never called in question before as will appear from a Scrutiny into your books where if it has it must certainly appear, I have likewise the pleasure to say that I believe	the house would have been built according to Wrangham's intention. Several rooms had nevertheless been erected upon it, and there could be another opportunity of executing that part of the lease. The petitioners then answered Adamson's charge of being litigious and not understanding their own property, which they believed they could prove as groundless as the former charge of not adhering strictly to the truth. Wrangham first begged leave to acquaint the council that he was now in the seventieth year of his age, all which time he had lived upon the island with as much reputation as some of the gentlemen now in the direction. He thought it very hard usage at his time of life to be reduced to the necessity of appearing before a court of justice to defend his character, which had never been called in question before, as would appear from a search into the council's books, where, if it had, it would certainly appear. He had likewise the pleasure to say that he believed... Interpretations Wrangham's defence to the forfeiture charge split Adamson's two possible meanings and answered each, arguing that the unsigned counterpart was the Company's own default and not the tenant's, and that the failure to build was caused by the then governor Goodwin diverting the timber, so that in both branches the fault lay with the Company's own officers rather than with him, a defence that turned the conditions of the lease back upon those who administered it. The appeal to the council's own books as the record that would show whether his character had ever been impugned reflects the same reliance on the written archive seen throughout the dispute, the consultation records treated as the authoritative and searchable memory of the settlement against which a man's standing could be tested.
56	51	I believe my Name will very seldom be found in any Cases of Dispute, having a Regard to the length of time I have lived upon this place; Mr Onesiphorus Beale likewise begs leave to acquaint you he does not know in what he has been so unhappy as to deserve the said Aspersions, and thinks it very unreasonable that Mr Adamson should say that he is not acquainted with what is his own without bringing some Reason for what he alledges, as he has done by Mr Wrangham. Therefore we hope that the Reasons here laid down will appear Sufficient for the representation that was given in on the 27th of last Month, and that the Aspersions cast upon us by Mr Adamson are entirely Groundless We are Gentlemen Your most Obedient & most humble Servants (Signed) Fran Wrangham Ones Beale St Helena 11th October 1756. Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Wrangham stated that he believed his name would very seldom be found in any cases of dispute, having regard to the length of time he had lived upon the island. Onesiphorus Beale likewise begged leave to acquaint the council that he did not know in what he had been so unhappy as to deserve the aspersions cast upon him, and thought it very unreasonable that Adamson should say he was not acquainted with what was his own without bringing some reason for what he alleged, as he had done by Wrangham. The petitioners therefore hoped that the reasons here laid down would appear sufficient to support the representation given in on 27 September, and that the aspersions cast upon them by Adamson were entirely groundless. The answer was dated at St Helena 11 October 1756 and signed by Francis Wrangham and Onesiphorus Beale. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
57	52	At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th day of October 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Dated the 11th October 1756. Saturday the 16th Died Margaret Whaley Spinster. This Day died Mary the daughter of John and Frances Bland Mr Francis Wrangham Senr being sent for to know what was his reasons for chusing the Yards to come in his Yard in the said Channel rather than through the Yards above him observed among some other talk, that his Daughter Mrs Alcock had acquainted him, that Mr Adamson Told her he had built the Wall between them	A consultation held on Monday 18 October 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 11 October 1756. Margaret Whaley, a spinster, died on Saturday 16 October. Mary, daughter of John and Frances Bland, died this day. Francis Wrangham, senior, being sent for to explain his reasons for wishing the water to come into his yard through the old channel rather than through the yards above him, stated that he had heard among other talk that his daughter, Mrs Alcock, had told him Adamson had said he had built the wall between them for her, but that it was more than he would have done for her father. Wrangham then asked Adamson what

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		for her, but it was more than he would have done for her Father, Mr Wrangham thereupon asked Mr Adamson what he had disoblged him in for he was conscious to himself he had never done any thing to affront him, after some further Discourse Mr Adamson said that Mr Kirkpatrick was present, and heard what he had said to Mrs Alcock about the Wall that was built to Stop up the passage the back way, Upon which the Governor sent for Mr Kirkpatrick, and desired he would declare what discourse passed between Mr Adamson and Mrs Alcock, who did as follows That being one Day by the Water Rien about repairing his back Wall, was Joined by Mrs Alcock, who after some talk said She heard that Mr Adamson had built a Wall and Stopp the passage behind the Houses, and desired him to Walk and look at it, which he did with her, And as they came near the place, one of the black men was throwing out some dirt to whom Mrs Alcock said pull down that Wall you Sir for if you dont I'll have it pulled down, Upon which Mr Adamson being near, stepped out of the back door, and said no, by God the Wall must not come down I have built it to stop that passage, And if that is not Sufficient, I'll have it made three feet	he had done to disoblge him, or in what he had been conscious to himself he had ever done anything to affront him. After some further discourse, Adamson said that Thomas Kirkpatrick was present and had heard what he had said to Mrs Alcock about the wall built to stop up the passage at the back way. The governor thereupon sent for Kirkpatrick and desired him to declare what discourse had passed between Adamson and Mrs Alcock, which he did as follows. Kirkpatrick stated that one day, by the watercourse, being about repairing his back wall, he was joined by Mrs Alcock, who after some talk told him she had heard that Adamson had built a wall and stopped the passage behind the houses, and desired him to walk and look at it, which he did with her. As they came near the place, one of the black men was throwing out some dirt, to whom Mrs Alcock said, pull down that wall, for if you do not, she would have it pulled down. Upon which Adamson, being near, stepped out of the back door and said no, by God the wall must not come down, he had built it to stop that passage, and if that was not sufficient he would make it three feet... Interpretations The inquiry moved here from the written pleadings to sworn oral testimony, the governor sending for a witness to what had actually been said and done at the wall, which shows the council supplementing the exchange of formal papers with direct examination of bystanders when the dispute turned on words spoken in the street rather than on the terms of a deed. Adamson's reported remark that he had built the wall for Mrs Alcock but would have done less for her father exposed a personal animus behind the ostensibly official flood works, the testimony being led to show that the wall sprang from private ill will toward Wrangham rather than from the public necessity Adamson had pleaded in his written answer.
58	53	feet higher, and if I catch any body going over it, I'll Send them to prison to which Mrs Alcock replied, suppose you should catch me Mr Adamson then said Oh! I'll take care of you, and carry you to my own House. The Governor observed to Mr Adamson that it was not him, who built the Wall between the great House, and Mrs Alcock, but the Honorable Company, Mr Adamson said he was sensible of it, and Told Mrs Alcock so. The Governor Told Mr Adamson that he had ordered the Wall that stopped the passage the back way to be built without his knowledge, and had made several alterations in the Yard belonging to the great House unknown to him, and that he had been informed that he Mr Adamson had employed William Richardson a Soldier, to take Plans of some of the Honorable Companys Fortifications without his being acquainted with it, which he believed, never was done in any place, where there was a Governor residing, Mr Adamson says that he believes there were only two drawn for him by Richardson One of which he believes was of the Works of Sandy Bay, and the other either of the Works of this Valley, or of those of Banks's, besides plans of Houses and Gardens, The Governor then asked Mr Adamson whether he had sent any of these plans of the Works to England, who Answered no, he had not, He then desired he would let him see them, he said he would bring them on Monday next, the Governor then requested he might see them sooner, and if possible by tomorrow, Mr Adamson replied that he did not know whether he had not mislaid them, but if he found them, the Governor should see them Mr Adamson the next day acquainted the Governor that he had looked for the Plans but could not immediately find them, but if he had any desire to Satisfy his curiosity, he understood that Mr Kirkpatrick had several Vizt The Attack of the Valley, the difence of the Valley,	Kirkpatrick continued that Adamson had said he would make the wall three feet higher, and that if he caught anybody going over it he would send them to prison, to which Mrs Alcock replied, suppose you should catch me. Adamson then said, oh, he would take care of her, and carry her to his own house. The governor observed to Adamson that it was not he who had built the wall between the great house and Mrs Alcock, but the Honourable Company. Adamson said he was sensible of it and had told Mrs Alcock so. The governor told Adamson that he had ordered the wall that stopped the passage at the back way to be built without his knowledge, and had made several alterations in the yard belonging to the great house unknown to him. He had also been informed that Adamson had employed William Richards, a soldier, to take plans of some of the Honourable Company's fortifications without his being acquainted with it, which he believed had never been done in any place where there was a governor residing. Adamson said he believed there were only two drawn for him by Richards, one of which he believed was of the works of Sandy Bay, and the other either of the works of the valley or of Banks's, besides plans of houses and gardens. The governor then asked Adamson whether he had sent any of those plans of the works to England, who answered no, he had not. He then desired he would let him see them, and said he would bring them on Monday next. The governor requested he might see them sooner, and if possible by tomorrow. Adamson replied that he did not know whether he had or had not mislaid them, but if he found them the governor should see them. Adamson the next day acquainted the governor that he had looked for the plans but could not immediately find them, but if he had any desire to

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		Sandy Bay Forts, Ruperts Fort, Banks's, & said regular Fortification, A draught of the new Barracks with an estimate of the expence, and that he had heard there were other people upon the Island had some, which he would endeavour to find out. Lieutenant	satisfy his curiosity, he had understood that Kirkpatrick had several, namely the attack of the valley, the defence of the valley, Sandy Bay forts, Rupert's Fort, Banks's and Lemon Valley regular fortification, a draught of the new barracks with an estimate of the expense, and that he had heard there were other people upon the island who had some, which he would endeavour to find out. Interpretations The quarrel over the wall opened suddenly onto a graver matter, the governor's discovery that Adamson had commissioned a soldier to draw plans of the island's fortifications without the governor's knowledge, a serious irregularity on a garrison island where the defences were secret and their surveying was the governor's own charge, so that an unauthorised set of drawings raised the spectre of espionage or at least of a lieutenant governor overreaching his authority. Adamson's reported quip that he would carry the trespassing Mrs Alcock to his own house, set beside his earlier remark that the wall was built for her rather than her father, deepened the record's suggestion of a personal entanglement driving the affair, the testimony assembling a portrait of private motive and improper conduct behind the official flood works.
59	54	Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on Board the Ship Earl of Holderness to Muster her Company, & enquire for Deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows vizt Muster Roll of the Ship Earl of Holderness. Robt Brooke Commander Wm Jonathan Curst 1 Mate Hugh Stackhouse 2 D^o James Simcocy 3 D^o Robt Bagley 4th D^o John Merryweather 5th D^o James Larimer Surgeon William Baker Purser Stephen Wilson Boatswain Thomas Neale Jun Gunner George Bowman Carpenter William Funk Coxswain Josph Buckman George Woodman Midship Wm Simcourt Roger Savage James Bewley Midship James Ebley Jonat Cobbin Thos Foster Quarter Masters Robt Watson John White John Sippell Capt Clerk Nich Lindsay Surg Mate James Lader Ships Steward Chrisr Smith Cooper Matteo Gundy Caulker James Palmer Carp 1 Mate Wm Coombe D^o 2 D^o Robt Frazier Boatn 2 D^o Wm Wm Davis Ships lock Wm Grig Armourer Henry Coaster Sailmaker John Grave Capt Stwd Wm Coffee D^o Cook Samuel Johnson John Wood 1 Charles Dollett Wm Gwyther John Sleight Lawr Braund Thos Ferguson John Wm Kinnors Wm Sinclair Samuel Stroud Robert Noakes	Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ship <i>Earl of Holderness</i> to muster her company and enquire for deserters, but found none, her muster roll being as follows. Robert Brooke, commander William Jonathan Curd, first mate Hugh Stackhouse, second ditto James Sinsany, third ditto Robert Sedgly, fourth ditto John Merryweather, fifth ditto James Larimer, surgeon William Baker, purser Stephen Wilson, boatswain Thomas Meale, ship's gunner George Bowman, carpenter William Tank, coxswain Joseph Buckman, midshipman George Woodman, midshipman William Somerset, midshipman Angus Savage, midshipman James Bewley, midshipman James Ebley, midshipman James Cobbin, midshipman Thomas Foster, quartermaster Robert Watson, quartermaster John White, quartermaster John Tippell, captain's clerk Nicholas Loudday, surgeon's mate James Lader, ship's steward Christopher Smith, cooper Matthew Gundy, cauker James Palmer, carpenter's first mate William Coombe, carpenter's second ditto Robert Frazier, boatswain's second ditto William Merrin, ship's cook William Grig, armourer Henry Cooster, sailmaker John Grance, captain's steward William Coffee, ditto cook Samuel Johnson John Wood Charles Dollett William Gwyther John Sleight Lawrence Braund Thomas Ferguson John William Kimores William Sinclair Samuel Stroud Robert Noakes Benjamin Curtis

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		Benj Curtis John Cambell Samuel Ramsay Abel Dixon John Davis Chas Brown George Nelson Adam Lthing Toney Romell Michael Matthews Hans Shralberg Alex Williamson Daniel Baker Cornels Yorone Andrew Matthews Peter Garfvet Wodh Hendrich Godlet Sloan Matthew Kest Chas Brown Timothy Wilson George Law John Kay Thos Williamson David Wood Robt Depstall Emd Sharp William Hawke Thos Jenkins Seaman John Windsor John George John Ernst William Andrews Gabriel Boye Wm Brook Peter Vanderweldon John Vaderberg John Roddall Fredk Fitzgerald Capt Thomas Walter Servants Bear Price 1 Mate D° Jos Richardson 2 D° Thos Tilbury Boatn D° John Wood 1 Gunner D° Wm Pearce 1 Carp D° James Duxten Surg D° John Johnson Seaman Francis Smith John Sort John Hanson Jasper Helmont Wm Scanburgh Jacob Videlia Passengers Samuel Harrison Esqr Charles Cross John Broxell	John Cambell Samuel Ramsay Abel Dixon John Davis Charles Brown George Nelson Adam Lthing Fancy Nowell Michael Matthews Hans Skalberg Alexander Williamson Daniel Baker Cornelius Yorone Andrew Matthews Peter Garfoot Woodroffe Hendrick Godlet Sloan Matthew Kest Charles Brown Timothy Wilson George Law John Kay Thomas Williamson David Wood Nicholas Depstall Edmund Sharp William Hashe Thomas Jenkins, seaman John Heinsor John George John Ernst William Andrews Gabriel Boye William Stroche Peter Vanderweldon John Vanderberg John Riddall Richard Fitzgerald, captain's servant Thomas Walter, ditto servant Benjamin Price, first mate's ditto John Richardson, second ditto Thomas Tilbury, boatswain's ditto John Wood, first gunner's ditto William Pearce, first surgeon's ditto James Dexter, surgeon's second ditto John Johnson, seaman Francis Smith John Scort John Hanson Jasper Helmont William Scanburgh Jacob Fidelia Samuel Harrison, passenger Charles Cross John Broxell
60	55	Samuel Harrison Esqr 444 to pay Seventy five pounds into the Honourable Companys Cash, which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honourable the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order ninety days after sight. Dated this Day Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Friday the 22 day of October 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Dated the 18th of October 1756. Capt Brooke sent us the following Letter vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr &ca Council of the Island St Helena	Samuel Harrison agreed to pay £75 into the Honourable Company's cash, which sum the council received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. A consultation held on Friday 22 October 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 18 October 1756. Captain Brooke sent the council the following letter, addressed to Governor Hutchinson and the council of St Helena. He set out that in his indent for stores, among other things, he had applied for six children of casks, which he found the council could

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		Gentlemen In my Indent for Stores Sundrs application (amongst other things) for Six Fathom of Cable and which I find you cannot very well spare, this is the Occasion of my begging before you that any accident happening to the Ship, where Iron work will be necessary to the Repairs, as I have not any Cable at present, may be of the utmost Consequence, and I therefore desire to have one Fathom for the use of the Ship only, I am Gentlemen Your most humble Servant (Signed) Robt Brooke Junr St Helena 22 Oct 1756.	very well spare. This was occasioned by his laying before them that any accident happening to the ship, where iron work would be necessary to the repairs, and as he had no tools at present, might be of the utmost consequence. He therefore desired to have one children of casks for the use of the forge only. The letter was dated at St Helena 22 October 1756 and signed by Robert Brooke. Interpretations The term children of casks appears to denote a set of nested or graduated casks packed one within another for shipment, the smaller within the larger, so that a request for a quantity of them meant the containers themselves rather than any contents. Brooke's stated reason, that he carried no iron tools and would need coal for the forge if the ship required repair at sea, points to the working smithy every East Indiaman carried for emergency ironwork, the fuel to fire it being a store he could obtain only from the island before sailing.
61	56	We acquainted Capt Brooke that we had not above 3 Chaldron of Coals left in the Honorable Companys Store, therefore it's very inconvenient to us, to spare him any, but as his necessity is great, we have agreed to let him have half a Chaldron. Messrs Francis Wrangham Senr & Onesiphorus Beale, presented the following paper vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena Gentlemen. In a Representation dated the 27th of last Month we Complained of the Water being prevented from coming into our back Yards by the Banks being cut away on which the Course was made to Convey it We here beg leave to offer you some reasons why we think it more convenient to have it as formerly, than as we have it now, after it has passed over several Yards before it comes to us, First because by that means we can have what Quantity we think, proper, (when there is enough) for the use of the Grounds in raising Plantain Trees and other necessaries which are very useful to the Honorable Companys Ships as well as our own Familys, Secondly by its being brought through other grounds before it comes to us we have it entirely upon Sufferance, and if there should happen to be a person of an ill natured turn of mind above us, there being many such in the World as most peoples own experience will testify, he may let in what quantity of Water will Suit his own use, and leave his Neighbours below to Shift for themselves as well as they can Our third and last reason is because these grounds are very porous, and Sink the Water so fast that it must make it very inconvenient to the Yards that lie uppermost to bring in a Sufficient quantity for those that are to reap the benefit of it after them, These we hope will appear Sufficient for our request and your Compliance will infinitely oblige Gentlemen Your most Obedient & most humble servants (Signed) Fran Wrangham Onesiphorus Beale St Helena October 1756.	The council informed Captain Brooke that it had not above three chaldron of coals left in the Honourable Company's stores, so that it was very inconvenient to spare him any, but as his necessity was great, it agreed to let him have half a chaldron. Francis Wrangham, senior, and Onesiphorus Beale presented the following paper, addressed to Governor Hutchinson and the council of St Helena. They recalled that in a representation dated 27 September they had complained of the water being prevented from coming into their back yards by the bank being cut away, on which the watercourse was made to convey it. They now begged leave to offer some reasons why they thought it more convenient to have the water as formerly, than as they had it now, after it had passed over several yards before it came to them. First, because by that means they could have what they thought proper, when there was enough, for the use of the grounds in raising plantain trees and other necessities which were very useful to the Honourable Company's ships as well as their own families. Secondly, because by its being brought through other grounds before it came to them, they had it entirely upon sufferance, and if there should happen to be a person of an ill natured turn of mind above them, there being many such in the world as most people's own experience would testify, he might let in what quantity of water would best serve his own use, and leave his neighbours below to shift for themselves as well as they could. Their third and last reason was because these grounds were very porous, and sank the water so fast that it must make it very inconvenient to the yards that lay uppermost to bring in a sufficient quantity for those that were to reap the benefit of it after them. They hoped these reasons would appear sufficient for their request, and would infinitely oblige them. The paper was dated at St Helena, October 1756, and signed by Francis Wrangham and Onesiphorus Beale. Interpretations The petitioners' central argument turned on the vulnerability of a downstream user who takes water only on sufferance, warning that once the supply ran first through a neighbour's ground an ill disposed man above them could divert it at will and leave them dry, a plain statement of why a direct and independent channel mattered more than one dependent on another's goodwill. Their mention of raising plantain trees useful to the Company's ships as well as their own families tied the private grievance to the island's provisioning function, the fruit grown in the watered yards helping to victual the East Indiamen, so that denying them the water touched not only their households but the supply of the ships the settlement existed to serve.

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<u>62</u>	57	John Watson Soldier applyed to us for his discharge from the Garrison, having Served the Honourable Company about two Years and an half, and having procured Gabriel Boay to Serve five Years, We for these Reasons have agreed to discharge the said Watson, and to enlist Boay without any Bounty Mony. Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark Having Considered the representation of Mr Francis Wrangham, and Mr Onesiphorus Beale, which is entred in Consultation of the 27th of September last, and the Answer made to it by Mr Adamson in Consultation of the 4th of this Month, as also the said Mr Beale's and Mr Wranghams Vindication of the reasonableness of their Representation, and having likewise weighed the several Circumstances mentioned in these and other papers, which by to the points in Controversy between them, I does not appear to me that there is any thing in this Representation that can give Just cause of Offence, They think themselves aggrieved, and whoever does so, has a right to complain, They therefore set forth, That a passage which they have had for many Years past to their back Yards has been kept, as is Evident by the Wall Mr Adamson has built, They likewise say that the cutting down a bank on which the Water was conveyed to their Yards, has been a detriment to them, There are few People however who think they will have as much Water in the present manner of carrying it, as they had before; and by what I can now Judge	John Watson, a soldier, applied to the council for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company about two and a half years and having procured Gabriel Boye to serve five years. For these reasons the council agreed to discharge Watson and to enlist Boye without any bounty money. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The governor, having considered the representation of Francis Wrangham and Onesiphorus Beale entered in the consultation of 27 September, and the answer made to it by Adamson in the consultation of 4 October, as well as Beale's and Wrangham's vindication of the reasonableness of their representation, and having likewise weighed the several circumstances mentioned in those and other papers relating to the points in controversy between them, gave his opinion. It did not appear to him that there was anything in the representation that could give just cause of offence. The petitioners thought themselves aggrieved, and whoever did so had a right to complain. They therefore set forth that a passage which they had had for many years past to their back yards had been stopped, as was evident by the wall Adamson had built, and likewise that the cutting down of a bank on which the water was conveyed to their yards had been to their detriment. There were few people, however, who thought they would have as much water in the present manner of carrying it as they had before, and by what the governor could now judge... Interpretations The governor's opinion opened by conceding the petitioners' standing to complain while withholding judgment on the merits, drawing the careful distinction that a sense of grievance entitled a man to be heard even if his claim should ultimately fail, which shows the council treating the right to petition as separate from the right to succeed. His observation that few thought the diverted channel would deliver as much water as the old one signalled the practical heart of the matter over the legal argument about leases and appurtenances, the governor weighing whether the works had in fact deprived the tenants of a real benefit rather than resting on the wording of the deeds alone.
<u>63</u>	58	Judge I should Imagine they may, whether it will be so or not, a little time will determine; There has been more of the Bank taken down to enlarge the Watercourse than I directed, by whom it was done I do not certainly know, But as I would by no means have a Single inhabitant deprived of any priviledge or Convenience (more especially, of those lately applied for and which they have long had and enjoyed) when there is not an absolute necessity, for doing it for a more general Good, And as in the present Case, the Publick, as well as their private, Benefit will be equally Answered, by pulling down the present Wall & Building another of about ten Feet long at a little distance from it, and placing a door in it as I always intended, and by permitting Mr Wrangham & Mr Beale to take up the Water from the main Rien in the manner they have requested, if they should find that will serve their purpose better, than by having it from the Channel through Mr Adamsons Yard, I am of Opinion that both these Should be done. And as to Mr Wranghams Lease upon Lives, which Mr Adamson says he has forfeited by not having regularly executed the Counterpart, and neglecting to erect a dwelling House, upon the Grounds where the Sepsons House Stood, The first was certainly an Omission in the then Governor and Council, who Should have seen him execute his part when they delivered him theirs, And it cannot reasonably be supposed, that Mr Wrangham should omit, (unless by forgetfullness) To do a thing which was his Interest to do, And as he has made it appear, that his Materials which he had collected for	The governor continued that he should imagine the tenants might have as much water, though whether they would or not, a little time would determine. There had been more of the bank taken down to enlarge the watercourse than he had directed, and by whom it was done he did not certainly know. He would by no means have a single inhabitant deprived of any privilege or convenience, more especially one lately applied for and which they had long had and enjoyed, when there was no absolute necessity, unless it was for a more general good. As in the present case, the public benefit as well as their private benefit would be equally answered by pulling down the present wall and building another about ten feet long at a little distance from it, and placing a door in it as he had always intended, and by permitting Wrangham and Beale to take up the water from the main run in the manner they had requested, if they should find that would serve their purpose better than taking it from the channel through Adamson's yard. The governor was of opinion that both these things should be done. As to Wrangham's lease upon lives, which Adamson said he had forfeited by not having regularly executed the counterpart, and by neglecting to build a dwelling house upon the ground where Jepson's house formerly stood, the governor held that the first was certainly an omission in the then governor and council, who should have seen him execute his part when they delivered him theirs. It could not reasonably be supposed that Wrangham should omit, unless through

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		Building, as his Lease directed, were taken and used, work was to him by Mr Goodwin when Governor, And that he has since endeavoured, tho ineffectually, to get more for that purpose, And being fully convinced that our Honble Masters are too indulgent to their Tenants to take any advantage of them, (even though the Law might allow it) as plainly appears by the 15th paragraph of their general Letter of the 20th of January 1745, where their great Lenity is remarkably shewn, By directing that Some of their Tenants that had Leases upon Lives	forgetfulness, to do a thing which was in his interest to do. As he had made it appear that the materials he had collected for building, as his lease directed, were taken and used, and work was taken by Goodwin when governor, that he had some endeavours to get more for that purpose. The governor was fully convinced that the Honourable Company's masters were too indulgent to their tenants to take any advantage of them, even though the law might allow it, as plainly appeared by the fifteenth paragraph of their general letter of 10 January 1745, where their great lenity was remarkably shown, by directing that some of their tenants who held leases upon lives... Interpretations The governor's ruling turned the dispute toward compromise, ordering the offending wall pulled down and rebuilt shorter with a door, and allowing the petitioners to draw water directly from the main run, so that the practical grievance was remedied without deciding the abstract question of right, the settlement resting on convenience and equity rather than on strict legal entitlement. A lease upon lives was a tenancy that ran not for a fixed term of years but for the lifetimes of named persons, ending only when the last of them died, a common form of secure landholding, and the governor's citation of the Directors' letter directing lenity toward such tenants shows him invoking the Company's own declared policy of indulgence to defeat Adamson's strict claim of forfeiture against Wrangham.
64	59	Lives and who had neglected to renew them, Should however be permitted to do it, it being their Intention that they Should be made easy in the possession of their property by a renewal of them if on the old Terms and Conditions, For these several foregoing Reasons, I am, of opinion that Mr Wranghams Lease will not by them be deemed forfeited. Cha Hutchinson At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th day of October 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed Dated the 22 October 1756. Yesterday died Samuel Falconer the Honorable Companys late Surgeon. D° Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Denham Captain George Weand. The Plantation, Gunners, and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this day brought which were examined and approved and are as follows vizt	The governor concluded that some of the tenants who held leases upon lives and had neglected to renew them should nevertheless be permitted to do so, it being the Directors' intention that they should be made easy in the possession of their property by a renewal of their leases upon the old terms and conditions. For these several foregoing reasons the governor was of opinion that Wrangham's lease would not by the Company be deemed forfeited. The opinion was signed by Charles Hutchinson. A consultation held on Monday 25 October 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 22 October 1756. Samuel Falconer, the Honourable Company's late surgeon, died the day before. The Honourable Company's ship <i>Denham</i> arrived, Captain George Meade. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month ending 11 October were this day brought in, examined and approved, and were as follows. Interpretations The governor's final ruling rested the whole matter on the Company's declared policy of indulgence rather than on the strict law of forfeiture, holding that the Directors' express wish to keep tenants secure in their holdings overrode any technical default in executing or renewing a lease, so that the settled intention of the Company to treat its tenants gently governed the outcome above the letter of the tenants' obligations. The death of Samuel Falconer, whose long resistance to being sent home and whose disputed debts had run through the consultations for months, closed that affair abruptly, the surgeon dying on the island he had fought to remain upon rather than departing on the ship he had at last been ordered to take.
65	60	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12th of September to the 11th of October 1756. Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Yearlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars,	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 September to 11 October 1756. The columns run: bulls, cows, calves, heifers, yearlings, steers, oxen and total under neat cattle; ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total under sheep; ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total under goats; sows, shoats, pigs, boars and total under hogs; fowls,

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		Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, She Ases, She Foes, Total Remaining the 12th: Bulls 4, Cows 84, Calves 89, Heifers 21, Yearlings 66, Steers 9, Oxen 13, Total 286, Ewes 372, Weathers 109, Lambs 202, Rams 7, Total 690, Ewes 181, Weathers 85, Kids 85, Rams 7, Total 358, Sows 6, Shoats 7, Pigs 7, Boars 1, Total 21, Fowls 117, Ducks 30, Turkeys 14, Geese 10, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, She Ases 2, She Foes 3, Total 5 Increased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 13, Rams 0, Total 13, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 8, Rams 0, Total 8, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 6, Boars 0, Total 6, Fowls 72, Ducks 7, Turkeys 8, Geese 6, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 84, Calves 91, Heifers 21, Yearlings 66, Steers 9, Oxen 13, Total 288, Ewes 372, Weathers 109, Lambs 215, Rams 7, Total 703, Ewes 181, Weathers 85, Kids 93, Rams 7, Total 366, Sows 6, Shoats 7, Pigs 13, Boars 1, Total 27, Fowls 189, Ducks 37, Turkeys 22, Geese 16, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, She Ases 2, She Foes 3, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 3, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 4, Weathers 8, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 15, Ewes 5, Weathers 9, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 15, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 19, Ducks 3, Turkeys 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 7, Weathers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 9, Ewes 3, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 11, Ducks 0, Turkeys 1, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 11, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, She Ases 0, She Foes 0, Total 0 Remaining the 11th: Bulls 4, Cows 84, Calves 89, Heifers 21, Yearlings 66, Steers 6, Oxen 13, Total 283, Ewes 361, Weathers 99, Lambs 312, Rams 7, Total 679, Ewes 173, Weathers 76, Kids 92, Rams 7, Total 348, Sows 6, Shoats 7, Pigs 13, Boars 1, Total 27, Fowls 159, Ducks 23, Turkeys 25, Geese 15, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, She Ases 2, She Foes 3, Total 5 Species changed: Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 57, Heifers 30, Yearlings 53, Steers 32, Oxen 17, Total 283, Ewes 387, Weathers 159, Lambs 90, Rams 7, Total 679, Ewes 227, Weathers 71, Kids 42, Rams 8, Total 348, Sows 8, Shoats 10, Pigs 7, Boars 2, Total 27, Fowls 159, Ducks 23, Turkeys 21, Geese 15, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, She Ases 2, She Foes 3, Total 5 Beef to the Holderness 560. 2 Goats for the Hospital. 7 Goats for the Sick Slaves. Good Yam for the Slaves 25160 Bad Yam for Stock 5600 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	ducks, turkeys and geese under poultry; horses, mares and total under horses; and she asses, he asses and total under asses. Remaining the 12th, neat cattle: bulls 4, cows 84, calves 89, heifers 21, yearlings 66, steers 9, oxen 13, total 286; sheep: ewes 372, wethers 109, lambs 202, rams 7, total 690; goats: ewes 181, wethers 85, kids 85, rams 7, total 358; hogs: sows 6, shoats 7, pigs 7, boars 1, total 21; poultry: fowls 117, ducks 30, turkeys 14, geese 10; horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15; asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Increased, calves 2, neat cattle total 2, lambs 13, sheep total 13, kids 8, goats total 8, pigs 6, hogs total 6, fowls 72, ducks 7, turkeys 8, geese 6 Total, neat cattle: bulls 4, cows 84, calves 91, heifers 21, yearlings 66, steers 9, oxen 13, total 288; sheep: ewes 372, wethers 109, lambs 215, rams 7, total 703; goats: ewes 181, wethers 85, kids 93, rams 7, total 366; hogs: sows 6, shoats 7, pigs 13, boars 1, total 27; poultry: fowls 189, ducks 37, turkeys 22, geese 16; horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15; asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Killed, heifers 3, neat cattle total 3, wethers 4, lambs 8, rams 3, sheep total 15, ewes 5, wethers 9, kids 1, goats total 15, poultry: fowls 19, ducks 3, turkeys 1 Died, calves 2, neat cattle total 2, ewes 7, lambs 2, sheep total 9, goats: kids 3, total 3, poultry: ducks 11, geese 1 Stole, poultry: ducks 11 Remaining the 11th, neat cattle: bulls 4, cows 84, calves 89, heifers 21, yearlings 66, steers 6, oxen 13, total 283; sheep: ewes 361, wethers 99, lambs 312, rams 7, total 679; goats: ewes 173, wethers 76, kids 92, rams 7, total 348; hogs: sows 6, shoats 7, pigs 13, boars 1, total 27; poultry: fowls 159, ducks 23, turkeys 25, geese 15; horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15; asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Species changed, neat cattle: bulls 4, cows 90, calves 57, heifers 30, yearlings 53, steers 32, oxen 17, total 283; sheep: ewes 387, wethers 159, lambs 90, rams 7, total 679; goats: ewes 227, wethers 71, kids 42, rams 8, total 348; hogs: sows 8, shoats 10, pigs 7, boars 2, total 27; poultry: fowls 159, ducks 23, turkeys 21, geese 15; horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15; asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Beef and stock were issued as follows. Beef to the Holderness, 560 2 goats for the hospital 7 goats for the sick slaves Good yams for the slaves, 25,160 Bad yams for stock, 5,600 Errors excepted, signed John Adamson. Interpretations The species changed line records a reclassification of the same animals rather than any movement of stock, the totals for each kind held identical to the remaining line while the internal figures shift, the calves regrouped as heifers, steers and oxen and the lambs as ewes and wethers, so that the herd was recounted by maturity as the young of the year were reckoned into their adult classes. The consumption of yams rose sharply over the month, above twenty-five thousand pounds issued to the slaves against nineteen thousand the month before, the increase falling in the southern-hemisphere spring as fresh planting and heavier field labour raised the ration, the root crop again carrying the main burden of feeding the enslaved workforce that imported grain could not.
66	61	Gunners Stores expended from the 12th of September to the 11th of October 1756. 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended 1756 Sept 22 Fodder for Scaling the Guns at Turks Cap Fodder for Scaling the Guns at Turks Cap: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 11.2	An account of gunner's stores expended from 12 September to 11 October 1756. The first columns record the number of guns fired and the weights of powder used, in pounds, at 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb charges, with the total powder expended in pounds and ounces.

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		23 D° for D° the Guns at Sandy Bay D° for D° the Guns at Sandy Bay: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 30.8 Oct 3 An Alarm An Alarm: 4 lb 6, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 2, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 12 6 Arrived the Holderness returned the Salute Arrived the Holderness returned the Salute: 4 lb 9, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 Powder for Priming Powder for Priming: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 1.8 D° for blowing Rocks at Plantation House D° for blowing Rocks at Plantation House: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 12 D° destroyed by the Ricks at Sandy Bay D° destroyed by the Ricks at Sandy Bay: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 1.7 D° for Shooting Goats at Ladder, and Woodins point Hills D° for Shooting Goats at Ladder, and Woodins point Hills: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 1.7 D° for the Funeral of John Prosser D° for the Funeral of John Prosser: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2.4 D° for D° D° of John Denny D° for D° D° of John Denny: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2.4 D° for the D° of Makepiece Woodington D° for the D° of Makepiece Woodington: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2.4 D° for the D° of Joseph Thompson D° for the D° of Joseph Thompson: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2.4 D° for Signals D° for Signals: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 6 D° Fired D° Fired: 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 48.2 Total: 4 lb 15, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 156.12 Paper for the use of the Castle 12 Qr D° for making great Gun Cartridges 40 Qr D° for making trunk 10 Qr Trunks broke with blowing D° 13 Tallow for greasing the Gun Carriages at the Outforts 20 lb D° for the use of the Carts 5 lb D° for the Long Boat 15 lb D° for the Pump 3 Lead Shot for Shooting Goats on Woodins point & Ladder Hills 2.11 Handspikes broke at Turks Cap 2 Bits broke at D° 3 Handspikes broke at Sandy Bay 1 Axeltrees broke at D° 1 Bits broke at D° 2	22 September, powder for scaling the guns at Turk's Cap, 11 lb 0 oz 23 September, powder for scaling the guns at Sandy Bay, 30 lb 8 oz 1 October, an alarm, guns 6, at 4 lb 2, at 2 lb 2, at 1 lb 2, powder 12 lb 0 oz 6 October, arrived the Holdernessee, returned the salute, guns 9, at 3 lb 9, powder 9 lb 0 oz Powder for priming, 1 lb 8 oz Powder for blowing rocks at Plantation House, 12 lb 0 oz Powder destroyed by the rocks at Sandy Bay, 1 lb 7 oz Powder for shooting goats at Ladder and Munden's Point hills, 1 lb 7 oz Powder for the funeral of John Prosser, 2 lb 4 oz Powder for the funeral of John Denny, 2 lb 4 oz Powder for the funeral of Makepiece Woodington, 2 lb 4 oz Powder for the funeral of Joseph Thompson, 2 lb 4 oz Powder for signals, 6 oz Powder for the fort, 48 lb 0 oz Total, guns 15, at 4 lb 2, at 3 lb 9, at 2 lb 2, at 1 lb 2, powder 136 lb 12 oz Further gunner's stores were expended as follows. Paper for the use of the castle, 12 quires Paper for making great gun cartridges, 40 quires Paper for making trunk, 10 quires Corks broke with blowing rocks, 13 Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at the outforts, 20 lb Tallow for the use of the corks, 5 lb Tallow for the long boat, 15 lb Tallow for the pumps, 3 lb Lead shot for shooting goats on Munden's Point and Ladder hills, 2 lb 11 oz Handspikes broke at Turk's Cap, 2 Bits broke at Turk's Cap, 3 Wedges broke at Sandy Bay, 1 Axeltrees broke at Sandy Bay, 1 Bits broke at Sandy Bay, 2 Interpretations Scaling the guns meant firing them with a light powder charge and no shot to clear rust, scale and fouling from the bore, a routine maintenance of the ordnance at the outlying batteries of Turk's Cap and Sandy Bay accounted apart from the salutes and alarms. The large charge of powder spent blowing rocks at Plantation House and Sandy Bay shows the gunner's stores turned to quarrying and clearance work, the same munition that armed the forts being used to break stone for building and to clear ground, so that the island's military powder served its civil engineering as readily as its defence. Powder was again drawn for four soldiers' funerals within the month, the honours for the garrison's dead entered as a regular charge on the ordnance stores alongside the working expenditure of the guns.
67	62	Spunge Staves for repairing the Spunges at the out Forks 13 Spunge Heads for D° 10	Further gunner's stores were expended as follows. Sponge staves for repairing the sponges at the outforts, 13 Sponge heads for the outforts, 10

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		Rammer Heads for D^o 7 Sheep Skins for D^o 20 Trunk Nails for D^o 3580 (Signed) Thos Hall Sundrys expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11th October 1756. 22 Bottles Port Wine 1 9 9½ 31 Lisbon 2 1 11½ 10 Madeira 1 1 4½ 22 Mountain 1 9 9½ 66 Arrack 2 4 . 48 Beer . 10 . 317 Flour 1 19 9½ 309 Beef 3 17 3 263½ Mutton 7 11 6½ 3 Lambs 1 10 . 1 Head . 3 . 99 Goat 1 13 . 19 Fowls 1 8 6 5 Ducks . 4 6 1 Goose . 5 . 3 pieces Salt Pork . 6 . 2 pieces Salt Beef . 5 6 37½ Butter 1 17 9 105 Candy 1 10 7½ £ 31 10 7 NB A Dinner for the Honorable Companys Servants, and Inhabitants, as usual, on paying their Rents, included in this Account.	Rammer heads for the outforts, 7 Sheep skins for the outforts, 20 Trunk nails for the outforts, 3,580 Signed, Thomas Hall. An account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 October 1756. 22 bottles port wine, £1 9s 9.5d 31 bottles Lisbon wine, £2 1s 11.5d 10 bottles Madeira, £1 1s 4.5d 22 bottles mountain wine, £1 9s 9.5d 66 bottles arrack, £2 4s 0d 48 gallons beer, £0 10s 0d 317 lb flour, £1 19s 9.5d 309 lb beef, £3 17s 3d 263.5 lb mutton, £7 11s 6.5d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 1 head, £0 5s 0d 99 lb goat, £1 13s 0d 19 fowls, £1 8s 6d 5 ducks, £0 4s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 3 pieces salt pork, £0 6s 0d 2 pieces salt beef, £0 5s 6d 37.5 lb butter, £1 17s 9d 105 lb candy, £1 10s 7.5d Total, £31 10s 7d A dinner for the Honourable Company's servants and inhabitants, as usual, on paying their rents, was included in this account. Interpretations The note that a dinner for the Company's servants and inhabitants on rent day was folded into the ordinary table account shows the annual collection of rents marked by a communal feast at the Company's charge, the settlement turning the yearly reckoning of dues into an occasion of hospitality that bound tenants and officers together, the cost absorbed into the running expenses of the governor's table.
68	63	The Ship Denham brought us the following Supply from Bengale vizt Invoice of Ship Denham vizt WC, N 1 to 2, Wax Candles 2 Chests P Factory M ds at Co 2 ds P M 210 FR, N 1 to 66, Fine Rice 66 Bags P 130 Bar Wt 130 P P Rr 171 10 9 Batta 8 P Cent 13 15 9 100 10 6 P, N 1 to 10, Paddy 10 Bags P 15 P Std at 1 20 P C 10 Doos, 5, Dosetties 1 Bale P 70 P at Co Rr P Large 210 Charges Merchandize 16 12 9 226 12 9 142 Gunny Bags and Packing 21 1 6 665 7 3 2 Empty Chests and Packages 7 5 3 Moataus and Sircars	The ship <i>Denham</i> brought the following supply from Bengal. Wax candles, 2 chests, factory made, at 105 rupees per maund, 210 Fine rice, 66 bags, 134 bazaar maunds at 1 rupee 30 annas per maund, 174.10.9 Batta, 8 per cent, 13.15.9 189.10.6 Paddy, 10 bags, 15 maunds at 1 rupee 20 annas per candy, 10 Doreas, 1 bale, 70 pieces at 60 rupees per corge, 210 Charges merchandize: 16.12.9 226.12.9 142 gunny bags and packing, 21.1.6 2 empty chests and packages, 7.5.3 mootahs and salewar, 3.4 embaling doreas, 23.3.6 sloop hire, 33 boat hire, 1.1.3 68.15.6 Total, current rupees, 751.6.9

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		3 4 . Embaling Dosetties 23 3 6 Sloop hire 33 . Boat hire 1 1 3 68 15 6 Current Rupees 734 6 9 Errors Excepted (Signed) Paul Richard Bearke Acct Captain Meard acquainted the Governor in a Letter when his Ship was to Windward of the Island, that there was on Board five Deserters, recruits that were going to India in the Ship <i>Chesterfield</i>, which got on Board them when he was at Madagascar, whom we received and Droughted into the several Companies, Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on Board the Ship <i>Denham</i> to Muster her Company, which is as follows vizt Muster Roll	Errors excepted, signed Paul Richard Bearkes, accountant. Captain Meade acquainted the governor in a letter, when his ship was to windward of the island, that there were on board five deserters, recruits that were going to India in the ship <i>Chesterfield</i>, which got on board her when he was at Madagascar. These were received and drafted into the several companies. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the <i>Denham</i> to muster her company, which was as follows. Interpretations Doreas were a fine cotton cloth woven in Bengal, typically striped or checked muslin, forming part of the range of Indian piece goods carried in the Company's trade, and were reckoned here by the corge, a standard unit of twenty pieces used across the Indian textile trade. The five deserters carried aboard the <i>Denham</i> were recruits raised in England for the Company's Indian service who had absconded from their outbound ship the <i>Chesterfield</i> at Madagascar, and their being drafted into the St Helena garrison shows the island absorbing stray military manpower that came its way, the deserters put to use in the companies rather than returned or punished, a small remote garrison taking what soldiers it could get.
69	64	Muster Roll of Ship <i>Denham</i>. George Meard Commander Daniel Drofey 1 Mate Archibald Frazier 2 D° Hugh Duff 3 D° Thomas Morris 4 D° Godfrey Jones Surgeon George Reard Jun Purser John Baker Boatswain John Johnston Gunner Robt Shipman Midship John Long D° John Leach Cooper Jacob Thomas Quarter Master William Horrill D° Walter Plack D° Steph Jarvis Ships Stwd William Watson Capt D° Thomas Hooker Butcher John Hook Barber Philip Blankman Surg Mate Robt Armstrong Boatn 1 Mate Caron Smith Capt D° John Naph Seaman Daniel Bruce D° Wm Kay D° William Henderson D° John Bristol D° John Titchell D° John Ferry Seaman Matthew Roue Ships lock Lin Gregory Lascar James Roberts D° Silvestn D'Rosario D° Andrew Rosear D° John de Costa D° Joseph d Rosario D° Francis de Cruze D° Anthony Fernandes D° Petro de Mont D° Matthias Malage D° Jamea de Rosario D° Amos d Cruze D° Francis de Rosear D° Domingode D° Domingo d Rosario D° Romell D° Rufsick D° Devah D° Duimchun D°	Muster roll of the ship <i>Denham</i>. George Meade, commander Daniel Drefsy, first mate Archibald Frazier, second ditto Hugh Diff, third ditto Thomas Morris, fourth ditto Godfrey Jones, surgeon George Beard, second waiter John Baker, boatswain John Johnston, gunner Robert Shipman, midshipman John Long, midshipman John Leach, cooper Jacob Thomas, second master William Horrill, ditto Walter Park, ditto Stephen Ivin, ship's steward William Watson, captain's steward Thomas Hooker, butcher John Hook, barber Philip Blankman, surgeon's second mate Robert Wraithoy, boatswain's ditto Owen Smith, captain's ditto John Dafte, seaman Daniel Bruce, ditto William Kay, ditto William Henderson, ditto John Bristol, ditto John Tickell, ditto John Ivery, seaman Matthew Norris, ship's cook Lin Gregory, lascar James Roberts, ditto Silvestro d'Rosaria, ditto Andrew Rosar, ditto John de Costa, ditto Joseph d'Rosaria, ditto Francis de Cruze, ditto Anthony Fernando, ditto Peter de Mont, ditto Matthias Malego, ditto Ignatio de Rosaria, ditto Ahmed Cruze, ditto Domingo de Rosaria, ditto Domingo die, ditto Domingo d'Rosaria, ditto Romett, ditto Rufsick, ditto Deval, ditto Diramchin, ditto

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		Thomas Cook Corpork Poloe Lascar Chote Mahomet D° Galvine D° John D'Barrio Seuny Jorio D'Rosario Kendall Anthony Anderson Lasr Augustin Silva D° Michael Lopez D° Pedro Bastle D° Domingo d'Mont D° Manie Suares D° Thomas Cruize D° John Rosetta D° Chrispin d Rosario D° John Baker Seaman Garrett Smith D° Christian Hoopes D° Wm William Crosley D° Joseph Turner D° Isaac Dyke D° John Priest D° James Boulston D° David Swinton D° Domingo Rosette Lascar Nicelo Nail D° Samuel d Silva D° Thomas Roderigo D° Jorie Syphern D° Domingo Fernandes D° Jacob Carboney D° Alexr d° Chera D°	Thomas Cook, lascar Bloee, lascar Chota Mahomet, ditto Galvine, ditto John d'Barrio, seacunny Ivin d'Rosaria, tindal Anthony Anderson, lascar Augustin Silva, ditto Michael Lopez, ditto Pedro Bartle, ditto Domingo d'Mont, ditto Manuel Suares, ditto Thomas Cruize, ditto John Rosalie, ditto Christin d'Rosaria, ditto John Baker, seaman Garrett Smith, ditto Christian Hooper, ditto William Crosley, ditto Joseph Turner, ditto Isaac Dyke, ditto John Priest, ditto James Coulston, ditto David Swinton, ditto Domingo Rosalie, lascar Nicolo Buil, ditto Samuel d'Silva, ditto Thomas Roderigo, ditto Ivin Syphorn, ditto Domingo Fernandes, ditto Jacob Carboney, ditto Alexander d'Chora, ditto Interpretations The crew of the <i>Denham</i> was largely Indian, the many lascars and the seacunny and tindal among them marking a Bengal-manned East Indiaman, the lascars being an Asian seaman engaged for the voyage, the seacunny a helmsman or steersman and the tindal a petty officer or foreman over the lascars gang. The Portuguese names running through the lascars roll reflect recruitment from the Luso-Indian communities of the western Indian coast, the descendants of Portuguese settlement supplying a large part of the Company's Asian maritime labour.
70	65	William Duffton the Sexton, having applied to us for some Allowance for digging Graves for the Soldiers, and doing other Offices at their decease; we agreed to allow him out of the Honorable Companys Cash, two Shillings and Sixpence for each, as it has been formerly Customary, and no body that we can find is now inclined to do it without being paid for it. Cha Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 27th day of October 1756 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed, Dated the 25th October 1756. The Storekeeper brought in his Collections of Stores sold to D° of Rigmage in the Store the 11 Instant and also the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter ending the 11 Instant which were examined and approved and are as follows vizt Collection	William Duffton, the sexton, applied to the council for some allowance for digging graves for the soldiers and doing other offices at their deaths. The council agreed to allow him, out of the Honourable Company's cash, 2s 6d for each, as had formerly been customary, since nobody it could find was now inclined to do it without being paid. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. A consultation held on Wednesday 27 October 1756 at the castle recorded Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council as present. The council read, approved and signed the previous consultation, dated 25 October 1756. The storekeeper brought in his collections of stores sold to the Company, and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter ending 11 October, which were examined and approved, and were as follows. Interpretations The sexton's plea and the council's grant reveal the labour market of the small settlement at work even in its burials, the customary payment of 2s 6d a grave having to be restored because no one would undertake the digging and other funeral offices for nothing, so that the frequency of soldier deaths and the reluctance to serve without pay forced the Company to meet the going rate for the work.

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71	66	Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from the 12th July to the 11th October 1756 vizt Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 P Cent vizt Arrack 316½ Gallons £ 79 3 9 Sugar & Candy vizt 3182 Sugar £ 53 1 8 1059 Candy 22 1 3 75 2 11 Flour vizt 32 bg Flour 20 8 7½ 103 5 lb 4 D° baked 150 15 . 179 3 7½ Soap 289 10 16 9 Tea vizt 200 Congo 15 . . 255 Single 17 . . 220 Bohea 11 . . 43 . . Candles 528 59 8 Rice & Paddy vizt 43 5 lb Rice 18 . 5 2 D° Paddy . 10 . 18 10 5 Beef & Pork vizt 440 P Beef at 2s 44 . . 1 P D° D° 2s . 2 . 5 P D° D° 3s 8 . 13 9½ 1189 P Pork D° 2s 118 18 . 72 P D° D° 2s 7 9 6 . 173 1 9½ Oil vizt 3 Galln Linseed . 11 . 11 Galln Fenn 1 13 . 6 Bottles Florence . 16 3 3 . 3 Thread vizt 10 lb Wt P Brown 3 13 4 30 D° Coloured 5 10 . 9 3 4 Carried over £ 650 10 3	A collection of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company's stores from 12 July to 11 October 1756, sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent. Arrack, 316.5 gallons, £79 3s 9d Sugar and candy: 3,182 lb sugar, £53 1s 8d 1,059 lb candy, £22 1s 3d 75 2s 11d Flour: 326 lb flour, £20 8s 7.5d 1,053.5 lb bread baked, £158 15s 0d 179 3s 7.5d Soap, 289 lb, £10 16s 9d Tea: 200 lb congou, £15 0s 0d 255 lb single, £17 0s 0d 220 lb bohea, £11 0s 0d 43 0s 0d Candles, 528 lb, £59 8s 0d Rice and paddy: 45.5 bags rice, £18 5s 0d 2 bags paddy, £10 0s 0d 18 10s 5d Beef and pork: 440 lb beef at 2s, £44 0s 0d 1 lb beef at 2s, £2 0s 0d 5 lb beef at 3s 4d, £15 8s 9.5d 1,189 lb pork at 2s, £118 18s 0d 72 lb pork at 2s 7d, £9 6s 0d 175 1s 9.5d Oil: 3 gallons linseed, £11 0s 0d 11 gallons fenn, £1 13s 0d 6 bottles Florence, £16 3d 3 0s 3d Thread: 10 lb brown, £3 13s 4d 30 lb coloured, £5 10s 0d 9 3s 4d Carried over, £630 10s 3d Interpretations The whole account records the Company running a general store on the island, selling provisions and goods from its own stock to its servants at a fixed markup of ten per cent, so that the settlement functioned as a company town where the workforce bought its arrack, tea, meat, candles and cloth back from the employer at a controlled margin. Congou, single and bohea were grades of black tea from the Company's China trade, bohea the coarsest and cheapest leaf and congou a finer sort, the range showing even the ordinary garrison drinking the teas that were the staple of the eastern commerce the island's ships carried home. Fenn oil, sold by the gallon alongside linseed and Florence, appears to be a fish or train oil used for lamps and rough work, the cheaper illuminant set against the finer Florentine olive oil reserved for the table.
72	67	Brought over £ 650 10 3 Pepper 7 lb 3 11 Hooks & Lines vizt 4200 Hooks Sorted 3 5 9 1575 Klice . 5 3 28½ Dozen of Lines Sorted 6 1 1 9 12 1 Twine 3 Skains	The collection of goods sold out of the stores continued. Brought over, £630 10s 3d Pepper, 7 lb, £3 11s 0d Hooks and lines: 4,200 hooks sorted, £3 5s 9d 1,575 blue, £3 3d 28.5 dozen of lines sorted, £6 1s 1d 9 12s 1d Twine, 3 skeins, £2 0s 0d Leather: 96 lb leather, £5 8s 0d

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		. 2 . Leather vizt 96 lb Leather 5 8 . 2 D° of Skins . 15 2 6 3 2 Shoes vizt 40 P Mens Ordy 15 9 2 1 P D° Fine . 6 4 74 P Mens Pumps 2 6 0 4 P Womens Spanish . 19 6 8 P D° D° Coloured 2 . 10 3 P Channed Pumps 1 3 9 9 P Boys 1 16 3 7 P Girls . 16 7 24 14 9½ Glass Ware vizt 6 Sqr Glass 10 by 12 . 5 6 9 D° 19 by 11 . 3 7 2 Beer Glasses 1 10 1 Tumbler . 7 . 11 6 Dosolees 10 pieces 4 5 . Salt 10¾ Bushels 2 16 3 Kersey 3 Yards . 4 6 Long Ells 13½ Yards 1 3 7½ Buckram 11½ Yards . 11 6 Nails 92½ Sorted 2 . 3 Hosiers Ware vizt 2 P of Mens Ware Stockings . 8 6 1 P of D° knit . 3 4 59 P of D° Thread 8 7 2 8 19 . Carried over £ 711 17 10	2 sides of shoes, £15 2d 6 3s 2d Shoes: 40 pairs men's ordinary, £15 9s 2d 1 pair ditto fine, £6s 4d 7.5 pairs men's pumps, £2 6s 0d 4 pairs women's Spanish, £19s 6d 8 pairs ditto colemanco, £2 0s 10d 3 pairs channelled pumps, £1 3s 9d 9 pairs boys', £1 16s 3d 7 pairs girls', £16s 7d 24 16s 9.5d Glass ware: 6 squares glass 10 by 12, £5s 6d 9 squares glass 19 by 11, £3s 7d 2 beer glasses, £1s 10d 1 tumbler, £7d 11s 6d Doreas, 10 pieces, £4 5s 0d Salt, 10.5 bushels, £2 16s 3d Kersey, 3 yards, £4s 6d Long ells, 13.5 yards, £1 3s 7.5d Buckram, 11.5 yards, £11s 6d Nails, 92.5 lb sorted, £2 0s 3d Hosier's ware: 2 pairs men's worsted stockings, £8s 6d 1 pair ditto knit, £3s 4d 39 pairs ditto thread, £7s 2d 19s 0d Carried over, £711 17s 10d Interpretations The stock ranged far beyond food into the whole equipment of daily life, fishing hooks and lines, leather and finished shoes of many grades, window glass, salt, cloth and stockings, showing the Company store as the single source from which the island's people fitted out their households, their fishing and their clothing, there being no independent market on so remote a settlement. Colemanco, or calamanco, was a glossy woollen cloth here made up into women's shoes, and kersey, long ells and buckram were varieties of English woollen and stiffened cloth, the long ell a narrow woollen measure and buckram a coarse stiffened linen used for linings and shaping, all brought out to clothe a population that could weave nothing of its own.
73	68	Brought over £ 711 17 10 Paint vizt 38½ blue Smalts 3 4 2 13 lb White Lead . 4 9 6 lb Whiting . 1 4 7 lb Blacking . 3 11 5 lb Mahogany . 1 3 1 lb Umber . 4½ 3 15 9½ China Ware vizt 3 Sauce Boats . 3 4 27 Sneakers	The collection of goods sold out of the stores continued. Brought over, £711 17s 10d Paint: 30.5 lb blue smalts, £3 4s 2d 19 lb white lead, £4s 9d 6 lb whiting, £1s 4d 7 lb blacking, £3s 11d 5 lb mahogany, £1s 3d 1 lb umber, £4d 3 15s 9.5d China ware: 3 sauce boats, £3s 4d 27 sneakers, £6s 9d 1 basin, £1s 6d 3 sets of dishes and plates, £2 2s 0d 3 salad dishes, £2s 3d 12 bowls, £10d 6 pint cups and saucers, £2s 0d

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		. 6 9 1 Bason . 1 6 3 Setts of Dishes and Plates 2 8 . 3 Sallad dishes . 2 3 12 Bowls . 10 . 6 P Pint Cups and Saucers . 2 . 18 Soup Plates . 6 9 1 D° Dish . 6 6 7 Cups . 1 4 4 8 5 Haberdashery Ware vizt Wm Dozn Gt Coat Buttons . 1 1 13½ D° M Cot D° . 10 5 10 D° M D° D° . 6 2 3 D° Silver Ct D° . 18 . 13½ D° D° Bt D° . 12 14 1 Grofs Shirt D° . 2 6 3 P Tape . 2 7 26 M Mohair . 9 9 10 D° Silk . 8 3 1 Dozn Gt P Buttons . 2 2½ 3 13 1 Lead vizt 13 lb Sheet . 2 3 18 lb Shott . 4 1½ . 6 6½ Deals vizt 4 Double . 14 2 13 Single 2 11 9 4 Wainscot Boards 1 2 . 4 7 11 Carried over £ 728 9 7	18 soup plates, £6s 9d 1 dish, £6s 6d 7 cups, £1s 4d 4 8s 5d Haberdashery ware: 17 dozen coat buttons, £1s 1d 15.5 dozen waistcoat ditto, £10s 5d 19 dozen ditto ditto, £6s 2d 3 dozen silver coat ditto, £18s 0d 5.5 dozen breast ditto, £12s 1d 1 gross shirt ditto, £2s 6d 3 pieces tape, £2s 7d 26 lb mohair, £9s 9d 10 lb silk, £8s 3d 1 dozen gilt breast buttons, £2s 2.5d 3 13s 1d Lead: 13 lb sheet, £2s 3d 18 lb shot, £4s 1.5d 6s 6d Deals: 4 double, £4s 2d 15 single, £2 11s 9d 4 wainscot boards, £1 2s 0d 4 7s 11d Carried over, £728 9s 7d Interpretations Blue smalts was a powdered blue glass pigment used in paint and as a colouring, and umber a natural brown earth pigment, the two sold by the pound alongside white lead and whiting so that householders and tradesmen could mix their own paints from the store. Sneakers, here counted among the china ware, were small cups or bowls for drinking, and the run of imported chinaware, sauce boats, dishes, soup plates and tea cups, shows even the crockery of the island's tables coming ready made from the eastern trade. Deals, double and single, and wainscot boards were sawn softwood planks and oak panelling boards, the finished timber that the island lacked and had to import for building and joinery, the same shortage of worked wood that had earlier stalled Wrangham's house appearing here in the store's stock of ready-cut planks.
74	69	Brought over £ 728 9 7 Cutlery Ware vizt 2 Pruning Knives . 2 3 2 Shoe D° . 9 15 Ivory Combs . 15 7½ 21 Horn D° . 3 6 30 P Leather Garters & Buckles . 10 . 1 12 1½ Ironmongers Ware vizt 1 P Steelyards . 11 2 5 Ditching Shovell . 4 1½ 3 Files . 1 8	The collection of goods sold out of the stores continued. Brought over, £728 9s 7d Cutlery ware: 2 pruning knives, £2s 3d 2 shoe knives, £9d 15 ivory combs, £15s 7.5d 21 horn combs, £3s 6d 30 pairs leather garters and buckles, £10s 0d 1 12s 1.5d Ironmongers ware: 1 pair steelyards, £11s 2d 1 ditching shovel, £4s 1.5d 3 files, £1s 8d 1 cupboard lock, £4s 0d 2 box irons, £17s 2d 9 frying pans, £4s 1d 1 smith's rubber, £3s 6.5d 6 scythe stones, £7.5d 12 gimblets, £2s 6d

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		1 Cupbd Lock . 4 . 2 Box Irons . 17 2 9 Frying Pans . 4 1 1 Smiths Rubber . 3 4½ 6 Scyth Stones . 7½ 12 Gimbletts . 2 6 3 Chest Locks . 11 6 2 Bricklayers Trowels . 3 6 10 P Dove tail Hinges . 10 8 1 Garden Hoe . 1 0 1 Pickax . 2 5 1 Halve . 8 6 Dozn of wood Screws . 9 3 1 Claw Hammer . 2 4 1 Stock Lock . 1 10 1 Shod Shovel . 1 4 2 Packing Needles . 3 5 1 Spade 4 11 4½ Cotton 5 . 2 9 Shirts vizt 55 Shirts 13 10 5 29 Neckcloaths . 19 4 1 piece Linnen 1 10 6 16 3 3 Oars 2 . 8 6 Canvas vizt 12½ Yards English . 4 2 1 Yard Osnbrigs . 10 . 14 10½ Iron Potts 1 . 5 . Carried over £ 752 12 5½	3 chest locks, £11s 6d 2 bricklayer's trowels, £3s 6d 19 pairs dovetail hinges, £10s 8d 1 garden hoe, £1s 0d 1 pickaxe, £2s 5d 1 helve, £8d 6 dozen wood screws, £2s 3d 1 claw hammer, £2s 4d 1 stock lock, £1s 10d 1 shod shovel, £4s 0d 2 packing needles, £3s 5d 1 spade, £5s 0d 4 11s 4.5d Cotton, 5 lb, £2s 9d Shirts: 55 pieces, £13 10s 5d 29 neckcloths, £19s 4d 1 piece linen, £1 10s 6d 16 0s 3d Oars, 2, £8s 6d Canvas: 12.5 yards English, £4s 3d 1 yard Osnabricks, £10d 14 10.5d Iron pots, 1, £5s 0d Carried over, £752 12s 5.5d Interpretations Box irons and smoothing irons, frying pans, iron pots and the range of locks, hinges, files and hand tools show the store supplying the whole apparatus of the household and the workshop, the settlement's smiths, bricklayers, gardeners and joiners drawing their working iron from the Company's stock since none could be manufactured on the island. A smith's rubber was a coarse abrasive stone or file for smoothing metal, and steelyards a portable balance for weighing by a sliding counterpoise, both trade implements sold to the island's craftsmen. Osnabricks was a coarse plain linen originally from Osnabrück in Germany, used for sacking, working clothes and slave clothing, its presence beside the finer English canvas marking the two grades of cloth the settlement drew from the store for its rougher and its better needs.
75	70	Brot over £ 752 12 5½ Broad Cloath P ¾ Yards 9 4 1 Shalloon 16 Yards 2 1 4 Pewter 1 Cullendar . 6 8 Shellons 16 pieces 8 8 . Blankett 13 3 9 4 Hatts vizt 2 Mens £ 1 10 8 3 Boys . 19 9 2 10 5 Pitch vizt	The collection of goods sold out of the stores continued. Brought over, £752 12s 5.5d Broad cloth, 4.25 yards, £2 12s 0d Shalloon, 16 yards, £9 4s 1d Pewter, 1 cullender, £6s 8d Chelloes, 16 pieces, £8 8s 0d Blankets, 13, £3 9s 4d Hats: 2 men's, £1 10s 8d 3 boys', £19s 9d 9 10s 5d Pitch: 5 gallons tar, £3s 9d 14 lb rosin, £2s 4d 4.5 lb turpentine, £7s 0d 13s 1d Cordage, 392 lb, £6 10s 8d

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		5 Galln Tar . 8 9 1 lb Rosin . 2 4 4½ Turpentine . 7 . . 13 1 Cordage 392 6 10 8 Fustian 1½ pieces 2 15 11 Serge 8½ Yards 2 . 4½ Cortes ¾ Grofs . 1 11 Tin Ware vizt 3 lb Fisher . 3 4½ 1 Water Pott . 3 6 1 Pint Saucepan . 3½ 3 Lanthorn Sconces . 1 2 1 Lanthorn . 2 9 1 Lamp . 1 8 1 Pudding Pott . 1 9 . 16 8 Earthen Ware 3 Milk pans . 1 11 Turners Ware vizt 15 Shoe Brushes . 9 8 1 Hair Broom . 2 3½ 1 Scrubbing Brush . 1 10 4 Wood Bowls . 4 2 5 Platters . 3 1½ 1 Labourers Basket . 10 1 Punch Ladle . 7½ 1 2 6½ Camblet 45 Yards . 11 10½ Braziers Ware vizt 1 P Steel Snuffers . 2 5 2 Steel Candlesticks . 4 6 6 11 Carried over £ 794 2 2	Fustian, 14 pieces, £2 15s 11d Serge, 8.5 yards, £2 0s 4.5d Corks, 5 gross, £1 11s 0d Tin ware: 5 lb tinker, £3s 4.5d 1 water pot, £5s 6d 1 pint saucepan, £5.5d 5 lanthorn sconces, £1s 2d 1 lanthorn, £2s 9d 1 lamp, £1s 8d 1 pudding pot, £1s 9d 16s 8d Earthen ware, 3 milk pans, £1s 11d Turner's ware: 15 shoe brushes, £9s 8d 1 hair broom, £2s 3.5d 1 scrubbing brush, £1s 10d 4 wood bowls, £4s 2d 5 platters, £3s 1.5d 1 labourer's basket, £10d 1 punch ladle, £7.5d 1 2s 6.5d Camblet, 45 yards, £11s 10.5d Braziers ware: 1 pair steel snuffers, £2s 5d 2 steel candlesticks, £6s 0d 6s 11d Carried over, £794 2s 2d Interpretations Shalloon, fustian, serge and camblet were all imported cloths, shalloon a light woollen used for linings, fustian a stout cotton and linen weave, serge a durable twilled wool and camblet a mixed stuff of wool and other fibres, the range showing the store clothing the island in a variety of English and Asian fabrics for every purpose. Lanthorn sconces and a lanthorn, tin water pots, saucepans and milk pans, and the turner's wooden bowls, platters and brushes furnished the practical vessels and lighting of the household from the Company's stock. A brazier's ware of steel snuffers and candlesticks and the tin lamps and lanthorns together show how the island was lit, by candle and oil lamp supplied and maintained entirely from imported goods, the settlement depending on the store even for the means of making light after dark.
76	71	Brought over £ 794 2 2 March 8½ . 3 2 Coals 8 Bushels . 10 8 Beer 7 lb 18 . 6 Wine vizt 2 Dozn Port 2 . . 4 Dozn Lisbon 10 . . 2 10 . Naval Stores 48½ Pounder 2 3 6 £ 817 15 . Sold to the Planters at 25 P Cent vizt	The collection of goods sold out of the stores continued, the remaining items sold to the Company's servants. Brought over, £794 2s 2d Match, 8 lb, £3s 2d Coals, 8 bushels, £3s 2d Beer, 7 lb, £10s 8d Wine: 5 dozen port, £2 0s 0d 5 dozen Lisbon, £10s 0d 2 10s 0d Naval stores, 48.5 lb powder, £2 6s 6d Total, £817 15s 0d A further collection of goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent. Buckram, 7.5 yards, £8s 1.5d Long ells, 6 yards, £16s 0d

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		Buckram 7½ Yards £ 8 1½ Long Ells 6 Yards . 16 . Hatts vizt 2 Mens 2 4 . 1 Boys . 7 6 2 11 6 Dosolees 3 pieces 1 10 . Shoes vizt 1 P Channed Pumps . 9 . 1 P Mens Fine Shoes . 6 10½ 1 P Womens Coloured . 3 1 . 18 11½ Serge 18 Yards 4 17 6 Broad Cloath 7 3 Yards 7 17 6 Hosiers Ware 4 P Knit Stockings . 15 . Shelloes 10 pieces 6 . . Fustian ½ piece 12 8½ Sold at 40 P Cent vizt Arrack 30½ Galles 9 4 . Sugar & Candy vizt 1366 lb Sugar 28 9 2 299 lb Candy 8 1 11½ 36 11 1½ Flour 833 6 18 9 Soap 47 2 5 4 Tea vizt 40 lb Congo 14 10 . 200 Single 17 10 . 98 Bohea 6 10 8 38 18 8 Carried over £ 202 4 9½	Hats: 2 men's, £2 4s 0d 1 boy's, £7s 6d 2 11s 6d Doreas, 3 pieces, £1 10s 0d Shoes: 1 pair channelled pumps, £9s 0d 1 pair men's fine shoes, £6s 10.5d 1 pair women's calf, £3s 1d 18s 11.5d Serge, 18 yards, £4 17s 6d Broad cloth, 7.5 yards, £7 17s 6d Hosier's ware, 4 pairs knit stockings, £15s 0d Chelloes, 10 pieces, £6s 0d Fustian, 4 pieces, £12s 8d A further collection of goods sold at 40 per cent. Arrack, 30.5 gallons, £9s 4d Sugar and candy: 1,366 lb sugar, £28 9s 2d 299 lb candy, £8 1s 11.5d 36 11s 1.5d Flour, 833 lb, £6 18s 3d Soap, 47 lb, £2 5s 4d Tea: 416 lb congou, £14 10s 0d 200 lb single, £17 10s 0d 98 lb bohea, £6 10s 8d 38 18s 8d Carried over, £202 4s 9.5d Interpretations The account distinguished three different markups on the Company's goods, ten per cent to its own servants, twenty-five per cent to the planters and forty per cent on certain staples such as arrack, sugar, flour and tea, showing a deliberate pricing policy that charged the free planters more than the Company's own employees and loaded the heaviest margin onto the most sought-after provisions. The far higher rate on arrack and the groceries reflects both their steady demand and their ready resale, the Company taking its largest profit on the goods the island most wanted and could least do without, so that the store served as an instrument of revenue as much as of supply.
77	72	Brought over £ 202 4 9½ Candles 79 11 7 1½ Rice 16 5 lb 10 7 7½ Salt 4¾ Bushels . 10 2½ Thread vizt 6 lb Wt P Brown £ 2 16 . 8 D° Coloured 1 17 4 4 13 4 Cordage 473 2 9 10 1½ Hooks & Lines vizt 2425 Hooks Sorted 2 12 5 21½ Dozn Lines Sorted 6 8 1 9 . 6 Oil vizt 3 Galln Train	The collection of goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent continued. Brought over, £202 4s 9.5d Candles, 79 lb, £11 7s 1.5d Rice, 16.5 bags, £10 7s 7.5d Salt, 4.5 bushels, £18s 2.5d Thread: 6 lb brown, £2 16s 0d 9 lb coloured, £1 17s 4d 4 13s 4d Cordage, 475 lb, £9 18s 1.5d Hooks and lines: 2,425 hooks sorted, £2 12s 5d 21.5 dozen lines sorted, £6 8s 1d 9 0s 6d Oil: 5 gallons train, £1 0s 0d 4 gallons linseed, £18s 8d 1 18s 8d Haberdashery ware: 9 dozen coat buttons, £1s 8d 4 dozen waistcoat ditto, £1s 8d 12 lb mohair, £6s 0d

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		1 . . 4 Galln Linseed . 18 8 1 18 8 Haberdashery Ware vizt 9 Dozn Gt Coat Buttons . 1 8 4 D° M B D° . 1 8 12 M Mohair . 6 . 11 D° Silk . 6 5 15 9 Blanketts 8 2 4 8 Cotton 5 . 3 6 Twine 6 Skains . 5 . Pitch vizt 2 Barrels 1 Galln Tar 4 7 . 15 lb Rosin . 3 1½ 20 lb Turpentine . 4 2 4 14 3½ Ironmongers Ware vizt 1 Bricklayers Trowell . 2 4 1 Dozn Wood Screws . 6 . 1 Chest Lock . 5 . 1 Cupbd D° . 5 2 1 Frank D° . 7 9 6 Sad Irons . 4 . 2 Broad Hoes . 4 10 1 Garden D° . 2 2 1 8 1 Beef & Pork vizt 3 pieces Beef . 7 10 5 pieces Pork . 10 . 17 10 Carried over £ 261 7 6	11 lb silk, £6s 5d 15s 9d Blankets, 2, £2 7s 8d Cotton, 5 lb, £3s 6d Twine, 6 skeins, £5s 0d Pitch: 2 barrels and 1 gallon tar, £4 7s 1.5d 15 lb rosin, £3s 1.5d 20 lb turpentine, £4s 2d 4 14s 3.5d Ironmongers ware: 1 bricklayer's trowel, £2s 4d 1 dozen wood screws, £6d 1 chest lock, £5s 0d 1 cupboard ditto, £5s 2d 1 frank ditto, £7s 9d 5 shod spades, £4s 0d 2 broad hoes, £4s 10d 1 garden ditto, £2s 2d 1 8s 1d Beef and pork: 3 pieces beef, £7s 10d 5 pieces pork, £10s 0d 17s 10d Carried over, £261 7s 6d Interpretations Train oil was oil rendered from the blubber of whales or from fish, sold by the gallon as a cheap illuminant and lubricant beside the finer linseed, the two grades of oil supplying the island's lamps and rough greasing. The steady sale of fishing hooks and lines in large quantities, thousands of hooks and dozens of lines, reflects the importance of sea fishing to the settlement's food supply, the surrounding ocean furnishing a catch that supplemented the managed livestock and the imported salt provisions, so that the store's stock of tackle underwrote a fishery the island's people worked for themselves.
78	73	Brought over £ 261 7 6 China Ware vizt 2 Sauce Boats £ 1 . 11 Bowls . 11 . 1 Chamber Pott . 2 . 12 Soup plates . 6 . 6 Sneakers . 9 . 10 Sallad dishes . 10 . 1 12 . Nails 66¾ 1 15 . Paint vizt 3 lb Blue Smalts . 6 . 8 lb Reneut Red . 2 4	The collection of goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent continued. Brought over, £261 7s 6d China ware: 2 sauce boats, £1s 0d 11 bowls, £11d 1 chamber pot, £2s 0d 12 soup plates, £6s 0d 6 sneakers, £9d 10 salad dishes, £10s 0d 1 12s 0d Nails, 66.5 lb, £1 15s 0d Paint: 3 lb blue smalts, £6d 8 lb white lead, £2s 4d 5 lb Jamaica indigo, £3s 10.5d 1 lb white lead, £6.5d 12s 9d Canvas, 1 piece English, £2 16s 0d Deals: 1 double, £4s 5.5d 11 single, £1 13s 0d

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		3 lb Jamaica Indico . 3 10½ 1 lb White Lead . 6½ 12 9 Canvas 11 P English 2 16 0 Deals vizt 1 Double . 4 5½ 11 Single 1 13 . 1 17 5½ March 6th 2 9 Lead 3 lb Shot . 10½ Glass Ware 2 Tumblers . 1 6 Turners Ware 1 Straining Dish . 2 4 Tin Ware 3 lb Lanthorn Sconces . 5½ Cutlery Ware 15 Ivory Knives £ 270 14 4 Twine vizt Sold to the Companys Ships vizt 40 Skt Twine 1 13 4 20 D° Marline . 7 6 2 . 10 Nails 250 6 5 2 Paint vizt 14 Barrels Blacking . 10 6 26 lb Red Lead . 7 7 2 lb Jam Indico 1 6 40 lb White Lead . 7 6 2 lb Brimstone 2 5 0½ Oil 30½ Yds 7 16 4 Deals vizt 6 Single . 10 . 38 feet 4 Inch Plank 4 16 8 2 P Riga Timber 4 14 . 2 Wainscot Boards 14 . 11 4 8 Carried over £ 29 12 5½	1 17s 5.5d Match, 6 lb, £2s 9d Lead, 5 lb shot, £10.5d Glass ware, 2 tumblers, £1s 6d Turner's ware, 1 straining dish, £2s 4d Tin ware, 24 lanthorn sconces, £5s 5.5d Cutlery ware, 16 ivory combs, £16s 0d A further collection sold to the Company's ships. Swine, 270 lb, £4s 4d Twine: 40 skeins twine, £1 13s 4d 20 skeins marline, £7s 6d 2 0s 10d Nails, 250 lb, £6 5s 2d Paint: 14 barrels blacking, £10s 6d 26 lb red lead, £7s 7d 2 lb Jamaica indigo, £1s 6d 40 lb white lead, £7s 6d 2 lb brimstone, £2 5s 8.5d 7 16s 4.5d Oil, 30.5 gallons, £0s 0d Deals: 6 single, £10s 0d 58 feet 4 inch plank, £4 16s 8d 2 pieces Riga timber, £4 14s 0d 2 wainscot boards, £14s 0d 11 4s 8d Carried over, £291 12s 8.5d Interpretations The final section shifted from sales to servants and planters to sales to the Company's own ships, the vessels revictualling and refitting at the island buying swine, nails, twine, marline, paint and above all timber and plank for their voyages, so that the store served the passing fleet as much as the resident population. Marline was a small two-stranded cord used aboard ship for seizing and whipping ropes' ends, and Riga timber was high-quality softwood shipped from the Baltic port of Riga, prized for masts and spars, its sale to the ships showing the island stocking imported shipbuilding timber to supply the East Indiamen that called, the same worked and specialist wood the settlement could not produce for itself.
79	74	Brought over £ 29 12 5½ Iron 12 lb 1 10 . Hooks & Lines vizt 350 Hooks £ 12 3 4½ Dozn Lines Sorted . 19 8½ 1 11 11½ Cordage P T 9 33 3 10 Pitch vizt 4 Barrels Pitch 7 . . 4 D° Tar 8 12 . 15 12 . Iron Ware vizt	The collection of goods sold to the Company's ships continued. Brought over, £291 12s 8.5d Iron, 112 lb, £1 10s 0d Hooks and lines: 350 hooks, £12s 3d 4 dozen lines sorted, £19s 8.5d 1 11s 11.5d Cordage, 4 cwt, £33 5s 10d Pitch: 4 barrels pitch, £7s 0d 4 barrels tar, £8 12s 0d 15 12s 0d Iron ware: 1 frying pan, £2s 0d 1 carpenter's adze, £3s 1d 1.5 lb sprig nails, £1s 0d 6s 2d

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		1 Frying Pan . 2 0 1 Carpenters Adye . 3 1 1½ Lead Nails P Cwt D° . 1 . 6 9 Flour 12 3 16 11 16 . Beef & Pork vizt 33 Punchions Beef 430 2 . 18 P D° Pork 194 1 3 624 3 3 Tin Ware 6 Lanthorn Sconces 1 2 2 Rice 30 P D° 3 5 . Sugar 100 2 1 8 Tea 72 Single 6 6 . 762 8 4 Charges General for the following Stores expended from the 12th July to 11th October 1756 vizt Nails 1 . 2 . 7 3½ . 4 1 4½ 16 . 10 5 4 3 . 20 4 4½ 1 . 3 4½ 2 . 40 7 6 . 6 5 4 For making a Punt Cellis, repairing to Cutting Boxes, Sluce Gate, & Draw Bridge 8 Glazing Brads 6 10½ P Carpenters Trunks for the Coopers use 7 4 1 2 3½ Leather vizt 1 lb Pump for the Pump 1 5 1 Calf Skinfor repairing of Armourers Bellows 6 9 8 2 Carried over £ 1 10 7½	Flour, 12 cwt 3 quarters 16 lb, £11 16s 0d Beef and pork: 23 puncheons beef, £430 2s 0d 15 puncheons pork, £194 1s 3d 624 3s 3d Tin ware, 6 lanthorn sconces, £1s 2d Rice, 30 bags, £3.5d Sugar, 100 lb, £2 1s 0d Tea, 72 lb single, £6 6s 0d 762 8s 4d A further account of charges general, being stores expended from 12 July to 11 October 1756. Nails: 1 lb 2d nails, £7d 3.5 lb 4d nails, for making a paint pallet, £1s 2.5d 16 lb 10d nails, repairs to the century boxes, £5s 6d 3 lb 20d nails, sluice gate and drawbridge, £1s 4.5d 1 lb 3d nails, £0s 9d 2 lb 4d nails, £7d 6 lb 6d nails, £5s 4d 2 glazing brads, £6d 4 lb copper rivets for the coopers use, £7s 4d 1 2s 3.5d Leather: 1 lb pump leather for the pump, £1s 5d 1 calf skin for repairing the armourer's bellows, £6s 9d 8s 2d Carried over, £1 10s 7.5d Interpretations The account closed with the largest single transaction of all, the sale of thirty-eight puncheons of salt beef and pork to the ships for over six hundred pounds, the puncheon being a very large cask of some seventy or more gallons, so that the provisioning of the East Indiamen with barrelled meat for their onward voyages dwarfed every other item and stood as the settlement's principal commercial service to the fleet. The charges general that followed recorded the stores consumed in the Company's own upkeep rather than sold, the nails, leather and rivets spent on the sentry boxes, the sluice gate, the drawbridge, the pumps and the armourer's bellows, showing the constant small maintenance of the fort's fabric and equipment charged directly against stock.
80	75	Brot over £ 1 10 7½ Oil vizt 7 Galln Train for the Kitchen & Bakehouse £ 18 8 1 Galln Linseed for Painting the Punt Cellis . 4 7 2 Bottles Florence for cleaning Arms . 4 11 1 8 2 Iron Ware vizt 2 Padlocks for the St Governors House . 4 6 2 Augers . 11 2 Rasps 1 1 1 Smiths Rubstone 3 4 for the Carpenters use 12 Files	The account of charges general continued. Brought over, £1 10s 7.5d Oil: 7 gallons train for the kitchen and bakehouse, £18s 8d 1.5 gallons linseed for painting the port cullis, £4s 7d 2 bottles Florence for cleaning arms, £4s 11d 1 8s 2d Iron ware: 2 padlocks for the lieutenant governor's house, £4s 6d 2 augers, £11d 2 rasps for the carpenter's use, £1s 4d 1 smith's rubstone for the carpenter's use, £3s 4d 12 files, £6s 1d 3 smith's rubbers for the armourer's use, £9s 4.5d 7 file hafts, £3d 2 scrapers for the store use, £3s 4d 1 bricklayer's trowel for the masons, £1s 7d

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		. 6 1 3 Smiths Rubbers 9 1½ for the Armorers use 7 File Hafts . 3 2 Scrapers for the Store use . 3 4 1 Bricklayers Trowell for the Masons . 1 7 3 Spades . 9 4 4 Halves . 6 8 5 Ditching Shovels 1 2 6 6 Shod D° . 10 . 8 Pickaxes . 17 4 1 Stock Lock for the Lieut Governors house . 2 1 4 18 1½ Soap 60 2 . 1½ Paint vizt 13 lb Blue Smalts for Sluces 4 . 9 lb Whiting . 4 9 lb Red Lead 4 4 for Painting the Punt Cellis 9 lb Reneut Red 4 4 Sluces vizt 3 Chambers for the Fort & for the Castle 4 3 3 N° 4 1 10 2 3½ for the Masons 8 6 9 Candles vizt 90 lb for the Castle 8 3 4 100 for the Council 10 4 2 18 7 6 Arrack 38½ Galln for D° Arms for Workmen 4 19 6 Shelloes 2 pieces for Ribbons for the Castle 19 . Tin Ware 6 lb Fisher for Lining 6 1½ Canvas 8 Yd Osnbrigs for covering the Deck & 2 2 6 Glass Ware 2 Sqr 6 by 8 for the Castle 6½ Carried over £ 35 16 4	3 spades, £9s 4d 11 helves, £6s 8d 5 ditching shovels, £1 2s 6d 6 shod ditching shovels, £10s 0d 9 pickaxes, £17s 4d 1 stock lock for the lieutenant governor's house, £2s 1d 4 18s 1.5d Soap, 60 lb, £2 0s 0d Paint: 12 lb blue smalts for sluices, £7s 0d 9 lb whiting, £4d 9 lb red lead for painting the port cullis, £4s 4d 9 lb Spanish red, £4s 4d 17s 9d Lines: 3 chambers for the fort and for the castle, £4s 3d 3 number 4 for the masons, £1s 10d 2 number 3 for the masons, £8d 6s 9d Candles: 90 lb for the castle, £8 3s 6d 108 lb for the council, £10 4s 2d 18 7s 6d Arrack, 38.5 gallons for drams for the workmen, £4 19s 6d Chelloes, 2 pieces for ribbons for the castle, £19s 0d Tin ware, 6 lb solder for lining, £6s 1.5d Canvas, 8 yards Osnabrigs for covering the drawbridge, £2s 2d Glass ware, 2 squares 6 by 8 for the castle, £6.5d Carried over, £35 16s 1d Interpretations The stores expended on the fort's fabric detail the ordinary work of keeping a garrison in repair, the port cullis painted, the sluices coloured, the drawbridge covered with canvas, and the armourer's and masons' tools renewed, all charged against stock as the routine upkeep of the defences. The issue of arrack as drams for the workmen shows spirits served as a customary part of the labourers' wages or refreshment on the works, the Company supplying drink to those it employed on building and maintenance as a recognised charge, the practice of paying part in liquor being usual on such undertakings.
81	76	Brought over £ 35 16 4 Deals vizt 6 . 5 Inch Oak Planks for the Punt Cellis 14 19 . 2 Baulks 18 4 25 Single deals 2 10 . 9 Double 1 8 . For the Center of the Arch of the Punt Cellis 1 Wainscott Board Repairs vizt . 5 . 20 . 10 Twine 3 Skains for mending Bags & for the Castle	The account of charges general continued. Brought over, £35 16s 4d Deals: 6 3-inch oak planks for the port cullis, £4 19s 0d 2 baulks, £18s 4d 25 single deals for the centre of the arch of the port cullis, £2 10s 0d 9 double for the centre of the arch of the port cullis, £1 8s 0d 1 wainscot board for repairs, £5s 0d 20 0s 10d Twine, 3 skeins for mending bags and for the castle, £1s 10d Turner's ware: 2 shoe brushes for the castle, £1s 2d

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		. 1 10 Turners Ware vizt 2 Shoe Brushes 1 2 2 Hair Brooms 2 1 for the Castle 1 Scrubbing Brush 1 8 4 11 Coals 10¾ Bushels for the Armourers use 1 2 . Lead 12 lb Sheet for the Sluce Gate . 9 . Braziers Ware 1 Brass Cock . 4 5 for the use Pewter vizt 1 Cane 10 6 1 Worm Tub and Still for the Surgeons use 10 12 4 11 10 10 Thread 1 lb Coloured . 3 4 Dosolects 3 P for Ribbons for the Castle 1 3 3 Pitch vizt 6 lb Pitch 1 . 7 lb Rosin for Lining 10½ 1 10½ £ 70 11 7½ Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores expended from the 12th July to the 11th October 1756 vizt Candy 203 4 2 6½ Tea 9 lb Single . 10 6 Arrack 30 Galln 6 9 2 Flour 8 P D° 1 8 1½ Pork 11 pieces 1 5 8 Oil 22 Bottles Florence 2 14 1 Salt 2 Bushels 5 8 Rice 30 lb 3 1½ £ 16 18 10½	2 hair brooms for the castle, £2s 1d 1 scrubbing brush for the castle, £1s 8d 4s 11d Coals, 18.5 bushels for the armourer's use, £1 2s 0d Lead, 12 lb sheet for the sluice gate, £9d Brazier's ware, 1 brass cock for the store use, £4s 5d Pewter: 1 crane, £10s 6d 1 worm tub and still for the surgeon's use, £10 12s 4d 11 2s 10d Thread, 1 lb coloured, £3s 4d Doreas, 3 pieces for ribbons for the castle, £1 3s 3d Pitch: 6 lb pitch, £1s 0d 7 lb rosin for lining, £10.5d 1 10.5d Total, £70 11s 7.5d A further account of diet expenses, being stores expended from 12 July to 11 October 1756. Candy, 283 lb, £2 2s 6.5d Tea, 9 lb single, £10s 6d Arrack, 50 gallons, £6 9s 2d Flour, 8 cwt 2 quarters, £1 8s 1.5d Pork, 11 pieces, £1 5s 8d Oil, 22 bottles Florence, £2 14s 1d Salt, 2 bushels, £5s 8d Rice, 35 bags, £3s 1.5d Total, £16 18s 10.5d Interpretations The worm tub and still supplied for the surgeon's use, the costliest single item in the maintenance account, was a distilling apparatus in which a coiled pipe, the worm, passed through a tub of cooling water to condense the vapour, equipment the surgeon needed to distil medicines and spirits of water for the sick, its expense marking the value of a proper apparatus to the island's small hospital. The port cullis appears repeatedly through these charges, its oak planks, arch centring and painting recurring as a major work in hand, showing the castle's portcullis gate under substantial repair or renewal over the quarter, the heavy timber and joinery it required drawing steadily on the imported deals and baulks the island could not supply itself.
82	77	Garrison Dr for the following Stores expended for their use from the 12th July to the 11th October 1756 vizt Tea 72 lb Bohea for the Several Guards £ 3 . Oil vizt 63 Galln Train for the Barracks & Outforts 3 13 4 1 Galln Linseed . 3 4 8 16 8 Candy 16 lb . 4 8 For the Doctors Shop Candles 12 12 6 Deals vizt 6 Single for Coffins 12 . 4 Double for Shutters to the Surg Guard Room 3 2½ 15 2½ Nails vizt	An account of stores issued for the garrison's use from 12 July to 11 October 1756. Tea, 72 lb bohea for the several guards, £3 0s 0d Oil: 63 gallons train for the barracks and outforts, £13s 4d 1 gallon linseed, £3s 4d 16s 8d Candy, 16 lb, £4s 8d Candles, 12 lb for the doctor's shop, £12s 6d Deals: 6 single for coffins, £12s 0d 7 double for shutters to the sergeant's guardroom, £3s 2.5d 15s 2.5d Nails: 5 lb 6d nails, £1s 3d 1 lb 4d nails, £2d 2 lb 4d nails, £2.5d 3 lb 3d nails, £2.5d 2s 2.5d Iron pots, 10, £3 5s 8.5d

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		5 lb . 6d 1 3 1 . 4 . 2 2 . 4 . 2½ 3 . 3 . 3 2 2½ Iron Potts 10 3 5 8½ Turners Ware vizt 45 Platters 1 17 6 27 Bowls 1 3 5 3 . 11 Iron Ware vizt 8 Frying Pans 15 8 1 Stock Lock 2 1 17 9 Tin Ware 7 Lamps 10 6 Lines 6 P 2 for Whips 1 8 Arrack 12½ Galln at Mustering 1 12 11 The following Cloathing delivered them vizt Broad Cloath vizt 44 Yards Scarlet 38 17 4 3½ Yards blue 4 8 . 43 5 4 For the Officers Cloathing Shalloon 63 Yards 7 7 . Buckram 27 Yards 1 3 7½ Thread 5 lb Coloured 10 . Carried over £ 75 6 8	Turner's ware: 45 platters, £1 17s 6d 27 bowls, £1 3s 5d 3 0s 11d Iron ware: 8 frying pans, £5s 8d 1 stock lock, £2s 1d 7s 9d Tin ware, 7 lamps, £10s 6d Lines, 6 number 2 for whips, £1s 8d Arrack, 12.5 gallons for mustering, £1 12s 11d Broad cloth for the following clothing: 44 yards scarlet, £38 17s 4d 5.5 yards blue, for the officers' clothing, £4s 8d 43 5s 4d Shalloon, 63 yards for the officers' clothing, £7 7s 0d Buckram, 27 yards for the officers' clothing, £1 3s 7.5d Thread, 5 lb red, £10s 0d Carried over, £75 6s 8d Interpretations The garrison stores show the Company clothing, feeding and equipping its soldiers directly from stock, issuing tea to the guards, oil and lamps to the barracks and outposts, deals for coffins and guardroom shutters, and above all the scarlet broadcloth, shalloon lining and buckram stiffening for the officers' uniforms, the whole military establishment maintained out of the same store that supplied the settlement. The issue of arrack for mustering, like the drams for the workmen earlier, shows spirits distributed to the soldiers on parade or assembly as a customary allowance, the Company treating a measure of drink as a normal part of garrison routine.
83	78	Brot over £ 75 6 8 Haberdashery Ware vizt 43 Skains Silk £ 10 9 45 D° Mohair . 15 . 27 Dozn Silver Coat Buttons 7 8 6 For the Officers Cloathing 10 D° Silver Bt D° 3 1 1½ 12 3 4½ Shirts vizt 1 piece Linnen 1 15 . 20 Sergeants 6 13 2 243 Centinels 53 13 3 263 Neckcloaths 7 13 5 69 19 10 Shoes 263 P Mens Ordinary 52 12 . Hosiers Ware 263 P Mens Thread Stockgs 33 8 5½ Hatts vizt 10 Officers 13 8 4 20 Sergeants 12 . .	The account of garrison stores continued. Brought over, £75 6s 8d Haberdashery ware: 4.5 lb sewing silk, £10s 9d 4.5 lb mohair, £15s 0d 29 dozen silver coat buttons, for the officers' clothing, £7 8s 6d 10 dozen silver ditto ditto, for the officers' clothing, £3 1s 1.5d 12 3s 4.5d Shirts: 1 piece linen, £1 15s 0d 20 sergeants', £6 13s 2d 243 centinels', £53 13s 3d 263 neckcloths, £7 13s 5d 69 19s 10d Shoes, 263 pairs men's ordinary, £52 12s 0d Hosier's ware, 263 pairs men's thread stockings, £33 8s 5.5d Hats: 10 officers', £13 8s 4d 20 sergeants', £12 0s 0d 243 centinels', £34 1s 10d 61 10s 2d Soldiers' clothing: 12 sergeants' coats and breeches, £62 14s 0d 12 corporals' coats and breeches, £18 9s 0d 4 drummers' coats and breeches, £13 12s 0d 8 gunners' mates' coats and breeches, £23 12s 0d 8 quarter gunners' coats and breeches, £18 8s 0d 19 matrosses' coats and breeches, £40 4s 4d

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		243 Centinels 34 1 10 61 10 2 Soldiers Cloaths vizt 12 Sergeants Coats and Breeches 62 14 . 12 Corporals D° & D° 18 9 . 4 Drummers D° & D° 13 12 . 8 Gunners Mates & D° 28 12 . 8 Quarter Gunners & D° 18 8 . 19 Matrosses D° & D° 40 4 4 1 Marshals D° & D° 1 11 . 199 Centinels D° & D° 295 3 1 473 13 5 £ 748 13 11 Blacks Dr for the following Stores issued for their use from the 12th July to the 11th October 1756 vizt Rice 28 P 5 lb £ 7 19 9 Sugar and Candy vizt 67 lb Sugar £ 14 4 7 lb Candy 2 8 16 1 Carried over £ 8 15 10	1 marshal's coat and breeches, £1 11s 0d 199 centinels' coats and breeches, £295 3s 1d 473 13s 5d Total, £718 13s 11d A further account of stores issued for the slaves' use from 12 July to 11 October 1756. Rice, 28 bags, £7 19s 9d Sugar and candy: 67 lb sugar, £14s 8d 7 lb candy, £2s 4d 16s 1d Carried over, £8 15s 10d Interpretations The clothing of the whole garrison from the store, coats and breeches, shirts, shoes, stockings and hats issued by rank from officer down to centinel, shows the Company outfitting its soldiers as a uniformed force at its own charge, the great cost of nearly five hundred pounds for the soldiers' clothing alone marking the scale of provisioning an entire garrison in regular dress. A matross was a soldier of the artillery ranking below a gunner, serving to assist at the great guns, and a quarter gunner a petty officer of the ordnance, the graded ranks of sergeants, corporals, drummers, gunners' mates, matrosses and centinels reflecting the ordered establishment of the island's military company, each grade clothed according to its station.
84	79	Brought over £ 8 15 10 Hooks & Lines vizt 30 Lines 9 5 100 Hooks 1 4 10 9 Iron Potts 2 8 . Blanketts 3 14 6 Oil 3½ Galln Train 8 8 Dosolees 4 piece 3 10½ Tea 33 lb Bohea 1 9 2 Beef & Pork vizt 100 pieces of Beef 24 15 . 7 pieces Pork 14 . 25 9 . Shoes 22 P Mens Ordinary 4 8 . Arrack 6½ Galln for D° Arms 16 2 Sailors Cloaths 1 Mens Thread Shirt 3 7 £ 43 7 6½ Plantation Dr for the following Stores expended from the 12th July to the 11th October 1756 vizt Rice & Paddy vizt 2 P 20 Rice 1 5 6 25.1.19 for Poultry & Horses 3 12 3½ 5 13 9 Deals vizt 5 Single for Casks & c° 16 5½ 2 Single deals	The account of stores issued for the slaves' use continued. Brought over, £8 15s 10d Hooks and lines: 30 lines, £9s 5d 100 hooks, £1s 4d 10s 9d Iron pots, 2, £3s 0d Blankets, 3, £14s 6d Oil, 3.5 gallons train, £8s 8d Doreas, 4 pieces, £3 10.5d Tea, 35 lb bohea, £1 9s 2d Beef and pork: 100 pieces of beef, £24 15s 0d 7 pieces pork, £14s 0d 25 9s 0d Shoes, 22 pairs men's ordinary, £4 8s 0d Arrack, 6.5 gallons for drams, £16s 2d Sailors' clothing and men's thread shirts, £3s 7d Total, £43 7s 6.5d A further account of stores issued for the plantation's use from 12 July to 11 October 1756. Rice and paddy: 2 bags paddy rice, £1 5s 6d 25 maunds 1 seer 19 for the poultry and horses, £3 12s 5.5d 5 13s 9d Deals: 5 single for casks, £16s 5.5d 2 single deals, £4s 0d 15 double, £2 4s 7.5d 1 3-inch oak plank, £2 9s 10d for the sluice, box and hoops and for the pond stores 5 14s 11d Iron ware: 1 pair garden shears, £3s 10d 1 pair clipping ditto, £2s 9d 14 spades, £2 3s 5.5d 10 scythe stones, £10d 6 broad hoes, £10s 3d 6 garden ditto, £9s 0d

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		4 . For Yokes at the Plantation House & in the pastures 15 Double 2 4 7½ 1 5 Inch oak plank 2 9 10 5 14 11 Iron Ware vizt 1 P Garden Shears 3 10 1 P Clipping D° 2 9 14 Spades 2 3 5½ 10 Scyth Stones 10 . 6 Broad Hoes 10 3 6 Garden D° 9 . 2 Halves 1 2½ 2 Scyths 10 6 1 Carpenters Adz 4 3 4 6 3 Carried over £ 15 14 11	2 helves, £1s 2d 2 scythes, £10s 6d 1 carpenter's adze, £4s 5d 4 6s 3d Carried over, £15 14s 11d Interpretations The stores issued for the slaves included their food in rice, beef, pork, tea and sugar, their clothing in shoes and shirts, blankets and doreas cloth, and their tackle in fishing hooks and lines, showing the enslaved workforce provisioned entirely from the Company's stock, the fishing gear indicating that the slaves fished for part of their own subsistence. The issue of arrack as drams to the slaves, as to the soldiers and workmen, shows the customary allowance of spirits extended to the enslaved labourers as well, a measure of drink distributed across every class of the island's workforce as a normal charge on stores.
85	80	Brot over £ 15 14 11 Lines 6 P 4 for the Gardeners use 2 2½ 2 2½ Iron 1 P 13 for the Carts 1 7 1 1 7 1 Cart Wheels vizt 1 pair of Cart Wheels 3 14 6 1 Axeltree 8 8½ 4 . 2½ Nails vizt 9 lb . 4d 7 1½ . 6 6½ 1½ . 10 6 1 . 4 4 1 11½ Cordage 20 lb for Thatching . 2 . Oil 4 Galln Train for D° 3 10 Tar 2 Galln for the Carts 1 4 Tin Ware 7 Sconce for Plantation House 7 9 £ 22 2 . Fortification Dr for the following Stores expended from the 12th July to the 11th October 1756 vizt Bunting vizt 2 pieces blue 2 6 8½ 3 pieces White 3 9 10 1 piece Red 1 11 13 7 7 8 Canvas vizt 6 Yards English 6 . 4 Yds Osnbrigs 2 11	The account of stores issued for the plantation's use continued. Brought over, £15 14s 11d Lines, 6 number 4 for the gardener's use, £2s 2.5d Iron, 1 cwt 13 lb for the carts, £1 7s 1d Cart wheels: 1 pair of cart wheels, £3 11s 6d 1 axletree, £8s 5.5d 4 0s 2.5d Nails: 2 lb 4d nails, £7d 1 lb 6d nails, £6.5d 1 lb 10d nails, £6d 1 lb 4d nails, £4.5d 2s 0d Cordage, 20 lb for thatching, £3s 10d Oil, 4 gallons train for thatching, £8d Tar, 2 gallons for the casks, £1s 4d Tin ware, 7 lb solder for Plantation House, £7s 9d Total, £22 2s 0d A further account of stores issued for the fortifications from 12 July to 11 October 1756. Bunting: 2 pieces blue, £2 6s 8.5d 3 pieces white, £3 9s 10d 1 piece red, £1 11s 1.5d 7 7s 8d Canvas: 6 yards English for a flag for the Main Fort, £6s 0d 4 yards Osnabrigs, signal flag for the outforts, £2s 11d 8s 11d Twine, 2 skeins, £1s 9.5d Lines, 1 Hambro, £1s 5d Thread: 1 lb brown, £6s 8d 5 lb coloured for the gunner's use, £16s 8d 1 3s 4d Deals, 2 fir planks for gun carriages, £1 17s 10d Total, £11 2s 4d A further account of stores issued for the hospital from 12 July to 11 October 1756. Sugar, 12 lb, £1 1s 3d Flour, 7 lb, £7s 6d Carried over, £1 9s 0d Interpretations

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		For a Flag for the Main Fort and Signal for Sandy Bay for the several forts 8 11 Twine 2 Skains 1 2½ Lines 1 Hambro 1 5 Thread vizt 1 lb Wt P Brown 6 8 5 D° Coloured 16 8 for the Gunners use 1 3 4 Deals 2 Inch Planks for Gun Carriages 1 17 10 £ 11 2½ Hospital Dr for the following Stores expended for the use of the Sick in the Infirmary from 12th July to 11th Oct 1756 vizt Sugar 12 lb 1 1 3 Flour 75 7 4 Carried over £ 1 9 .	The bunting and canvas issued for flags, blue, white and red, made up the signal flags and colours for the Main Fort and outlying batteries, the coloured cloth serving the island's system of visual signalling between its scattered posts and to the ships in the road. Hambro line was a small tarred cord from Hamburg used in rigging and general shipwork, and the fir planks for gun carriages the timber for building or repairing the wooden mountings of the cannon, both showing the specialised naval and military stores the island held for the upkeep of its ordnance and signalling.
86	81	Brought over £ 1 9 . Oil 4¾ Galln 1 . 8 Rice 10 P D° 1 2 8 Salt ¾ Bush 2 1½ £ 3 14 5½ Boats Dr for the following Stores expended for repairs of them from the 12th July to the 11th October 1756 vizt Nails vizt 6 lb . 4d 1 9 9 . 6 13 2½ 1 . 10 1 4 3 . 20 11 1 . 4 4½ 6 1 Pitch vizt ½ Barrel 3 lb Pitch 12 7 9 Galln Tar 6 . 18 7 Paint vizt 6 lb Brimstone 1 8 6 lb Venetian Red 1 8 9 lb Red Lead 4½ 9 lb White Lead 8½ 9 lb Yellow Oaker 4½ 2 Barr lb Blacking 1 . 5 10 Deals 2 Single 4 . Oil vizt ½ Galln Train 4 . 1½ Linseed 5 .	The account of stores issued for the hospital continued. Brought over, £1 9s 0d Oil, 4.5 gallons, £1s 8d Rice, 4 bags, £1 2s 8d Salt, 0.5 bushel, £1.5d Total, £3 14s 5.5d A further account of stores issued for the boats, being expended for repairs from 12 July to 11 October 1756. Nails: 6 lb 4d nails, £1s 9d 9 lb 6d nails, £3s 2.5d 1 lb 10d nails, £4d 3 lb 20d nails, £11d 1 lb 4d nails, £4.5d 6s 1d Pitch: 2 barrels 3 lb pitch, £12s 7d 9 gallons tar, £6s 0d 18s 7d Paint: 6 lb brimstone, £1s 8d 6 lb Venetian red, £1s 8d 2 lb red lead, £4.5d 2 lb white lead, £8.5d 2 lb yellow ochre, £4.5d 2 barrels blacking, £1s 0d 5s 10d Deals, 2 single, £4s 0d Oil: 0.5 gallon train, £4d 1.5 linseed, £5s 0d 5s 4d Twine: 2 skeins marline, £5.5d 1 skein twine, £1s 2.5d 1s 8d Turner's ware: 5 paint brushes, £2s 1d 2 shoe ditto, £1s 2d 3s 3d Oars, 2, £8s 0d Cordage, 11 lb, £3s 2.5d Total, £2 16s 1.5d Interpretations The boats' repair account shows the settlement maintaining its own small craft, the pitch, tar, oars, paint and nails going to caulk, coat and mend the boats that worked between the shore and the ships anchored

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		5 4 Twine vizt 2 Skains Marline 5½ 1 D° Twine 1 2½ 1 8 Turners Ware vizt 5 Paint Brushes 2 1 2 Shoe D° 1 2 3 3 Oars 2 8 8 Cordage 11 3 2½ £ 2 16 1½	in the road, an essential service on an island with no harbour where every landing and loading was done by boat. Venetian red and yellow ochre were earth pigments for the protective painting of the hulls, the brimstone and blacking part of the same coating and preserving of the timber against the sea, the whole a routine of upkeep on which the island's communication with the passing fleet depended.
87	82	Charges General Dr for the following Stores delivered Capt Nubury of his Majestys Ship Hampshire vizt Sugar and Candy vizt 5 lb Candy £ 15 9 14 lb Sugar 2 11 18 8 Soap 10 lb 12 . China Ware vizt 12 Coffee Cups 1 6 2 Sauce Boats 8 4 Sneakers 8 12 Soup plates 4 . 6 10 Paint 1 lb Blue Smalts 1 5 Paddy 220 8 8 Tea vizt 6 lb Single 7 . 2 D° Bohea 1 8 8 8 Corks 1 Grofs 2 6½ (Signed) £ 2 18 9½ October 11th 1756. Errors Excepted Purling Storekr Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honourable Companys Warehouses the 11th of October 1756 vizt Anchors vizt 4 Anchors 1 D° with 2 Cot links 2 Iron Hoops 75 13 4 Bunting vizt 2 pieces White 2 4 6½ 4 pieces Blue 5 6 9½ 3 pieces Red P D° 6 3 4 13 16 5 Carried over £ 69 10 .	A further account of charges general, being stores delivered to Captain Norbury of His Majesty's ship <i>Hampshire</i> . Sugar and candy: 5 lb candy, £15s 2d 14 lb sugar, £2s 11d 18s 0d Soap, 10 lb, £12s 0d China ware: 12 coffee cups, £1s 6d 2 sauce boats, £8d 4 sneakers, £8d 12 soup plates, £4s 0d 6s 10d Paint, 1 lb blue smalts, £1s 5d Paddy, 220 lb, £8s 0d Tea: 6 lb single, £7s 0d 2 lb bohea, £1s 0d 8s 0d Corks, 1 gross, £2s 6.5d Total, £2 15s 9.5d The account was dated 11 October 1756, errors excepted, signed Purling, storekeeper. An inventory of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouse on 11 October 1756. Anchors: 4 anchors 1 anchor with two cast hooks 2 iron hoops 75 13s 4d Bunting: 2 pieces white, £2 4s 6.5d 4 pieces blue, £5 6s 9.5d 3 pieces red, £6 3s 4d 13 16s 8d Carried over, £89 10s 0d Interpretations The stores supplied to Captain Norbury of the <i>Hampshire</i> record the Royal Navy warship revictualling at the island alongside the Company's own ships, the sugar, tea, soap and chinaware furnished to a king's ship on the same footing as the East Indiamen, the island serving the navy and the Company's fleet alike from a common store. The inventory that follows marks the yearly stocktaking for which the warehouse had been shut through late September and early October, the count of anchors, cordage and stores establishing what remained in hand at the close of the accounting year, the anchors alone valued at over seventy pounds showing the weight of costly ironwork the island held against the needs of the shipping that called.
88	83	Brought over £ 89 10 . Broad Cloath vizt	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouse continued.

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		43½ Yards Scarlet 38 4 1 31¼ Yards Colr 24 12 12 62 16 2½ Braziers Ware vizt 12 Small Skimmers 1 9 8½ 2 Large D° D° 2s 8 5 4 2 D° D° D° 6s 12 . 2 D° D° D° 10s 1 . 0 4 Flat Candlesticks 8 . 2 Warming Pans 1 2 6 1 Copper Pump 11 . 3 Brass Ladles 11 6 3 Brass for Soldering 10 3 4 Hack Pans 2 19 6 2 Brass locks 8 10 2 Copper Kettles of 12 Galls 5 16 3 2 D° of 6 Galls 3 4 6 1 Tea Kettle of 2 Galls 1 4 5 7 P Steel Snuffers 15 5½ 21 7 5½ Blocks vizt 4 Iron Bound Cat Blocks 1 5 8 2 D° Snatch 1 7 6 2 D° Double Iron 15 . 1 D° Single Iron 4 D° Dead Eyes 4 5 9 6 D° Ded Eyes 4 Double Long Tackles 9 . 2 Blocks Damag'd 8 . 9 . 11 Buckram 2 pieces 83 Yds 2 4 6 Beef & Pork vizt 24 Punchions 24 P Beef 320 17 9 42 Hhds 27 P Pork 387 4 6 708 2 3 Blankett 5 14 6 Copper Money 50,860 Irish Halfpence 122 12 6 Carried over £ 1016 8 2	Brought over, £89 10s 0d Broad cloth: 43.5 yards scarlet, £38 4s 1d 31.5 yards coloured, £24 12s 1.5d 62 16s 2.5d Braziers ware: 12 small skimmers, £1 9s 8.5d 2 large ditto at 2s 6d, £5s 4d 2 ditto ditto at 9d, £12s 0d 2 ditto ditto at hitho, £1 0s 0d 4 flat candlesticks, £8s 0d 2 warming pans, £1 2s 6d 1 copper pump, £11s 0d 3 brass ladles, £11s 6d 3 brass for soldering, £10s 5d 4 hawk pans, £2 19s 6d 2 brass cocks, £8s 10d 2 copper kettles of 12 gallons, £5 16s 3d 2 ditto of 6 gallons, £3 4s 6d 1 tea kettle of 2 gallons, £1 4s 5d 7 pairs steel snuffers, £15s 5.5d 24 7s 5.5d Blocks: 4 iron bound cat blocks, £1 5s 8d 2 ditto single, £1 7s 6d 2 ditto double top, £15s 0d 1 ditto single top, £15s 0d 4 ditto double eye, £4 5s 9d 6 ditto ditto single eye, £5s 9d 4 double long tackles, £19s 0d 2 blocks damaged, £8s 0d 9 11s 6d Buckram, 2 pieces, 82.5 yards, £2 4s 6d Beef and pork: 24 puncheons and 21 pieces beef, £320 17s 9d 42 puncheons 27 pieces pork, £387 4s 6d 708 2s 3d Blankets, 3, £14s 6d Copper money, 50,860 Irish halfpence, £122 12s 6d Carried over, £1,016 8s 2d Interpretations The great stock of barrelled beef and pork held in the warehouse, worth over seven hundred pounds and forming much of the whole inventory, shows salt provisions as the island's principal reserve, the store standing ready to victual the fleet as the ships arrived, the puncheon being the very large cask in which the meat was kept. The blocks, cat blocks, single and double tackle blocks, were the pulley blocks of ship's rigging, held in the store for the vessels that refitted at the island, and the copper money, a great quantity of Irish halfpence, represented a token coinage held against the want of small change, the copper of Ireland pressed into service on the island as it was in many colonies short of low-value coin.
89	84	Brot over £ 1016 8 2 Cutlery Ware vizt 15 Horse Combs 3 9 37 Horn D° 6 1½ 31 Ivory D° 2 6 9 88 P of Knee Buckles	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouse continued. Brought over, £1,016 8s 2d Cutlery ware: 15 horse combs, £3s 9d 37 horn ditto, £5s 7.5d 31 ivory ditto, £2 6s 9d 88 pairs of knee buckles, £1 16s 8d 5 cases of fleams, £1 2s 8.5d

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		1 16 8 5 Cases of Fleams 1 2 8½ 6 Dozen of Ivory Knives and Forks 8 5 . 4 Dozn of M ay Hand D° D° 3 6 . 2 Pruning Knives 4 . 21 Shoe Knives 7 . 90 pair Leather Garters 1 5 . 19 1 6 Cart Wheels vizt 10 Spare Sides for Hand & Wheelbarrows 1 D° Loads 1 8 4 2 pair Cart Wheels 7 3 . 2 Axeltrees 17 5 15 Wheel Barrows 10 15 . 20 3 9 Corks vizt 4 Grofs 15 Dozn Corks 11 9½ 9 P½ Sheet Cork 6 1½ 17 4 Camblet 62 Yds Brown 16 . Coals 3 Chaldron 6 5 6 Canvas vizt 3 pieces 10¾ Yds English Canvas 6 1 3 119¾ Osnbrigs 4 7 4 10 8 7 Cordage vizt 1 Shroud Hawser wt 16 2 19 5 Inch 31 . 16 4 D° 20 3 19 3½ D° 20 1 12 2½ D° 4 3 7 2 D° 10 3 4 9 Thread Ratling 2 2 7 £ 107 1 . 162 13 3 Carried over £ 1236 14 1	6 dozen of ivory knives and forks, £8 5s 0d 40 dozen of bay handled ditto ditto, £3 6s 0d 2 pruning knives, £4d 21 shoe knives, £7d 90 pairs leather garters, £1 5s 0d 19 1s 6d Cart wheels: 10 spare sides for hand and wheelbarrows, £1 8s 4d 1 pair loads, £1 8s 4d 2 pairs cart wheels, £7 3s 0d 2 axletrees, £17s 5d 15 wheelbarrows, £10 15s 0d 20 3s 9d Corks: 4 gross 15 dozen corks, £11s 9.5d 9.5 dozen sheet cork, £6s 1.5d 17s 4d Camblet, 62 yards brown, £16s 0d Coals, 3 chaldron, £6 5s 6d Canvas: 3 pieces 108.5 yards English canvas, £6 1s 3d 119.5 yards Osnabrigs, £4 7s 4d 10 8s 7d Cordage: 1 shroud hawser weighing 16 cwt 2 quarters 19 lb 5-inch, 31 cwt 16 lb 4-inch, 20 cwt 3 quarters 19 lb 3.5-inch, 20 cwt 1 quarter 12 lb 2.5-inch, 4 cwt 3 quarters 7 lb 2-inch, 10 cwt 3 quarters 4 lb 9 thread ratline, 2 cwt 2 quarters 7 lb total 107 cwt 1 quarter, £162 13s 3d Carried over, £1,236 14s 1d Interpretations A fleam was a lancet for bleeding, here held in cases among the cutlery, its presence in the store reflecting the routine practice of bloodletting in eighteenth-century medicine and veterinary care, the instrument stocked alongside the knives and combs. The large quantity of cordage held by size, from the heavy shroud hawser down to the thin ratline, over a hundred hundredweight in all and the single most valuable line in this part of the inventory, shows the island holding a substantial reserve of ship's rope of every gauge to supply and refit the East Indiamen, the standing and running rigging of the fleet drawn from the warehouse as the ships required.
90	85	Brot over £ 1236 14 1 Deals vizt 191 Double Deals 17 D° in use in the Cellars 33 3 . 3359 Single deals 29 D° in use in the Cellars 338 16 . 6 Spars 12 6 147 Bundles Laths 8 . 6½ 19 Wainscott Boards 4 15 . 1 Oak Plank of 4 Inches 1 15 10 7½ pieces Riga Timber 13 1 11 9 Baulks a 5s 11 2 13 3 17 D° a 9s 11 7 14 5 29 Coffers	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouse continued. Brought over, £1,236 14s 1d Deals: 191 double deals, £33 3s 0d 17 ditto in use in the cellars, £33 3s 0d 3,359 single deals, £338 16s 0d 29 ditto in use in the cellars, £338 16s 0d 6 spars, £12s 6d 147 bundles laths, £8s 6.5d 19 wainscot boards, £4 15s 0d 1 oak plank of 4 inches, £1 15s 10d 7.5 pieces Riga timber, £13 1s 11d 9 baulks at 5s 11d, £2 13s 3d 17 ditto at 9s 11d, £7 4s 5d 29 fir posts, £7 14s 10.5d 443 7s 4d Earthen ware, 6 milk pans, £1 15s 0d Serge, 35 yards, £8 3s 1d Flour, 779 cwt 3 quarters 16 lb, £487 0s 7d Glass ware: 36 squares glass 6 by 8, £8s 1.5d 62 squares ditto 10.5 by 12.5, £2 19s 5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		7 14 10½ 418 7 4 Earthen Ware 6 Milk Pans 1 15 . Serge 35 Yards 8 3 1 Flour 779 3 16 487 0 7 Glass Ware vizt 30 Squares Glass 6 by 8 8 1½ 62 Sqr D° 10½ by 12½ 2 19 5 28 Sqr D° 10 by 12 1 3 4 14 Sqr D° 19 by 11 1 2 9 16 Beer Glasses 13 4 2 Tumblers 1 4 3 4 hour Glasses 10 . 1 3 hour 3 4 12 half Minute D° 6 6 1 D° Decanter 2 10 7 10 8 Grindstones vizt 1 Grindstone 15 6 1 D° 2 9 18 3 Hatts vizt 4 Mens 3 10 4 1 Boys 6 . 6 Centinels 16 9 4 13 1 Carried over £ 2165 9 1	28 squares ditto 10 by 12, £1 3s 4d 14 squares ditto 19 by 11, £1 2s 9d 16 beer glasses, £13s 4d 2 tumblers, £1s 4d 3 4-hour glasses, £10d 1 3-hour ditto, £3s 4d 12 half-minute ditto, £6s 6d 1 pint decanter, £2s 10d 7 10s 8d Grindstones: 1 grindstone, £15s 6d 1 ditto, £2s 9d 18s 3d Hats: 4 men's, £3 10s 4d 1 boy's, £6s 0d 6 centinels, £16s 9d 4 13s 1d Carried over, £2,165 9s 1d Interpretations The very large stock of imported timber, over three thousand single deals besides the double deals, spars, laths, baulks, posts and Riga timber, forms one of the greatest values in the whole inventory, marking the island's total dependence on brought-in wood for all its building, coopering and ship repair, since the settlement grew no useful construction timber of its own. The four-hour, three-hour and half-minute glasses were sand timers of fixed run, the longer glasses used to mark the watches of the day and the half-minute glass to time the log line in measuring a ship's speed, the store keeping the instruments by which both the garrison's routine and the visiting ships' navigation were regulated.
91	86	Brot over £ 2165 9 1 Hosiers Ware vizt 1 P Mens knit Stockings 3 . Damaged 2 P Womens D° 6 6 35 P Thread 10 16 . 11 5 6½ Hooks & Lines vizt 4 Dozn Lines N° 4 17 8 100 Dozn D° 3 19 7 . 66 Dozn 5 D° 2 11 . 10 5 Hambro Lines 7 1 27025 Hooks N° 1 66 1 8 24050 D° 2 36 1 6 21400 D° 3 10 14 6 6500 D° 4 2 14 2 2900 D° 5 2 13 10 1025 Klicebooks	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouse continued. Brought over, £2,165 9s 1d Hosier's ware: 1 pair men's knit stockings, £3s 0d 2 pairs women's ditto, £6s 6d 35 pairs thread, £10 16s 0d 11 5s 6.5d Hooks and lines: 4 dozen lines number 4, £17s 0d 100 dozen ditto number 3, £19 7s 0d 66 dozen number 5 ditto number 2, £11 0s 10d 5 Hambro lines, £7s 1d 27,025 hooks number 1, £66 1s 8d 24,050 ditto number 2, £36 1s 6d 21,400 ditto number 3, £10 12s 6d 6,500 ditto number 4, £2 14s 2d 2,900 ditto number 5, £2 13s 10d 1,025 ilta hooks, £2s 9d 3,500 hooks of Grantham, £1 18s 0d 159 11s 0d Haberdashery ware: 7.5 lb whalebone, £1 14s 3d 2.15 lb silk, £3 7s 3.5d 7.1 lb mohair, £8 9s 6d 34 gross mohair coat buttons, £11 4s 9d 5 gross 1 dozen waistcoat breast ditto, £16s 6d 4 gross 6 dozen ditto ditto breast ditto, £5s 5d 15 pieces Holland tape, £12s 6d 3 dozen 3 gilt coat buttons, £13s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 9 3500 Hooks P Grantham 1 18 . 159 11 . Haberdashery Ware vizt 7 lb Whalebone 1 14 5 2 15 Silk 8 7 5½ 7 P 1 Mohair 8 9 6 34 Grofs Mohair Coat Buttons 11 4 9 5 Gro 1 Dozn M Breast D° 16 6 4 Gro 8 Dozn Frt Breast D° 5 5 13 pieces Holland Tape 12 6 3 Dozn 3 Gilt Coat Buttons 13 . 6 Dozn 6 Gilt Breast D° 17 . 6 Dozn Silver Coat 1 13 . 2 Dozn Silver Breast D° 7 9½ 7 Grofs Shirt Buttons 15 2 8 Grofs White Metal Coat Buttons 19 . 33 15 4 Iron & Steel vizt 4 P 7 P Iron 44 2 1 1 3 9 Steel 3 12 10½ 17 14 11½ Carried over £ 2387 15 11	6 dozen 6 gilt breast ditto, £17s 0d 6 dozen silver coat ditto, £1 13s 0d 2 dozen silver breast ditto, £7s 9.5d 7 gross shirt buttons, £15s 2d 8 gross white waistcoat breast buttons, £19s 0d 33 15s 4d Iron and steel: 14 cwt 3 quarters 7 lb iron, £14 2s 1d 1 cwt 3 quarters 9 lb steel, £3 12s 10.5d 17 14s 11.5d Carried over, £2,517 15s 11d Interpretations The enormous stock of fishing hooks, more than eighty-five thousand of every size besides the many dozens of lines, stands out as one of the most striking items in the inventory, reflecting both the central place of sea fishing in the island's food supply and the trade in tackle to the ships and slaves who fished, the hooks held in such number that they served as a staple of the store rather than an occasional supply. Whalebone, the flexible baleen from the mouths of whales, was held among the haberdashery for stiffening garments and stays, and the great quantity of buttons of mohair, gilt, silver and thread, counted by the gross, shows the store keeping the fastenings and trimmings for the making and mending of all the island's clothing, from officers' coats to common shirts.
92	87	Brot over £ 2387 15 11 Iron Potts vizt 7 of 6 Gallons 2 9 . 3 of 4 Galls 18 . 1 of 3 Galls 4 6 4 of 2 Galls 16 . 2 of 1 Gall 4 . 4 11 6 Ironmongers Ware vizt 9 Iron rimd Locks D 2 4 2 5 D° D° 2 4 8 8 6 Brass Locks 6 19 . 2 Iron rimd Locks B 11 . 5 D° C 1 15 10 11 D° with brass knobs 3 . 6 1 Stock Lock with pipes 4 11 3 Stock Locks 6 3 2 Chest Locks 7 . 2 Cupboard Locks 7 2 3 Broad Hoes 5 14	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouse continued. Brought over, £2,517 15s 11d Iron pots: 7 of 6 gallons, £2s 9d 3 of 4 gallons, £18s 0d 1 of 3 gallons, £4s 6d 4 of 2 gallons, £6s 0d 2 of 1 gallon, £4s 0d 4 11s 6d Ironmongers ware: 2 iron rimmed locks, number 4, £2 4s 2d 5 ditto number 2, £4 8s 0d 6 brass locks, £6 19s 0d 2 iron rimmed locks, B, £11s 0d 5 ditto, C, £1 15s 10d 11 ditto with brass knobs, £3 0s 6d 1 stock lock with pipes, £2s 11d 3 stock locks, £6s 3d 2 chest locks, £7s 0d 2 cupboard locks, £7s 2d 3 broad hoes, £5s 12d 1 jack plane, £1s 10d 5 gouges, £1s 5.5d 7 pairs sheep shears, £12s 0d 8 adzes, £17s 4d 10 scissors, £11s 6d 4 turfing irons, £15s 2d 7 pickaxes, £9s 2.5d 7 augers, £2s 11d 50 lead nails, £1 2s 11d 211 packing needles, £1 10s 9d 2 pairs harmless hinges, number 4, £8s 0d 16 pairs harmless hinges, number 4, £1 3s 4d 12 pairs harmless hinges, number 2, £13s 0d 8 pairs harmless hinges, number 3, £3 1s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Sash Plane 1 10 5 Gouges 1 5½ 7 P Sheep Shears 14 . 8 Adzes 17 4 10 Scissors 16 8 4 Turfing Irons 11 6 7 Pickaxes 15 2 7 Augers 9 2½ 50 Lead Nails 1 2 11 211 Packing Needles 1 10 9 2 P H Hinges D 4s 8 . 16 P H Hinges D 4s 1 3 4 16 P H Hinges D 4s 1 13 . 12 P H Hinges D 2s 9 1 13 . 8 P H Hinges D 7s 6½ 3 1 6 11 P Shutter Hinges 1 4 9 34 17 2½ Carried over £ 2392 7 5	11 pairs shutter hinges, £1 4s 9d 34 17s 2.5d Carried over, £2,392 7s 5d Interpretations The inventory's long run of locks of many kinds, iron rimmed, brass, stock, chest and cupboard, together with hinges, planes, gouges, adzes and augers, shows the warehouse holding the working ironmongery for the whole settlement's building and joinery, the tools and fittings that furnished and secured the island's houses and stores drawn entirely from imported stock. Turfing irons were the spade-like tools for cutting turf, and sheep shears the blades for clipping the flocks, both marking the store's provision for the island's husbandry and land work, the same warehouse that supplied the fort and the fleet also equipping the plantation's ordinary labour on the ground.
93	88	Brot over £ 2392 7 5 Ironmongers Ware brot over 34 17 2½ 16 P H Hinges with Brass Joints 2 10 8 24 P Tee Hinges 1 6 6 12 Scyths 3 3 . 85 Scyth Stones 7 1 13 Plaisterers Trowels 19 6 5 Bricklayers Trowels D 1s 5 7 1 5 Bricklayers D° D 1s 5 . 7 Turners Hatchetts 14 . 6 Dozn and 3 Small Gimblets 14 4 24 Stone Wedges 16 . 1 Whip Saw 1 2 7½ 2 Handspikes 5 . 1 Jack Spit 5 6 10 Dozn 3 Files 5 11 9½ 3 Turner Chissels 1 6 2 Straw Cutters 5 8 3 Stone Saws 1 19 6 8 P Stone Saw Heads 2 3 8 34 Spades 4 16 3	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouse continued. Brought over, £2,392 7s 5d Ironmongers ware brought over, £34 17s 2.5d 16 pairs hinges with brass joints, £2 10s 8d 24 pairs door hinges, £1 6s 6d 12 scythes, £3 3s 0d 95 scythe stones, £7s 1d 13 plasterers' trowels, £19s 6d 5 bricklayers' trowels number 3, £7s 1d 5 bricklayers' ditto number 2, £5s 0d 7 turners' hatchets, £14s 0d 6 dozen and 3 small gimblets, £14s 4d 24 stone wedges, £16s 0d 1 whip saw, £1 2s 7.5d 2 hand spikes, £5s 0d 1 jack ditto, £5s 6d 10 dozen 3 files, £5 11s 9.5d 3 turner's chisels, £1s 6d 2 iron cutters, £5s 8d 8 stone saws, £1 19s 6d 8 pairs stone saw heads, £2 3s 8d 34 spades, £4 16s 3d 5 grubbing hoes, £14s 7d 5 pairs planking cramps, £1 14s 9d 19 setting hammers, £6 8s 4.5d 12 drill bows, £1 6s 5d 6 drill boxes, £9d 1 coffee toaster, £2s 6d 1 cross cut saw, £1 1s 2.5d 4 walling hammers, £6s 0d 4 pairs of steel compasses, £1s 4d 52 file hafts, £1s 11.5d 4 bill hooks, £9s 0d Ironmongers ware carried over, £74 15s 11d Carried over, £2,392 7s 5d Interpretations The array of masons' and stoneworkers' tools, plasterers' and bricklayers' trowels, stone saws and their heads, stone wedges, walling and setting hammers and planking cramps, shows the warehouse equipping the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 Grubbing Hoes 14 7 5 P Planking Cards 1 14 9 19 Setting Hammers 6 8 4½ 12 Drill Bows 1 6 5 6 Drill Bowes 9 . 1 Coffee Roaster 2 6 1 Crofs Cut Saw 1 1 4½ 4 Walling Hammers 6 . 4 P of Steel Compasses 1 4 . 52 File Hafts 1 11½ 4 Bill Hooks 9 . Iron Ware carried over £ 74 15 11 Carried over £ 2392 7 5	island's building trades in stone as well as timber, the tools of construction held in quantity to serve the constant works of fortification and housing on the island. Grubbing hoes were heavy tools for breaking new ground and clearing roots, and the bill hooks blades for cutting brushwood, both marking the store's provision for the labour of clearing and cultivating land, the same warehouse furnishing at once the fine instruments of the tradesman and the rough implements of the field.
24	89	Brot over £ 2392 7 5 Ironmongers Ware brot over 74 15 11 5 Claw Hammers 5 6 6 Pruning Saws 10 . 28 Dozn Wood Screws 9 4 1 Large Jack 7 10 2 2 Small Jacks 9 16 . 3 Cleavers 11 6 1 Large Frying pan 2 10 3 Shovels 1 7 . 1 Whimble Brace 2 6 3 Bs Brass wire 7½ 12 lb Corn Emory 12 lb Flour D° 13 5 9 Rasps 4 10½ 10 Smiths Rubbers 1 10 5 10 Halves 6 4 1 P Screw Stocks 7 2 46 P Shutter Hinges 4 16 9 24 Sash Fastnings 7 8 28 Garden Hoes 2 2 . 6 Box Irons 2 6 6 4 D° Broad 11 . 40 Brass Shutter Rings 8 10 1 Smiths Rubstone 3 6 1 Hand Hammer 6 . 1 Sledge Hammer	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouse continued. Brought over, £2,392 7s 5d Ironmongers ware brought over, £74 15s 11d 5 claw hammers, £5s 6d 6 pruning saws, £10s 0d 28 dozen wood screws, £9s 4d 1 large jack, £7 10s 2d 2 small jacks, £9 16s 0d 3 cleavers, £11s 6d 1 large frying pan, £2s 10d 3 shovels, £1s 7d 1 thimble brace, £2s 6d 3 pieces brass wire, £7.5d 12 lb corn emery, £13s 5d 12 lb flour ditto, £13s 5d 9 rasps, £4s 10.5d 10 smith's rubbers, £1 10s 5d 10 helves, £6s 4d 1 pair screw stocks, £7s 2d 44 pairs shutter hinges, £4 16s 9d 24 sash fastenings, £7s 6d 28 garden hoes, £2 2s 0d 6 box irons, £2 6s 6d 5 ditto boxes, £11s 0d 40 brass shutter rings, £8s 10d 1 smith's rubstone, £3s 6d 1 hand hammer, £6s 0d 1 sledge hammer, £13s 9d 5 pairs clipping shears, £3s 10d 1 pair garden shears, £3s 10d 29 ditching shovels, £6 10s 6d 17 shod shovels, £1 8s 4d 12 garden hoes, £1 8s 7d 6 frying pans, £19s 10d 2 pairs steelyards, £1 2s 0d 122 2s 2.5d Carried over, £2,514 9s 5.5d Interpretations Corn emery and flour emery were coarse and fine grades of the abrasive powder used for grinding and polishing metal, held by the pound among the smith's stores for the armourer's and the tradesmen's work. The jacks, valued together at over seventeen pounds and among the costliest tools in this part of the inventory, were lifting jacks or heavy screw devices for raising great weights, equipment the island needed for handling guns, casks and building materials, the large and small jacks held ready for the heavy lifting that the fort, the store and the shipping all required.

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		13 9 5 P Clipping Shears 3 10 1 P Garden Sheers 3 10 29 Ditching Shovels 6 10 6 17 Shod Shovels 1 8 4 12 Garden Hoes 1 8 7 6 Frying Pans 19 10 2 P Steelyards 1 . 2 132 2 . Carried over £ 2514 9 5	
95	90	Brot over £ 2514 9 5½ Kersey 12¾ Yds 2 17 . Long Ells 1 P 4½ Yds 2 2 6 Lead vizt 10 P wt of 2 Inch Pipe 4 15 6 16.3.26 Sheet 17 16 7½ 3.12 Shot 17 . 23 9 1½ Leather vizt Cwt Qr lb 3 lb Sole 4 18 . 2.9 Pump 4 9 7 9 7 7 Masts vizt 1 Large Mast 76 Foot long 21 Inches Diameter 33 11 . 1 Top Mast 65 Foot long 17 Inches D° 21 15 . ½ a Top Mast 8 10 . 1 Top mast by Pelham 7 . 1 Cap 1 11 6 72 7 6 Mustard Seed 2 3 Bushels 2 2 1½ Nails vizt Cwt Qr lb 4.3.26 2d 16 5 6 4.0 20 3 11 4 3 7.1.4 4 16 3 . 5.2.25 6 11 7 . 4.3.21 10 7 11 . 1.3.12 20 3 5 . 1.0 19 40 1 10 2½ 3.2.22 Scupper 9 1 1½ 3.2.6 Flooring Brads 6 12 8 5 Glazing Brads 5 1 1 lb Tacks 7 1 3	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouse continued. Brought over, £2,514 9s 5.5d Kersey, 12.75 yards, £2 17s 0d Long ells, 15 pieces 4.75 yards, £2 2s 6d Lead: 10 cwt 1 quarter of 2-inch pipe, £4 15s 6d 16 cwt 3 quarters 26 lb sheet, £17 16s 7.5d 3 cwt 12 lb shot, £17s 0d 23 9s 1.5d Leather: 3 cwt 3 lb sole, £4 18s 0d 2 cwt 9 lb pump, £4 9s 7d 9 7s 7d Masts: 1 large mast 76 feet long 21 inches diameter, £33 11s 0d 1 top mast 65 feet long 17 inches diameter ditto, £21 15s 0d half a top mast, £8 10s 0d 1 topmast by the <i>Pelham</i> , £7 0s 0d 1 cap, £1 11s 6d 72 7s 6d Mustard seed, 2 cwt 3 bushels, £2 2s 1.5d Nails: 4 cwt 3 quarters 26 lb 2d nails, £16 5s 6d 4 cwt 0 quarters 20 lb 3d nails, £11 4s 3d 7 cwt 1 quarter 4 lb 4d nails, £16 3s 0d 5 cwt 2 quarters 25 lb 6d nails, £11 7s 0d 4 cwt 3 quarters 21 lb 10d nails, £7 11s 0d 1 cwt 3 quarters 12 lb 20d nails, £3 5s 0d 1 cwt 0 quarters 19 lb 40d nails, £1 10s 2.5d 3 cwt 2 quarters 22 lb scupper nails, £9 1s 1.5d 3 cwt 2 quarters 6 lb sheathing brads, £6 12s 0d 5 lb glazing brads, £5s 1d 1 cwt 1 quarter tacks, £7 1s 3d 90 14s 1d Oil: 243 gallons train, £32 0s 0d 223 gallons linseed, £37 3s 4d 69 11s 4d Carried over, £2,707 1s 8.5d Interpretations The masts held in store, the great mast of seventy-six feet, the top masts and the mast left by the <i>Pelham</i> , together worth over seventy pounds, were among the most valuable single items of ship's equipment on the island, the spare spars kept ready to replace masts sprung or carried away on the voyage, a critical resupply for the East Indiamen at their mid-ocean station. The nails held by hundredweight in every size, from small brads to great forty-penny spikes, together with the scupper nails and sheathing brads used in coppering and fitting ships' hulls, show the warehouse stocked with the fastenings for both building ashore and repairing afloat, the specialised sheathing and scupper nails marking the store's provision for the shipwright's work as much as the carpenter's.

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		90 14 1 Oil vizt 243 Galln Train 32 8 . 223 Galln Linseed 37 3 4 69 11 4 Carried over £ 2787 1 8½	
26	91	Brot over £ 2787 1 8½ Oars vizt 8 Oars P Grantham 1 10 . 20 of 16 Feet 16 of 14 Feet 6 10 . 8 . . Paint vizt 13 P wt 8 Whiting 1 6 0 2 7 Umber 1 1 . 2.1.10 Red Lead 2 10 7½ 2.3.17 Venetian Red 3 . 11 1.1.11 Brimstone 1 11 5½ 1 2 7 Yellow Oaker 1 2 4 1 3 Blue Smalts 2 1 1 34 Jamaica Indico 1 . 7½ 18 White Coperas 18 . 1 22 Stone Oaker 1 1 6 30 Prussian Blue 6 . 6 lb Saccarum Saturney 1 1½ 13.3.0 White Lead 25 5 9 2.2.17 Olive Colour 25 19 9 3.0 Sky Blue 7 . 6 .. Stone Colour 15 6 . 1.9 Mahogany 4 3 3 10 Barrels of Blacking 5 . 94 10 9 Pumps 2 25 6 11 Pitch & Tar vizt 5¾ Barrels of Tar 8 10 7 4 Barrels of Pitch 4 17 . ½ Barrel Turpentine 8 11½ 9 Rosin 1 5 10 15 2 4½ Pewter vizt 5 half Gallon Pots 1 5 10 4 Dishes wt 9s 4 1 13 4 18 D° D° 6s 4 3 17 . 10 D° D° 12 4 10 12 4	The inventory of stores remaining in the warehouse continued. Brought over, £2,707 1s 8.5d Oars: 8 oars for Grantham, £1 10s 0d 20 of 16 feet, £6 18s 0d 16 of 14 feet, £6 18s 0d Paint: 13 cwt 1 quarter 8 lb whiting, £1 6s 0d 2 cwt 7 lb umber, £1 1s 0d 2 cwt 1 quarter 18 lb red lead, £2 10s 7.5d 2 cwt 3 quarters 17 lb Venetian red, £3 0s 11d 1 cwt 1 quarter 11 lb brimstone, £1 11s 5.5d 1 cwt 0 quarters 7 lb yellow ochre, £1 2s 4d 1 cwt 3 quarters 1 lb blue smalts, £2 1s 1d 32 lb Jamaica indigo, £1 7.5d 18 lb white copperas, £18s 0d 1 cwt 22 lb stone ochre, £1 1s 6d 30 lb Prussian blue, £6s 0d 6 lb saccharum saturni, £1s 1.5d 13 cwt 3 quarters 0 lb white lead, £25 5s 9d 2 cwt 2 quarters 17 lb olive colour, £25 19s 9d 3 cwt 0 lb sky blue, £7s 0d 6 cwt stone colour, £15s 0d 1 cwt 9 lb mahogany, £4 3s 3d 10 barrels of blacking, £5s 0d 94 10s 9d Pumps, 2, £25 6s 11d Pitch and tar: 5.5 barrels of tar, £8 10s 7d 4 barrels of pitch, £4 17s 0d 0.5 barrel turpentine, £8 11.5d 9 rosin, £1 5s 10d 15 2s 4.5d Pewter: 5 half-gallon pots, £1 5s 10d 5 dishes, £1 13s 4d 10 ditto of 9.5 lb, £10 12s 4d 1 worm tub and still, £10s 6d 1 crane, £14s 0d 20 7s 0d Carried over, £2,950 16s 9d Interpretations The great stock of paint ingredients, white lead, red lead, olive and stone colours, ochres, smalts and Prussian blue, held by the hundredweight and worth nearly a hundred pounds in all, shows the island mixing its own paints in quantity for the constant coating and preserving of the fort, the boats, the buildings and the ships against the weather and the sea. Saccharum saturni, or sugar of lead, was lead acetate used both as a pigment drier and in medicine, and white copperas a zinc sulphate used in dyeing and as a mordant, the two chemical stores held among the paints for the specialised work of the painter and the dyer, marking the range of materials the warehouse kept for trades that could draw on nothing but imported supply.

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		1 Worm Tub and Still 10 6 20 7 . 1 Crane Carried over £ 2950 16 9	
97	92	Bro't over £ 2950 11 9 Soap 5:5:10 14 6 8 Starch 3:15 1 13 . Shoes vizt 2 pr Mens Ordinary Shoes " 8 " 1 pr Mens Pumps " 6 " 3 pr Womens Calimanco " 14 " 4 pr Womens Cloth " 9 0 3 pr Boys " 10 1½ 1 pr Girls " 1 10 2 pair Stitches " 5 2 Salt 68¾ Bushels 2 14 9½ Shirts vizt 396 Osnabrigs Shirts 87 19 " 508 Neckcloaths 14 16 4 4¾ pr Linen 0 6 3 41 1 7 Scales & Weights vizt 3 pr Scales Store use 1 pr Scales } 15 10 7 3 Beams for Scales 1 Beam Store use } 20 12 " 1 pr Scale Boards 1 pr Do Store use } 4 19 " 39 9 7 Sailors Cloaths vizt 30 Mens Jackets & Breeches 21 2 6 63 Mens Check'd Shirts 11 5 9 36 Scotch Bonnets 1 7 " 33 15 3 Soldiers Cloaths vizt 2 Mattresses Coats & Breeches 4 4 8 1 Colonels Do & Do 5 18 9 10 3 5 Thread vizt 3 lb White & brown 12 " " 172 lb coloured 28 13 4 3 oz Nuns 5 4 40 40 8 Carried over £ 3225 5 11½	Brought over, £2,950 16s 9d Soap 5cwt 3qtr 10lb, £0 14s 6d Starch 3cwt 15lb, £1 13s 0d Shoes viz 2 pairs men's ordinary shoes, 8s 1 pair men's pumps, 6s 3 pairs women's calimanco, 14s 4 pairs women's calf, 9s 0d 3 pairs boys, 10s 1½d 1 pair girls, 1s 10d 2 pairs stockings, 5s 2d Salt 68¾ bushels, £2 14s 9½d Shirts viz 396 Osnabrig shirts, £87 19s 0d 508 neckcloths, £14 16s 4d 4¾ pieces linen, £0 6s 3d Total shirts, £41 1s 7d Scales and weights viz 3 pairs scales store use 1 pair scales, £15 10s 7d 3 beams for scales 1 beam store use, £20 12s 0d 1 pair scale boards 1 pair ditto store use, £4 19s 0d Total scales and weights, £29 9s 7d Sailors' cloaths viz 30 men's jackets and breeches, £21 2s 6d 63 men's checked shirts, £11 5s 9d 36 Scotch bonnets, £1 7s 0d Total sailors' cloaths, £33 15s 3d Soldiers' cloaths viz 2 mattresses' coats and breeches, £4 4s 8d 1 colonel's ditto and ditto, £5 18s 9d Total soldiers' cloaths, £10 3s 5d Thread viz 3lb white brown, £12 0s 0d 172½lb coloured, £28 13s 4d 3oz nuns, £0 5s 4d Total thread, £40 18s 8d Carried over, £3,225 5s 11½d
98	93	1756 Tin Ware vizt Bro't over £ 3225 5 11½ 4 lb Sal Armoniac 1 2 212 Lanthorn Leaves 1 2 3 Watering Potts 2 4 2 1 Horn Lanthorn damaged 15 " 2 Glass Lanthorns 2 6 2 Sheet Lamps 10 " 1 Do Dripping pan 1 4 " 4 lb Solder 4 2 4 7 " 9 16 " Twine vizt 5 lb Twine 6 7½ 10 lb Marline 1 6 7 1 13 2½ Turners Ware vizt 1 Scrubbing Brush " 1 0 1 Platter broke " 11 2 Bowls " 1 10½ 1 Ladle broke " 2 2 Staining Dishes " 6 1 Tray " 2 6 2 Cows 2 2 1 Butter print " 6½ 67 Paint brushes 1 7 11 8 Skimming Dishes 1 10 1 Hair Broom " 2 1 13 Labourers Baskets 9 9 12 Fishmens Yokes " 10 " 7 pr Yokes for Oxen 12 9 1 15 10 2	1756 Brought over, £3,225 5s 11½d Tin ware viz ½lb sal ammoniac, £0 1s 2d 212 lanthorn leaves, £0 4s 2d 3 watering pots, £0 15s 0d 1 horn lanthorn damaged, £0 2s 6d 2 glass lanthorns, £0 10s 0d 2 sheet lamps, £1 4s 0d 1 dripping pan, £0 4s 2d 0½ solder, £4 7s 0d Total tin ware, £9 16s 0d Twine viz 5½lb twine, £0 6s 7½d 11lb marline, £1 6s 7d Total twine, £1 13s 2½d Turners ware viz 1 scrubbing brush, £0 1s 0d 1 platter broke, £0 11s 0d 2 bowls, £0 1s 10½d 1 ladle broke, £0 2s 0d 2 straining dishes, £0 6s 0d 1 tray, £0 2s 6d 2 cans, £0 2s 2d 1 butter print, £0 6s 2½d 67 paint brushes, £1 7s 11d 8 skimming dishes, £0 1s 10d 1 hair broom, £0 2s 1d 13 labourers' baskets, £0 9s 9d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		European Goods Amounting to £ 3282 13 4 India Goods vizt Arrack 112½ Gallons 165 3 8 Cotton 8 lb 4 8 Chaltees vizt 7½ pr Chaltees 35 12 6 1 pr Do Damaged Carried over £3433 16 2	12 fishermen's yokes, £0 10s 0d 7 pairs yokes for oxen, £12 9s 1d Total turners' ware, £15 10s 2d European goods amounting to £3,282 13s 4d India goods viz Arrack 112½ gallons, £16 5s 3s 8d Cotton 8lb, £0 4s 8d Chaloes viz 7½ pieces chaloes, £35 12s 6d 1 piece ditto damaged Carried over, £3,433 16s 2d Interpretations The dripping pan, staining dishes, tray, cans and butter print, alongside scrubbing brushes and paint brushes, showed the range of turned wooden and tin ware needed to equip both domestic kitchens and the East India Company's own store on the island. The labourers' baskets, fishermen's yokes and oxen yokes pointed to the practical equipment issued for the island's manual labour, its fishing trade and its use of draught oxen for haulage. Arrack, a spirit distilled in India and the East Indies chiefly from fermented palm sap, rice or sugarcane, was imported in bulk quantity here, reflecting its role as a common drink and trade commodity supplied to St Helena from India Goods rather than European stock. Chaloes were a variety of striped or checked cotton cloth from India, traded widely by the East India Company both for local use and onward sale, and the damaged piece recorded here without value showed the losses inherent in shipping textiles over long ocean voyages.
99	94	China Ware vizt Bro't over £ 3433 16 2 46 Soup plates 15 4 0 6 Soup Dishes 1 12 0 10 Bowls 6 8 70 Sneckers 11 8 32 Sallad Dishes 1 1 4 5 Meat Dishes 20 Meat plates } 14 0 6 half pint Cups & Saucers 2 4 39 Quarter pint Do & Do 10 7 1 Gaglet and Bason 2 8 8 Coffee Cups 1 0 8 Sauce Boats 2 8 6 0 3 Candles 33: cwt qr 19 383 2 2 Descoties 4 lb 1 11 4 0 Pepper 8 4 0 Stockings 4 pr 1 2 0 Sugar & Candy vizt 62: cwt 2 qr lb Sugar 73 1 3 33: Do Do Candy 53 18 0 126 19 3 Rice & Paddy vizt 166: cwt qr lb 47 1 4 73:3: Do Paddy 16 5 9 63 7 1 Tea vizt 352 lb Bohea 14 13 4 327 Congo 35 2 8 154 Single 26 9 8 76 5 0 European & Indian Goods remaining Oct 11th 1756 amounting to £ 4092 9 7	The heading names a date sitting outside the running consultation series, so the direct read is set out as instructed, with the fallback query held for the compressed lines it exposes. 27 October Brought over, £3,433 16s 2d China ware viz 46 soup plates, £0 15s 4d 6 soup dishes, £1 12s 0d 10 bowls, £0 6s 8d 70 saucers, £0 11s 8d 32 sallad dishes, £1 1s 4d 5 meat dishes 20 meat plates, £0 14s 0d 6 half pint cups and saucers, £0 2s 4d 39 quarter pint ditto and ditto, £0 10s 7d 1 goglet and basin, £0 2s 8d 8 coffee cups, £0 1s 0d 8 sauce boats, £0 2s 8d Total china ware, £6 0s 3d Candles 33cwt 0qtr 19lb, £383 2s 2d Dessicated coconut 4lb, £1 11s 0d Pepper 8lb, £0 4s 0d Stockings 4 pairs, £1 2s 0d Sugar and candy viz 62cwt 2qtr 14lb sugar, £73 1s 3d 33cwt 0qtr 0lb candy, £53 18s 0d Total sugar and candy, £126 19s 3d Rice and paddy viz 166cwt 3qtr 0lb rice, £47 1s 4d 73cwt 3qtr 0lb paddy, £16 5s 9d Total rice and paddy, £63 7s 1d Tea viz 352lb bohea, £14 13s 4d 327lb congo, £35 2s 8d 154lb single, £26 9s 8d Total tea, £76 5s 0d European and Indian goods remaining October 11th 1756 amounting to £4,092 9s 7d The line for meat dishes carries no sum of its own, its cost folded into the figure set against meat plates immediately below, so no separate value can be supplied without inventing one. The consolidated

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			reference does not extend to this level of the china ware account, so if the individual valuation is wanted it will need to come from elsewhere. Interpretations The goglet, an Indian earthenware water vessel designed to keep its contents cool through evaporation from its porous body, appeared paired with a basin in a single line, reflecting its place as a washstand fitting rather than a table item among the surrounding china. Dessicated coconut, prepared by drying and shredding the flesh of the coconut for storage and transport, formed part of the miscellaneous provisions carried on the account rather than the bulk foodstuffs recorded under their own headings. The scale of the candle purchase, at over 33 hundredweight and accounting for more than £383, marked it as one of the largest single entries on the page, reflecting the volume of lighting needed to sustain the garrison, shipping and civil establishment on the island through the dark hours, particularly given St Helena's distance from any alternative supply.
100	95	Materials for the Barracks vizt £ Paint vizt 2: cwt qr lb White Lead lb 4 8 2: cwt qr lb Dead colours 4 8 1 cwt qr lb Chocolate 3 3 10 11 19 10 Oil 21 Galls 4 8 2 Turners Ware 12 paint Brushes 7 8 Iron cwt qr lb 5 10 5 Glass vizt 535 Square feet 8 by 10 576 Do 6 by 8 } 26 11 7 Deals vizt 738 pcs Fir Timber 152 4 0 7 pcs Oak plank 9 7 0 161 11 0 Nails cwt qr lb Locks 79 } 38 0 11 Hinges 172 pr £ 248 9 7 Materials for the Hospital vizt Fir Timber 275 pcs White Lead 1 Cask Dry colours 1 Box Glass 208 Square feet 8 by 10 Iron cwt qr lb Nails cwt qr lb Locks 11 Hinges 30 pr of H. Oil Galls	Materials for the barracks viz Paint viz 2¼ firkins white lead, £4 0s 0d 2¼ firkins dark colours, £4 0s 0d 1 firkin chocolate, £3 3s 10d Total paint, £11 19s 10d Oil 21 gallons, £4 8s 2d Turners' ware 12 paint brushes, £0 7s 8d Iron 5cwt 0qtr 9lb, £5 10s 5d Glass viz 535 square feet 8 by 10, £26 11s 7d 576 ditto ditto 8 by 8 Deals viz 738 feet fir timber, £152 4s 0d 7 feet oak plank, £9 7s 0d Total deals, £161 11s 0d Nails 4cwt 3qtr 4lb Locks 79, £38 0s 11d Hinges 172 pairs Total materials for the barracks, £248 9s 7d Materials for the hospital viz Fir timber 275 feet White lead 1 cask Dry colours 1 box Glass 200 square feet 8 by 10 Iron 5cwt 2qtr 9lb Nails 3cwt 5lb Locks 11 Hinges 50 pairs of hinges Oil gallons The lines for nails, locks and hinges under barracks materials, and the whole of the hospital materials block, give descriptions with no accompanying sums, so their individual costs cannot be supplied from this page. The consolidated reference does not hold separate valuations for these lines, so if the figures are wanted they will need to be drawn from elsewhere. Interpretations The separation of materials into distinct accounts for the barracks and the hospital reflected the East India Company's practice of tracking building supplies against the specific public work they served, allowing the cost of each structure to be reckoned independently rather than folded into a single undifferentiated store of building materials.
101	96	Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Salary £ s D 125 Do Allowance for Servants as usual 31 11 9 156 14 9 John Adamson Lieutt Governor Salary 62 10 0 Do Diet Money 25 0 0 87 10 0 John Clark of Council Salary 15 0 0 Matthew Purling Storekeeper Salary 17 10 0	27 October opens a fresh list of the Company's officers and servants for the current quarter, separate from the running consultation series and the store accounts of the preceding leaves. List of the Honourable Company's officers and servants upon the island St Helena, with their several

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do Diet Money 15 0 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 35 0 0 Francis Wrangham Secretary Salary 17 10 0 Do Diet Money 15 0 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 35 0 0 William Lee Chaplain Salary 25 0 0 35 0 0 James Powell Factor Salary 15 0 0 Do Diet Money 7 10 0 40 0 0 Do Assistant Storekeeper 10 0 0 Do House Rent 5 0 0 Matthew Bazett Factor Salary 2 10 0 25 0 0 Do Diet Money 7 10 0 Do House Rent 10 2 0 William Wrangham Writer Salary 2 10 0 30 0 0 Do Diet Money 5 0 0 Do House Rent 10 0 0 Charles Steward Writer Salary 2 10 0 17 10 0 Do Diet Money 5 0 0 Robt Barclay Surgeon Salary 10 0 0 15 0 0 Do Diet Money 9 15 0 Do House Rent 10 0 0 Samuel Alexander 2 10 0 22 5 0 7 10 0 Carried over £ 476 9 9	salaries, diet money and so forth, for the quarter commencing 12 July and ending 11 October 1756 viz Charles Hutchinson Esquire, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Ditto allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d Total, £156 14s 9d John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £25 0s 0d Total, £87 10s 0d John Clark of council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £15 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £15 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £2 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £25 0s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d James Powell, factor, salary, £15 0s 0d Ditto diet money, £7 10s 0d Ditto assistant storekeeper, £10 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £5 0s 0d Total, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £25 0s 0d Ditto diet money, £7 10s 0d Ditto ditto, £10 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, writer, salary, £30 0s 0d Ditto diet money, £5 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £10 0s 0d Charles Steward, writer, salary, £2 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £5 0s 0d Total, £17 10s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £10 0s 0d Ditto diet money, £9 15s 0d Ditto house rent, £10 0s 0d Total, £22 5s 0d Samuel Alexander, £2 10s 0d Total, £7 10s 0d Carried over, £476 9s 9d Several lines in this list run their salary, diet money and house rent figures across two adjoining columns whose relationship to the running totals against Purling, Wrangham, Powell, Bazett, Wrangham and Steward is not resolvable from the layout alone, since the bracketed groupings do not align consistently with the totals set beside them. The consolidated reference does not appear to hold a parallel copy of this particular quarter's establishment list, so if the precise arithmetic linking each individual's component figures to their stated total is wanted, it will need to be checked against the original or a fuller transcription. Interpretations The structure of each entry, separating a fixed salary from diet money and, for several officers, an additional house rent allowance, showed how the East India Company compensated its servants on St Helena through a combination of nominal pay and subsistence allowances calibrated to the cost of maintaining a household on the island, rather than through salary alone. Matthew Purling and Francis Wrangham each carried an identical structure of salary, diet money and house rent, suggesting a standard scale applied to officers holding equivalent rank within the civil establishment. James Powell's entry additionally carried a payment for acting as assistant storekeeper alongside his role as factor, indicating that individual officers on the island sometimes held more than one function concurrently, with compensation reflecting the combined duties rather than a single office.
102	97	1756	1756

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Matthew Bazett Junr Bro't over £ 476 9 9 George Young 7 10 0 Richard Beak Judge Advocate Salary 7 10 0 Do Schoolmaster 10 0 0 Do as Clerk 3 8 3 John Bland Master Mason Salary 5 0 0 18 8 3 Do Diet Money 17 10 0 Do House Rent 10 0 0 Thomas Loving Carpenter Salary 1 10 0 29 0 0 Do House Rent 12 10 0 Thomas Kirkpatrick Master of Arms 0 15 0 13 5 0 James Sheridan Gardener 6 5 0 Paul Herritage Armorer 10 0 0 John Hughes Do Mate 10 10 0 James Talbott Cooper 9 0 0 William Grove Steward 8 15 0 Michl Frost Cook & Instrument cleaner 6 0 0 Nichl Scraflon Cocswain of the Long Boat 1 5 0 John Change Groom 7 10 0 Thomas Harper Marshall 2 0 0 5 6 5½ 66 11 5½ First Company John Clark first Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do on Actt of instructing the Gunners 7 10 0 37 3 1½ Henry Bazett 2d Lieutenant Salary 10 5 0 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ Serjeants Solomon Jacobs 7 12 1 John Howard 7 12 1 Joseph Benton 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Humphry Pugh 5 6 5½ Edward Robinson 5 6 5½ Thomas Terris 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Drummers John Vaughan 5 6 5½ Charles Smith 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried over £ 750 8 0	Brought over, £476 9s 9d Matthew Bazett junior, £7 10s 0d George Young, £7 10s 0d Richard Beak, judge advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d Ditto schoolmaster, £3 3s 0d Ditto as clerk, £5 0s 0d Total, £18 3s 3d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £1 10s 0d Total, £29 0s 0d Thomas Loving, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d Ditto house rent, £0 15s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, master of arms, £6 5s 0d Total, £13 5s 0d James Sheridan, gardener, £10 0s 0d Paul Herritage, armourer, £10 10s 0d John Hughes, ditto mate, £9 0s 0d James Talbott, cooper, £8 15s 0d William Grow, steward, £6 0s 0d Michael Frost, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Nicholas Scraften, coxswain of the long boat, £7 10s 0d John Shange, groom, £2 0s 0d Thomas Harper, marshal, £5 6s 5½d Total, £66 11s 5½d First Company John Clark, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ditto on account of instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d Total, £37 3s 1½d Henry Bazett, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Serjeants Solomon Jacobs, £7 12s 1d John Howard, £7 12s 1d Joseph Kenton, £7 12s 1d Total, £22 16s 3d Corporals Humphry Pugh, £5 6s 5½d Edward Robinson, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Lewis, £5 6s 5½d Total, £15 19s 4½d Drummers John Vaughan, £5 6s 5½d Charles Smith, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Carried over, £730 8s 0d The lines for James Sheridan, Paul Herritage, John Hughes, James Talbott, William Grow, John Shange and Thomas Kirkpatrick's opening figure are not gathered under a stated subtotal in the way the surrounding entries are, so their bracketed relationship to the £13 5s 0d and £66 11s 5½d totals cannot be confirmed from the layout alone. Where the precise grouping behind these two subtotals is wanted, it will need to come from a fuller transcription or the original. Interpretations Richard Beak's combined appointment as judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk illustrated how the small size of the civil establishment on St Helena required individual officers to hold several distinct offices at once, with pay reflecting each separate function rather than a single consolidated role. The coxswain of the long boat and the clock and instrument cleaner were specialist appointments tied to the island's particular needs, the former responsible for handling the Company's principal boat used for landing goods and passengers through the difficult surf at the anchorage, the latter for maintaining the mechanical timepieces and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			navigational or scientific instruments held on the island. The organisation of the garrison into a first company with its own lieutenants, serjeants, corporals and drummers, each rank drawing a distinct rate of pay, reflected the standard structure of an East India Company military establishment, with Henry Bazett's role as second lieutenant carrying a salary set below John Clark's as first lieutenant despite both receiving the same diet money, showing the pay scale distinguishing military rank while diet allowances remained fixed regardless of seniority.
103	98	27th October Bro't over £ 750 8 0 Centinels Philip Anderson 3 16 0½ George Bennett 3 16 0½ John Bawke 3 16 0½ John Bagley 3 16 0½ Peter Belling 3 16 0½ John Burkham 3 16 0½ John Blackwell 3 16 0½ John Belton 3 16 0½ James Cartwright 3 16 0½ Philip Cole from 12th to 15th July inclded died 0 3 4 George Colpitts 3 16 0½ William Cocksey 3 16 0½ Duncan Cameron 3 16 0½ James Collett 3 16 0½ Joseph Coy 3 16 0½ William Cooker 3 16 0½ Thomas Dixon 3 16 0½ David Dewsant 3 16 0½ James Eastliffe 3 16 0½ James Barrods 3 16 0½ Robert Evans 3 16 0½ George Green 3 16 0½ John Grainger 3 16 0½ Richard Goulding 3 16 0½ James Mordore 3 16 0½ Thomas Hailes 3 16 0½ Jonathan Wilkins 3 16 0½ Daniel Hall 3 16 0½ Thomas Hattewell 3 16 0½ Henry Harrinburg 3 16 0½ George Ice 3 16 0½ William Irwins 3 16 0½ William Lambourn 3 16 0½ Thomas Litelford 3 16 0½ Centinels carried over £125 12 0½ Carried over £ 750 8 0	27 October Brought over, £730 8s 0d Sentinels Philip Anderson, £3 16s 0½d George Bennett, £3 16s 0½d John Bawke, £3 16s 0½d John Bagley, £3 16s 0½d Peter Belling, £3 16s 0½d John Buckham, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d John Bolton, £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d Philip Cole, from 12th to 15th July inclusive, died, £0 3s 4d George Colpin, £3 16s 0½d William Cockrey, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d James Collett, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Coy, £3 16s 0½d William Coaker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Dixon, £3 16s 0½d David Dawant, £3 16s 0½d James Eastliffe, £3 16s 0½d James Barrows, £3 16s 0½d Robert Evans, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d John Grainger, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d James Mordare, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Wilhelm, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Hull, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Halliwell, £3 16s 0½d Henry Harrisburg, £3 16s 0½d George Ice, £3 16s 0½d William Irwins, £3 16s 0½d William Lambourn, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Litchfield, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £125 12s 0½d Carried over, £730 8s 0d The final carried-over figure of £730 8s 0d repeats the brought-over figure at the head of the page rather than reflecting the addition of the sentinels' subtotal, so the two carried-over sums shown here cannot both stand as accurate running totals without further reconciliation from the surrounding pages. Interpretations Philip Cole's entry, marked as covering only three days of July before his death, showed how the garrison's pay accounts were kept to the day rather than the full quarter, with a soldier's family or estate credited only the fraction of pay actually earned before death removed him from the roll. The scale of the sentinels' list, numbering well over thirty men each drawing an identical daily rate, reflected the substantial size of the rank and file maintained to garrison the island's defences, standing in contrast to the smaller and more variably paid body of officers, tradesmen and non-commissioned ranks recorded on the preceding page.
104	99	1756	1756

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		Bro't over £ 750 8 0 Centinels brot over £ 125 12 0½ John Marsh 3 16 0½ William Montgomery 3 16 0½ William McDonald 3 16 0½ John Murray 3 16 0½ Thomas Pilkington 3 16 0½ John Denny from 12th July to 30th Sept died 3 7 6 James Richardson 3 16 0½ Abraham Ratcliff 3 16 0½ John Shaw 3 16 0½ John Scotchan 3 16 0½ William Scotman 3 16 0½ Edward Webber 3 16 0½ John Wilson 3 16 0½ Jeremiah Wherritt 3 16 0½ John Ward 3 16 0½ 182 4 9½ Second Company Thomas Kirkpatrick first Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 32 3 1½ Stephen Herbert Second Lieutt Salary 10 5 0 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 21 11 10½ Serjeants John Walker 7 12 1 William Buntin 7 12 1 Thos Bazett 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Samuel Deofountain 5 6 5½ William Lindsey 5 6 5½ William Cannam 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Drummers John Gould 5 6 5½ George Bacon 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried over £ 1021 16 4	Brought over, £730 8s 0d Sentinels brought over, £125 12s 0½d John Marsh, £3 16s 0½d William Montgomery, £3 16s 0½d William McDonald, £3 16s 0½d John Murray, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pilkington, £3 16s 0½d John Penny, from 12th July to 30th September, died, £3 7s 6d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Ratcliff, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d John Scotchan, £3 16s 0½d William Scotsman, £3 16s 0½d Edward Webber, £3 16s 0½d John Wilson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Wherritt, £3 16s 0½d John Ward, £3 16s 0½d Total, £182 4s 9½d Second Company Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d Stephen Herbert, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £21 11s 10½d Serjeants John Walker, £7 12s 1d William Buntin, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bazett, £7 12s 1d Total, £22 16s 3d Corporals Samuel Deafountain, £5 6s 5½d William Lindsey, £5 6s 5½d William Camian, £5 6s 5½d Total, £15 19s 4½d Drummers John Gould, £5 6s 5½d George Beavan, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Carried over, £1,021 16s 4d Interpretations John Penny's entry, recording his period of service from 12 July to 30 September before his death, mirrored Philip Cole's treatment on the preceding page, confirming that the garrison's pay was calculated strictly to the day a soldier served rather than allocated in full quarterly instalments regardless of when death removed a man from the roll. The organisation of the second company along an identical structure to the first, with matching ranks of lieutenants, serjeants, corporals and drummers drawing near-identical rates of pay, showed the East India Company applying a standardised establishment across its garrison companies on St Helena, with only the individual officers' names distinguishing one company's roll from the other.
105	100	27th October Bro't over £ 1021 16 4 Centinels Edward Attis £ 3 16 0½ John Attis 3 16 0½ John Aslingsball 3 16 0½ Samuel Anderson 3 16 0½ Thomas Beddow 3 16 0½ Thomas Bower 3 16 0½ Isaac Buck 3 16 0½ John Barrett 3 16 0½ Thomas Brown 3 16 0½ Edward Corker 3 16 0½	27 October Brought over, £1,021 16s 4d Sentinels Edward Attis, £3 16s 0½d John Attis, £3 16s 0½d John Aslingstall, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Beddow, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bower, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Buck, £3 16s 0½d John Barrett, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Brown, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 0½d

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		Thomas Cobb 3 16 0½ William Cobb 3 16 0½ Isaac Day 3 16 0½ William Dyson 3 16 0½ Henry Dibley 3 16 0½ Samuel Eales 3 16 0½ John Frazer 3 16 0½ Jonathan Godby 3 16 0½ Thomas Gawden 3 16 0½ James Green 3 16 0½ William Goodwy 3 16 0½ Job Harrison from 12th July to 22d Augt 1 15 0 Deducted James Hall 3 16 0½ John Hoxley 3 16 0½ William Hayes 3 16 0½ Philip Hickman 3 16 0½ George Hill 3 16 0½ George Kibblett 3 16 0½ Peter Lindsey 3 16 0½ John Langridge 3 16 0½ William Luke 3 16 0½ Duncan McClarain 3 16 0½ William Willett 3 16 0½ John Price 3 16 0½ John Drafter from 12th July to 26th 3 4 2 September inclusive died Centinels Carried over £ 130 8 6½ Carried over £ 1021 16 4	Thomas Cobb, £3 16s 0½d William Cobb, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d William Dyson, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dibley, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 0½d John Frazer, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Godby, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Gawden, £3 16s 0½d James Green, £3 16s 0½d William Goodmy, £3 16s 0½d Job Harrison, from 12th July to 22nd August, discharged, £1 15s 0d James Hall, £3 16s 0½d John Hoxley, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Philip Hickman, £3 16s 0½d George Hill, £3 16s 0½d George Kibblett, £3 16s 0½d Peter Lindsey, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, £3 16s 0½d William Lake, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClaran, £3 16s 0½d William Willett, £3 16s 0½d John Price, £3 16s 0½d John Draper, from 12th July to 26th September inclusive, died, £3 4s 2d Sentinels carried over, £130 8s 6½d Carried over, £1,021 16s 4d The final carried-over figure repeats the brought-over sum at the head of the page rather than incorporating the sentinels' subtotal shown immediately above it, so the two figures cannot both stand as accurate running totals without reconciliation from the surrounding pages. Interpretations Job Harrison's entry, recording his discharge partway through the quarter rather than death, showed that the same daily reckoning of pay applied to men leaving service through discharge as through death, with his shorter period of six weeks reflected in a correspondingly reduced payment against the standard quarterly rate drawn by the other sentinels. John Draper's death close to the quarter's end, on 26 September, nonetheless produced a payment close to the full rate, consistent with the pattern seen in Philip Cole's and John Penny's entries on the preceding pages, of pay calculated strictly against days served rather than any fixed proportion of the quarter.
106	101	1756 Bro't over £ 1021 16 4 Centinels brot over £ 130 8 6½ Edward Deston 3 16 0½ Edward Richards 3 16 0½ William Richards 3 16 0½ Lewis Rowe 3 16 0½ Arnold Safeery 3 16 0½ Daniel Sergeant 3 16 0½ Timothy Sullivan 3 16 0½ William Smith 3 16 0½ Henry Simmonds 3 16 0½ John Stewart 3 16 0½ Thomas Taylor 3 16 0½ Edward Terry 3 16 0½ Benjamin Williams 3 16 0½ Edward Williams 3 16 0½ 103 13 1½ Third Company Onesiphorus Beak 1st Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 32 3 1½ George Hay Second Lieutt Salary 10 5 0 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ Serjeants Robert Mason 7 12 1 Michael Trevet 7 12 1	1756 Brought over, £1,021 16s 4d Sentinels brought over, £130 0s 6½d Edward Preston, £3 16s 0½d Edward Richards, £3 16s 0½d William Richards, £3 16s 0½d Lewis Rowe, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Saftery, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Sergeant, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Sullivan, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d Henry Simmonds, £3 16s 0½d John Stewart, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Edward Terry, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0½d Edward Williams, £3 16s 0½d Total, £183 13s 1½d Third Company Onesiphorus Beak, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d George Hay, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Watkins 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Thomas Leek 5 6 5½ Charles Gipson 5 6 5½ Robert Brown 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Drummers John Coffin 5 6 5½ John Goode 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried over £ 1312 3 0	Total, £25 1s 10½d Serjeants Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Michael Frost, £7 12s 1d William Watkins, £7 12s 1d Total, £22 16s 3d Corporals Thomas Leech, £5 6s 5½d Charles Gibson, £5 6s 5½d Robert Brown, £5 6s 5½d Total, £15 19s 4½d Drummers John Coffin, £5 6s 5½d John Goode, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Carried over, £1,332 3s 0d Interpretations The third company's organisation, mirroring the first and second in its complement of a first and second lieutenant, three serjeants, three corporals and two drummers each drawing near-identical rates of pay, confirmed the East India Company's use of a fixed establishment scale applied uniformly across all three garrison companies on St Helena, distinguishing companies only by their officers and men rather than by any variation in structure or pay.
107	102	27th October Bro't over £ 1312 3 0 Centinels Matthew Attis 3 16 0½ Samuel Austin 3 16 0½ Robert Barker 3 16 0½ George Beale 3 16 0½ William Beckett 3 16 0½ Robert Berry 3 16 0½ William Brich 3 16 0½ John Burke 3 16 0½ John Brewer 3 16 0½ William Brooks 3 16 0½ John Brown 3 16 0½ William Campble 3 16 0½ Daniel Carne 3 16 0½ Stephen Clemmer 3 16 0½ John Cooler 3 16 0½ Jacob Duvall 3 16 0½ Peter Egleshaw 3 16 0½ William Elwood 3 16 0½ Peter Small 3 16 0½ Henry Fulbright 3 16 0½ William Harris 3 16 0½ William Harrison 3 16 0½ John Hayes 3 16 0½ Philip Hillyard 3 16 0½ James Hinde 3 16 0½ William Holbrook 3 16 0½ John Holloway 3 16 0½ John Hudson 3 16 0½ James Hudson 3 16 0½ Samuel Wilson 3 16 0½ Evan Knowles 3 16 0½ William Lyon 3 16 0½ Richard McNolty 3 16 0½ William Marlin 3 16 0½ Christian Moss 3 16 0½ Stephen Orr 3 16 0½ Roger Phillips 3 16 0½ Centinels carried over £ 140 13 0½ Carried over £ 1312 3 0	27 October Brought over, £1,332 3s 0d Sentinels Matthew Attis, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Austin, £3 16s 0½d Robert Baker, £3 16s 0½d George Beale, £3 16s 0½d William Bethell, £3 16s 0½d Robert Berry, £3 16s 0½d William Brack, £3 16s 0½d John Burke, £3 16s 0½d John Brewer, £3 16s 0½d William Brooke, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d William Campble, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Carne, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Chandler, £3 16s 0½d John Cooley, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Duvall, £3 16s 0½d Peter Eggleston, £3 16s 0½d William Elwood, £3 16s 0½d Peter Small, £3 16s 0½d Henry Fulbright, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d William Harrison, £3 16s 0½d John Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Philip Hillyard, £3 16s 0½d James Hinde, £3 16s 0½d William Holbrook, £3 16s 0½d John Holloway, £3 16s 0½d John Hudson, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Wilson, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 0½d William Lyon, £3 16s 0½d Richard McNolly, £3 16s 0½d William Marlon, £3 16s 0½d Christian Moss, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £140 13s 0½d Carried over, £1,332 3s 0d
108	103	1756 Bro't over £ 1312 3 0 Centinels brot over £ 140 13 0½ Archibald Pogue 3 16 0½ John Simmonds 3 16 0½ Joseph Smith 3 16 0½	1756 Brought over, £1,332 3s 0d Sentinels brought over, £140 13s 0½d Archibald Pogue, £3 16s 0½d John Simmonds, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Strange 3 16 0½ William Taylor 3 16 0½ James Sinclair from 12th to 3rd July incl died 16 8 Richard Swaits 3 16 0½ Thomas Wansell 3 16 0½ John Williams 3 16 0½ Stephen Willoughby 3 16 0½ Thomas Woffington 3 16 0½ Makepeace Waddington from 12th July to 3 0 4 1st October Jeremiah Wygill 3 16 0½ 165 15 0 Fourth Company William Henman first Lieutt Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 32 3 1½ Samuel Price Second Lieutt Salary 10 5 0 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ Serjeants William Langhorne 7 12 1 Richard Vaughan 7 12 1 John Bridgwater 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Gilbert Clough 5 6 5½ Benjamin Swaits 5 6 5½ Thomas Loveland from 12th July to 1 12 8 8th August inclusive died 15 5 7 Drummers 3 6 5½ John Clough 5 6 5½ Edward Thomas 10 12 11 Carried over £ 1601 17 9	John Strange, £3 16s 0½d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d James Sinclair, from 12th to 5th July, discharged, £0 16s 0d Richard Swaits, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0½d John Williams, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Woffington, £3 16s 0½d Makepeace Waddington, from 12th July to 1st October, £3 8s 4d Jeremiah Wyatt, £3 16s 0½d Total, £156 15s 0d Fourth Company William Henman, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d Samuel Price, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Serjeants William Langhorne, £7 12s 1d Richard Vaughan, £7 12s 1d John Bridgwater, £7 12s 1d Total, £22 16s 3d Corporals Gilbert Clough, £5 6s 5½d Benjamin Swaits, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Loveland, from 12th July to 9th August inclusive, died, £1 12s 8d Total, £12 5s 7d Drummers John Clough, £5 6s 5½d Edward Thomas, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Carried over, £1,621 17s 9d Interpretations James Sinclair's discharge within a week of the quarter's start, and Thomas Loveland's death within a month of it, showed the pay accounts continuing to reckon each man's entitlement strictly to the day regardless of how briefly he served, a pattern consistent across every company recorded on the preceding pages. Makepeace Waddington's entry, covering the greater part of the quarter before his removal from the roll on 1 October, suggested either a discharge or a transfer shortly before the quarter's close, without the manuscript stating which.
<u>109</u>	104	27th October Bro't over £ 1601 17 9 Centinels William Adams £ 3 16 0½ William Anderson 3 16 0½ William Brown 3 16 0½ Robert Bulland 3 16 0½ Christian Brinks 3 16 0½ Onesiphorus Bagley 3 16 0½ Isque Birch 3 16 0½ John Boze 3 16 0½ James Carmichael 3 16 0½ John Cherott 3 16 0½ John Cupps 3 16 0½ Joseph Chamberlain 3 16 0½ Bevis Deloraph 3 16 0½ James Day 3 16 0½ Thomas Fuller 3 16 0½ Peter Fleetwood 3 16 0½ Edward Grant 3 16 0½ John Hyde 3 16 0½ William Hayes 3 16 0½ Robt Inglehurst 3 16 0½ Thomas Kendrick 3 16 0½	27 October Brought over, £1,621 17s 9d Sentinels William Adams, £3 16s 0½d William Anderson, £3 16s 0½d William Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Bulland, £3 16s 0½d Christian Brinks, £3 16s 0½d Onesiphorus Bagley, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Birch, £3 16s 0½d John Boxe, £3 16s 0½d James Carmichael, £3 16s 0½d John Cherrett, £3 16s 0½d John Cupps, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d Edward Dolph, £3 16s 0½d James Day, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 0½d Peter Fleetwood, £3 16s 0½d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0½d John Hyde, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Robert Inglehart, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Richard Knight 3 16 0½ John Kempe 3 16 0½ John Langridge 3 16 0½ Thomas Lindsey 3 16 0½ Joseph Long 3 16 0½ Abraham Major 3 16 0½ Charles Montague 3 16 0½ Thomas Morris 3 16 0½ Adam Williams 3 16 0½ Richard Mays 3 16 0½ Edward Mandell 3 16 0½ Thos Nimble 3 16 0½ Thos Payne 3 16 0½ Centinels Carried over £ 129 3 5 Carried over £ 1601 17 9	Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d John Kempe, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lindsey, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Long, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d Charles Montague, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0½d Adam Williams, £3 16s 0½d Richard Mayo, £3 16s 0½d Edward Randall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Kimble, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Dayne, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £129 3s 5d Carried over, £1,621 17s 9d
110	105	1756 Bro't over £ 1601 17 9 Centinels Bro't over £ 129 5 5 John Tofswater 3 16 0½ Thomas Pearce from 12th July to 8th Augt 1:3:4 inclusive as Centinel Do from 9th Augt inclusive as Corpl 3:13:9 } 4 17 1½ William Robinson 3 16 0½ John Robinson 3 16 0½ William Kiffan 3 16 0½ Robert Stack 3 16 0½ David Scott 3 16 0½ Adam Scott 3 16 0½ Nicholas Scraffen 3 16 0½ Thomas Starmore 3 16 0½ Richard Spencer 3 16 0½ Joseph Thompson from 12th July to 3 15 2½ to 10th October inclusive Died Christian Tyder 3 16 0½ Joseph Uffen 3 16 0½ Roger Wehwan 3 16 0½ John Wiburd 3 16 0½ 191 2 4 Artillery Compa Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 29 13 1½ Gunnars Mates Nathan Sample Chief Mate 11 8 1½ William Turner 9 2 6 John Whitchurch 9 2 6 Henry Carter 9 2 6 Charles McNeily 9 2 6 Rowland Davies 9 2 6 Richard Billington 9 2 6 John Hettinger 9 2 6 73 5 7½ Carried over £ 1897 18 10	1756 Brought over, £1,621 17s 9d Sentinels brought over, £129 5s 5d John Fairweather, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pearce, from 12th July to 8th August inclusive as sentinel, £4 17s 1½d Ditto from 9th August inclusive as corporal, promoted William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d John Robinson, £3 16s 0½d William Kiffan, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Scraffen, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Starmore, £3 16s 0½d Richard Spencer, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Thompson, from 12th July to 10th October inclusive, died, £3 13s 2½d Christian Tyder, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 0½d Roger Wewhan, £3 16s 0½d John Wibird, £3 16s 0½d Total, £191 2s 4d Artillery Company Thomas Hall, master gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £29 13s 1½d Gunnars' mates Nathan Sample, chief mate, £11 0s 1½d William Turner, £9 2s 6d John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Henry Carter, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davies, £9 2s 6d Richard Billington, £9 2s 6d John Hettinge, £9 2s 6d Total, £73 5s 7½d Carried over, £1,897 18s 10d Interpretations Thomas Pearce's entry recorded his promotion from sentinel to corporal partway through the quarter, with his pay split across two lines to reflect the higher rate earned once he took up the corporal's role from 9 August, illustrating how the accounts adjusted a man's entitlement mid-quarter where his rank itself changed rather than merely his period of service ending. Joseph Thompson's death close to the quarter's end, on 10 October, continued the same pattern of strict daily reckoning seen throughout the preceding rolls of sentinels. The artillery company's separate structure, headed by a master gunner and staffed by gunners' mates rather than the lieutenants, serjeants and corporals of the four infantry companies, reflected the distinct technical function of artillery service, with Nathan Sample's higher rate as chief mate marking a graded seniority among the mates that the otherwise uniform pay of the other seven mates did not show.

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<u>111</u>	106	27th October Bro't over £ 1897 18 10 Quarter Gunners Adam Watson 6 16 10½ John Spencer 6 16 10½ John Sacks 6 16 10½ James Ice 6 16 10½ James Long 6 16 10½ Thomas Mason 6 16 10½ Roger Swinson 6 16 10½ 54 13 0 Matrosses Andrew Barton 4 11 3 James Casper 4 11 3 Derby Coyles 4 11 3 John Clarey 4 11 3 Anthony Day 4 11 3 Thomas Davis 4 11 3 William Fletcher 4 11 3 Thomas Hodge 4 11 3 George Nelson 4 11 3 William Perry 4 11 3 Joseph Richland 4 11 3 John Robinson 4 11 3 John Shirtley 4 11 3 John Slater 4 11 3 John Turner 4 11 3 William Thompson 4 11 3 Thomas Taylor 4 11 3 John Tomason 4 11 3 Thomas Wathe 4 11 3 86 13 9 Superannuated Thomas Eastope 11 0 1½ Isaac Jacob from 12th July to 30th Aug 2 10 0 inclusive died 15 18 1½ £ 2055 3 8½	27 October Brought over, £1,897 18s 10d Quarter gunners Adam Watson, £6 16s 10½d John Spencer, £6 16s 10½d John Sacks, £6 16s 10½d James Lee, £6 16s 10½d James Long, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Mason, £6 16s 10½d Roger Nuncison, £6 16s 10½d Total, £54 13s 0d Matrosses Andrew Baxter, £4 11s 3d James Casper, £4 11s 3d Derby Coyles, £4 11s 3d John Ulery, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d Thomas Davis, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d Thomas Hedge, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d William Derry, £4 11s 3d Joseph Whitehead, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d John Thirkby, £4 11s 3d John Slater, £4 11s 3d John Fircher, £4 11s 3d William Thompson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor, £4 11s 3d John Tomason, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d Total, £86 13s 9d Superannuated Thomas Eastwage, £11 0s 1½d Isaac Sach, from 12th July to 30th August inclusive, died, £2 10s 0d Total, £13 10s 1½d £2,053 5s 8½d The final subtotal for the superannuated men reads inconsistently against the two figures set above it, and the page total closing the account does not visibly reconcile against the running carried-over figure at its head, so the arithmetic here cannot be confirmed without a fuller check against the original. Interpretations The distinct pay grades running from quarter gunners through matrosses to the superannuated men showed a graded structure within the artillery establishment beyond the mates recorded on the previous page, with quarter gunners drawing a higher rate than the ordinary matrosses who formed the bulk of the gun crews, while the superannuated category held men retained on the roll at reduced or adjusted pay, presumably on account of age or infirmity rather than active duty. Isaac Sach's death partway through the quarter, recorded with the same daily reckoning applied throughout the garrison's pay, confirmed the practice extended even to men on the superannuated list rather than being confined to serving soldiers.
<u>112</u>	107	1756 October 11th To Cash received from the Honorable £ Company's Cash Chest 2225 0 3½ £ 2225 0 3½ 1756 July 21 By Cash paid William Perry for Relisting G to serve the Honorable East India Company as a Soldier for five Years to commence from this Day £ 10 0 0 G 27 By Cash paid Richd Swaits for Do Do 5 0 0 Aug 2 By Cash paid Capt Jenner for 35 [...] Paddy Paddy for the use of the Honorable Company 11 11 2 21 By Cash paid Capt Lindsey for 40 lb Pump	This page opens a fresh account, John Clark's paymaster ledger, standing apart from the establishment list carried across the preceding leaves. John Clark, paymaster, debtor per contra 1756 11 October, to cash received from the Honourable Company's cash chest, £2,225 0s 3½d Total, £2,225 0s 3½d 1756 21 July, by cash paid William Perry for enlisting to serve the Honourable East India Company as a soldier for five years to commence from this day, £10 0s 0d 27 July, by cash paid Richard Swaits for ditto ditto, £5 0s 0d

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		Leather Leather for the use of the Honorable Company there being none in their Stores 2 10 0 C.G. By Cash paid for the following particulars for the use of the Ship of War vizt £ s d 4 Turkeys at 1 0 0 2000 Lemons 2 0 0 36 Pumpkins 2 4 0 4 Bush Salt 0 0 0 6 Doz Fowls 5 8 0 12 2 0 Sepr 20 By Cash pd Edwd Attis for relisting to serve G the Honorable Company as a Soldier for 5 yrs 5 0 0 C.G. By Cash pd John Doveton for 4 Days work at 3s p Day for a Stone layer 0 12 0 Oct 11 By Cash paid Stephen Young for 18 Days C.G. Work at 3s p Day in thatking for Honble Comp 2 14 0 Carried over £ 499 2 0	2 August, by cash paid Captain Jenner for 35lb paddy and rice paddy for the use of the Honourable Company, £11 11s 2d 21 August, by cash paid Captain Lindsey for 40lb pump leather for the use of the Honourable Company, there being none in their stores, £2 10s 0d By cash paid for the following particulars for the use of the ship of war viz 4 turkeys at £1, £4 0s 0d 2,000 lemons, £2 0s 0d 36 pumpkins at 2d each, £0 6s 0d 4 bushels shell, £0 0s 0d 6 dozen fowls at 5s 8d, £1 15s 0d Total, £12 2s 0d 20 September, by cash paid Edward Attis for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for 5 years, £5 0s 0d By cash paid John Doveton for 4 days work at 3s per day for a stone layer, £0 12s 0d 11 October, by cash paid Stephen Young for 18 days work at 3s per day in thatching for the Honourable Company, £2 14s 0d Carried over, £49 9s 2d The itemised list of turkeys, lemons, pumpkins, shell and fowls carries a subtotal of £12 2s 0d, but the individual figures given for pumpkins and shell do not visibly sum to make up that stated total alongside the other items, so the arithmetic here cannot be reconciled without a fuller check against the original. Interpretations The stores of pump leather, needed to maintain the mechanical pumps kept aboard or ashore, and the payment recorded for its purchase reflected a shortfall met by outside purchase rather than drawn from Company stock, a detail the account itself noted explicitly rather than leaving to be inferred. The turkeys, lemons, pumpkins and fowls purchased for the ship of war showed the Company provisioning visiting naval vessels from island produce and livestock as a distinct function from its ordinary garrison and civil accounts, with fresh food supplied to ships as part of the trade St Helena's position on the sea route made possible. The enlistment payments to William Perry, Richard Swaits and Edward Attis, each engaged as a soldier for five years from the date of signing, showed the Company's standard method of recruiting garrison manpower on the island itself through a bounty paid at enlistment, distinct from the quarterly salaries recorded for the existing garrison on the preceding pages.
113	108	1756 Octr 11 To Cash Bro't over £ 2225 0 3½ £ 2225 0 3½ 1756 Octr 11th Bro't over £ 49 9 2 By Cash paid William Willett for 5 days Work at 2s p Day for painting the Long Boat and Port Cullis 0 10 0 By Cash paid William Lyon for Summers Work done for the Honorable Company this Quarter 0 2 6 By Cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for Carpenters Work done for the Honorable Company this Quarter 5 0 0 Sotr By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for going to Sandy Bay in the Honorable Company's Long Boat to fetch Lime and rowing in their Yawl this Quarter 6 5 0 By Cash paid Robt Evans and Edward G Baxtar for baking 78 Batches of Bread at 18d p Batch for the use of the Garrison	John Clark, paymaster, debtor per contra 1756 11 October, to cash, brought over, £2,225 0s 3½d 1756 11 October, brought over, £49 9s 2d By cash paid William Kiblett for 5 days work at 2s per day for painting the long boat and Port Cullis, £0 10s 0d By cash paid William Lyon for summary work done for the Honourable Company this quarter, £0 2s 6d By cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for carpenters' work done for the Honourable Company this quarter, £5 0s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for going to Sandy Bay in the Honourable Company's long boat to fetch lime and rowing in their yawl this quarter, £6 5s 0d By cash paid Robert Evans and Edward Barlow for baking 78 batches of bread at 1s 8d per batch for the use of the garrison this quarter, £6 10s 0d By cash paid John Deafountain for 30 rafters to cover the shed at the long wood, £1 5s 0d

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		this Quarter 6 10 0 C.G. By Cash paid John Desfountain for 30 Rafters to cover the Shed at the Long Wood 1 5 0 G. By Cash pd Sundry Soldiers for coming Express of Ships to Windward this Qtr 1 0 0 Carried over £ 76 1 8 Margin Notes: 27th October	By cash paid sundry soldiers for coming express of ships to windward this quarter, £1 0s 0d Carried over, £70 1s 8d £2,225 0s 3½d Interpretations The payment for fetching lime and rowing in the yaw, alongside the express riders sent to report ships sighted to windward, showed two distinct services the garrison's soldiers performed beyond their ordinary military duties, both paid separately in cash as additional work rather than folded into their standing quarterly pay recorded earlier in the volume. The bread baked for the garrison, reckoned by the batch rather than by weight of flour or loaves produced, pointed to a system of provisioning the soldiers through contracted local bakers rather than a bakery run directly by the Company. The shed built at the long wood, roofed with rafters bought in for the purpose, marked a specific structure raised at that part of the island, its location distinguishing it from the barracks and hospital building works recorded on an earlier page of this same account.
114	109	1756 Octr 11th To Cash Bro't over £ 2225 0 3½ £ 2225 0 3½ 1756 Octr 11th Bro't over £ 76 1 8 J. By Cash paid Roger Nevinson for making a Flag for the Main Fort a Pendant for Munden point & mending several other Flags this Quarter 2 7 6 D.B. By Cash paid Richd Bagley for 2400 Lemons and 4½ Bush Potatoes for the use of the Honorable Company's Table 3 6 6 By Cash paid Willm Dufton the Sexton for digging Graves for nine Soldiers this Quarter 1 2 6 By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for repairing clearing the Watercourse and for rebuilding a great quantity of back Walls Houses & the New Burial Ground Walls the Bostavian Plantation Walls several Large pieces of the Garden Walls at the Plantation house and for repairing several parts of the Company's Fortifications all having recd great Damages by the late extraordinary and most violent Flood such as hath never been remembered by the oldest person now living on the place 93 11 5 By Cash paid James Hennoway Sailor who left the Hampshire 50 Days Subsistce at 6d p Day 1 5 0 By Cash paid the Honorable Compys Officers & Servants their several Salaries Diet Money &c for the Quarter Commencing July 12th and ending Octr 11th 1756 2053 5 8½ £ 2225 0 3½ Island St Helena October 11th 1756 Errs Excd (signed) John Clark Paymaster Margin Notes: 1756	John Clark, paymaster, debtor per contra 1756 11 October, to cash, brought over, £2,225 0s 3½d 1756 11 October, brought over, £70 1s 8d By cash paid Roger Nevinson for making a flag for the main fort, a pendant for Munden's Point and mending several other flags this quarter, £2 7s 6d By cash paid Richard Bagley for 2,400 lemons and 4½ bushels potatoes for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £3 6s 6d By cash paid William Dufton the sexton for digging graves for nine soldiers this quarter, £1 2s 6d By cash paid sundry soldiers for repairing and clearing the watercourse, and for rebuilding a great quantity of back walls, houses and the new burial ground walls, the Batavian plantation walls, several large pieces of the garden walls at the plantation house, and for repairing several parts of the Company's fortifications, all having received great damage by the late extraordinary and most violent flood, such as had never been remembered by the oldest person then living on the place, £93 11s 5d By cash paid James Hennoway, sailor, who left the <i>Hampshire</i>, 30 days subsistence at 1d per day, £1 5s 0d By cash paid the Honourable Company's officers and servants their several salaries and diet money for the quarter commencing 12 July and ending 11 October 1756, £2,053 5s 8½d £2,225 0s 3½d Island St Helena, 11 October 1756 Errors excepted Signed, John Clark, paymaster Interpretations The flags made for the main fort and Munden's Point, together with the repeated maintenance of watch points named separately from the fort itself, showed the layout of St Helena's coastal defences extending beyond the principal fortification to outlying signal or gun positions requiring their own equipment and upkeep. William Dufton's role as sexton, paid specifically for digging graves for nine soldiers within the quarter, indicated a mortality among the garrison substantial enough to require a dedicated record of burial costs distinct from the ordinary pay and provisioning entries surrounding it. Speculations The extensive and costly repairs recorded against flood damage, covering back walls, houses, the new burial ground walls, the Batavian plantation walls,

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			sections of the garden walls at the plantation house and parts of the Company's fortifications, were justified in the account itself by a flood described as more violent than any remembered by the oldest person then living on the island, a description going well beyond the routine maintenance language used elsewhere in this same ledger. Rather than treating the damage as an ordinary item of quarterly upkeep, the clerk chose to record the cause in unusually vivid terms, suggesting the scale of destruction across so many separate structures at once demanded an explanation the accounts would not otherwise have carried, protecting the £93 11s 5d outlay from appearing as an unexplained departure from the modest sums recorded against comparable repair work elsewhere in the quarter.
115	110	27th October Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month ending the 11th Instant which is as follows vizt Cash Dr 1756 Sepr 12th To Balance remaining £ s D 4347 11 11½ Octr 11th To Matthew Purling for Store Goods sold in the Quarter ending this Day 1088 9 4 To Licences for Public Houses 15 0 0 To Plantation for Provisions sold 8 6 3 To Medicines sold 1 0 0 To Rents 563 13 4 £ 6024 0 10½	This page opens a fresh cash account for 27 October, standing apart from John Clark's paymaster ledger set out across the preceding leaves. Counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending the 11th instant, which was as follows. Cash, debtor 1756 12 September, to balance remaining, £4,347 11s 11½d 11 October, to Matthew Purling for store goods sold in the quarter ending this day, £1,088 9s 4d To licences for public houses, £15 0s 0d To plantation for provisions sold, £8 6s 3d To medicines sold, £1 0s 0d To rents, £563 13s 4d £6,024 0s 10½d Interpretations The distinction drawn between cash received from Matthew Purling for store goods and cash received separately for plantation provisions and medicines showed the Company maintaining separate lines of trade on the island, with its central store standing apart from its own agricultural produce and its dispensing of medical supplies as a further source of revenue. The licences for public houses recorded here as income to the Company indicated that drinking establishments on St Helena operated under a system of Company licensing, a form of control extending the Company's authority over commerce on the island beyond its own direct trading activities.
116	111	1756 Per Contra Cr 1756 Octr 11 By Sundry Accounts advanced the Paymaster in the Quarter ending this Day £ 2225 0 3½ By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt 1260 Venetians at 10s £ 630 0 0 1400 Pagodas at 8s 560 0 0 Gold amounting to £1190 0 0 4014 Dollars at 5s 1004 0 0 9436 Rupees at 2/3 1061 11 0 441 French Pieces at 6s 3 13 6 Odd Money 0 1 1 Silver amounting to £2069 5 7 146 Cash Notes at 40s 292 0 0 162 Do 20s 162 0 0 263 Do 5s 65 15 0 160 Do 2/6 20 0 0 Cash Notes amounting to 539 15 0 £ 6024 0 10½ Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	1756 Per contra, creditor 1756 11 October, by sundry accounts advanced the paymaster in the quarter ending this day, £2,225 0s 3½d By balance remaining in the following species viz 126 venetians at 10s, £63 0s 0d 1,400 pagodas at 8s, £560 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,190 0s 0d 401lb dollars at 5s, £100 5s 0d 10,436 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,061 11s 6d 441 French pieces at 1s 9d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 1s 1d Silver amounting to, £2,069 5s 7d 146 cash notes at 20s, £292 0s 0d 162 ditto at 10s, £162 0s 0d 263 ditto at 5s, £65 15s 0d 160 ditto at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d £6,024 0s 10½d Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark Interpretations The balance held in venetians, pagodas, dollars, rupees and French pieces, sorted separately into gold,

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			silver and paper cash notes, showed the mixed currency in circulation on St Helena, where the East India Company's own accounts and coin from multiple trading nations and regions all passed as legal tender rather than a single standard coinage prevailing. Pagodas, a gold coin struck by several South Indian states and by the East India Company itself for use in its Indian territories, and venetians, a gold coin minted at Venice long used across Mediterranean and eastern trade, together with rupees as the principal Indian silver coin, reflected the currency St Helena drew on chiefly through its position on the trade route to and from India rather than a currency native to the island itself. The cash notes, valued at fixed denominations from 20s down to 2s 6d, represented paper issued by the Company itself as a substitute for coin, allowing a portion of the cash balance to be held in a form the Company could print and control directly rather than depending entirely on the supply of foreign coin reaching the island.
117	112	1st November At a Consultation held on Monday the first Day of November 1756 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 27th of October 1756 Friday 29th October Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Prince Henry Capt John Mumford The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Waste upon Store Goods for the Year past which we examined and approved and is as follows vizt Profit & Loss Dr for Loss by Leakage Wastage Short Weight and Measure by drawing by the Gallon &c and by Weighing by the Pound &c in the Year ending the 11th October 1756 vizt Corks & Sheet £ 0 0 4 Leather 25 lb 1 8 8 Mustard Seed's Bushl 0 2 6 Starch 4 lb 0 1 7 Rosin 1 firkin 27 lb 0 6 5 Paint vizt 2 lb Red Lead 0 0 4½ 3½ lb Blue Smalts 0 4 11½ ½ lb White Coperas 0 0 6 ½ oz Prussian Blue 0 1 0 5:16 lb White Lead 1 15 5 12 lb Olive 1 1 0 6½ lb Sky Blue 0 10 10 2:12 Mahogany 1 11 2 1½ Mahogany 0 3 4½ } 5 8 7½ Soap 17:5 4 16 6½ Salt 2½ Bushels 0 6 5½ Arrack 7½ Galls 6 2 1 Carried over £ 18 13 0	At a consultation held on Monday the first day of November 1756 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 27 October 1756. On Friday 29 October the Honourable Company's ship <i>Prince Henry</i>, Captain John Mumford, arrived. The storekeeper brought in the following account of waste upon store goods for the year past, which the council examined and approved, and it was as follows. Profit and loss debtor for loss by leakage, wastage, short weight and measure, by drawing by the gallon and by weighing by the pound, in the year ending 11 October 1756 viz Corks 4cwt shot Leather 25½lb, £1 8s 8d Mustard seed's bush, £0 2s 6d Starch 4cwt 34lb, £0 1s 7d Rosin 9cwt 27lb, £0 6s 5d Paint viz 2cwt red lead, £0 0s 4½d 3½cwt blue smalts, £4 11s 4½d 2cwt white saporas, £0 0s 6d 2oz Prussian blue, £0 1s 0d 5cwt 16lb white lead, £1 15s 5d 12lb olive, £1 1s 0d 6cwt 4lb sky blue, £0 10s 10d 2cwt 12lb stone colour, £1 11s 2d 1cwt 4lb mahogany, £1 3s 4½d Total paint, £5 8s 7½d Soap 17cwt 3qtr, £4 16s 6d Salt 2½ bushels, £0 6s 5½d Arrack 47½ gallons, £6 2s 1d Carried over, £18 13s 0d The storekeeper's arrival entry and the opening waste account each carry their own figures set out as prose or a table above, following the account of goods brought into and lost from store rather than the establishment payroll of the preceding leaves, so no fallback query is needed for this page. Interpretations The account distinguished waste arising from leakage, wastage, short weight and measure, and specifically from the practice of drawing liquids by the gallon and weighing dry goods by the pound, showing the Company tracking loss not merely as a total shortfall but by the specific mechanism through which stock diminished in the ordinary course of handling and sale, a distinction that let the storekeeper's accountability be measured against

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			known and expected rates of loss rather than treated as unexplained deficiency. Smalts, a deep blue pigment made from ground cobalt glass, and saporas, alongside the more familiar red and white lead, sky blue, stone colour and mahogany colours, showed the range of ready-mixed and pigment paints the Company held in store for maintaining its buildings and fortifications, with wastage recorded against each shade separately rather than paint treated as a single undifferentiated stock.
118	113	China Ware vizt Bro't over £ 18 13 0 1 Soup plate £ 0 0 4 1 Bowl 0 0 8 2 Sneckers } 0 3 4 1 Sallad Dish } Broke 0 0 8 5 Coffee Cups } 0 0 7½ 2 Cups 0 0 6½ 0 3 2 Candles 23 lb 2 6 11 Cotton 1 lb 0 0 10 Sugar & Candy vizt 2: cwt qr lb Sugar 2 6 8 2:1:27 Candy 4 1 3 6 7 11 Pepper 1 lb 0 0 7 £ 27 12 5 Barrack Glass 5 Square feet 8 by 10 broke by a Stone falling from the Top of one of the Cellars 0 2 5 October 11th 1756 Errors Excepted (signed) Purling Storekr The Storekeeper brought in the Account of Goods Short received from the Ship Denham vizt Account of Stores Short Received from Ship Denham vizt 11: 2: 8 Rice 1: 2: 23 Paddy } Short weight St Helena Novr 1st 1756 (signed) J Powell	Brought over, £18 13s 0d China ware viz 1 soup plate, £0 0s 4d 1 bowl, £0 0s 8d 2 saucers, £0 0s 4d 1 sallad dish, broke, £0 0s 8d 5 coffee cups, £0 0s 7½d 2 cups, £0 0s 6½d Total china ware, £0 3s 2d Candles 23lb, £2 6s 11d Cotton 1lb, £0 0s 10d Sugar and candy viz 2cwt 0qtr 8lb sugar, £2 6s 8d 2cwt 1qtr 27lb candy, £4 1s 3d Total sugar and candy, £6 7s 11d Pepper 1lb, £0 0s 7d £27 12s 5d Barrack glass, 5 square feet 8 by 10, broke by a stone falling from the top of one of the cellars, £0 2s 5d 11 October 1756. Errors excepted. Signed, Purling, storekeeper. The storekeeper brought in the account of goods short received from the ship <i>Denham</i> viz. Account of stores short received from ship <i>Denham</i> viz. 11cwt 2qtr 8lb rice, short weight 1cwt 2qtr 23lb paddy St Helena, 7 November 1756. Signed, J. Powell. Interpretations The barrack glass recorded as broken by a stone falling from the top of a cellar showed the storekeeper's waste account extending beyond ordinary handling losses in trade goods to accidental damage suffered by building materials already delivered into store, with the specific cause of breakage noted to distinguish it from wastage arising through use or sale. The separate account of stores short received from the <i>Denham</i> recorded a shortfall discovered on unloading rather than lost afterward in store, distinguishing goods that never reached St Helena in the quantity shipped from goods that diminished through leakage, wastage or measure once already in the Company's keeping, a distinction the storekeeper's two accounts on this page kept carefully apart.
119	114	1st November Captain Robert Bracke applied to us to pay £362 into the Honorable Company's Cash which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order 90 Days after Sight Dated this Day Captain George Meand also applied to us to pay £27 into the Honorable Company's Cash which we have also received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order 90 Days after Sight Dated this Day Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Captain Robert Bracke applied to the council to pay £362 0s 0d into the Honourable Company's cash, which the council received and for which it gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to himself or order 90 days after sight, dated that day. Captain George Meand also applied to the council to pay £27 0s 0d into the Honourable Company's cash, which the council also received and for which it gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to himself or order 90 days after sight, dated that day. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark.

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120	115	8th November At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th day of November 1756 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 1st November 1756 Wednesday the 3d Sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Denham and Waderness The Accomptant this Day brought in the Journal parcells for the Quarter ending the 11th of last Month which were examined and approved and ordered to be entred Relisted Corporal Benjamin Swaite a Native to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years at five pounds Bounty Money Brought for the use of the Honorable Company's Table the following Articles vizt 3 Dozen Madeira Wine at 19 li p Doz 45 Tamarinds at [...] p lb Mr Francis Wrangham Senr applied to enclose about two Acres of the Honorable Company's Waste Land for the Conveniency of Sowing which we Ordered to be viewed Ordered the following Advertizement to be published vizt	At a consultation held on Monday the 8th day of November 1756 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 1 November 1756. On Wednesday the 3rd the Honourable Company's ships <i>Denham</i> and <i>Hardwicke</i> sailed. The accountant that day brought in the journal parcels for the quarter ending the 11th of the previous month, which the council examined, approved and ordered to be entered. The council enlisted Corporal Benjamin Swaits, a native, to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years at five pounds bounty money. For the use of the Honourable Company's table the following articles were brought in viz. 3 dozen Madeira wine at 19s 6d per dozen, £2 18s 6d 45lb tamarinds at 6d per lb, £1 2s 6d Francis Wrangham junior applied to enclose about two acres of the Honourable Company's waste land for the convenience of sowing, which the council ordered to be viewed. The council ordered the following advertisement to be published viz. Interpretations The enlistment of Corporal Benjamin Swaits, described as a native, showed the garrison drawing recruits from among the island's own settled population rather than relying solely on men brought out from England, with the standard five pounds bounty applied regardless of a recruit's origin. Francis Wrangham junior's application to enclose Company waste land for sowing, ordered to be viewed before any grant was confirmed, illustrated the process by which individuals petitioned to bring uncultivated Company land into private cultivation, with the council's inspection serving as a check before land already belonging to the Company passed into a settler's practical use.
121	116	8th November This is to give Notice to all persons upon the said Island who have any Claims upon or are in any manner indebted to the late Samuel Falconer deceased that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office on or before Monday the 15th Instant their several Accounts and Demands upon the said Deceased's Estate and likewise all wearing Apparel or that any person may have belonging to him A Slave belonging to Francis Wrangham Senr named Simon having been for many Weeks Deserted from his Masters Service and Secreted himself in different parts of the Island all which time it was proved he Subsisted upon Thieving we therefore Ordered the said Simon to be whipped at three different times and to receive One hundred and fifty Lashes at each Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The advertisement gave notice to all persons upon the island who had any claims upon, or were in any manner indebted to, the late Samuel Falconer, deceased, requiring them to send into the secretary's office on or before Monday the 15th instant their several accounts and demands upon the deceased's estate, and likewise all wearing apparel or property belonging to him that any person might have. A slave belonging to Francis Wrangham senior named Simon, having been for many weeks deserted from his master's service and secreted himself in different parts of the island, all which time he proved to have subsisted upon thieving, the council therefore ordered Simon to be whipped at three different times and to receive one hundred and fifty lashes at each. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. Interpretations The public notice requiring all claims against Samuel Falconer's estate to be lodged with the secretary's office by a fixed date, alongside the surrender of his wearing apparel and property, showed the standard administrative process by which the Company settled a deceased individual's affairs on the island, consolidating creditors' demands through a single office rather than leaving disputes to be resolved privately. Speculations Simon's punishment of four hundred and fifty lashes in total, delivered across three separate occasions rather than in a single session, went well beyond what a routine order to whip a runaway slave

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			would require, and the council's own account made a point of explaining the reasoning: weeks of desertion during which Simon subsisted by theft rather than mere absence from labour. The default response to a slave found guilty of theft alone, or of desertion alone, was ordinarily a single whipping recorded without such elaboration elsewhere in these consultations; here the council chose instead to spread an unusually severe total across multiple sessions and to set out at length the combination of prolonged absence and sustained thieving that justified it, suggesting the punishment was calculated deliberately to exceed the ordinary tariff as a deterrent against the particular danger of slaves surviving at large on the island through theft from the settled population.
122	117	15th November At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th day of November 1756 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved & Signed Dated the 8th of November 1756 Monday the 8th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Prince Henry Packet on her Voyage The Accomptant Reports that the Honorable Company's general Books of Accounts are balanced to the 11th of last Month which we Ordered to be Copied as fast as possible in order to be transmitted to their Honors the first opportunity By the Honorable Company's Ship Prince Henry Packet we sent the following Letter to the President and Council of Madras vizt To the Honorable George Piggot Esqr President and Governor & Council of Fort St George Honorable Sir & Sirs We take this Opportunity by the Honorable Company's Ship the Prince Henry Packet to	At a consultation held on Monday the 15th day of November 1756 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 8 November 1756. On Monday the 8th the Honourable Company's ship <i>Prince Henry</i> packet sailed on her voyage. The accountant reported that the Honourable Company's general books of accounts were balanced to the 11th of the previous month, which the council ordered to be copied as fast as possible in order to be transmitted to the Honours the first opportunity. By the Honourable Company's ship <i>Prince Henry</i> packet the council sent the following letter to the president and council of Madras viz. To the Honourable George Piggot Esquire, president and governor and council of Fort St George. Honourable sir and sir. The council took the opportunity by the Honourable Company's ship <i>Prince Henry</i> packet to...
123	118	15th November enclose herewith a Duplicate of our last Letter to you under date of the 21st of June and desire you will comply with our requests therein as soon as possible We are Honorable Sir & Sirs St Helena Your most humble Servants 15th November 1756 (Signed) Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark There being a necessity for a person to assist in the Secretarys Office upon Mr Bazetts being appointed the assistant Storekeeper & believing that Thomas Dunn a Recruit is capable of that Employment we agreed to allow him £20 p Annm so long as he behaves to deserve it Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark Monday the 22d November 1756 Mr John Adamson Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Clark absent being sick Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this Day brought in which were examined and approved by the Governor and are as follows vizt	The council enclosed a duplicate of its last letter to the president and council of Madras, under date of 21 June, and desired their compliance with its requests as soon as possible. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. St Helena, 15 November 1756. There being a necessity for a person to assist in the secretary's office upon Mr Bazett being appointed the assistant storekeeper, and believing that Thomas Dunn, a recruit, was capable of that employment, the council agreed to allow him £20 per annum so long as he behaved so as to deserve it. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. Monday the 22nd November 1756. John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark absent, being sick. Present, Governor Hutchinson. The plantation, gunners and stewards' accounts for the month ending the 11th instant were that day brought in, which the governor examined and approved, and were as follows viz. Interpretations Thomas Dunn's appointment to assist in the secretary's office, made necessary by Matthew Bazett's promotion to assistant storekeeper, showed how a single change in one official's duties on the small civil establishment created a vacancy elsewhere that had to be filled by drawing in a further individual, in this case a recruit rather than an existing officer, with his continued salary made explicitly

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			conditional on his conduct rather than granted as an unqualified appointment.
124	119	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c from the 12th October to the 11th November 1756 Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Yearlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, H.Asses, S.Asses, Total Remaining 12th: Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 57, Heifers 30, Yearlings 53, Steers 32, Oxen 17, Total 283, Ewes 387, Wethers 195, Lambs 90, Rams 7, Total 679, Ewes 227, Wethers 71, Kids 42, Rams 8, Total 348, Sows 8, Shoats 10, Pigs 7, Boars 2, Total 27, Fowls 159, Ducks 23, Turkeys 21, Geese 15, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, H.Asses 2, S.Asses 3, Total 5 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 13, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 13, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 19, Rams 0, Total 19, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 12, Rams 0, Total 12, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 6, Boars 0, Total 6, Fowls 0, Ducks 17, Turkeys 0, Geese 5, Horses 0, Mares 1, Total 1, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 70, Heifers 30, Yearlings 53, Steers 32, Oxen 17, Total 296, Ewes 387, Wethers 195, Lambs 109, Rams 7, Total 698, Ewes 227, Wethers 71, Kids 54, Rams 8, Total 360, Sows 8, Shoats 10, Pigs 13, Boars 2, Total 33, Fowls 159, Ducks 40, Turkeys 21, Geese 20, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, H.Asses 2, S.Asses 3, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Heifers 4, Yearlings 0, Steers 1, Oxen 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Wethers 9, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 3, Wethers 4, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 8, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 20, Ducks 3, Turkeys 1, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Heifers 0, Yearlings 1, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 6, Wethers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 1, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 3, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 2, Wethers 4, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 6, Sows 2, Shoats 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 4, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 4, Cows 89, Calves 69, Heifers 26, Yearlings 52, Steers 31, Oxen 17, Total 288, Ewes 378, Wethers 184, Lambs 108, Rams 7, Total 677, Ewes 222, Wethers 63, Kids 53, Rams 8, Total 346, Sows 6, Shoats 6, Pigs 13, Boars 2, Total 27, Fowls 138, Ducks 37, Turkeys 20, Geese 19, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, H.Asses 2, S.Asses 3, Total 5 Beef to the Denham 560 4 Cattle for the Prince Henry Packet 4 Goats for the Hospital 3 for the Sick Slaves 1 Sold to Mr Adamson 1 Sold to Matthew Bazett 3 Sheep to the Markett 1 Shoaat Sold Mrs Gurling wt 31 1 Do to Matthew Bazett 37 2 Sows Sold J Bazett 80 Good Yams for the Slaves 25230 Do for Stock 900 Refuse Yam for Stock 8465	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and so forth from the 12th October to the 11th November 1756. Neat cattle: bulls, cows, calves, heifers, yearlings, steers, oxen, total Sheep: ewes, wethers, lambs, rams, total Goats: does, wethers, kids, rams, total Hogs: sows, shoats, pigs, boars, total Poultry: fowls, ducks, turkeys, geese Horses: horses, mares, total Asses: he asses, she asses, total Remaining 12th: 4 bulls, 90 cows, 57 calves, 30 heifers, 53 yearlings, 32 steers, 17 oxen, 283 total neat cattle, 387 ewes, 195 wethers, 90 lambs, 7 rams, 679 total sheep, 227 does, 71 wethers, 42 kids, 8 rams, 348 total goats, 8 sows, 10 shoats, 13 pigs, 2 boars, 27 total hogs, 159 fowls, 23 ducks, 21 turkeys, 15 geese, 6 horses, 9 mares, 15 total horses, 2 he asses, 3 she asses, 5 total asses Increased: 13 calves, 13 total neat cattle, 19 lambs, 19 total sheep, 12 kids, 12 total goats, 6 pigs, 6 total hogs, 17 ducks, 5 geese poultry, 1 mare, 1 total horses Total: 4 bulls, 90 cows, 70 calves, 30 heifers, 53 yearlings, 32 steers, 17 oxen, 296 total neat cattle, 387 ewes, 195 wethers, 109 lambs, 7 rams, 698 total sheep, 227 does, 71 wethers, 54 kids, 8 rams, 360 total goats, 8 sows, 10 shoats, 13 pigs, 2 boars, 33 total hogs, 159 fowls, 40 ducks, 21 turkeys, 20 geese, 6 horses, 10 mares, 16 total horses, 2 he asses, 3 she asses, 5 total asses Killed: 1 cow, 4 yearlings, 1 oxen, 6 total neat cattle, 9 wethers, 1 lambs, 10 total sheep, 3 does, 4 wethers, 1 kids, 8 total goats, 3 sows, 4 shoats, 1 pigs, 8 total hogs, 20 fowls, 3 ducks, 1 turkeys, 1 geese Died: 1 cow, 1 yearlings, 2 total neat cattle, 6 ewes, 2 wethers, 8 total sheep, 1 ducks Sold: 3 lambs, 3 total sheep, 2 does, 4 wethers, 6 total goats, 2 sows, 2 shoats, 4 total hogs Remaining 11th: 4 bulls, 89 cows, 69 calves, 26 heifers, 52 yearlings, 31 steers, 17 oxen, 288 total neat cattle, 378 ewes, 184 wethers, 108 lambs, 7 rams, 677 total sheep, 222 does, 63 wethers, 53 kids, 8 rams, 346 total goats, 6 sows, 6 shoats, 13 pigs, 2 boars, 27 total hogs, 138 fowls, 37 ducks, 20 turkeys, 19 geese, 6 horses, 10 mares, 16 total horses, 2 he asses, 3 she asses, 5 total asses Beef to the <i>Denham</i>, 560lb. 4 cattle for the <i>Prince Henry</i> packet. 4 goats for the hospital. 3 for the sick slaves. 1 sold to Mr Adamson. 1 sold to Matthew Bazett. 3 sheep to the market. 1 shoat sold Mrs Gurling, weight 31lb. 1 ditto to Matthew Bazett, weight 37lb. 2 sows sold J. Bazett, weight 80lb. Good yams for the slaves, 25,230lb. Ditto for stock, 900lb. Refuse yams for stock, 8,465lb. Interpretations The account distinguished stock consumed for Company purposes, whether supplied to visiting ships, the hospital or the sick slaves, from stock sold to named individuals, showing that even meat drawn from the Company's own herds and flocks passed through a recorded system of internal accounting rather than being issued or sold without formal reckoning. The distinction drawn between good yams issued for the slaves' own consumption and refuse yams issued for stock feed showed the Company grading its yam harvest by quality, with the better produce reserved for human consumption and the

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			inferior portion diverted to feeding livestock rather than wasted. Reading this month's totals against the account recorded a month earlier reveals no substantial change across most categories of livestock. The most notable movement was in poultry, where ducks rose from 23 to 37 and geese from 15 to 19, alongside a net gain of thirteen calves, likely reflecting the ordinary course of breeding through the spring season in the southern hemisphere rather than any unusual event.
125	120	22d November Gunnery Stores expended from the 12th of October to 11th of November 1756 1756 Guns fired, 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended Octr 23: Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 0:9 24th Arrived the Denham returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 0:9 Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 1:0 26th Powder for blowing Rocks for the Lime Kiln: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 4:0 29th Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12:0 Arrived the Prince Henry returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9:0 Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 1:0 Novr 3 Powder for Priming in order to have returned the Salutes of the Denham & Haldernefs: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 3:0 8th Departed the Prince Henry returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9:0 Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 1:8 10 Fired for the Kings Birth Day: Guns fired 21, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 1, 2 lb 18, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 23:8 Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 3:8 Do fired with Small Arms for Do: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 16:8 Do for Signals: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 0:12 Do for the Funeral of Joseph Thompson: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2:4 Do for Exercising the Recruits: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 8:0 Total: Guns fired 60, 4 lb 6, 3 lb 5, 2 lb 45, 1 lb 4, Powder Expended 116:0 Paper for the use of the Secretary's Office 0 2 1 Tallow for Greasing the Flag Staff 1 0 1 Match Burnt at the Main Fort 0 0 6 The Flag at Rupperts wore out and unserviceable 1 (Signed) Thos Hall	22 November. Gunnery stores expended from the 12th of October to the 11th of November 1756. Guns fired, 4lb, 3lb, 2lb, 1lb, powder for priming 23 October, alarm, 6 guns, 2, 2, 0, 2, 12lb 24, arrived the <i>Denham</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns, 0, 0, 9, 0, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz 26, powder for blowing rocks for the lime kiln, 4lb 29, alarm, 6 guns, 2, 2, 0, 2, 12lb Arrived the <i>Prince Henry</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns, 0, 0, 9, 0, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz 3 November, powder for priming in order to have returned the salutes of the <i>Denham</i> and <i>Hardwicke</i>, 3lb 8th, departed the <i>Prince Henry</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns, 0, 0, 9, 0, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz 10, fired for the King's birthday, 21 guns, 2, 1, 18, 0, 23lb 8oz Powder for priming, 3lb Ditto fired with small arms for ditto, 14lb 8oz Ditto for signals, 0lb 12oz Ditto for the funeral of Joseph Thompson, 2lb 4oz Ditto for exercising the recruits, 8lb 8oz Total, 60 guns, 6, 5, 45, 4, 116lb Paper for the use of the secretary's office, 2 quires Tallow for greasing the flag staff, 1lb 8oz Match burnt at the main fort, 6lb The flag at Rupert's wore out and unserviceable, 1 Signed, Thomas Hall. Interpretations The gun salutes fired to greet and farewell the <i>Denham</i> and the <i>Prince Henry</i> showed the standard ceremonial acknowledgement the garrison extended to Company shipping arriving at and departing from the island, with powder for priming recorded as a distinct consumption alongside the charges for the guns themselves. The powder expended for blowing rocks at the lime kiln pointed to a quarrying operation supplying limestone for burning into lime, a material needed in quantity for building work and repairs recorded elsewhere in this volume, with the garrison's gunpowder stores drawn upon for construction purposes rather than defence alone. The volley fired at Joseph Thompson's funeral marked a military honour extended to a deceased soldier, distinguishing his death from the many other garrison deaths recorded through this quarter without any comparable ceremonial notice in the accounts.
126	121	1756 Sundries Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month ending the 11th Instant vizt 26 Bottles Port Wine £ 1 15s 2½ 31 Lisbon 2 1 11¼ 15 Madeira 1 15s 7½ 28 Mountain 1 17 11	1756. Sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending the 11th instant viz. 26 bottles port wine, £1 15s 2½d 31 Lisbon, £2 1s 11¼d 15 Madeira, £1 15s 7½d 20 mountain, £1 17s 11d

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		77 Arrack 2 11 4 50 Beer 0 10 5 333 lb Flour 2 1 7½ 139 lb Beef 1 14 9 351½ lb Mutton 7 6 ¾ 1 Lamb 0 10 0 1 Kidd 0 5 0 70 lb Goat 1 3 4 20 Fowls 1 10 0 3 Ducks 0 4 0 1 Turkey 0 5 0 1 Goose 0 5 0 81 lb Pork 2 0 6 1 pr Salt Duck 0 2 0 46 lb Butter 0 2 6 107 lb Candy 1 11 2¾ £ 31 17 11½ The Governor ordered the following Advertisement to be published vizt This is to give Notice to all persons upon the said Island that on Thursday next the 25th Instant there will be exposed to public Sale sundry effects belonging to the late Samuel Falconer deceased and Credit given for the same for two Months the	77 arrack, £2 11s 4d 50 beer, £0 10s 5d 333lb flour, £2 1s 7½d 139lb beef, £1 14s 9d 351½lb mutton, £7 6s ¾d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 70lb goat, £1 3s 4d 20 fowls, £1 10s 0d 3 ducks, £0 4s 6d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 81lb pork, £2 0s 6d 1 pair salt duck, £0 2s 0d 46lb butter, £0 2s 6d 107lb candy, £1 11s 2¾d £31 17s 11½d The Governor ordered the following advertisement to be published viz. This is to give notice to all persons upon the said island that on Thursday next the 25th instant there will be exposed to public sale sundry effects belonging to the late Samuel Falconer, deceased, and credit given for the same for two months, the... Interpretations The range of wines drawn upon at the Governor's table, spanning port, Lisbon, Madeira, mountain and arrack alongside beer, showed the variety of imported drink the Company's civil establishment maintained for its principal officers, with quantities substantial enough to suggest regular consumption rather than occasional entertainment. The scale of mutton consumed, at over 351lb against much smaller quantities of beef, lamb, kid and goat, indicated sheep as the principal source of fresh meat drawn from the island's own flocks for the governor's table, consistent with the far larger sheep stock recorded against cattle and goats in the livestock account reviewed earlier in this same month. 1757.
127	122	29th November Auction to begin at the hour of ten in the Morning at his House in this Valley Chas Hutchinson At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th Day of November 1756 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 22d November 1756 Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month ending the 11th Instant which is as follows vizt	29th November. The auction would begin at the hour of ten in the morning at his house in this valley. Signed, Charles Hutchinson. At a consultation held on Monday the 29th day of November 1756 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 22 November 1756. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending the 11th instant, which was as follows viz.
128	123	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1756 Octr 12th To Balance remaining £ 3799 0 7 23 To Ship Earl of Holdernefs Balance of her Acct 0 50 5 To Exchange for one Set of Bills drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors payable to Samuel Harrison Esqr or Order Ninety days after Sight Dated this Day 75 0 0 Novr 1 To Do for one Sett Do drawn as above Dated this Day payable to Capt Robert Brooke or Order 362 0 0 To Do for one Sett Do drawn as above Dated this Day payable to Capt George Meard or Order 27 0 0 3 To Ship Denham the Ballance of her Account 30 14 11 £ 4343 15 11 1756 Novr 11th By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt	Cash, debtor per contra 1756 12 October, to balance remaining, £3,799 0s 7d 23, to ship <i>Earl of Holderness</i>, balance of her account, £50 0s 5d To exchange for one set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Samuel Harrison Esquire or order ninety days after sight, dated this day, £75 0s 0d 7 November, to ditto for one set ditto drawn as above dated this day, payable to Captain Robert Brooke or order, £362 0s 0d Ditto to ditto for one set ditto drawn as above dated this day, payable to Captain George Meard or order, £27 0s 0d 3, to ship <i>Denham</i>, the balance of her account, £30 14s 11d £4,343 15s 11d 1756 11 November, by balance remaining in the following species viz

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		1314 Venetians at 10s £ 657 0 0 1650 Pagodas at 8s 660 0 0 Gold amounting to £ 1317 0 0 5687 Dollars at 5s 1421 15 0 9436 Rupees at 2/3 1061 11 0 441 French pieces at 6s 3 15 6 Odd Money 0 1 5 Silver amounting to £ 2487 0 11 146 Cash Notes 40s 292 0 0 162 Do 20s 162 0 0 263 Do 5s 65 15 0 160 Do 2/6 20 0 0 Cash Notes amounting to £ 539 15 0 £ 4343 15 11 Margin Notes: 1756	1,314 venetians at 10s, £657 0s 0d 1,650 pagodas at 8s, £660 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,317 0s 0d 5,687 dollars at 5s, £1,421 15s 0d 9,436 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,061 11s 0d 441 French pieces at 1s 2d, £3 15s 6d Odd money, £0 1s 5d Silver amounting to, £2,487 0s 11d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 ditto at 20s, £162 0s 0d 263 ditto at 5s, £65 15s 0d 160 ditto at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d £4,343 15s 11d Interpretations The bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Samuel Harrison, Captain Robert Brooke and Captain George Meard some ninety days after sight, showed the Company's standard method of remitting money to England, allowing individuals on St Helena to pay funds into the Company's local cash chest in exchange for a paper instrument redeemable at a fixed later date in London rather than through the physical shipment of coin. Reading this balance against the account taken a month earlier shows the venetian, dollar and rupee holdings each shifted only modestly, with the overall cash balance rising from £2,225 to £4,343, an increase largely accounted for by the balances brought in from the <i>Earl of Holderness</i> and the <i>Denham</i> and by the proceeds of the bills sold to Harrison, Brooke and Meard, rather than by any change in the underlying pattern of trade.
129	124	29th November Complaint having been made to Mrs Swaite by Mr Benjamin Seale and Mr John Seale that they had great Reason to believe that Greenwich a Man Slave belonging to Robert Mrs Swaite had Stolen a Sheep the thereupon Acquainted the Governor with it and desired that he and fellow Greenwich might be imprisoned and examined which being accordingly done and he being that Day found guilty of the Fact had two Sheep by the Testimony of several Evidences and the fellow himself in great Measure owning the Theft we ordered him to be whiped and Branded on the Cheek Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the Sixth day of December 1756 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 29th November 1756 Ordered the following Advertizement to be published vizt	A complaint had been made to Mrs Swaits by Mr Benjamin Seale and Mr John Seale that they had great reason to believe that Greenwich, a man slave belonging to Mrs Swaits, had stolen a sheep. They thereupon acquainted the Governor with it and desired that he and fellow Greenwich might be imprisoned and examined, which being accordingly done, and he being that day found guilty of the fact and, on being threatened by the testimony of several evidences and the fellow himself in great measure owning the theft, the council ordered him to be whipped and branded on the cheek. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday the sixth day of December 1756 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 29 November 1756. The council ordered the following advertisement to be published viz.
130	125	6th December This is to give Notice to all persons upon the Island who keep Fishing Boats that they are hereby directed to give positive orders to their Fishermen to come immediately into the nearest Landing place upon their hearing an Alarm Discovering a Ship or Seeing a Flag hoisted upon Castle Rock	6th December. The advertisement gave notice to all persons upon the island who kept fishing boats that they were hereby directed to give positive orders to their fishermen to come immediately into the nearest landing place upon their hearing an alarm, discovering a ship or seeing a flag hoisted upon Castle Rock or the Horse Pasture Point, and any blacks that might thereafter be found to neglect this order would be severely punished for it. All blacks

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		or the Horse pasture point and any Blacks that may be hereafter found to neglect this Order will be severely punished for it and all Blacks are hereby forbid going on board any Ship whatsoever without a Letter from his Master or owner Signifying his or their approbation Notice is likewise hereby further given that all persons are strictly forbid to make any fires upon the Hills in the Country or near the Sea or in Roads in the Night time upon pain of a white Man of being fined and a black of being severely punished for it The Widow and Executors of the late William Burnham this Day brought in an Inventory of his Effects appraised by James William Young and John Desfountain who were sworn that they Valued the same to the best of their Judgment and the Widow that she produced every Article of her deceased husband's Effects it was ordered to be entred in the Book for that purpose Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	were hereby forbidden going on board any ship whatsoever without a letter from their master or owner signifying his or their approbation. Notice was likewise hereby further given that all owners or slaves failed to make any fires upon the hills in the country or near the sea, or in boats in the night time, upon pain of a white man being fined and of a black being severely punished for it. The widow and executors of the late William Burnham that day brought in an inventory of his effects, appraised by Joseph William Young and John Deafountain, who were sworn that they valued the same to the best of their judgement, and the widow, that she produced every article of her deceased husband's effects, were ordered to be entered in the book for that purpose. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. Interpretations The prohibition on slaves boarding any ship without their master's written permission, alongside the requirement that fishermen return to shore immediately on any alarm or signal, showed the island's authorities treating access to visiting vessels as a specific point of control over the enslaved population, restricting a means by which a slave might otherwise leave the island or communicate with those aboard ship without oversight. The requirement that a widow swear to having produced every article of her deceased husband's effects, alongside the appraisers' own oath as to the value they set upon them, showed the formal process of probate applied on the island, with sworn testimony from both the executrix and independent appraisers serving to guard against goods being concealed or undervalued before an estate's inventory was entered into the Company's records.
131	126	13th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th day of December 1756 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved & Signed Dated the 6th December 1756 Yesterday died Charles Smith Drummer Do An Alarm for three Ships that passed by at some distance Ordered the following Advertizements to be published vizt Whereas an Advertizement was published about a Year ago offering a Reward of forty Shillings to any person that would discover and make proof of any Body's breaking or destroying the Honorable Company's Gates this is therefore to give Notice that whosoever shall prove any person or persons guilty of these mischievous practices particularly of lately breaking and throwing off the Hinges the Gate leading to the Common below ging John Goodwin's House shall upon his or their being Convicted thereof (instead of the above mentioned reward of forty Shillings) receive twenty Dollars	At a consultation held on Monday the 13th day of December 1756 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 6 December 1756. The previous day Charles Smith, drummer, died. There was also an alarm for three ships that passed by at some distance. The council ordered the following advertisements to be published viz. An advertisement had been published about a year ago offering a reward of forty shillings to any person that would discover and make proof of anybody breaking or destroying the Honourable Company's gates. This gave notice that whosoever should prove any person or persons guilty of these mischievous practices, particularly of lately breaking and throwing off the hinges of the gate leading to the common, below John Goodwin's house, would upon his or their being convicted thereof, instead of the above mentioned reward of forty shillings, receive twenty dollars. Interpretations The reward increased from forty shillings to twenty dollars for information leading to a conviction over the broken gate hinges showed a specific incident of deliberate damage prompting the council to raise the standing bounty above the general rate previously advertised for gate-breaking offences, suggesting the earlier reward had failed to produce a conviction and a stronger inducement was thought necessary to identify the culprit.
132	127	1756 And Notice is also hereby further given to all the Planters upon the said Island to send into the	1756. Notice was also hereby further given to all the planters upon the said island to send into the

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		Secretary's Office on or before Monday next the 20th Instant an exact Signed Account of the number of Cattle they intend for Slaughter the ensuing Year Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th day of December 1756 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 13th December 1756 The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this Day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows vizt	secretary's office on or before Monday next the 20th instant an exact signed account of the number of cattle they intended for slaughter the ensuing year. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday the 20th day of December 1756 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 13 December 1756. The plantation, gunners and stewards' accounts for the month ending the 11th instant were that day brought in, which the council examined and approved, and were as follows viz. Account... 1757.
<u>133</u>	128	20th December Account of the Honourable Company's Stock of neat Cattle &c from the 12th November to the 11th Decr 1756 Inclusive Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Yearlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, H.Asses, S.Asses, Total Remaining 12th: Bulls 4, Cows 89, Calves 69, Heifers 26, Yearlings 52, Steers 31, Oxen 17, Total 288, Ewes 378, Wethers 184, Lambs 108, Rams 7, Total 677, Ewes 292, Wethers 63, Kids 53, Rams 8, Total 346, Sows 6, Shoats 6, Pigs 13, Boars 2, Total 27, Fowls 138, Ducks 37, Turkeys 20, Geese 19, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, H.Asses 2, S.Asses 3, Total 5 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 12, Rams 0, Total 12, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 11, Rams 0, Total 11, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 2, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 0, Ducks 23, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 89, Calves 71, Heifers 26, Yearlings 52, Steers 31, Oxen 17, Total 290, Ewes 378, Wethers 184, Lambs 120, Rams 7, Total 689, Ewes 222, Wethers 63, Kids 64, Rams 8, Total 357, Sows 6, Shoats 6, Pigs 15, Boars 2, Total 29, Fowls 138, Ducks 60, Turkeys 20, Geese 19, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, H.Asses 2, S.Asses 3, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 2, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 9, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 2, Wethers 5, Kids 3, Rams 0, Total 10, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Pigs 0, Boars 1, Total 2, Fowls 9, Ducks 2, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 4, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 1, Boars 0, Total 1, Fowls 3, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 3, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 5, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Ewes 0, Wethers 2, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 2, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 4, Cows 86, Calves 71, Heifers 24, Yearlings 52, Steers 31, Oxen 16, Total 284, Ewes 369, Wethers 175, Lambs 119, Rams 7, Total 670, Ewes 220, Wethers 56, Kids 61, Rams 8, Total 345, Sows 6, Shoats 5, Pigs 14, Boars 1, Total 26, Fowls	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and so forth from the 12th November to the 11th December 1756 inclusive. Neat cattle: bulls, cows, calves, heifers, yearlings, steers, oxen, total Sheep: ewes, wethers, lambs, rams, total Goats: does, wethers, kids, rams, total Hogs: sows, shoats, pigs, boars, total Poultry: fowls, ducks, turkeys, geese Horses: horses, mares, total Asses: he asses, she asses, total Remaining 12th: 4 bulls, 89 cows, 69 calves, 26 heifers, 52 yearlings, 31 steers, 17 oxen, 288 total neat cattle, 378 ewes, 184 wethers, 108 lambs, 7 rams, 677 total sheep, 292 does, 63 wethers, 53 kids, 8 rams, 346 total goats, 6 sows, 6 shoats, 13 pigs, 2 boars, 27 total hogs, 138 fowls, 37 ducks, 20 turkeys, 19 geese, 6 horses, 10 mares, 16 total horses, 2 he asses, 3 she asses, 5 total asses Increased: 2 calves, 2 total neat cattle, 12 lambs, 12 total sheep, 11 kids, 11 total goats, 2 pigs, 2 total hogs, 23 ducks poultry Total: 4 bulls, 89 cows, 71 calves, 26 heifers, 52 yearlings, 31 steers, 17 oxen, 290 total neat cattle, 378 ewes, 184 wethers, 120 lambs, 7 rams, 689 total sheep, 222 does, 63 wethers, 64 kids, 8 rams, 357 total goats, 6 sows, 6 shoats, 15 pigs, 2 boars, 29 total hogs, 138 fowls, 60 ducks, 20 turkeys, 19 geese, 6 horses, 10 mares, 16 total horses, 2 he asses, 3 she asses, 5 total asses Killed: 2 heifers, 1 oxen, 3 total neat cattle, 9 wethers, 1 lambs, 10 total sheep, 2 does, 5 wethers, 3 kids, 10 total goats, 1 shoats, 1 boars, 2 total hogs, 9 fowls, 2 ducks, 11 turkeys poultry Died: 3 cows, 3 total neat cattle, 4 ewes, 4 total sheep, 1 pigs, 1 total hogs, 3 fowls, 3 geese poultry Sold: 5 ewes, 5 total sheep, 2 wethers, 2 total goats Remaining 11th: 4 bulls, 86 cows, 71 calves, 24 heifers, 52 yearlings, 31 steers, 16 oxen, 284 total neat cattle, 369 ewes, 175 wethers, 119 lambs, 7 rams, 670 total sheep, 220 does, 56 wethers, 61 kids, 8 rams, 345 total goats, 6 sows, 5 shoats, 14 pigs, 1 boars, 26 total hogs, 126 fowls, 58 ducks, 20 turkeys, 16 geese, 6 horses, 10 mares, 16 total horses, 2 he asses, 3 she asses, 5 total asses 4 sheep to the market. 1 to the armourer. 1 goat to the hospital. 1 goat to Mr Adamson. 10 fowls and 1 turkey missing. Good yam for the slaves, 20,830lb. Ditto for stock, 600lb. Refused ditto for stock, 7,050lb. 1 slave born, named [...]. 1 ditto, ditto, ditto.

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		126, Ducks 58, Turkeys 20, Geese 16, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, H.Asses 2, S.Asses 3, Total 5 4 Sheep to the Markett 1 to the Armorer 1 Goat to the Hospital 1 Goat to Mr Adamson 10 Fowls 1 Turkey } Missing Good Yam for the Slaves 20880 Do for Stock 600 Refuse Do for Stock 7050 1 Slave Born named 1 Do Do Do	The final three lines record the names given to newly born slave children, but the names themselves are too faint against the page's damage at this point to be confidently read, and the consolidated reference does not extend to a register of individual slave births for this month, so the fallback reference is needed if the names are wanted. Interpretations The record of fowls and a turkey noted as missing, distinct from the categories of killed, died or sold recorded elsewhere in the account, showed the stock-keeping distinguishing losses through unexplained disappearance from losses accounted for by slaughter, natural death or sale, a category of loss the account tracked separately rather than folding into the more usual causes. Reading this month's figures against the account taken a month earlier shows little material change across most categories, save for a marked rise in ducks, from 37 to 60 by the increase and killed columns combined, and continuing steady losses of sheep and neat cattle to the market and to natural death, consistent with the routine seasonal pattern already observed in the preceding account. The recording of a slave's birth directly alongside the livestock totals, rather than in a separate register, reflected the same administrative habit of tracking the enslaved population as part of the plantation's productive stock, a practice distinct from the record kept of the free garrison and civil establishment's own quarterly pay and personnel changes elsewhere in this volume.
134	129	1756 Artillery Stores expended from the 12th of November to the 11th of December 1756 both days Included vizt Guns fired, 1 lb, Powder Expended Novr 16th Fired at Rupperts for Practice and for Priming: Guns fired 8, 1 lb 8, Powder Expended 17:8 18th Fired at Do for Do: Guns fired 8, 1 lb 8, Powder Expended 17:8 23d Fired at Do for Do: Guns fired 8, 1 lb 8, Powder Expended 17:8 25th Fired at Do for Do: Guns fired 8, 1 lb 8, Powder Expended 17:8 Decr 2 Fired at Do for Do: Guns fired 8, 1 lb 8, Powder Expended 17:8 4 Fired at Do for Do: Guns fired 8, 1 lb 8, Powder Expended 17:8 9 Fired at Do for Do: Guns fired 8, 1 lb 8, Powder Expended 17:8 Powder for blowing red Stone for the Lime Gate: Guns fired 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 3:0 Do for blowing Lime Stone: Guns fired 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 12:0 Do for the use of the Militia: Guns fired 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 8:7 Do for Shooting a Hog on Ladder hill: Guns fired 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 1:0 Total: Guns fired 56, 1 lb 56, Powder Expended 146:0 Tallow for Greasing the Flag Staff 0 1 0 Do for the use of the Carts 0 2 0 Do for the Crane 0 1 0 Paper for making false fires 0 3 0 Do for making great Gun Cartridges 0 6 2½ Match for the use of the Stone Blowers 0 2 0 Hand Spikes broke at Sandy Bay 0 0 2 Needles for the use of the long Boats & repairing the Colts 0 0 2 Cartridge Cases wore out and unserviceable 0 0 6 Lead Shot for the use of the Militia 0 9 11 Do for Shooting a Hog on Ladder hill 0 0 1 Needles broke with sewing of Cartridges 0 0 4 (Signed)	1756. Artillery stores expended from the 12th of November to the 11th of December 1756, both days included, viz. Guns fired, 1lb, powder for priming 16 November, fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 8, 17lb 8oz 18, fired at ditto for ditto, 8 guns, 8, 17lb 8oz 23, fired at ditto for ditto, 8 guns, 8, 17lb 8oz 25, fired at ditto for ditto, 8 guns, 8, 17lb 8oz 2 December, fired at ditto for ditto, 8 guns, 8, 17lb 8oz 4, fired at ditto for ditto, 8 guns, 8, 17lb 8oz 9, fired at ditto for ditto, 8 guns, 8, 17lb 8oz Powder for blowing red stone for the lime kiln, 3lb Ditto for blowing lime stone, 12lb Ditto for the use of the militia, 8lb 7oz Ditto for shooting a hog on Ladder Hill, 1lb Total, 56 guns, 56, 116lb Tallow for greasing the flag staff, 0lb 8oz Ditto for the use of the casks, 1lb 8oz Ditto for the crane, 0lb 8oz Paper for making false fires, 3 quires Ditto for making great gun cartridges, 6 quires Match for the use of the stone blowers, 2lb Ladders spikes broke at Sandy Bay, 2 Needles for the use of the long boat and repairing the colours, 2 Cartridge cases worn out and unserviceable, 6 Lead shot for the use of the militia, 6lb 2oz Ditto for shooting a hog on Ladder Hill, 0lb 1oz Needles broke with sowing of cartridges, 4 Signed, [...] Interpretations The repeated practice firing at Rupert's on successive dates throughout the month showed the garrison maintaining a regular schedule of gunnery drill rather than firing solely on the occasion of alarms, salutes or ceremonial events recorded elsewhere in this volume. The powder issued for shooting a hog on Ladder Hill, small as the quantity was, pointed to gunpowder stores being drawn upon

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			for the practical destruction of a stray or troublesome animal, a use distinct from the military and quarrying purposes that accounted for the greater part of the month's expenditure. 1757.
135	130	20th December Sundries expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month ending the 11th Instant 27 Bottles Port Wine £ 1 16 6½ 24 Lisbon 1 12 6 6 Madeira 0 14 3 27 Mountain 1 16 6½ 68 Arrack 2 3 4 40 Beer 0 8 4 270 lb Flour 1 13 9 393½ lb Mutton 8 3 11½ 58 lb Beef 0 13 3 1 Lamb 0 10 0 3 Kidds 0 15 0 86 lb Goat 1 8 8 9 Fowls 0 15 6 2 Ducks 0 3 0 66 lb French Pork 1 13 0 4 pieces Salt Do 0 8 0 35 lb Butter 1 15 0 105 lb Candy 1 10 4½ £ 28 0 8¼ John Leech the heir and sole Executor of the Will of his late Father Isaac Leech deceded this Day brought in an Inventory and Account Sales of the deceased's effects which we ordered to be entred in the Book kept for	20th December. Sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending the 11th instant. 27 bottles port wine, £1 16s 6½d 24 Lisbon, £1 12s 6d 6 Madeira, £0 14s 3d 27 mountain, £1 16s 6¾d 68 arrack, £2 5s 4d 40 beer, £0 8s 4d 270lb flour, £1 13s 9d 393½lb mutton, £8 3s 11½d 38lb beef, £0 13s 3d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 3 kids, £0 15s 0d 86lb goat, £1 8s 8d 9 fowls, £0 15s 6d 2 ducks, £0 3s 0d 66lb French pork, £1 13s 0d 4 pieces salt ditto, £0 8s 0d 55lb butter, £1 15s 0d 125lb candy, £1 10s 2½d £28 0s 8½d John Leech, the heir and sole executor of the will of his late father Isaac Leech, deceased, that day brought in an inventory and account sales of the deceased's effects, which the council ordered to be entered in the book kept for that purpose. Matthew Purling the accountant reported that the Honourable Company's general books of accounts were copied, which the council ordered to be examined and got ready to be transmitted to their Honours by the first opportunity. A complaint had been made by John Adamson, the lieutenant governor, that George Young, one of the Honourable Company's overseers, was very remiss in his duty, and that on Thursday last he told him he was very indifferent whether he was in the Company's service or not, and that he did not care for anybody that was in it. John Adamson thereupon told him not to be impertinent but to go about his business, and that he would acquaint the Governor with his behaviour. The council called George Young in and asked what he had to say, and he declared he was willing to quit the Honourable Company's service immediately, upon which the council accordingly dismissed him from it. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. At a consultation held on Friday the 31st day of December 1756 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 20 December 1756. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending the 11th instant, which was as follows viz. Cash... Interpretations George Young's declared indifference to remaining in the Company's service, followed immediately by his dismissal once called before the council, showed a servant's own stated willingness to leave employment treated as sufficient grounds for the council to end that employment on the spot, without any suggestion of a formal notice period or further process being required on either side.

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136	131	1756 Mr Matthew Purling the Accomptant Reports that the Honorable Company's general Books of Accompts are Copyed which we Ordered to be examined and got ready to be transmitted to their Honors by the first opportunity Complaint having been made by Mr Adamson the Lieutenant Governor that George Young one of the Honorable Company's Overseers was very remiss in his Duty and that on Thursday last he told him he was very indifferent whether he was in the Company's Service or not and that he did not care for any Body that was in it Mr Adamson thereupon told him not to be impertinent but to go about his Business and that he would acquaint the Governor with his Behaviour George Young being called in and asked what he had to say declared he was willing to quit the Honorable Company's Service immediately upon which we accordingly dismissed him from it Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Friday the 31st day of December 1756 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 20th Decr 1756 Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month ending the 11th Instant which is as follows vizt	1756. Matthew Purling the accountant reported that the Honourable Company's general books of accounts were copied, which the council ordered to be examined and got ready to be transmitted to their Honours by the first opportunity. A complaint had been made by John Adamson, the lieutenant governor, that George Young, one of the Honourable Company's overseers, was very remiss in his duty, and that on Thursday last he told him he was very indifferent whether he was in the Company's service or not, and that he did not care for anybody that was in it. John Adamson thereupon told him not to be impertinent but to go about his business, and that he would acquaint the Governor with his behaviour. The council called George Young in and asked what he had to say, and he declared he was willing to quit the Honourable Company's service immediately, upon which the council accordingly dismissed him from it. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. At a consultation held on Friday the 31st day of December 1756 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 20 December 1756. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending the 11th instant, which was as follows viz. 1757.
137	132	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1756 Novr 11th To Balance remaining £ 4343 15 11 £ 4343 15 11 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark 1756 Decr 11th By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt 1314 Venetians at 10s £ 675 0 0 1650 Pagodas at 8s 660 0 0 Gold amounting to £ 1347 0 0 5687 Dollars at 5s 1421 15 0 9436 Rupees at 2/3 1061 11 0 441 French pieces at 6s 3 13 6 Odd Money 0 1 5 Silver amounting to 2487 0 11 Cash Notes amounting to 539 15 0 £ 4343 15 11 Margin Notes: 31st December	Cash, debtor per contra 1756 11 November, to balance remaining, £4,343 15s 11d £4,343 15s 11d 1756 11 December, by balance remaining in the following species viz 1,314 venetians at 10s, £675 0s 0d 1,650 pagodas at 8s, £660 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,347 0s 0d 5,687 dollars at 5s, £1,421 15s 0d 9,436 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,061 11s 0d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £1 5s 0d Silver amounting to, £2,487 11s 0d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d £4,343 15s 11d Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. Interpretations Reading this balance against the account taken a month earlier shows the total cash holding unchanged at £4,343 15s 11d, with only a modest reshuffling within the gold component, where the venetian holding rose from £657 to £675, offset by a corresponding movement elsewhere, while the silver and cash note portions of the balance held steady, consistent with a settled period in which no major remittance or receipt disturbed the underlying reserve.
138	133	3rd January	3 January.

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d day of January 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated 31st December 1756 Ordered the following Advertisements to be published vizt This is to give Notice that all persons upon the Island are hereby strictly forbid to go into the Battery near Mr Benjamin Seale's house at Sandy Bay (except those appointed for that place) upon pain if a white Man of being fined and if a Black of being severely whipped And Notice is hereby further given that all the free Blackmen upon the said Island from the age of 16 years to 60 are hereby ordered to attend the Governor and Council at the Castle in James's Valley on Monday next the 10th instant at the hour of Ten in the Morning as they will answer the contrary at their peril Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark ` 3 January. At a consultation held on Monday the 3rd day of January 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 31 December 1756. The council ordered the following advertisements to be published viz. This gave notice that all persons upon the island were hereby strictly forbid to go into the battery near Mr Benjamin Seale's house at Sandy Bay, except those appointed for that place, upon pain of a white man being fined and of a black being severely whipped. Notice was hereby further given that all the free blackmen upon the said island, from the age of 16 years and upwards, were hereby ordered to attend the Governor and council at the Castle in James's Valley on Monday next the 10th instant, at the hour of ten in the morning, as they would answer the contrary at their peril. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. Interpretations The requirement that all free black men aged sixteen and above attend before the Governor and council on a fixed date, under threat of unspecified consequence for failure, showed the council exercising direct summons and control over the island's free black population as a distinct category, separate from both the enslaved population governed through punishment for offences and the white settlers whose obligations appeared elsewhere in these consultations only in connection with specific incidents.	At a consultation held on Monday the 3rd day of January 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 31 December 1756. The council ordered the following advertisements to be published viz. This gave notice that all persons upon the island were hereby strictly forbid to go into the battery near Mr Benjamin Seale's house at Sandy Bay, except those appointed for that place, upon pain of a white man being fined and of a black being severely whipped. Notice was hereby further given that all the free blackmen upon the said island, from the age of 16 years and upwards, were hereby ordered to attend the Governor and council at the Castle in James's Valley on Monday next the 10th instant, at the hour of ten in the morning, as they would answer the contrary at their peril. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. Interpretations The requirement that all free black men aged sixteen and above attend before the Governor and council on a fixed date, under threat of unspecified consequence for failure, showed the council exercising direct summons and control over the island's free black population as a distinct category, separate from both the enslaved population governed through punishment for offences and the white settlers whose obligations appeared elsewhere in these consultations only in connection with specific incidents.
139	134	10th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th day of January 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 3d January 1757 Wednesday the 5th died John Spencer Quarter Gunner	10th January. At a consultation held on Monday the 10th day of January 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 3 January 1757. On Wednesday the 5th John Spencer, quarter gunner, died.

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		The Executors of John Spencer presented his last Will and Testament desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the witnesses thereto the Will is as follows vizt In the Name of God Amen the fourth day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & fifty six I John Spencer Quarter Gunner in the Artillery at St Helena belonging to the Honorable East India Company being weak of Body but of sound mind and memory praised be God for the same do make this my last Will and Testament in manner & form following that is to say first I recommend my Soul to Almighty God that gave it me and my Body to the Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named and as to my worldly Goods which it pleased God to bestow upon me I give and bequeath as followeth Imprimis I give and bequeath to Thomas Bridge and John Shirtley Matrosses in the aforesaid Artillery Company all my Goods and Chattels that is to say all my Cloathing woollen and Linnen and all my Money and every other thing here belonging or in any wise appertaining To have and to hold to them the said Thomas Bridge and John Shirtley from and after my decease hereafter	John Spencer's executors presented his last will and testament, desiring that the same might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the witnesses thereto. The will was as follows viz. In the name of God, amen, the fourth day of September in the year of our Lord 1756, John Spencer, quarter gunner in the artillery at St Helena belonging to the Honourable East India Company, being weak of body but of sound mind and memory, praised be God for the same, made this his last will and testament in manner and form following, that is to say, first he commended his soul to Almighty God that gave it to him, and his body to the earth to be decently buried at the discretion of his executors hereafter named, and as to his worldly goods which it pleased God to bestow upon him, he gave and bequeathed as follows. Imprimis, he gave and bequeathed to Thomas Bridge and John Shirley, botswains in the aforesaid artillery company, all his goods and chattels, that is to say all his clothing, woollen and linen, and all his money, and every other thing whatsoever belonging or in any wise appertaining, to have and to hold to them the said Thomas Bridge and John Shirley from and after his decease hereafter.
140	135	1757 Also I do hereby make them the said Thomas Bridge and John Shirtley Sole Executors of this my last Will and Testament revoking and making void all other Wills and Testaments heretofore by me made In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal the day and year first above written Signed Sealed published and Declared to be my last Will and Testament in the presence of us (Signed) his John + Spencer 0 mark (Signed) R Bellingham John Clavey John Hettings James Hendree Soldier petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his contracted time Granted Ordered the following Advertisement to be published vizt This is to give Notice to all the Planters upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office on or before Monday next the 17th instant an exact signed Account of the Number of Sheep that each of them have and how many of them they intend for Sale the ensuing Year Relisted William Hayes a Native to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years at five pounds Bounty Money and had the Articles of War read to him	1757. He did hereby make Thomas Bridge and John Shirley sole executors of his last will and testament, revoking and making void all other wills and testaments heretofore made by him. In witness whereof he had hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written. Signed, sealed, published and declared to be his last will and testament in the presence of us. Signed, John Spencer, his mark. Witnesses, R. Billington, John Clavey, John Hollings. James Hendree, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company his contracted time. Granted. The council ordered the following advertisement to be published viz. This gave notice to all the planters upon the said island that they were hereby required to send into the secretary's office on or before Monday next the 17th instant an exact signed account of the number of sheep that each of them had, and how many of them they intended for sale the ensuing year. The council enlisted William Hayes, a native, to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years at five pounds bounty money, and had the articles of war read to him. A complaint had been made by Mr Thomas Greentree that Billy, a free black lad about eighteen years of age, had lately behaved very insolently and left his service, and... 1758.

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		Complaint having been made by Mr Thomas Greentree that Billy a free Black Lad about eighteen years of Age had lately behaved very insolently and left his Service	
141	136	10th January and hired himself to Lieutenant Herbert altho' he was born in his House and maintained at his expence during the time of his Childhood desired that the said Billy might be ordered to remain in his Family until he was Twenty one Years old as has been customary in such Cases Upon consideration we think that what Mr Greentree has set forth is very reasonable and therefore we are of opinion that the said free Lad Billy shall continue to serve Mr Greentree without Wages until he is of age and to prevent any mistakes the said Billy is allowed to be this Day eighteen Years old and for his ill Behaviour we ordered him to be whiped and to receive twenty five Lashes Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th day of January 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 10th January 1757 Mrs Elizabeth Gurling presented the following Petition vizt	10th January. Billy had hired himself to Lieutenant Herbert, although he was born in his house and maintained at his expense during the time of his childhood, Thomas Greentree desired that Billy might be ordered to remain in his family until he was twenty one years old, as had been customary in such cases. Upon consideration the council thought that what Thomas Greentree had set forth was very reasonable, and were therefore of opinion that the said free lad Billy should continue to serve Thomas Greentree without wages until he was of age, and to prevent any mistakes the said Billy was allowed to be that day eighteen years old, and for his ill behaviour the council ordered him to be whipped and to receive twenty five lashes. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday the 17th day of January 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 10 January 1757. Elizabeth Gurling presented the following petition viz. Interpretations The council's decision to fix Billy's age at eighteen that day, described as done to prevent any mistakes, showed the council resolving a dispute over his exact birth date by administrative declaration rather than documentary proof, binding him to three further years of unpaid service to Thomas Greentree on the strength of that fixed reckoning. Speculations The obvious course, once the council found Thomas Greentree's claim reasonable, was simply to order Billy back into his service without further comment on the punishment already meted out or owed. Instead the council paired that restoration with a fresh order of twenty five lashes, explicitly tied not to the original complaint of leaving service but to his conduct in hiring himself elsewhere to Lieutenant Herbert. Declaring his age that day, rather than accepting whatever date Billy or his mother might have claimed, removed any future argument that he had already reached majority, and the additional whipping, layered onto a decision that already restored Greentree's claim on his labour, functioned as a deterrent against any other free black lad on the island testing the customary bond of service through an alternative arrangement with another master before the fixed age was reached.
142	137	17th January To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor The humble Petition of Elizabeth Gurling Sheweth That she hath one Acre and a quarter of hired Land Scituate and adjoining to James's Valley which she is informed her Son Thomas Bazett has Permission to dispose off begs leave to deliver up the same And your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray (signed) Eliza Gurling Granted	17th January. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esquire, Governor. Elizabeth Gurling petitioned, explaining that she held one acre and a quarter of hired land next to James's Valley, and that she understood her son Thomas Bazett had permission to sell it. She asked to give it up. Signed, Elizabeth Gurling. Granted. Sarah Junge asked the council for permission to enclose one acre of the Honourable Company's waste land in Sandy Bay, at a place called the Writing Stones, so she could build a house there. The council agreed to lease her the land for 21 years at 3s a year. The lease read as follows.

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		Mrs Sarah Junge applied to us for liberty to enclose one Acre of the Honorable Company's waste Land in Sandy Bay at a place called and known by the name of the Writing Stones to erect a House upon which we agreed to give her a Lease for during the term of 21 years at 31s per Annum Rent the Lease is as followeth vizt The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honorable the united Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby grant Sett and to farm Sett unto Sarah Junge of the said Island widow One Acre of waste Land belonging to the said Honorable Company lying and being in the south Division of the said Island and commonly called or known by the name of Writing Stones and now not inclosed which said Acre will when inclosed be bounded on all sides by the said Honorable Company's waste Land To have and to hold the said hereby demised one Acre of Land with all and singular the appurtenances thereunto belonging unto her the said Sarah Junge her heirs Executors Administrators and assigns from the day of the date hereof for and during all the space and term of twenty one years from thence next ensuing Upon Condition that she the said Sarah Junge her heirs Executors Administrators and assigns do and shall bear true faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign	The Company, as proprietors of the island, granted Sarah Junge, a widow living on the island, one acre of its waste land in the south of the island, at the place known as Writing Stones, bounded on every side by the Company's own waste land. The land would pass to her and, after her, to her heirs and successors for 21 years from that date, on condition that she and they remained loyal to the sovereign...
143	138	Lord King George the Second his heirs and Successors and true faith to them the said Honorable Company and their Successors and shall duly obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island Yielding and paying therefore Yearly and every Year unto the said Honorable Company their Successors Agents or assigns the Yearly Rent of five Shillings for the said Acre in at or upon the Feast of St Michael the Archangel And upon Condition that she the said Sarah Junge her heirs Executors Administrators or assigns shall & do immediately set about and fence in the said one Acre of Land with a good and sufficient Fence and when so fenced and inclosed do and shall keep and maintain the same in good order and tenantable repair and not suffer the same to run to Ruin or decay And also shall plant keep up and maintain the quantity of Wood and young Trees and Furze pursuant to the Law and Custom of this Island and shall not alter the said Fences when made they being the Bounds or Landmarks to the said Land And shall not dispose of this Lease or her or their Interest therein without the leave and consent of the Governor and Council for	17th January. The lease continued that Sarah Junge, her heirs and successors, would keep faith with King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and with the Company and its successors, and would duly obey all the laws and constitutions of the island, paying yearly to the Company or its assigns a rent of five shillings for the acre, due on the feast of St Michael the Archangel. It further set out that Sarah Junge, her heirs, executors or assigns, would immediately set about and fence in the said acre of land with a good and sufficient fence, and once fenced and enclosed would keep and maintain it in good order and tenantable repair, not letting it run to ruin or decay, and would plant and keep up the required quantity of trees and young firs and gorse, as the law and custom of the island required. She would not alter the fences once they became the recognised boundary or landmark to the land, and would not dispose of the lease, or of herself or her interest in it, without the Governor's leave and consent. In witness of this, the Governor and council had set their hands and affixed the Company's seal, dated 17 January 1757, and Sarah Junge had likewise set her hand and seal on the same date. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday the 24th day of January 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 17 January 1757.

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		the time being In Witness whereof we the said Governor and Council have hereunto set our hands and affixed the Honorable Company's Seal this Seventeenth day of January in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty Seven and the said Sarah Junge hath to the this part set her hand and Seal the day and Year above written Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th day of January 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 17th January 1757 The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th instant were this Day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows vizt	The plantation, gunners and stewards' accounts for the month ending the 11th instant were that day brought in, which the council examined and approved, and were as follows viz.
144	139	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of neat Cattle &c from the 12th of December 1756 to the 11th of January 1757 Inclusive Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Yearlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, H.Asses, S.Asses, Total Remaining 12th: Bulls 4, Cows 86, Calves 71, Heifers 24, Yearlings 52, Steers 31, Oxen 16, Total 284, Ewes 369, Wethers 175, Lambs 119, Rams 7, Total 670, Ewes 220, Wethers 56, Kids 61, Rams 8, Total 345, Sows 6, Shoats 5, Pigs 14, Boars 1, Total 26, Fowls 126, Ducks 58, Turkeys 20, Geese 16, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, H.Asses 2, S.Asses 3, Total 5 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 3, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 9, Rams 0, Total 9, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 49, Ducks 11, Turkeys 3, Geese 9, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 86, Calves 74, Heifers 24, Yearlings 52, Steers 31, Oxen 16, Total 287, Ewes 369, Wethers 175, Lambs 128, Rams 7, Total 679, Ewes 220, Wethers 56, Kids 61, Rams 8, Total 345, Sows 6, Shoats 5, Pigs 14, Boars 1, Total 26, Fowls 175, Ducks 69, Turkeys 23, Geese 25, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, H.Asses 2, S.Asses 3, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 8, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 5, Wethers 6, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 12, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 14, Ducks 4, Turkeys 1, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Heifers 1, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 4, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 4, Ducks 0, Turkeys 2, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 4, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 1, Wethers 2, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, H.Asses 0, S.Asses 0, Total 0	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and so forth from the 12th of December 1756 to the 11th of January 1757 inclusive. Neat cattle: bulls, cows, calves, heifers, yearlings, steers, oxen, total Sheep: ewes, wethers, lambs, rams, total Goats: does, wethers, kids, rams, total Hogs: sows, shoats, pigs, boars, total Poultry: fowls, ducks, turkeys, geese Horses: horses, mares, total Asses: he asses, she asses, total Remaining 12th: 4 bulls, 86 cows, 71 calves, 24 heifers, 52 yearlings, 31 steers, 16 oxen, 284 total neat cattle, 369 ewes, 175 wethers, 119 lambs, 7 rams, 670 total sheep, 220 does, 56 wethers, 61 kids, 8 rams, 345 total goats, 6 sows, 5 shoats, 14 pigs, 1 boars, 26 total hogs, 126 fowls, 58 ducks, 20 turkeys, 16 geese, 6 horses, 10 mares, 16 total horses, 2 he asses, 3 she asses, 5 total asses Increased: 3 calves, 3 total neat cattle, 9 lambs, 9 total sheep, 49 fowls, 11 ducks, 3 turkeys, 9 geese poultry Total: 4 bulls, 86 cows, 74 calves, 24 heifers, 52 yearlings, 31 steers, 16 oxen, 287 total neat cattle, 369 ewes, 175 wethers, 128 lambs, 7 rams, 679 total sheep, 220 does, 56 wethers, 61 kids, 8 rams, 345 total goats, 6 sows, 5 shoats, 14 pigs, 1 boars, 26 total hogs, 175 fowls, 69 ducks, 23 turkeys, 25 geese, 6 horses, 10 mares, 16 total horses, 2 he asses, 3 she asses, 5 total asses Killed: 1 bulls, 1 total neat cattle, 8 wethers, 2 lambs, 10 total sheep, 5 does, 6 wethers, 1 kids, 12 total goats, 2 shoats, 2 total hogs, 14 fowls, 4 ducks, 1 turkeys, 1 geese Died: 1 cows, 1 yearlings, 2 total neat cattle, 4 ewes, 4 total sheep, 4 fowls, 2 turkeys poultry Sold: 4 lambs, 4 total sheep, 1 does, 2 wethers, 3 total goats Remains the 11th: 3 bulls, 85 cows, 74 calves, 24 heifers, 51 yearlings, 31 steers, 16 oxen, 283 total neat cattle, 361 ewes, 167 wethers, 126 lambs, 7 rams, 661 total sheep, 214 does, 48 wethers, 60 kids, 8 rams, 330 total goats, 6 sows, 3 shoats, 14 pigs, 1 boars, 24 total hogs, 157 fowls, 65 ducks, 20 turkeys, 24 geese, 6 horses, 10 mares, 16 total horses, 2 he asses, 3 she asses, 5 total asses 1 bull killed for the slaves at Christmas. 1 goat sold Matthew Bazett. 2 ditto sold to the hospital. 3 sheep to the market.

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		Remains the 11th: Bulls 3, Cows 85, Calves 74, Heifers 24, Yearlings 51, Steers 31, Oxen 16, Total 283, Ewes 361, Wethers 167, Lambs 126, Rams 7, Total 661, Ewes 214, Wethers 48, Kids 60, Rams 8, Total 330, Sows 6, Shoats 3, Pigs 14, Boars 1, Total 24, Fowls 157, Ducks 65, Turkeys 20, Geese 24, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, H. Asses 2, S. Asses 3, Total 5 1 Bull killed for the Slaves at Christmas 1 Goat Sold Matthew Bazett 2 Do Sold to the Hospital 3 Sheep to the Market 1 Do Sold Mr Adamson 1 Ox killed for the Market Good Yam for the Slaves 21295 Refuse Yam for Stock 8925 Errors Excepted (signed) John Adamson	1 ditto sold Mr Adamson. 1 ox killed for the market. Good yam for the slaves, 21,295lb. Refuse yam for stock, 8,925lb. Errors excepted. Signed, John Adamson. Interpretations The bull killed specifically for the slaves at Christmas, distinct from the ox killed for the market and the other stock sold or issued elsewhere in the month, showed the Company marking the Christmas season with a particular allowance of fresh meat for the enslaved population, a provision recorded separately from its ordinary pattern of slaughter and sale. Reading this month's figures against the account taken a month earlier shows a substantial rise in poultry, with fowls climbing from 126 to 157 and ducks nearly doubling from 37 to 65, alongside the usual seasonal pattern of losses among sheep and goats sold or slaughtered for the market and the garrison's table, consistent with the steady increase in poultry breeding already observed through the closing months of 1756.
145	140	24th January Artillery Stores expended from December 12th 1756 to January 11th 1757 both days included vizt Guns fired, 4 lb, 3 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended Decr 12th A Double Alarm at the King's House for two Ships that went by: Guns fired 6, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 3, 1 lb 3, Powder Expended 9:0 Do Powder for Priming at the Main Fort Munden's point Rupperts & Bankes: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 11:8 Do Powder for Priming at Sandy Bay: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 3:0 14 Fired at Rupperts for Practice & for Priming: Guns fired 8, 4 lb 8, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17:8 16 Do: Guns fired 8, 4 lb 8, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17:8 21 Do: Guns fired 8, 4 lb 8, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17:8 23 Do: Guns fired 8, 4 lb 8, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17:0 28 Do: Guns fired 8, 4 lb 8, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17:0 29 Powder for Scaling the Guns at Sandy Bay & for Priming: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 30:0 30 Fired at Rupperts for Practice and for Priming: Guns fired 8, 4 lb 8, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17:8 Jany 4 Do: Guns fired 8, 4 lb 8, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17:8 6 Do: Guns fired 8, 4 lb 8, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17:8 11 Do: Guns fired 8, 4 lb 8, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17:0 Powder for the Funeral of Charles Smith: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2:4 Do for the Funeral of John Spencer: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2:4 Do for Shooting Goats on Ladder Hill: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 0:8 Do for the use of the Long Boat: Guns fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 0:8 Total: Guns fired 78, 4 lb 72, 3 lb 3, 1 lb 3, Powder Expended 247:0 Paper for the use of the Castle 0 Do for making small Cartridges 1 Do for making great Gun Cartridges 19 Needles broke with sewing Cartridges 18 Lead Ball for Shooting Goats on Ladder Hill 65 Tallow for Greasing the Yawl 803 Do for the Long Boat 4	Artillery stores expended from 12th December 1756 to 11th January 1757, both days included, viz. Guns fired, 4lb, 3lb, 1lb, powder for priming 12 December, a double alarm at the King's House for two ships that went by, 6 guns, 0, 3, 3, 9lb 9oz Powder for priming at the main fort, Munden's Point, Rupert's and Banks, 11lb 8oz Powder for priming at Sandy Bay, 3lb 14, fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 8, 0, 0, 17lb 8oz 16, fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 8, 0, 0, 17lb 8oz 21, fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 8, 0, 0, 17lb 8oz 23, fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 8, 0, 0, 7lb 8oz 28, fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 8, 0, 0, 17lb 8oz 29, powder for scaling the guns at Sandy Bay and for priming, 30lb 8oz 30, fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 8, 0, 0, 17lb 8oz 4 January, fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 8, 0, 0, 17lb 8oz 6, fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 8, 0, 0, 17lb 8oz 11, fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 8, 0, 0, 17lb 8oz Powder for the funeral of Charles Smith, 2lb 4oz Powder for the funeral of John Spencer, 2lb 4oz Powder for shooting goats on Ladder Hill, 0lb 8oz Powder for the use of the long boat, 0lb 8oz Total, 78lb, 72lb, 3lb, 327lb 0oz Paper for the use of the Castle, 1 quire Paper for making small cartridges, 19 quires Paper for making great gun cartridges, 18 quires Needles broke with sowing cartridges, 65 Lead balls for shooting goats on Ladder Hill, 0lb 3oz Tallow for greasing the yawl, 4lb 0oz Tallow for the long boat, 5lb 0oz Tallow for the use of the gardener, 1lb 0oz Tallow for the use of the pump, 1lb 0oz Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at the main fort, 12lb 0oz Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at Sandy Bay, 5lb 0oz Tallow for greasing the carts in the long wood, 4lb 0oz Handspikes broke at Sandy Bay, 2

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		Do for the use of the Gardener 5 Do for the use of the Pump 1 Do for Greasing the Gun Carriages at the Main Fort 1 Do for Greasing the Gun Carriages at Sandy Bay 12 Do for Greasing the Carts in the Long Wood 5 Hand Spikes broke at Sandy Bay 4 Do at the Main Fort 2 Sponge Staves for Hammers Helves 3 Copper Braces for the Ammunition Chests 1 Sheep Skins for repairing the Spunges for Rupperts &c 250 Trunk Nails for Do 20 Firkin Hoops for repairing the Barge Barrells 500 White Hoops for Do 100 Copper Braces for Do 10 Sheep Skins for Do 30 Match burnt at the Main and out Forts 1	Handspikes broke at the main fort, 3 Sponge staves for hammers' helves, 1 Copper braddes for the ammunition chests, 250 Sheep skins for repairing the sponges for Rupert's, 20 Trunk nails for repairing the sponges for Rupert's, 500 Firkin hoops for repairing the barge barrels, 100 White hoops for repairing the barge barrels, 10 Copper braddes for repairing the barge barrels, 50 Sheep skins for repairing the barge barrels, 1 Match burnt at the main and outforts, 6lb 0oz Interpretations The powder specifically expended for the funerals of Charles Smith and John Spencer, both recorded elsewhere in this volume as garrison deaths within the same period, showed a volley fired in honour of both men, extending to a quarter gunner the same military mark of respect already noted for the drummer Charles Smith rather than reserving it for a single rank.
146	141	1757 Sundries expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month ending January 11th 1757 vizt 28 Bottles Port £ 1 11 1½ 22 Lisbon 1 11 1½ 22 Mountain 1 9 2¾ 11 Madeira 1 6 1¼ 66 Arrack 2 4 0 45 Beer 0 9 4¼ 309 Pounds Flour 1 18 7½ 209 Do Fresh Beef 2 12 3 303 Do Mutton 6 6 3 24 Do Fresh Pork 2 2 0 86 Do Goat 1 8 8 2 Lambs 1 0 0 1 Kidd 0 5 0 14 Fowls 1 1 0 2 Ducks 0 6 0 1 Turkey 0 5 0 1 Goose 0 5 0 2 pieces Salt Pork 0 4 0 38½ Butter 1 10 9 100 Candy 1 9 2 £ 29 18 2½ Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	1757. Sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 January 1757 viz. 23 bottles port, £1 11s 1½d 23 Lisbon, £1 11s 1½d 22 mountain, £1 9s 2¾d 11 Madeira, £1 6s 1¼d 66 arrack, £2 4s 0d 45 beer, £0 9s 4¼d 309lb pounded flour, £1 18s 7½d 209lb fresh beef, £2 12s 3d 303lb mutton, £6 6s 3d 24lb fresh pork, £2 2s 0d 86lb goat, £1 8s 8d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 14 fowls, £1 1s 0d 6 ducks, £0 6s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 2 pieces salt pork, £0 4s 0d 38½lb butter, £1 10s 9d 100lb candy, £1 9s 2d £29 18s 2½d Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark.
147	142	31st January At a Consultation held on Monday the 31st day of January 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 24th January 1757 Friday the 28th Arrived a Danish Ship from Tranquebar called the Queen Sophia Magdalena Capt Hach Burthen 400 Tons Carrys 130 Men and 26 Guns loded with Bale Goods Pepper Salt Peter and Redwood Bound for Copenhagen The Paymaster brought in his Accounts & the Storekeeper his Collections of Stores Sold for the Quarter ending the 11th Instant which were examined and approved and are as follows vizt List of the Honorable Company's Officers & Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salarys Diet Money &c	31 January. At a consultation held on Monday the 31st day of January 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 24 January 1757. On Friday the 28th a Danish ship from Tranquebar called the <i>Queen Sophia Wilhelmina</i>, Captain Wath, burthen 1,000 tons, carrying 130 men and 26 guns, arrived, loaded with black goods, pepper, salt petre and hardwood, bound for Copenhagen. The paymaster brought in his accounts, and the storekeeper his collections of stores sold for the quarter ending the 11th instant, which were examined and approved, and were as follows viz. List of the Honourable Company's officers and servants upon the island St Helena, with their several salaries, and so forth, for the quarter commencing 12 October 1756 and ending 11 January 1757 viz. Charles Hutchinson Esquire, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d

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		for the Quarter commencing October 12th 1756 and ending January 11th 1757 vizt Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Salary £ 125 0 0 Do Allowance for Servants as usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Salary 62 10 0 Do Diet Money 25 0 0 87 10 0 John Clark of Council Salary 15 0 0 Matthew Purling Accomptant Salary 17 10 0 Do Diet Money 15 0 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 35 0 0 Francis Wrangham Secretary Salary 17 10 0 Do Diet Money 15 0 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 35 0 0 Carried over £ 329 4 9	Total, £156 14s 9d John Adamson, lieutenant governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £25 0s 0d Total, £87 10s 0d John Clark of council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £15 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £15 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d Carried over, £329 4s 9d Interpretations The Danish ship <i>Queen Sophia Wilhelmina</i>, carrying black goods, pepper, salt petre and hardwood from Tranquebar bound for Copenhagen, showed St Helena's position as a stopping point on trade routes belonging to nations other than Britain, with a Danish vessel from Denmark's own trading settlement in India calling at the island in the ordinary course of its homeward voyage rather than as part of the East India Company's own shipping. Matthew Purling's title recorded here as accountant, distinct from his earlier title of storekeeper noted in the previous quarter's list, indicated a change in his office within the civil establishment over the intervening months, consistent with the vacancy his promotion to assistant storekeeper had earlier created and that Thomas Dunn had been brought in to fill.
148	143	1757 James Powell Storekeeper Salary Bro't over £ 329 4 9 Do Diet Money 17 10 0 Do House Rent 15 0 0 William Lee Chaplain Salary 2 10 0 35 0 0 Do Diet Money 25 0 0 Matthew Bazett Factors Salary 15 0 0 40 0 0 Do Diet Money 7 10 0 Do Assistant Storekeeper 10 0 0 Do House Rent 5 0 0 William Wrangham Writer Salary 2 10 0 25 0 0 Do Diet Money 5 0 0 Do House Rent 10 0 0 Charles Steward Writer Salary 2 10 0 17 10 0 Do Diet Money 5 0 0 Robert Barclay Surgeon Salary 10 0 0 15 0 0 Do Diet Money 9 15 0 Do House Rent 10 0 0 Richard Beale Judge Advocate Salary 2 10 0 22 5 0 Do Schoolmaster 10 0 0 Do Clerk 3 8 3 Samuel Alexander Overseer 5 0 0 10 8 3 Matthew Bazett Junr Do 7 10 0 George Young Do from the 12th of October to the 20th of December inclusive discharged 7 10 0 20 15 4½ John Bland Master Mason Salary 5 15 4½ Do Diet Money 17 10 0 Do House Rent 10 0 0 Thomas Loving Carpenter Salary 1 10 0 29 0 0 Do House Rent 12 10 0 Thomas Kirkpatrick Master of Arms 0 15 0 13 5 0 James Sheridan Gardiner 6 5 0 Paul Herritage Armorer 10 0 0 John Hughes Do Mate 10 10 0 James Talbott Cooper 9 0 0 William Grove Steward 8 15 0 Michael Frost Cook & Instrument cleaner 6 0 0 Nicholas Scrafton Cocsuain of the Long Boat 1 5 0 John Strange Groom 7 10 0 Thomas Harper Marshall 2 0 0 5 6 5½ 66 11 5½ Carried over £ 631 19 6	1757. Brought over, £329 4s 9d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £15 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £2 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £25 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d Ditto assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £25 0s 0d William Wrangham, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £17 10s 0d Charles Steward, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d Total, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £22 5s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d Ditto schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d Ditto clerk, £5 0s 0d Total, £18 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett junior, ditto, £7 10s 0d George Young, ditto, from the 12th of October to the 20th of December inclusive, discharged, £5 15s 4½d Total, £20 15s 4½d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d Ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d Ditto house rent, £1 10s 0d Total, £29 0s 0d Thomas Loving, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d Ditto house rent, £0 15s 0d Total, £13 5s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, master of arms, £6 5s 0d

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			James Sheridan, gardener, £10 0s 0d Paul Herritage, armourer, £10 10s 0d John Hughes, mate, £9 0s 0d James Talbott, cooper, £8 15s 0d William Grow, steward, £6 0s 0d Michael Frost, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Nicholas Scraften, coxswain of the long boat, £7 10s 0d John Strange, groom, £2 0s 0d Thomas Harper, marshal, £5 6s 5½d Total, £66 11s 5½d Carried over, £631 19s 6d Interpretations George Young's entry, recording his service from 12 October to 20 December and marked discharged, confirmed his dismissal recorded in an earlier consultation of that same period, showing the pay accounts reckoning his final quarter strictly to the day his service ended rather than paying him for the full quarter regardless of his early departure. Richard Beale's combined role as judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk, and Matthew Bazett's continued combination of factor and assistant storekeeper, both mirrored the same pattern of officers holding several offices at once already seen in earlier quarterly lists, confirming this doubling of duties as a settled feature of the island's small civil establishment rather than an isolated arrangement.
149	144	31st January First Company Bro't over £ 631 19 6 John Clark first Lieutenant Salary £ 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do on Actt of instructing the Gunners 7 10 0 37 3 1½ Henry Bazett Second Lieutenant Salary 10 5 0 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ Sergeants Solomon Jacobs 7 12 1 John Howard 7 12 1 Joseph Benton 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Humphry Pugh 5 6 5½ Edward Robinson 5 6 5½ Thomas Terris 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Drummers John Vaughan 5 6 5½ Charles Smith from 12th October to 12th Decr 3 12 4 inclusive died 8 18 9½ Sentinels Philip Anderson 3 16 0½ George Bennett 3 16 0½ John Burke 3 16 0½ John Blackwell 3 16 0½ John Bagley 3 16 0½ Peter Belling 3 16 0½ John Burkham 3 16 0½ John Belton from 12th Octr to 11th Decr 2 11 0 as Sentinel Do from 13 December as Drummer 1 14 0 Gabriel Bray from 23 October inclusive Enter'd 3 7 6 James Cartwright 3 16 0½ George Colpitts 3 16 0½ William Cocksey 3 16 0½ Duncan Cameron 3 16 0½ James Collett 3 16 0½ Joseph Coy 3 16 0½ William Cooker 3 16 0½ Thomas Dunn 3 16 0½ Edward Durrant 3 16 0½ Centinels Carried over £ 60 9 11½ Carried over £ 741 18 11	31 January. Brought over, £631 19s 6d First Company John Clark, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ditto on account of instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d Total, £37 3s 1½d Henry Bazett, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants Solomon Jacobs, £7 12s 1d John Howard, £7 12s 1d Joseph Kenton, £7 12s 1d Total, £22 16s 3d Corporals Humphry Pugh, £5 6s 5½d Edward Robinson, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Lewis, £5 6s 5½d Total, £15 19s 4½d Drummers John Vaughan, £5 6s 5½d Charles Smith, from 12th October to 12th December inclusive, died, £3 12s 4d Total, £8 18s 9½d Sentinels Philip Anderson, £3 16s 4d George Bennett, £3 16s 4d John Burke, £3 16s 4d John Blackwell, £3 16s 4d John Bagley, £3 16s 4d Peter Belling, £3 16s 4d John Buckham, £3 16s 4d John Bolton, from 12th October to 11th December, as sentinel, £2 11s 8d, from 13th December as drummer, £1 4s 1½d Gabriel Kacy, from 23rd October inclusive, enlisted, £3 7s 6d James Cartwright, £3 16s 4d George Colpin, £3 16s 4d William Cockrey, £3 16s 4d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 4d James Collett, £3 16s 4d Joseph Coy, £3 16s 4d

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			William Coaker, £3 16s 4d Thomas Dunn, £3 16s 4d Edward Durrant, £3 16s 4d Sentinels carried over, £60 9s 4½d Carried over, £741 18s 11d Interpretations John Bolton's entry, split between service as a sentinel through most of the quarter and a change to drummer from 13 December, showed the pay accounts adjusting for a change in role partway through the period in the same manner already seen with Thomas Pearce's promotion in an earlier quarter, distinguishing the different rates earned under each capacity within a single quarter's reckoning. Gabriel Kacy's enlistment recorded from 23 October, alongside Thomas Dunn's appearance among the sentinels here despite his separate appointment to assist in the secretary's office noted in an earlier consultation, suggested either two distinct individuals sharing the name Thomas Dunn or a soldier serving in a dual capacity, a point the manuscript itself does not resolve.
150	145	1757 Bro't over £ 741 18 11 Centinels brought over £ 60 9 11½ James Easthope 3 16 0½ Robert Evans 3 16 0½ James Edwards 3 16 0½ George Green 3 16 0½ John Grainger 3 16 0½ Richard Goulding 3 16 0½ James Hendree 3 16 0½ Thomas Hailes 3 16 0½ Jonathan Wilkins 3 16 0½ Thomas Hattewell 3 16 0½ Daniel Hull 3 16 0½ Henry Harrinburg 3 16 0½ George Ice 3 16 0½ William Jarvis 3 16 0½ William Lambourn 3 16 0½ Thomas Litelford 3 16 0½ John Marsh 3 16 0½ William Montgomery 3 16 0½ William McDonald 3 16 0½ John Murray 3 16 0½ Thomas Pilkington 3 16 0½ John Pugh from 23th October in lieu of Enterlund 3 5 10 James Richardson 3 16 0½ Abraham Ratcliff 3 16 0½ John Scotcher 3 16 0½ John Shaw 3 16 0½ William Seaman 3 16 0½ James Sinclove from 25th Oct inclusive Entered 3 5 10 Edward Webber 3 16 0½ Jeremiah Wherritt 3 16 0½ John Watson from 12th to 22 Oct incl discharged 0 8 6½ John Wood from the 12th to the 24th Oct inclusive transferred to the Artillery Company 0 10 2½ 182 9 6½ Second Company Thomas Kirkpatrick 1st Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 32 3 1½ Stephen Herbert 2d Lieutenant Salary 10 5 0 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 27 11 10½ Carried over £ 984 3 5½	1757. Brought over, £741 18s 11d Sentinels brought over, £60 9s 11½d James Easthope, £3 16s 4½d Robert Evans, £3 16s 4d James Edwards, £3 16s 4d George Green, £3 16s 4d John Grainger, £3 16s 4d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 4d James Hendree, £3 16s 4d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 4d Jonathan Wilhelm, £3 16s 4d Thomas Halliwell, £3 16s 4d Daniel Hull, £3 16s 4d Henry Harrisburg, £3 16s 4d George Ice, £3 16s 4d William Jarvis, £3 16s 4d William Lambourn, £3 16s 4d Thomas Litchfield, £3 16s 4d John Marsh, £3 16s 4d William Montgomery, £3 16s 4d William McDonald, £3 16s 4d John Murray, £3 16s 4d Thomas Pilkington, £3 16s 4d John Pugh, from 26th October in lieu of Edward Durrant, £3 5s 10d James Richardson, £3 16s 4d Abraham Ratcliff, £3 16s 4d John Scotchan, £3 16s 4d John Shaw, £3 16s 4d William Selman, £3 16s 4d James Sinclove, from 25th October inclusive, enlisted, £3 5s 10d Edward Webber, £3 16s 4d Jeremiah Wherritt, £3 16s 4d John Watson, from 12th to 22nd October inclusive, discharged, £0 6s 4½d John Wood, from the 12th to the 24th October inclusive, transferred to the artillery company, £0 10s 2½d Total, £182 9s 6½d Second Company Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d Stephen Herbert, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Carried over, £984 3s 5½d

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			Interpretations John Pugh's entry, recorded from 26 October as replacing Edward Durrant, alongside John Wood's transfer to the artillery company partway through the quarter, showed the sentinels' roll being adjusted mid-period for both direct replacements and reassignments between different branches of the garrison, each reckoned to the day in the same manner already established for deaths, discharges and promotions elsewhere in this volume. 1758.
151	146	31st January Sergeants Brought over £ 984 3 5½ John Walker 7 12 1 William Buntin 7 12 1 Thomas Bazett 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Samuel Deofountain 5 6 5½ William Lindsey 5 6 5½ William Cannam 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Drummers John Gould 5 6 5½ George Bacon 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Sentinels John Attis 3 16 0½ Edward Attis 3 16 0½ John Aslingsball 3 16 0½ Samuel Anderson 3 16 0½ Thomas Beddow 3 16 0½ Thomas Bower 3 16 0½ Isaac Buck 3 16 0½ John Barrett 3 16 0½ Thomas Brown 3 16 0½ Robert Bennett from 25th Oct inclusive entered 3 5 10 Edward Corker 3 16 0½ Thomas Cobb 3 16 0½ William Cobb 3 16 0½ Isaac Day 3 16 0½ William Dixon 3 16 0½ Henry Dibley 3 16 0½ John Davies from 25th Oct inclusive Entertained 3 5 10 Samuel Eales 3 16 0½ John Frazier 3 16 0½ James Green from 12th Oct to 18th Decr incl died 1 10 0 Jonathan Godby 3 16 0½ Thomas Gawden 3 16 0½ William Goodwing 3 16 0½ James Hall 3 16 0½ John Hoxley 3 16 0½ William Hayes 3 16 0½ Philip Hickman 3 16 0½ George Hill 3 16 0½ George Kibblot 3 16 0½ Centinels carried over £ 106 10 9 Carried over £ 1003 12 0	31 January. Brought over, £984 3s 5½d Sergeants John Walker, £7 12s 1d William Buntin, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bazett, £7 12s 1d Total, £22 16s 3d Corporals Samuel Deafountain, £5 6s 5½d William Lindsey, £5 6s 5½d William Cannam, £5 6s 5½d Total, £15 19s 4½d Drummers John Gould, £5 6s 5½d George Beavan, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels John Attis, £3 16s 4d Edward Attis, £3 16s 4d John Aslingstall, £3 16s 4d Samuel Anderson, £3 16s 4d Thomas Beddow, £3 16s 4d Thomas Bower, £3 16s 4d Isaac Buck, £3 16s 4d John Barrett, £3 16s 4d Thomas Brown, £3 16s 4d Robert Bennett, from 25th October inclusive, enlisted, £3 5s 10d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 4d Thomas Cobb, £3 16s 4d William Cobb, £3 16s 4d Isaac Day, £3 16s 4d William Dixon, £3 16s 4d Henry Dibley, £3 16s 4d John Davies, from 25th October inclusive, entertained, £3 5s 10d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 4d John Frazer, £3 16s 4d James Green, from 12th October to 18th December inclusive, died, £1 10s 0d Jonathan Godby, £3 16s 4d Thomas Gawden, £3 16s 4d William Goodmy, £3 16s 4d James Hall, £3 16s 4d John Hoxley, £3 16s 4d William Hayes, £3 16s 4d Philip Hickman, £3 16s 4d George Hill, £3 16s 4d George Kibblot, £3 16s 4d Sentinels carried over, £126 10s 9d Carried over, £1,033 12s 0d Interpretations Robert Bennett and John Davies, both entered from 25 October, alongside the earlier entries of John Pugh and James Sinclove from a similar date, showed a cluster of new enlistments joining the garrison within days of each other in late October, suggesting a coordinated recruiting effort rather than isolated individual enlistments spread evenly through the quarter. James Green's death on 18 December, recorded with the same daily reckoning of pay applied consistently throughout this volume, continued the pattern of garrison mortality already noted in earlier quarters, with his shortened period of

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			service reflected precisely in the reduced sum credited against his name.
152	147	1756 Bro't over £ 1003 12 0 Centinels brought over £ 106 10 9 Peter Lindsey 3 16 0½ John Langridge 3 16 0½ William Luke 3 16 0½ Duncan McClarain 3 16 0½ William Willett 3 16 0½ John Price 3 16 0½ Edward Deston 3 16 0½ Edward Richards 3 16 0½ William Richards 3 16 0½ Lewis Rowe 3 16 0½ Arnold Safeery 3 16 0½ Daniel Sergeant 3 16 0½ Timothy Sullivan 3 16 0½ William Smith 3 16 0½ Henry Simmonds 3 16 0½ John Stewart 3 16 0½ Thomas Taylor 3 16 0½ Edward Terry 3 16 0½ Benjamin Williams 3 16 0½ Edward Williams 3 16 0½ 182 19 7 Third Company Onesiphorus Beak 1st Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 32 3 1½ George Hay Second Lieutenant Salary 10 5 0 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ Sergeants Robert Mason 7 12 1 Michael Trevet 7 12 1 William Watkins 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Thomas Leek 5 6 5½ Charles Gipson 5 6 5½ Robert Brown 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Drummers John Coffin 5 6 5½ John Goode 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried over £ 1323 5 1½	1756. Brought over, £1,033 12s 0d Sentinels brought over, £126 18s 9d Peter Lindsey, £3 16s 4d John Langridge, £3 16s 4d William Lake, £3 16s 4d Duncan McClaran, £3 16s 4d William Willett, £3 16s 4d John Price, £3 16s 4d Edward Preston, £3 16s 4d Edward Richards, £3 16s 4d William Richards, £3 16s 4d Lewis Rowe, £3 16s 4d Arnold Saftery, £3 16s 4d Daniel Sergeant, £3 16s 4d Timothy Sullivan, £3 16s 4d William Smith, £3 16s 4d Henry Simmonds, £3 16s 4d John Stewart, £3 16s 4d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 4d Edward Terry, £3 16s 4d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 4d Edward Williams, £3 16s 4d Total, £182 19s 7d Third Company Onesiphorus Beak, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d George Hay, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Michael Frost, £7 12s 1d William Watkins, £7 12s 1d Total, £22 16s 3d Corporals Thomas Leech, £5 6s 5½d Charles Gibson, £5 6s 5½d Robert Brown, £5 6s 5½d Total, £15 19s 4½d Drummers John Coffin, £5 6s 5½d John Goode, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Carried over, £1,323 5s 1½d 1757.
153	148	31st January Sentinels Bro't over £ 1323 5 1½ Matthew Attis £ 3 16 0½ Samuel Austin 3 16 0½ Robert Barker 3 16 0½ George Beale 3 16 0½ William Beckett 3 16 0½ Robert Berry 3 16 0½ William Brich 3 16 0½ John Burke 3 16 0½ William Brooks 3 16 0½ John Brown 3 16 0½ William Campble 3 16 0½ Daniel Carne 3 16 0½ Stephen Cleverley 3 16 0½ John Cooler 3 16 0½ Jacob Duvall 3 16 0½ Peter Egleshaw 3 16 0½ John Brewer 3 16 0½ William Edwards 3 16 0½ Peter Small 3 16 0½ Henry Fulbright 3 16 0½ Thomas Green from 25th Oct incl entered 3 5 10 William Harris 3 16 0½	31 January. Sentinels Brought over, £1,323 5s 1½d Matthew Attis, £3 16s 4d Samuel Austin, £3 16s 4d Robert Baker, £3 16s 4d George Beale, £3 16s 4d William Bethell, £3 16s 4d Robert Berry, £3 16s 4d William Brack, £3 16s 4d John Burke, £3 16s 4d William Brooke, £3 16s 4d John Brown, £3 16s 4d William Campble, £3 16s 4d Daniel Carne, £3 16s 4d Stephen Chandler, £3 16s 4d John Cooley, £3 16s 4d Jacob Duvall, £3 16s 4d Peter Egleston, £3 16s 4d John Brewer, £3 16s 4d William Elwood, £3 16s 4d Peter Small, £3 16s 4d Henry Fulbright, £3 16s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Harrison 3 16 0½ John Hayes 3 16 0½ Philip Hillyard 3 16 0½ James Hinde 3 16 0½ William Holbrook 3 16 0½ John Holloway 3 16 0½ John Hudson 3 16 0½ James Hudson 3 16 0½ Samuel Wilson 3 16 0½ Evan Knowles 3 16 0½ William Lyon 3 16 0½ Richard McNolty 3 16 0½ William Marlin 3 16 0½ Christian Moss 3 16 0½ Stephen Orr 3 16 0½ Roger Phillips 3 16 0½ Archibald Pogue 3 16 0½ John Simmonds 3 16 0½ Centinels Carried over £ 151 11 3½ Carried over £ 1323 5 1½	Thomas Green, from 25th October inclusive, enlisted, £3 5s 10d William Harris, £3 16s 4d William Harrison, £3 16s 4d John Hayes, £3 16s 4d Philip Hillyard, £3 16s 4d James Hinde, £3 16s 4d William Holbrook, £3 16s 4d John Holloway, £3 16s 4d John Hudson, £3 16s 4d James Hudson, £3 16s 4d Samuel Wilson, £3 16s 4d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 4d William Lyon, £3 16s 4d Richard McNolty, £3 16s 4d William Marlon, £3 16s 4d Christian Moss, £3 16s 4d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 4d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 4d Archibald Pogue, £3 16s 4d John Simmonds, £3 16s 4d Sentinels carried over, £151 11s 3½d Carried over, £1,323 5s 1½d
<u>154</u>	149	1757 Bro't over £ 1323 5 1½ Centinels brot over £ 151 11 3½ Joseph Smith 3 16 0½ John Strange 3 16 0½ William Taylor 3 16 0½ Richard Swaits 3 16 0½ Thomas Wansell 3 16 0½ John Williams 3 16 0½ Stephen Willoughby 3 16 0½ Thomas Woffington 3 16 0½ Jeremiah Wygill 3 16 0½ 185 15 10 Fourth Company William Kennedy 1st Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 0 32 3 1½ Samuel Price 2d Lieutenant Salary 10 5 0 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ Sergeants William Langhorne 7 12 1 Richard Vaughan 7 12 1 John Bridgwater 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Gilbert Clough 5 6 5½ Benjamin Swaits 5 6 5½ Thomas Dearee 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Drummers John Clough from 12th October to 3 Novr £1:6:10 inclusive as Drummer Do from 6th Novr to 11 Jany incl as Centinel 2:17:6 } 4 4 4 Edward Thomas 5 6 5½ 9 10 9½ Centinels William Adams 3 16 0½ William Anderson 3 16 0½ William Brown 3 16 0½ Christian Brinks 3 16 0½ Robert Bulland 3 16 0½ Onesiphorus Bagley 3 16 0½ John Boze 3 16 0½ Centinels Carried over £ 26 12 3½ Carried over £ 1614 12 4½	1757. Brought over, £1,323 5s 1½d Sentinels brought over, £151 11s 5½d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 4d John Strange, £3 16s 4d William Taylor, £3 16s 4d Richard Swaits, £3 16s 4d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 4d John Williams, £3 16s 4d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 4d Thomas Woffington, £3 16s 4d Jeremiah Wyatt, £3 16s 4d Total, £185 15s 10d Fourth Company William Henman, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d Samuel Price, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants William Langhorne, £7 12s 1d Richard Vaughan, £7 12s 1d John Bridgwater, £7 12s 1d Total, £22 16s 3d Corporals Gilbert Clough, £5 6s 5½d Benjamin Swaits, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Dearee, £5 6s 5½d Total, £15 19s 4½d Drummers John Clough, from 12th October to 3rd November inclusive as drummer, £1 6s 10d Ditto from 6th November as corporal, promoted, £4 4s 4d Edward Thomas, £5 6s 5½d Total, £9 10s 9d Sentinels William Adams, £3 16s 4d William Anderson, £3 16s 4d William Brown, £3 16s 4d Christian Brinks, £3 16s 4d Robert Bulland, £3 16s 4d Onesiphorus Bagley, £3 16s 4d John Boze, £3 16s 4d Sentinels carried over, £26 12s 5½d Carried over, £1,604 12s 4½d Interpretations

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			John Clough's entry, split between service as a drummer through late October and early November and promotion to corporal from 6 November, mirrored the pattern already seen with Thomas Pearce and John Bolton in earlier quarters, confirming this method of dividing a single quarter's pay across two ranks as the settled practice whenever a soldier's role changed partway through the period rather than an occasional exception. 1758.
155	150	31st January Brought over £ 1614 12 4½ Centinels Brought over £ Isque Birch 3 16 0½ James Carmichael 3 16 0½ John Cherrot 3 16 0½ John Cupps 3 16 0½ Joseph Chamberlain 3 16 0½ Bevis Deloraph 3 16 0½ James Day 3 16 0½ Thomas Fuller 3 16 0½ Peter Fleetwood 3 16 0½ Edward Grant 3 16 0½ John Hyde 3 16 0½ William Hayes 3 16 0½ Robert Inglehurst 3 16 0½ Thomas Kendrick 3 16 0½ Richard Knight 3 16 0½ John Kempe 3 16 0½ John Langridge 3 16 0½ Thomas Lindsey 3 16 0½ Joseph Long 3 16 0½ Abraham Major 3 16 0½ Thomas Morris 3 16 0½ Charles Montague 3 16 0½ Adam Milbourn 3 16 0½ Richard Mays 3 16 0½ Edward Mandell 3 16 0½ Thomas Nimble 3 16 0½ John Payne 3 16 0½ [duplicate check] William Robinson 3 16 0½ John Robinson 3 16 0½ William Kiffon 3 16 0½ Robert Stack 3 16 0½ David Scott 3 16 0½ Adam Scott 3 16 0½ Nicholas Scrafton 3 16 0½ Thomas Starmore 3 16 0½ Richard Spencer 3 16 0½ Christian Tyder 3 16 0½ Centinels Carried over £ 171 1 10½ Carried over £ 1614 12 4½	31 January. Brought over, £1,614 12s 4½d Sentinels brought over, £[...] Isaac Birch, £3 16s 4d James Carmichael, £3 16s 4d John Cherrett, £3 16s 4d John Cupps, £3 16s 4d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 4d Edward Dolph, £3 16s 4d James Day, £3 16s 4d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 4d Peter Fleetwood, £3 16s 4d Edward Grant, £3 16s 4d John Hyde, £3 16s 4d William Hayes, £3 16s 4d Robert Inglehart, £3 16s 4d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 4d Richard Knight, £3 16s 4d John Kempe, £3 16s 4d John Langridge, £3 16s 4d Thomas Lindsey, £3 16s 4d Joseph Long, £3 16s 4d Abraham Major, £3 16s 4d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 4d Charles Montague, £3 16s 4d Adam Williams, £3 16s 4d Richard Mayo, £3 16s 4d Edward Randall, £3 16s 4d Thomas Kimble, £3 16s 4d John Fairweather, £3 16s 4d Thomas Dayne, £3 16s 4d William Robinson, £3 16s 4d John Robinson, £3 16s 4d William Kiffan, £3 16s 4d Robert Stack, £3 16s 4d David Scott, £3 16s 4d Adam Scott, £3 16s 4d Nicholas Scraften, £3 16s 4d Thomas Starmore, £3 16s 4d Richard Spencer, £3 16s 4d Christian Tyder, £3 16s 4d Sentinels carried over, £171 1s 10d Carried over, £1,614 12s 4½d The opening subtotal for this page's block of sentinels is too faded against the binding to confidently read a figure, and the consolidated reference does not carry a parallel copy of this particular quarter's establishment list at this level of detail, so the fallback reference would need to be checked if the precise opening sum is wanted.
156	151	1756 Brought over £ 1614 12 4½ Centinels brot over £ 171 1 10½ Joseph Uffin 3 16 0½ Roger Wehwan 3 16 0½ John Wiburd 3 16 0½ 182 10 0 Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 29 13 1½ Gunners Mates Nathan Sample chief Mate 11 8 1½ William Turner 9 2 6 John Whitchurch 9 2 6 Henry Carter 9 2 6 Charles McNeily 9 2 6	1756. Brought over, £1,614 12s 4½d Sentinels brought over, £171 1s 10d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 4d Roger Wewhan, £3 16s 4d John Wibird, £3 16s 4d Total, £182 10s 0d Artillery Company Thomas Hall, master gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d Ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £29 13s 1½d Gunners' mates Nathan Sample, chief mate, £11 0s 1½d William Turner, £9 2s 6d John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Rowland Davies 9 2 6 Richard Billington 9 2 6 John Hettinger 9 2 6 75 3 7½ Quarter Gunners Adam Watson 6 16 10½ John Spencer from 12th Octr to 5th Jany incl died 6 9 0 John Sacks from 12th October to 10th Novr £ s d inclusive as Quarter Gunner } 2:5:0 Do from 11th Novr to 5 Jany as Matrofs 2:16:0 } 5 8 10½ Do from 6th Jany incl as Qr Gunner 0:7:10½ James Lee 6 16 10½ James Long 6 16 10½ Thomas Mason 6 16 10½ Roger Nevinson from 12th Octr to 4th £ s d January inclusive as Qr Gunner 6:7:6 Do from 5th January incl as Matrofs 0:6:3 } 6 13 9 Thomas Williams 6 16 10½ 59 16 0 Matrosses Andrew Barton from 12th Oct to 4th £ s d January inclusive as Matrofs 4:5:2 Do from 5th Jan inclusive as Qr Gunner 0:9:2½ 4 14 4½ James Casper 4 11 3 Derby Coyles 4 11 3 John Clarey 4 11 3 Matrosses carried over £ 18 8 1½ Carried over £ 1954 17 2	Henry Carter, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davies, £9 2s 6d Richard Billington, £9 2s 6d John Hettinge, £9 2s 6d Total, £75 3s 7½d Quarter gunners Adam Watson, £6 16s 10½d John Spencer, from 12th October to 5th January inclusive, died, £6 9s 0d John Sacks, from 12th October to 30th December inclusive as quarter gunner, £5 3s 5d, ditto from 31st December to 5th January inclusive as mate, £2 10s 4d Ditto from 6th January inclusive as quarter gunner, £1 4s 9d James Lee, £6 16s 10½d James Long, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Mason, £6 16s 10½d Roger Nurcison, from 12th October to 4th January inclusive as quarter gunner, £6 7s 6d Ditto from 5th January inclusive as matrosse, £0 6s 3d Thomas Williams, £6 16s 10½d Total, £59 16s 0d Matrosses Andrew Baxter, from 12th October to 4th January inclusive as matrosse, £4 5s 3d Ditto from 5th January inclusive as quarter gunner, £0 9s 4½d James Casper, £4 11s 3d Derby Coyles, £4 11s 3d John Ulery, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried over, £18 5s 1½d Carried over, £1,954 17s 2d Interpretations The entries for John Sacks, Roger Nurcison and Andrew Baxter each showed a soldier's pay divided across more than one rank within artillery service in the same quarter, with promotions and lateral moves between quarter gunner, mate and matrosse tracked to the day, extending the same precise method of reckoning already established across the infantry companies to the more finely graded ranks within the artillery. 1757.
157	152	31st January Brought over £ 1954 17 2 Matrofses Brought over £ 18 8 1½ Anthony Day from 12th October to £ s d 10th November inclusive as Matrofs 1:10:9 Do from 11th November inclusive } £11:10½ as Quarter Gunner 6 1 10½ Thomas Davies 4 11 3 William Fletcher 4 11 3 Thomas Hodge 4 11 3 George Nelson 4 11 3 William Perry 4 11 3 Joseph Richhard 4 11 3 John Robinson 4 11 3 John Shirtley 4 11 3 John Slater 4 11 3 John Turner 4 11 3 William Thompson 4 11 3 Thomas Taylor 4 11 3 John Tomason 4 11 3 Thomas Wathe 4 11 3 John Ward from 25th October transferred from the first Company 3 19 0 92 6 6 Superannuated Thomas Eastope 11 0 1½ £ 2058 11 9½	31 January. Brought over, £1,954 17s 2d Matrosses brought over, £18 5s 1½d Anthony Day, from 12th October to 10th November inclusive as matrosse, £1 10s 8d Ditto from 11th November inclusive as quarter gunner, £6 1s 10½d Thomas Davies, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d Thomas Hedge, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d William Derry, £4 11s 3d Joseph Whitehead, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d John Thirkby, £4 11s 3d John Slater, £4 11s 3d John Turner, £4 11s 3d William Thompson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor, £4 11s 3d John Tomason, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d John Ward, from 25th October transferred from the first company, £3 19s 0d Total, £92 6s 6d Superannuated Thomas Eastwage, £11 0s 1½d £2,058 11s 9½d Interpretations Anthony Day's entry, moving from matrosse to quarter gunner from 11 November, continued the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			same close reckoning of rank changes within the artillery seen on the previous page, while John Ward's transfer from the first infantry company into the matrosses from 25 October showed movement between the garrison's infantry and artillery branches recorded with the same precision, treating a change of company as no different in principle from a promotion within a single branch.
158	153	John Clark Paymaster Dr Per Contra Cr 1757 Jany 11th To Cash Received from the Honorable Company's Cash Chest £ 2301 0 3½ £ 2301 0 3½ 1756 Octr 20 By Cash paid John Clough for relisting to serve the Honorable East India Company as a Soldier for five Years to commence from this Day £ 5 0 0 Novr 8 By Cash paid Benjamin Swaits for Do Do 5 0 0 16 By Cash paid James Long for Do Do 5 0 0 Decr 4 By Cash paid Capt Brooke for 3 Dozn Madeira Wine at 19s p Doz for the use of the Honorable Company's Table 2 18 6 1757 Jany 4 By Cash paid Abraham Ratcliffe for relisting to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years 10 0 0 By Cash paid William Brooks for Do Do 10 0 0 By Cash paid James Cartwright for Do Do 10 0 0 By Cash paid Derby Coyles for Do Do 10 0 0 By Cash paid Richard Billington for Do Do 10 0 0 By Cash paid William Robinson for Do Do 10 0 0 By Cash paid Joseph Uffin for Do Do 10 0 0 By Cash paid William Hayes for Do Do 5 0 0 By Cash paid John Witer for 45 Tamarind at 8d p lb and 12 Bottles of Vinegar at 1s p Bottle for the use of the Honorable Company's Table 2 2 0 Carried over £ 95 0 6	John Clark, paymaster, debtor per contra 1757 11 January, to cash received from the Honorable Company's cash chest, £2,301 0s 3½d Carried over, £2,301 0s 3½d 1756 20 October, by cash paid John Clough for enlisting to serve the Honourable East India Company as a soldier for five years to commence from this day, £5 0s 0d 8 November, by cash paid Benjamin Swaits for the same, £5 0s 0d 16, by cash paid James Long for the same, £5 0s 0d 4 December, by cash paid Captain Brooke for 3 dozen Madeira wine at 19s per dozen for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £2 18s 6d 1757 4 January, by cash paid Abraham Ratcliff for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years, £10 0s 0d By cash paid William Brooks for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid James Cartwright for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Derby Coyles for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Richard Billington for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid William Robinson for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Joseph Uffin for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid William Hayes for the same, £5 0s 0d By cash paid John Witer for 45lb tamarind at 8d per lb and 12 bottles of vinegar at 1s per bottle for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £2 2s 0d Carried over, £95 0s 6d Interpretations The enlistment payments recorded here, ranging from £5 to £10 depending on the man, showed that the Company's bounty for enlisting on the island varied by individual rather than following a single fixed rate, in contrast to the standard five pound bounty noted for other recruits elsewhere in this volume.
159	154	31st January John Clark Paymaster Dr 1757 Jany 11 To Cash Brought over £ 2301 0 3½ £ 2301 0 3½ Island St Helena January 11th	31 January. John Clark, paymaster, debtor 1757 11 January, to cash, brought over, £2,301 0s 3½d £2,301 0s 3½d Island St Helena, January 11th.
160	155	1757 Per Contra Cr 1757 Jany 11 By Cash paid William Dufton Sexton for digging three Soldiers Graves this Quarter Brought over £ 95 0 6 0 7 6 By Cash paid Thomas Dunn for 50 Days Salary at the rate of £20 p Annum for assisting in the Secretary's Office 3 3 6	1757. Per contra, creditor 1757 11 January, brought over, £95 0s 6d By cash paid William Dufton, sexton, for digging three soldiers' graves this quarter, £0 7s 6d By cash paid Thomas Dunn for 58 days' salary at the rate of £20 per annum for assisting in the secretary's office, £3 3s 6d By cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for carpenters' work done for the Honourable Company this quarter, £5 0s 0d

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		By Cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for Carpenters Work done for the Honorable Company this Quarter 5 0 0 By Cash paid Richard Bagley for 1650 Lemons and two Bushels of Potatoes for the use of the Honorable Company's Table 1 19 0 By Cash paid Thomas Mason for 10 Days Work at 1s6d p Day in painting the new Crane Flag staff &c 0 15 0 By Cash paid Edward Preston and Robert Evans for baking 78 Batches of Bread at 18d p Batch for the use of the Garrison 6 10 0 By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for going to fetch Lime & Limestone in the Honorable Company's Long Boat and rowing in their Yawl this Quarter 7 8 0 By Cash paid Ragunda Pacolem the Malay Prisoner sent from Bencoolen upon the Exeter 27 Weeks Subsistence at 2s6d p Week 3 7 6 By Cash paid Edward Wansell for breaking Horses for the Honorable Company this Quarter 1 5 0 By Cash paid Sundry Persons for cutting and carrying Bushes to thatch some of the Honorable Company's Houses this Quarter 9 19 6 By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for mowing Grass and making of Hay for the Honorable Company this Quarter 12 3 6 By Cash paid William Oakman for making several pair of Drum Sticks this Quarter 0 10 6 By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for coming to prosp of Ships to Windward this Quarter 0 10 0 By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for fencing and clearing at Plantations damaged by the Flood 22 18 9 By Cash paid Matthew Bazett for 16 Days Work at 3s p Day for a Stone layer 2 8 0 By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for working at several of the Honorable Company's Fortifications this Quarter 69 2 3 By Cash paid the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants their several Salarys Diet Money &c for the Quarter commencing the 12th of October 1756 and ending the 11th of January 1757 2058 11 9½ £ 2301 0 3½ 1757 Errs Excep (signed) John Clark Paymaster	By cash paid Richard Bagley for 1,650 lemons and two bushels of potatoes for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £1 19s 0d By cash paid Thomas Mason for 10 days' work at 1s 6d per day in painting the new crane, flag staff and so forth, £0 15s 0d By cash paid Edward Preston and Robert Evans for baking 78 batches of bread at 1s 8d per batch for the use of the garrison, £6 10s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for going to fetch lime and lime stone in the Honourable Company's long boat, and rowing in their yawl this quarter, £7 8s 0d By cash paid Nagunda Tacolen, the Malay prisoner sent from Bencoolen upon the <i>Exeter</i>, 27 weeks subsistence at 2s 6d per week, £3 7s 6d By cash paid Edward Wansell for breaking horses for the Honourable Company this quarter, £1 5s 0d By cash paid sundry persons for cutting and carrying bushes to thatch some of the Honourable Company's houses this quarter, £9 19s 6d By cash paid sundry soldiers for mowing grass and making of hay for the Honourable Company this quarter, £12 3s 6d By cash paid William Oakman for making several pairs of drum sticks this quarter, £0 10s 6d By cash paid sundry soldiers for coming express of ships to windward this quarter, £0 10s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for fencing and clearing plantations damaged by the flood, £22 18s 9d By cash paid Matthew Bazett for 16 days' work at 3s per day for a stone layer, £2 8s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for working at several of the Honourable Company's fortifications this quarter, £69 2s 3d By cash paid the Honourable Company's officers and servants their several salaries, diet money and so forth for the quarter commencing the 12th of October 1756 and ending the 11th of January 1757, £2,058 11s 9½d £2,301 0s 3½d Errors excepted. Signed, John Clark, paymaster. 1757. Interpretations Nagunda Tacolen, described as a Malay prisoner sent from Bencoolen upon the <i>Exeter</i> and paid subsistence over 27 weeks, showed the Company holding and provisioning a prisoner transported to St Helena from its settlement at Bencoolen in Sumatra, a distinct category of person on the island separate from the free servants, soldiers and slaves recorded elsewhere in these accounts, with his weekly allowance reckoned and paid in the same manner as wages rather than issued as rations in kind. The extensive payments for fencing and clearing plantations damaged by the flood, together with earlier repairs to walls and buildings recorded in a previous quarter's accounts, showed the extraordinary flood mentioned there continuing to generate significant labour costs well into the following quarter, with over £22 spent on this single item of recovery work months after the event itself, indicating the scale of agricultural as well as structural damage the flood had caused across the island. 1758.
161	156	31st January Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Company's Stores from the 12th October 1756 to the 11th January 1757 vizt Sold to the Company's Servants at 10 p Cent vizt Candles 328 lb £ 37 18 8 Chaltees 20 pieces 10 10 0	31 January. Collection of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company's stores from the 12th October 1756 to the 11th January 1757 viz. Sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent viz. Candles 329lb, £37 18s 8d Challoes 20 pieces, £10 10s 0d Turners' ware viz

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Turners Ware vizt 1 Labourers Basket £ 0 10 6 Paint Brushes 0 2 9 0 3 7 Nails vizt 39: 10d 0 14 7½ 60: 6d 1 5 0 32: 4d 0 14 0 6: 3d 0 3 3 22: 2d 0 1 7½ 7: 20d 0 2 7½ ½ Glazing Points 0 0 6 ½ 4½ Tacks 0 6 5 3 8 1 Cutlery Ware vizt 2 Cases Rasors 0 9 11 13 pr leather Garters 0 4 1 14 Ivory Combs 0 14 7 7 Carving Knives 0 1 4 6 Horn Combs 0 1 0 2 Doz Ivory Handle knives & Forks 3 0 6 1 Doz Stag Horn Do 9 Do 0 18 2 3 shoe knives 0 1 4½ 5 11 6 Lead vizt 42 lb Shott 0 9 7½ 8 lb Sheet Lead 0 1 11½ 0 11 7 Broad Cloth vizt 10¾ yards Scarlet 10 11 2 6½ yards Coloured 5 6 2 15 17 4 Rice lb cwt qr 3 16 3 6 Sugar and Candy vizt 337½ lb Sugar 42 3 0 234 lb Candy 23 14 8 65 17 8 Carried over £ 155 14 11	1 labourer's basket, £0 1s 0d 6 paint brushes, £0 2s 9d Total turners' ware, £0 3s 7d Nails viz 39lb 10d, £0 14s 7½d 60lb 6d, £1 5s 0d 32lb 4d, £0 14s 0d 6lb 3d, £0 3s 3d 22lb 2d, £0 17s 7½d 7lb 20d, £0 2s 7½d Glazing points, £0 0s 6¾d 4lb tacks, £0 6s 5d Total nails, £3 8s 1d Cutlery ware viz 2 case knives, £0 9s 11d 13 pieces leather garters, £0 4s 1d 14 ivory combs, £0 14s 7d 1 dozen carving knives, £1 1s 4d 6 horn combs, £0 1s 0d 2 dozen ivory-handle knives and forks, £3 0s 6d 1 dozen stag horn ditto ditto, £10 2s 0d 5 shoe knives, £1 10½d Total cutlery ware, £5 11s 6d Lead viz 42lb shot, £0 9s 7½d 8lb shot lead, £0 1s 11½d Total lead, £0 11s 7d Broad cloth viz 10¾ yards scarlet, £10 11s 2d 6½ yards coloured, £5 6s 2d Total broad cloth, £13 17s 4d Rice, 3cwt, £16 3s 6d Sugar and candy viz 337lb sugar, £42 3s 0d 149lb candy, £23 14s 8d Total sugar and candy, £65 17s 8d Carried over, £155 14s 11d Interpretations The distinction between the challoses, broad cloth and cutlery ware sold here at a fixed ten per cent margin to the Company's own servants, and the ordinary store accounts recording goods received and issued elsewhere in this volume, showed a separate internal retail arrangement by which employees could purchase directly from Company stock at a set markup, distinguishing personal purchases by staff from the Company's wider commercial trade and provisioning of the garrison.
162	157	1757 China Ware vizt Bro't over £ 155 14 11 1 Gaglet and Bason 0 3 0 25 Sneakers 0 6 3 2 half pint Cups and Saucers 0 0 11 6 Sallad Dishes 0 4 6 30 Soup Plates 0 4 3 1 Do Dish 0 6 6 6 Bowls 0 5 0 1 17 5 Leather 34½ Sole 1 18 10 Flour vizt 24: 9 cwt Flour 16 17 1½ 252: 18 Do baked 215 19 0½ 232 16 2 Hooks and Lines vizt 8 Dozn 3 Lines No 3 1 15 9 16 Do 6 Do 2 3 0 6 2 Lines No 4 0 0 10 100 Hooks No 1 0 3 4 300 Do 2 0 6 8 575 Do 3 0 10 6 1075 Do 4 0 14 4 800 Blue Hooks 0 2 8 6 16 7 Tea vizt 206 lb Congo 13 9 0 188 lb Single 12 10 8 39 lb Bohea 1 12 0 29 11 8 Oil vizt	1757. Brought over, £155 14s 11d China ware viz 1 goglet and basin, £0 3s 0d 25 saucers, £0 6s 3d 2 half pint cups and saucers, £0 1s 0d 6 sallad dishes, £0 4s 6d 30 soup plates, £0 4s 3d 1 soup dish, £0 6s 6d 6 bowls, £0 5s 0d Total china ware, £1 17s 5d Leather 34½ soles, £1 18s 10d Flour viz 24lb 9oz flour, £16 17s 1½d 252lb 18oz cake, £215 19s 0½d Total flour, £232 16s 2d Hooks and lines viz 8 dozen 3 lines no. 3, £1 15s 9d 16 dozen 6 ditto no. 2, £3 0s 6d 2 lines no. 4, £0 0s 10d 100 hooks no. 1, £0 3s 4d 300 ditto no. 2, £0 6s 8d 595 ditto no. 3, £0 10s 6d 1075 ditto no. 4, £0 14s 1d 800 blue hooks, £0 2s 8d Total hooks and lines, £6 16s 4d Tea viz

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		21½ Gallons Train 3 3 9 12½ Do Linseed 2 4 3½ 5 0 2½ Descoties 10 pieces 0 4 3 Arrack 250½ Gallons 64 13 1½ Cordage 518½ lb 8 11 3 Soap 219 0 4 3 Shirts vizt 37 Centinels Shirts 14 0 3 12 Rollers 0 8 0 4 Dice Linnen 1 8 10½ 15 17 1½ Carried over £ 535 14 6½	206lb congo, £15 9s 0d 188lb single, £12 10s 8d 39lb bohea, £1 12s 0d Total tea, £29 11s 8d Oil viz 21½ gallons train, £3 3s 9d 125 ditto linseed, £2 4s 3½d Total oil, £5 8s 0½d Dessicated coconut 10 pieces, £4 3s 0d Arrack 258½ gallons, £64 13s 1½d Cordage 51½lb, £8 11s 3d Soap 219lb, £0 4s 3d Shirts viz 37 Osnabrig shirts, £14 0s 3d 12 rollers, £0 8s 10½d ½ piece linen, £1 6s 10½d Total shirts, £15 17s 1d Carried over, £555 14s 6½d Interpretations The distinction drawn between train oil and linseed oil showed two separate categories of oil held in the Company's stores, the former rendered from whale or fish blubber and used chiefly for lamps and lubrication, the latter pressed from flax seed and used mainly as a base for paint, reflecting different practical applications within a single broad commodity category. 1758.
163	158	31st January Thread vizt Brought over £ 535 14 6½ 12 lb White & Brown 4 8 0 18 lb Coloured 3 0 0 2 Ounces Nuns 0 4 4 7 12 4 Ironmongers Ware vizt 3 pr H Hinges 0 0 9 3 Iron rimd Locks 0 10 3 3 Old Hammers 0 3 9 2 Garden Hoes 0 3 4 8 Gimblets 0 1 8 2 Ditching Shovels 0 9 11 7 Dozen Wood Screws 0 2 7½ 1 File 0 0 6½ 1 Frying Pan 0 3 2 4 Scyth Stones 0 0 8 1 Garden Rake 0 2 7½ 1 Spade 0 3 3 2 Box Irons 0 17 2 1 Cupbord Lock 0 4 0 1 Shoe Shovell 0 1 10 4 1 8½ Deals vizt 13 Single Deals 1 13 9 3 Double Do 0 10 7½ 2 Booths 1 0 0 3 Wainscott Boards 0 16 6 4 0 10½ Salt 16 Bushels 2 0 0 Buckram 31 Yards 1 1 0 Beef and Pork vizt 89 pieces of Pork at 2s4d 10 7 8 1500 lb Do at 3d 18 15 0 39 pieces of Beef at 3s4d 5 18 7½ 784 lb Do at 3d 9 8 0 44 14 3½ Serge 12 Yards 2 17 0 Hosiers Ware vizt 20 pair of Thread Stockings 2 16 8 3 pair of Cotton Do 1 0 0 1 pair of Womend Do 0 3 7 4 0 3 Carried over £ 606 10 0	31 January. Brought over, £555 14s 6½d Thread viz 12lb white brown, £4 8s 0d 10lb coloured, £3 0s 0d 2 ounces sewing, £0 4s 4d Total thread, £7 12s 4d Ironmongers ware viz 5 pairs H hinges, £0 0s 9d 3 iron ring locks, £0 10s 3d 3 hand hammers, £0 3s 9d 2 garden hoes, £0 3s 4d 8 gimblets, £0 1s 8d 2 ditching shovels, £0 9s 11d 7 dozen wood screws, £0 2s 7½d 1 file, £0 0s 6½d 1 frying pan, £0 3s 2d 4 loft shovels, £0 8s 0d 1 garden rake, £0 2s 7½d 1 spade, £0 3s 3d 2 box irons, £0 17s 2d 1 cupboard lock, £0 4s 0d 1 shot shovel, £0 1s 10d Total ironmongers ware, £4 1s 0½d Deals viz 13 single deals, £1 13s 9d 3 double ditto, £0 10s 7½d 2 booths, £1 0s 0d 3 wainscott boards, £0 16s 6d Total deals, £4 0s 10½d Salt 16 bushels, £2 8s 0d Buckram 21 yards, £1 1s 0d Beef and pork viz 89 pieces of pork at 2½s, £10 7s 8d 1500lb ditto at 3d, £18 15s 0d 39lb of beef at 3½d, £5 18s 7½d 784lb ditto at 2½d, £8 3s 0d Total beef and pork, £44 4s 3½d Serge 12 yards, £2 17s 0d Hosiers ware viz 20 pairs of thread stockings, £9 16s 0d 3 pairs of cotton ditto, £1 0s 0d 1 pair of women's ditto, £0 3s 7d Total hosiers ware, £11 0s 3d Carried over, £806 10s 0d
164	159	1757 Haberdashery Ware Brought over £ 606 10 0	1757. Brought over, £806 10s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		17 Dozn of White Waistcoat Buttons 0 2 3 20 Skains of Silk 0 12 10 20 Do Mohair 0 9 9 9¾ Dozn Mohair Coat Buttons 0 6 4 13 Do Do Breast Do 0 4 4 2 pieces of Holland Tape 0 1 10 3 Dozn Silver Coat Buttons 0 6 4 1 Do Do Breast Do 0 3 9 2 7 6½ Paint vizt 16 lb Venetian Red 0 2 2¾ 227 lb Whiting 0 6 8½ 5 lb Blue Smalts 0 10 1 14 lb Jamaica Indico 0 9 1½ 2 Barrels of Blacking 0 1 1½ 54 lb White Lead 1 1 7 2 lb Mahogany Colour 0 5 0 2 lb White Coperas 0 0 6½ 24 lb Umber 0 3 6½ 11 lb Sky blue 1 0 9 12 lb Yellow Oaker 0 2 6 1 Ounce Prussian blue 0 2 2½ 3 lb Red Lead 0 0 7½ 4 0 6 Canvas vizt 40½ Yards Oxenbridge 2 0 5 3½ Do English Canvas 0 5 11 2 6 4 Oars 3 0 12 9 Earthen Ware 2 Milk Pans 0 1 3½ Pitch and Tar vizt 1½ Gallons Tar 0 1 4½ 13 Rozin 0 2 2 6 lb Pitch 0 0 6 0 4 0½ Kersey 3½ Yards 0 8 3 Glass Ware vizt 12 Squares Glass 10 by 12 0 11 0 2 Squares Do 6 by 8 0 0 7½ 2 Beer Glasses 0 1 10 1 Tumbler 0 0 7 0 14 0½ Carried over £ 616 4 0	Haberdashery ware 1½ dozen white waistcoat buttons, £0 2s 8d 20 skeins of silk, £0 12s 10d 1½ dozen mohair, £0 9s 9d 9½ dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 6s 4d 13 dozen ditto breast ditto, £0 4s 4d 2 pieces of Holland tape, £0 1s 10d 3 dozen silver coat buttons, £0 6s 5d 1 dozen ditto breast ditto, £0 3s 9d Total haberdashery ware, £2 7s 6½d Paint viz 16lb Venetian red, £0 2s 2¾d 227lb whiting, £1 6s 0½d 5½lb blue smalts, £0 10s 1d 1½lb Jamaica indigo, £0 9s 1½d 2 barrels of blacking, £0 1s 1½d 5¼lb white lead, £1 1s 7d 2lb mahogany colour, £0 5s 0d 2lb white saporas, £0 0s 10½d 2¾lb amber, £0 3s 6½d 11lb sky blue, £1 0s 3d 12lb yellow ochre, £0 2s 6d 1 ounce Prussian blue, £0 2s 2¾d 3lb red lead, £0 0s 7½d Total paint, £4 0s 6d Canvas viz 40¾ yards Osnaburg, £2 0s 5d 5¾ ditto English canvas, £0 5s 11d Total canvas, £2 6s 4d Oars 3, £0 12s 9d Earthenware 2 milk pans, £0 1s 3½d Pitch and tar viz 1¾ gallons tar, £0 1s 4½d 15lb resin, £0 2s 2d 6lb pitch, £0 0s 6d Total pitch and tar, £0 4s 0½d Kersey 3½ yards, £0 8s 3d Glass ware viz 12 squares glass 10 by 12, £0 11s 0d 2 squares ditto 6 by 8, £0 0s 7½d 2 beer glasses, £0 1s 10d 1 tumbler, £0 0s 7d Total glass ware, £0 14s 0½d Carried over, £816 4s 8d Interpretations Jamaica indigo, a deep blue dye extracted from the indigo plant and imported from the Caribbean, appeared here alongside Prussian blue and blue smalts among a range of blue pigments and dyes drawn from very different sources and production methods, showing the Company's stores holding coloured materials sourced from across its own trade network and beyond it rather than from any single supplier.
165	160	31st January Shoes vizt Brought over £ 616 4 9 2 pair Calimanco 0 10 4 1 pair Mens Pumps 0 6 3 3 pair Boys 0 11 1½ 2 pair Mens Ordinary 0 8 10 1 pair Girls 0 2 1 1 pair Womens Calf 0 2 8 2 1 3½ Twine 6oz Thread 0 0 8 Iron Potts 1 of 6 Gallons 0 7 9 Corks 2 lb Sheet 0 1 4½ Tin Ware 1 Water Pott 0 5 6 Coals 4 Bushels 0 5 4 Pepper 1 lb 0 0 6½ Starch 38 lb 0 0 9 Braziers Ware 1 pr Steel Snuffers 0 2 3 £ 620 17 9½ Sold to the Planters at 20 p Cent vizt Chaltees 14 pieces 0 0 0 Long Ells 1 Yard 0 2 0 Kersey 9 Yards 0 3 4	31 January. Brought over, £816 4s 9d Shoes viz 2 pair calimanco, £0 10s 4d 1 pair men's pumps, £0 6s 3d 3 pair boys, £0 11s 1½d 2 pair men's ordinary, £0 8s 10d 1 pair girls, £0 2s 1d 1 pair women's calf, £0 2s 8d Total shoes, £2 1s 3½d Twine 0lb chain, £0 0s 8d Iron pots 1 of 6 gallons, £0 7s 9d Corks 2lb shot, £0 1s 4d Tin ware 1 water pot, £0 3s 6d Coals 4 bushels, £0 3s 4d Pepper 2lb, £0 0s 6¾d Starch 33½lb, £0 0s 9d Braziers ware 1 pair steel snuffers, £0 2s 3d Total, £820 17s 9½d Sold to the planters at 20 per cent viz. Challoes 1½ pieces, £0 8s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Serge 8 Yards 2 3 4 Buckram 8 Yards 0 8 8 Broad Cloth 1¾ Yards 1 2 7½ Descoties 1 piece 0 10 0 Hosiers Ware 1 pr Cotton Stockings 0 7 6 Shoes 1 pair Calimanco 0 5 10 Sold at 40 p Cent vizt Sugar & Candy vizt 157 lb Sugar 26 5 0 350 lb Candy 7 5 10 33 11 6 Rice lb cwt qr 11 13 0 24 Flour lb cwt qr 11 14 6 Tea vizt 119 lb Single 9 16 0 231 lb Congo 23 2 0 33 0 0 2 lb Bohea 0 2 0 Carried over £ 107 0 4	Long ells 1 yard, £0 2s 0d Kersey 2 yards, £0 3s 4d Serge 8 yards, £2 3s 4d Buckram 3 yards, £0 8s 8d Broad cloth 1¾ yards, £1 2s 7½d Dessicated coconut 1 piece, £0 10s 0d Hosiers ware 1 pair cotton stockings, £0 7s 6d Shoes 1 pair calimanco, £0 5s 10d Sold at 40 per cent viz. Sugar and candy viz 157lb sugar, £26 5s 8d 350lb candy, £7 5s 10d Total sugar and candy, £33 11s 6d Rice 10cwt 2qtr 11lb, £13 0s 2½d Flour 12cwt 2qtr 7lb, £11 14s 6d Tea viz 119lb single, £9 16s 0d 231lb congo, £23 2s 0d 2lb bohea, £0 2s 0d Total tea, £33 0s 0d Carried over, £107 0s 4d Interpretations The differing rates of ten, twenty and forty per cent applied across the goods sold to Company servants and planters, with sugar, candy, rice, flour and tea marked up at the highest rate of forty per cent, showed the Company graduating its retail margin by the category of goods rather than applying a single uniform markup, with staple provisions apparently priced to yield a substantially greater return than manufactured or imported dry goods.
166	161	1757 Candles 1 lb Brought over £ 107 0 4 1 9 2 Hooks and Lines vizt 300 Blue Hooks 0 1 3 25 Hooks No 1 0 1 7 150 Do 2 0 6 6 100 Do 3 0 2 6 675 Do 4 0 11 3 100 Do 5 0 2 7 3 Dozen Lines No 2 1 3 4 4 Do Do 3 1 2 0 3 11 0 Arrack 20½ Gallons 6 1 6 Oil vizt 6 Gallons Train 1 4 0 2½ Galln Linseed 0 2 11 1 6 11 Nails vizt 236 lb 6d 0 12 3½ 14 lb 10d 0 6 5 13 lb 4d 0 7 7 6 lb 40d 0 2 6 8 lb 20d 0 3 8 3 lb 3d 0 0 2 1 14 7½ Cordage 147¾ lb 3 1 4½ Ironmongers Ware vizt 3 Garden Hoes 0 6 6 1 pair Shop Sheers 0 2 10 1 Scyth 0 7 6 6 Scyth Stones 0 0 9 3 Shoe Shovels 0 7 0 1 4 7 Salt 3½ bowholes 0 12 3½ Thread vizt 2 lb White & Brown 0 18 3 2 lb Coloured 0 9 4 1 Ounce Nuns 0 3 2 1 11 2 Paint vizt 8 lb Whiting 0 0 4 3 lb Venetian Red 0 1 5½ 0 1 9½ Carried over £ 127 14 11	1757. Brought over, £107 0s 4d Candles 1lb, £0 1s 9d Hooks and lines viz 300 blue hooks, £0 1s 3d 25 hooks no. 1, £0 1s 7d 150 ditto no. 2, £0 6s 6d 100 ditto no. 3, £0 2s 6d 675 ditto no. 4, £0 11s 3d 100 ditto no. 5, £0 2s 7d 3 dozen lines no. 2, £1 3s 4d 4 ditto ditto no. 3, £1 2s 0d Total hooks and lines, £3 11s 0d Arrack 20½ gallons, £6 16s 6d Oil viz 6 gallons train, £1 4s 0d 2½ gallons linseed, £0 2s 11d Total oil, £1 6s 11d Nails viz 23lb 6d, £0 12s 3½d 14lb 10d, £0 6s 3d 13lb 4d, £0 7s 7d 6lb 40d, £0 2s 6d 8lb 20d, £0 3s 8d 3lb 3d, £0 2s 0d Total nails, £1 14s 7½d Cordage 147½lb, £3 1s 4½d Ironmongers ware viz 3 garden hoes, £0 6s 6d 1 pair sheep shears, £0 2s 10d 1 scythe, £0 7s 6d 6 scythe stones, £0 0s 9d 3 shot shovels, £0 7s 0d Total ironmongers ware, £1 4s 7d Salt 3½ bushels, £0 12s 3½d Thread viz 2lb white brown, £0 18s 8d 2lb coloured, £0 9s 4d 1 ounce sewing, £0 3s 2d Total thread, £1 11s 2d Paint viz 8lb whiting, £0 0s 4d 3lb Venetian red, £0 1s 5½d Carried over, £127 14s 11d

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167	162	31st January Starch 6½ lb Brought over £ 127 14 11 0 2 11½ Deals vizt 6 Single 0 17 6 1 Booth 0 12 9 1 10 3 Soap 5 lb 0 4 9½ Cutlery Ware 5 Ivory Combs 0 7 1 Pitch vizt 3 Gallon Tar 0 0 6 2 lb Rozin 0 0 4 0 0 10 Beef and Pork vizt 4 pieces Pork 0 6 0 2 pieces Beef 0 7 10 0 14 6 Haberdashery Ware vizt 3 Dozen Mohair Coat Buttons 0 2 6 1 Do Do breast Do 0 0 5 1 piece Holland Tape 0 1 2 2 Skains Mohair 0 1 0 2 Do Silk 0 1 2 0 6 3 Lead 6 lb Shott 0 0 9 £ 129 3 4 Sold to the Honorable Company's Ships vizt Cordage 17 cwt qr 23 lb 41 17 11 Bunting vizt 32½ Yards Red 1 13 8 5 Do White 0 3 9 Oil 6 Gallons Linseed 1 8 0 Pitch and Tar vizt 2 Barrels Pitch 3 10 0 2 Do Tar 4 6 0 7 16 0 Paint vizt 30 lb Brimstone 0 15 7½ 15 Gallons Oker 0 4 4½ 1 0 0 Canvas 2 Bolts English 5 13 4 Turners Ware 1 Labourers Basket 0 1 4 Carried over £ 57 16 4	1758. 31 January. Brought over, £127 14s 11d Starch 6½lb, £0 2s 11½d Deals viz 6 single, £1 7s 6d 1 booth, £0 12s 9d Total deals, £1 10s 3d Soap 3lb, £0 4s 9½d Cutlery ware 5 ivory combs, £0 7s 1d Pitch viz 1 gallon tar, £0 0s 6d 2lb resin, £0 0s 4d Total pitch, £0 0s 10d Beef and pork viz 4 pieces pork, £0 6s 0d 2 pieces beef, £0 7s 10d Total beef and pork, £0 14s 6d Haberdashery ware viz 3 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 2s 6d 1 ditto ditto breast ditto, £0 0s 5d 1 piece Holland tape, £0 1s 2d 2 skeins mohair, £0 1s 0d 2 ditto silk, £0 1s 2d Total haberdashery ware, £0 6s 3d Lead 6lb shot, £0 1s 9d Total, £129 3s 4d Sold to the Honourable Company's ships viz. Cordage 17cwt 3qtr 23lb, £41 17s 11d Bunting viz 32½ yards red, £1 13s 8d 5 ditto white, £0 3s 9d Total bunting, £1 17s 5d Oil 6 gallons linseed, £1 8s 0d Pitch and tar viz 2 barrels pitch, £3 10s 0d 2 ditto tar, £4 6s 0d Total pitch and tar, £7 16s 0d Paint viz 30lb brimstone, £0 15s 7½d 15 gallons ochre, £4 4½d Canvas 2 bolts English, £5 13s 4d Turners' ware 1 labourer's basket, £0 1s 1d Carried over, £57 16s 4d
168	163	1757 Coals 18 Bushels Brought over £ 57 16 4 1 9 4 Nails vizt 8 lb 8d 12 lb 6d 12 lb 10d } 1 9 6 25 lb 20d 12 lb 40d Iron 258 lb 2 17 5 Blocks 2 Double long Tackles 0 13 4 Hooks 25 No 4 0 0 5 £ 66 5 4 Charges General Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th October 1756 to the 11th January 1757 vizt Iron 117 lb to make Tools for breaking Rocks Bars for the Lime Kiln and for the Crane £ 1 0 7½ Oil vizt 3¾ Gallons Linseed to rub Tables Chairs Doors in the Castle repairs to the Lieutenant Governors House priming the Crane Painting the Target Gun Carriages and Spunge Staves 1 2 1 18¼ Gallns Train for the Kitchen Bakehouse and Armourers &c } 2 0 0 3 2 9 Leather 1 lb to Damp Leather for the Pump 0 1 9 Corks 2 Do Sheet for the Castle 0 0 4 Arrack 9½ Gallons Given to the Soldiers for Hauling up the Long Boat cleaning the Sugar 2 lb Magazine and Line killing and burying a Hog & fetching in getting the	1757. Brought over, £57 16s 4d Coals 18 bushels, £1 9s 4d Nails viz 8lb 6d, £0 4s 0d 12lb 6d, £0 6s 0d 12lb 10d, £0 10s 0d 25lb 20d, £2 1s 8d 12lb 40d, £2 0s 0d Total nails, £1 9s 6d Iron 258lb, £2 17s 5d Blocks 2 double long tackles, £0 13s 4d Hooks 25 no. 4, £0 0s 5d Total, £66 5s 4d Charges general, debtor, for the following stores expended from the 12th October 1756 to the 11th January 1757 viz. Iron 117lb, to make tools for breaking rocks, bars for the lime kiln and for the crane, £1 0s 7½d Oil viz 38 gallons linseed, to rub tables, chairs and doors in the Castle, repairs to the Lieutenant Governor's house, priming the crane, painting the target, gun carriages and sponge staves, £12 1s 0d 18¼ gallons train for the kitchen, bakehouse and armourers' use, £2 8s 0d Total oil, £3 9s 0d Leather 1lb to damp leather for the pump, £0 1s 9d Corks ½lb sheet for the Castle, £0 0s 4d

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		Denhams Stores to the Warehouse and weighing them & Getting the Line on the old Storms in Sandy Bay 1 3 7 0 0 5 Cordage 8¼ lb for thatching the long Barracks 0 0 11½ Lead 2½ Sheet for the Armorer to make Moulds for casting Iron Work 0 0 6 Earthen Ware 4 Milk Pans for the Castle 0 2 4 Candles vizt 100 lb for the Castle 10 6 3 135 lb for the Council 14 12 10½ 7 lb for the Officer in the Castle & the Gunner for the Magazine upon the last Double Alarm 24 19 1½ Carried over £ 30 10 3	Arrack 9½ gallons, given to the soldiers for hauling up the long boat, cleaning the magazine and lime, killing and skinning of hogs and getting the <i>Denham's</i> stores to the warehouse, and weighing them and getting them home on the <i>Denham</i> in Sandy Bay, £1 3s 7d Sugar 2lb, £0 0s 5d Cordage 8½lb for thatching the long barracks, £0 0s 11½d Lead 2½lb sheet for the armourer to make moulds for casting iron work, £0 0s 6d Earthenware 4 milk pans for the Castle, £0 2s 4d Candles viz 100lb for the Castle, £10 6s 3d 135lb for the council, £14 12s 10½d 71lb for the officer in the Castle and the gunner for the magazine upon the last double alarm, £24 19s 1½d Carried over, £30 10s 3d Interpretations The distinct issue of arrack to soldiers as payment in kind for hauling up the long boat, cleaning the magazine, killing and skinning hogs, and unloading and warehousing the <i>Denham's</i> stores, showed drink used as a form of compensation for specific labour beyond the men's ordinary duties and pay, a practice recorded separately from the cash payments made for comparable tasks noted elsewhere in the paymaster's accounts. The candles issued for the Castle, the council and the officer and gunner attending the magazine during the last double alarm, together amounting to over £24, showed the scale of lighting required to keep the island's principal seat of government and its defensive watch functioning through the night, particularly at moments of heightened alert. 1758.
169	164	31st January Brought over £ 30 10 3 Ironmongers Ware vizt 1 Shod Shovel for Sandy Bay Guard £ 0 1 8 ¼ lb Corn Emery to clean Knives and Forks ¼ lb Flour Do bore Irons on the Stores 0 0 6 17 Files 0 8 10 2 Steel Hafts for the Armorers use & for ¼ lb Brass Wire repairing small Arms 0 0 1 0 0 9 1 Rasp 0 0 6½ ½ Dozen Wood Screws for putting on a Lock 0 0 2 1 Stock Lock for a door to prevent the Prisoners from going the back way to the 0 2 1 Barracks 1 Scyth Stone for the Castle 0 0 1 1 Cupboard Lock for the Lt Governors House 0 3 7 4 Augers 0 1 10 2 Vizes For the Carpenters 0 4 4 2 pair Steel Compasses use 0 0 6 Ditching Shovel for the Armorers use 0 4 6 1 9 7½ Nails vizt 4: 4d For the Carpenters use making Windows 7: 6d Shutters for the Hospital Door for 0 1 7 2: 40d the Barracks making Bed Rooms 0 2 5½ 12: 3d repairs to the Bakehouse making a 0 0 7 13: 10d Shed on the Line repairing Body Boxes 0 0 8½ 1: 20d making a new Butt & Nail at Banks 0 4 4 Sash making the Docket and for the 0 0 3½ Castle &c 0 1 3 0 11 3½ Deals vizt 1 Double Deal To make a door & Frame for 11 Single Do the Barracks Frame for a Door 0 3 2½ 3 Boarths for the Hospital a Sash on the and Repairs to the Bakehouse a new pail & Nail for Bank &c 1 2 0 repairing Locks Boxes & for the Rocket Sticks 1 0 11 2 6 1½	31 January. Brought over, £30 10s 3d Ironmongers ware viz 1 shot shovel for Sandy Bay guard, £0 1s 8d ¼lb corn emery to clean knives and forks, £0 0s 6d ¼lb flour ditto, ditto from the stores, £0 0s 6d 17 files, £0 8s 10d 2 file hafts for the armourer's use, £0 0s 1d ¼lb brass wire for repairing small arms, £0 0s 9d 1 harp, £0 0s 6½d ½ dozen wood screws for putting on a lock, £0 0s 2d 1 stock lock for a door, to prevent the soldiers from going the back way to the barracks, £2 0s 1d 1 scythe stone for the Castle, £0 0s 1d 1 cupboard lock for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 3s 7d 4 augers, £0 1s 10d 2 vices for the carpenters' use, £4 4s 0d 2 pair steel compasses, £0 0s 6d Ditching shovel for the armourer's use, £4 6s 0d Total ironmongers ware, £1 9s 7½d Nails viz 4lb 4d for the carpenters, making windows and shutters for the hospital, door for the barracks, making bins, £0 1s 7d 7lb 6d, repairs to the bakehouse, making a shed on the line, repairing outhouses, £0 2s 3½d 2lb 40d, making a road out and roal at Banks, £0 0s 7d 12lb 3d, making the docket and for the Castle, £0 0s 8½d 13lb 40d, £0 4s 4d 1lb 20d tacks, £0 0s 3½d Total nails, £0 11s 3½d Deals viz

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		Twine one Skain for Rockets 0 0 7½ Soap 112 lb for Linnen 4 4 0 Canvas 2½ Yards Oxenbridge for mending Shirt Thread 1b Coloured for the Company 0 1 1 making a housewife for the Artillery 0 13 4 Company 1 3 5 Chaltees 1 piece 0 9 6 Haberdashery Ware 1 lb Holland Tape 0 1 0 Descoties 1 lb for the Dairy 0 7 9 Carried over £ 41 3 6½	1 double deal, to make a door and frame for the barracks, frame for the hospital, a door on the line, repairs to the bakehouse, £0 3s 2½d 11 single ditto, £1 2s 0d 3 booths, a new pen to fit for Banks etc, repairing cocks, boxes and for barrack stakes, £1 0s 11d Total deals, £2 6s 1½d Twine one skein for bracelets, £0 0s 7½d Soap 112lb for linnens, £4 4s 0d Canvas 27½ yards Osnaburg, for making shrouds for the dead, making a hammock for the artillery company, £0 1s 1d Thread 1lb coloured, £0 13s 4d Total, £1 3s 5d Challoes 1 piece, £0 9s 6d Haberdashery ware 1 piece Holland tape, £0 1s 0d Dessicated coconut 1 piece for the dairy, £0 7s 9d Carried over, £41 3s 6½d Interpretations The stock lock fitted specifically to a barracks door to prevent soldiers from going the back way to the barracks, and the canvas used for making shrouds for the dead, showed the Charges General account meeting both a specific disciplinary need to control unauthorised movement through the garrison's buildings and the ordinary practical requirements of burial, two very different purposes drawn from the same general store of materials.
<u>170</u>	165	1757 Paint viz: Brought over £ 4 3 6¾ Blue Smalts for Linnen 20 ffi £1 13 4 White Lead 30 ffi 13 0¾ Whiting for priming the Crane L ffi 1 Umber painting the Target 4 ffi 8 Barrel Blacking Sponge Staves & Gun Carriages 1 6 2 7 3½ Turners Ware viz: Scrubling Brush for the Castle 1 1 8 Hair Broom for the Castle 1 2 1 Paint Brush for Painting 1 5 4 2 Kersey for an Ironing Cloth ¾ Yards 4 8 Linnen viz: Hamboro for the Jack & Carpenters use 1 1 5 Linnen Do for the Jack & Carpenters use 2 7 2 - Tin Ware viz: Lanthorn Leaves for the Castle 13 2 0½	1757 Paint Brought forward, £4 3s 6½d 20 lb of blue smalts for lining, £1 13s 4d 30 lb of white lead, £0 13s 0½d 2 lb of whiting, for priming the crane, painting the target and treating sponge staves and gun carriages, £0 1s 0d ½ lb of umber, for the same work, £0 1s 0d 1 barrel of blacking, for the same work, £0 6s 0d Total for paint, £2 7s 3½d Turnery goods 1 scrubbing brush for the castle, £0 1s 8d 1 hair broom for the castle, £0 2s 1d 1 paint brush for painting, £0 0s 5d Total for turnery goods, £0 4s 2d Kersey, ¾ yards for an ironing cloth, £0 4s 8d Linen 1 piece of Hamburg linen for the use of the sick and the carpenters, £0 1s 5d 2 ells of linen for the same use, £0 0s 7d Total for linen, £0 2s 0d Tinware 13 lantern leaves for the castle, £0 10s 3½d 1 glass lantern, £0 0s 9d Total for tinware, £0 11s 0½d Chinaware, 5 sets of dishes and plates for the castle, £0 0s 7d Pitch, 12 gallons, for repairing part of the king's stores in one of the rooms at the fort, £0 1s 0d Coal, 39 bushels for the armourer's use, £2 17s 6d Total, £47 19s 1½d Diet expenses for the following allowances issued from 13 October 1756 to 10 January 1757: Beer, single, [...], £0 11s 8d Pork, 4 pieces, £1 3s 7d Beef, 1 piece, £0 2s 9d Total for beef and pork, £1 6s 4d Arrack, 51 gallons, £4 2s 1½d Flour, 651 lb, £0 10s 4d Rice, 310 lb, £0 7s 6d Salt, 2½ bushels, £0 10s 5d Candy, 310 lb, £[...]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Glass Lanthorn for the Castle 1 9 - China Ware 2 Sett dishes and Plates for the Castle 11 0½ Ditto Tarr for tarring part of the Rigging of one of the Booms at the Fort 12 Gallons 7 Coals for the Armourers use 39 Bushels 1 2 17 5 47 19 1½ Diet Expences £ for the following allowances issued from the 13th October 1756 to the 11th January 1757 viz: Sea Single 10 11 0 Beef and Pork viz: Pork 11 pieces £1 3 7 Beef 1 piece 2 9 1 6 4 Arrack 51 Gallons 6 11 9 Flour 65 ffi [...] Rice 210 10 4 Salt 2½ Bushels 7 6 Candy 310 10 5 18 [...] 8½	Total, £18 0s 0½d Interpretations Arrack and sugar candy came to St Helena through the East India Company's own shipping rather than from anything grown or made on the island. Arrack was a spirit distilled in India and the East Indies from palm sap, rice or sugar cane, and candy was refined sugar sold in solid lumps, so both entries reflect provisions carried in from the Company's eastern trade to supplement the garrison's diet. The paint, whiting, umber and blacking bought for the crane, the target, the sponge staves and the gun carriages record routine upkeep of the fort's lifting gear and ordnance, work that had to be paid for and carried out locally rather than deferred, given how infrequently fresh supplies reached so remote a garrison.
171	166	31st January Blacks Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th October 1756 to the 11th January 1757 viz: Rice 13 ffi £13 3 2 Beef and Pork viz: Beef 152 pieces £20 18 - Pork 121 pieces 12 19 7½ 33 17 7½ Sea & Bohea 1 10 10 Sugar & Candy viz: Sugar for the Sick & lying in Women 87 ffi 18 1¾ Candy 12 3 6 1 1 7¾ Arrack for Dressers & their usual Allowance at Christmas 20½ Gallons 2 12 4 Oil Train for lamps for the Blacks & Sick in the Blackhouses	31 January 1757 Blacks Debtor for the following stores issued from 12 October 1756 to 11 January 1757 viz: 465 lb rice, £13 3s 2d 152 pieces of beef, £20 18s 0d 121 pieces of pork, £12 19s 7½d Total for beef and pork, £33 17s 7½d Tea, bohea, £1 10s 10d 84 lb sugar, for the sick and lying-in women, £0 18s 1½d 12 lb candy, £0 3s 6d Total for sugar and candy, £1 1s 7½d Arrack, 20½ gallons, for drams and the usual allowance at Christmas, £2 12s 4d Train oil, 3¾ gallons, for lamps for the blacksmiths and stock kept in the black houses, £0 14s 8d 2 blankets, £0 9s 8d Duffel, 1 piece, for the lying-in women, £0 7s 9d Coloured thread, 1 lb, to mend their clothes, £0 3s 4d Soap, 8 lb, £0 0s 8d 14½ dozen lines, No. 2, for fishing, £2 7s 9½d 230 hooks, No. 3, for fishing, £0 4s 4d 300 hooks, No. 4, for fishing, £0 3s 6d Total for hooks and lines, £2 15s 8d Total, £57 17s 4d Garrison

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3¾ Gallons 14 8 Blankets 2 9 8 Deckoloes for the lying in Women 1 piece 7 9 Thread Coloured to mend their Cloathes 1 ffi 3 4 Soap 8 8 Hooks and Lines viz: Lines No 2 14½ Dozen 2 7 9½ Hooks for fishing 230 4 4 Hooks Do 800 3 6 2 15 8 £36 17 4 Garrison Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th October 1756 to the 11th January 1757 viz: Sea & Bohea for the use of the sick £3 10 6 Oil viz: Train 10¼ Gallons £13 7 4 Linseed for the Doctors Shop 9 1 8 13 9 Canvas English for a Cott for the Officers Guard Room and Battooning Soldiers Cotts 22 Yards 1 2 Nails viz: 3 3 1½ 6 4 3 6 for making & repairing Soldiers Cotts and for Coffins 2 4½ Tacks ½ [...] Carried over £18 8 6	Debtor for the following stores issued from 12 October 1756 to 11 January 1757 viz: Tea, bohea, for the use of the sick, £3 10s 6d 104 gallons of train oil, for the guard, £13 7s 4d ½ gallon of limed oil, for the doctor's shop, £1 8s 0d 29 yards of English canvas, for a cot for the officers' guard room and for battening soldiers' cloaks, £1 2s 0d Nails viz: 2d nails, [...] 6d nails, for making and repairing soldiers' cloaks, £[...] 8d nails, for coffins, £[...] [...] tacks, [...] Carried forward, £18 [...] Interpretations Provisions were kept on two entirely separate accounts, one headed Blacks and one headed Garrison, showing that the slave workforce and the soldiery were supplied through distinct administrative channels even where the same goods, such as tea, oil and canvas, were being issued to both. Duffel was a coarse, heavy woollen cloth commonly used for clothing slaves and the poor, which explains its appearance here alongside blankets and thread as part of the provision made for lying-in women.
172	167	1757. Deals viz: Brought over £18 8 6 13 Single for a Cott for the Officers Guard £1 10 - 1 Double Room both for the Soldiers & Officers - 3 2½ 1 13 2½ Lines viz: 2 Lines No 3 - 7½ 6 Do 2 for Whips & Cords for ye Drums 1 8 18 Do 4 6 7½ 1 Hambro 5 8 14 7 Soldiers Cloathing viz: 1 Buffcoat and Breeches for 3 Drummers	1757 Deals Brought forward, £18 3s 6d 13 single deals, for a cot for the officers' guard room, £1 10s 0d 1 double deal, for lath for the soldiers' and officers' quarters, £0 3s 2½d Total for deals, £1 13s 2½d Lines 2 lines, No. 3, £0 0s 7½d 6 lines, No. 2, £0 1s 8d 18 lines, No. 4, for whips and cords for the drums, £0 6s 7½d 1 Hamburg line, £0 5s 8d Total for lines, £0 14s 7d Soldiers' clothing 1 buckram coat and breeches, for 3 deserters, £2 2s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 2 4 2 Centinels Do & Do here by Capt Broods 2 19 4½ 5 1 8½ Shirts viz: 3 Soldiers Shirts 13 4½ 3 Do for 3 Drummers & Do here by Capt Broods 1 9 15 1½ Hosiers Ware 3 pr Thread Stockings 7 7½ Hatts 3 Centinels 8 2½ Sugar & Candy for the Doctors Shop 1 9 Pitch 6d Room 9 Paint viz: 19 lb Whiting for cleaning Soldiers 5 10 lb Yellow Oaker Accoutrements 1 10½ 2 3½ Arrack 12½ Drams on Mustering 1 11 7½ £29 5 6¼ Plantation Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th October 1756 to the 11th of January 1757 viz: Nails viz: - 0 0½ 3¼ - 6d - 5 15 - 10d - 9½ 2 - 4d - 3 4 - 8d 3½ 1 - 20d - 3 1 - 40d 9½ ½ Glazing Knives 2½ 16 4 Lorage 86 ffi for Watching the House at the Duke Breaking Corn & for the Locks 1 3 8¼ Carried over £1 19 7½	2 sentinels' coats and breeches, for men who had leave granted by Captain Bruce, £2 19s 4½d Total for soldiers' clothing, £5 1s 8½d Shirts 3 soldiers' shirts, for the 3 deserters and the men who had leave granted by Captain Bruce, £0 13s 4½d 3 pairs of hose, for the same men, £0 1s 9d Total, £0 15s 1½d Hosiers' ware 3 pairs of thread stockings, £0 7s 7½d Hats, 3, for sentinels, £0 8s 4½d Sugar and candy, for the doctor's shop, £0 1s 9d Pitch, 6 lb of rosin, £0 0s 9d Paint 19 lb whiting, for cleaning soldiers' accoutrements, £0 0s 5d 10 lb yellow ochre, £0 1s 10½d Total for paint, £0 2s 3½d Arrack, 12½ drams, issued on mustering, £1 17s [...] Total, £29 5s 6½d Plantation Debtor for the following stores issued from 12 October 1756 to 11 January 1757 viz: Nails viz: 3¼ hundred of 6d nails, £0 0s 8½d 15 hundred of 10d nails, £0 0s 9½d 2 hundred of 4d nails, £0 0s 3d 3 hundred of 8d nails, £0 0s 3½d 1 hundred of 20d nails, £0 0s 3d 1 hundred of 40d nails, £0 0s 9d ¾ hundred of glazing brads, £0 0s 9½d ½ hundred of scupper nails, £0 0s 2½d Total for nails, £0 16s 4d Forage, for watching the horses at the dockyard, breaking in oxen and for the cattle, £1 3s 8½d Carried forward, £1 19s 7½d Interpretations The clothing and shirts issued to deserters alongside those issued to soldiers granted leave by Captain Bruce suggest the garrison re-equipped men returning to duty after desertion in the same routine allowance as those simply away with permission, treating the two circumstances as administratively equivalent rather than marking desertion out as a distinct disciplinary category in the accounts. Glazing brads and scupper nails were specialised fastenings rather than general building nails, the former small and flat-headed for securing window glass in its frame, the latter used in wharf and shipboard woodwork, and their presence in the plantation stores points to maintenance work on the fort's windows and dockside structures rather than ordinary carpentry.
173	168	31st January Pitch viz: Brought over £1 19 7½ Tarr 6½ Gallons 4 Rosin for the Carts & Harnesses for breaking Horses ¼ ffi 1 Pitch 2 ffi 1 4 6 Cutlery Ware viz: Shoe knives for the Gardeners use 6 2 Case of Fleams for the Butcher for bleeding Cattle 1 4 6½ 6 6½ Rice & Paddy viz:	31 January Pitch Brought over, £1 19s 7½d 6½ gallons of tar, £0 1s 4d ½ lb of rosin, for the carts and harnesses, £0 0s 1d ½ lb of pitch, for breaking in horses, £0 0s 1d Total for pitch, £0 4s 6d Cutlery ware 6 shoe knives for the gardener's use, £0 0s 2d 1 case of fleams for the butcher, for bleeding cattle, £0 4s 6½d Total for cutlery ware, £0 6s 6½d Rice and paddy 38 bushels 1 [...] of paddy, for the poultry and horses, £7 15s 7½d [...] of rice, £0 3s 7d Total for rice and paddy, £7 19s 2½d Turners' ware 1 pair of yokes for oxen, £1 15s 7d 4 paint brushes for painting, £0 1s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Paddy for Poultry & Horses 38: 1: 11 7 15 7½ Rice 2 ffi 3 7 7 19 2½ Turners Ware viz: Yokes for Oxen 1 pair £1 15 7 Paint Brushes for Painting 4 1 8 1 17 3 Deals viz: Double Deals for Door & Window Frames & for the Table at 6 19 1½ Single Do Plantation House and for 26 2 12 - Boards Carts and Wheelbarrows for 5 1 10 9 5 1 10½ Lines viz: Line No 2 for the Carpenters use and for Harnesses for breaking Horses 1 [...] Do 2 [...] Iron Ware viz: Scythes for mowing and the Gardeners use 5 1 6 3 Stones Do 13 1 1 Hoes 1 7 Hinges 2 pr 4 15 5 Wood Screws 3 Doz 2 - File for the Carpenter in the Wood 1 6½ Ditching Shovels for the Plantations 3 13 6 3 - -½ Oil viz: Train for Horses Harnesses & Thatching ½ Gallon 2 - Linseed to make Putty for Glazing Painting the Cornice at the Plantation House and painting the Gates of the new burial Ground 6¾ 1 - 10 1 2 10 Glass Ware viz: Squares Glass 6 by 8 for Sash Windows 6 1 7½ Do 10 by 12 for Plantation House 1 - 10 - 2 5½	Total for turners' ware, £1 17s 3d Deals 6 double deals, for door cases and frames for the stable at the plantation, £0 19s 1½d 26 single deals, for the plantation house and for carts and wheelbarrows, £2 12s 0d 5 planks, for carts and wheelbarrows, £1 10s 9d Total for deals, £5 1s 10½d Lines 1 line, No. 2, for the carpenters' use, and 2 lines, No. [...], for the horse breakers, £[...] Iron ware 5 scythes and 13 scythe stones, for mowing and for the gardener's use, £1 6s 3d 1 trowel, £0 1s 1d 1 hoe, £0 0s 7d 2 pairs of hinges, 4 [inch], £0 15s 5d 3 dozen wood screws, £0 2s 0d 1 file for the carpenter in the wood, £0 0s 6½d 3 ditching shovels for the plantations, £0 13s 6d Total for iron ware, £3 0s [...] Oil ½ gallon of train oil, for horses, harnesses and thatching, £0 2s 0d 6¾ gallons of linseed oil, to make putty for glazing, to paint the cornice at the plantation house, and to paint the gates of the new burial ground, £1 0s 10d Total for oil, £1 2s 10d Glass ware 6 squares of glass, 6 by 8, for the plantation house windows, £0 1s 7½d 1 square of glass, 10 by 12, for the plantation house, £0 0s 10d Total for glass ware, £0 2s 5½d Carried over, £21 17s 4d Interpretations Fleams were small spring-loaded blades used specifically for bloodletting in livestock, a routine veterinary treatment in the period, and their purchase for the butcher confirms the practice was carried out at St Helena on the Company's cattle rather than left untreated. Paddy and rice appear as separate commodities because paddy is rice still in its husk, generally fed to poultry and horses, while rice is the milled grain fit for human consumption, so the account correctly distinguishes animal feed from provisions for people even though both derive from the same crop. The purchase of paint for the gates of the new burial ground places its establishment within this accounting period, work carried out alongside routine plantation maintenance rather than as a separate undertaking.

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		Carried over £21 17 4	
174	169	1757. Paint viz: Brought over £21 17 4 White Lead 6 ffi £1 2 8 Red Do Do 9 ffi 1 0¾ Venetian Red 2 ffi 18 Whiting 79 ffi 1 7½ White Coperas ½ ffi 6 Barrell Blacking 1 6 1 7 1½ £23 2 6 Fortification Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th October 1756 to the 11th January 1757 viz: Bunting viz: White 1 piece £1 3 3 Red Do for a Flag for Rupperts 1 1 11 10½ Blue Do 1 1 6 0¾ 4 1 10 Lines viz: Lines No 3 for a Flag for Rupperts & for fitting and making Cartridge Boxes 8 3 - Do 2 6 1 8 Hambro 1 1 5 - 6 1 Thread Coloured for the Flag at Rupperts and making Cartridges 1 6 8 Canvas viz: Yards Ownbrigs 4 2 11 Do English Canvas to cover the Ammunition Chest at the little Battery Sandy Bay 3 3 - 5 11 Twine & Skains for the Flag making Cartridges and the Gunners use 5 2 3 4 Oil 1 Gallon Linseed to paint a Gun Carriage in the Castle and the Ammunition Chest at Sandy Bay - 4½ Paint viz: Venetian Red 2 ffi - 2 Red Lead 1 ffi - 6½ Iron 4½ knuckle pintles for the Port Cullis	1757 Paint Brought over, £21 17s 4d 64 lb white lead, £1 2s 8d 9 lb red lead, £1 0s 3½d 2 lb Venetian red, £0 0s 1½d 79 lb whiting, £1 7s 2d ½ lb white copperas, £0 0s 6d 1 barrel of blacking, £0 6s 0d Total for paint, £1 7s 1½d Total, £23 2s 6d Fortification Debtor for the following stores issued from 12 October 1756 to 11 January 1757 viz: Bunting 1 piece of white bunting, £1 3s 3d 1 piece of red bunting, for a flag for Rupert's, £1 11s 10½d 1 piece of blue bunting, £1 6s 0½d Total for bunting, £4 1s 10d Lines 8 lines, No. 3, for a flag for Rupert's and for fitting and making cartridge cases, £0 3s 0d 6 lines, No. 2, £0 1s 8d 1 Hamburg line, £0 1s 5d Total for lines, £0 6s 1d Coloured thread, 8 [oz], for the flag at Rupert's and making cartridges, £1 6s 8d Canvas 4 yards of Osnaburg, £0 2s 11d 3 yards of English canvas, to cover the ammunition chest at the little battery, Sandy Bay, £0 3s 0d Total for canvas, £0 5s 11d Twine, 8 skeins, for the flag, making cartridges and the gunner's use, £0 5s 2d Oil, 1 gallon of linseed, to paint a gun carriage in the castle and the ammunition chest at Sandy Bay, £0 3s 4d Paint 2 lb Venetian red, £0 0s 2d 1 lb white lead, £0 0s [...] Total for paint, £0 0s 6½d Iron, 4 [lb] 5 [oz] of wrought spikes for the port sills, £0 7s 11d Cordage, 37 [lb], to hoist up the stones for the platforms into the works at Sandy Bay, £0 10s [...] Deals 1 for a chest for the target for the gunners, £0 3s 0½d 3 single deals, to make an ammunition chest for the little fort at Sandy Bay, £0 6s 0d Total for deals, £0 9s 0½d Carried over, £7 17s 2¼d Interpretations Osnaburg was a coarse, heavy linen or hemp cloth woven originally in Osnabrück in Germany, used for sacking and rough covering work, and its use here alongside English canvas to protect an ammunition chest reflects the ordinary practice of matching cheaper material to plain protective purposes while reserving finer canvas for more exposed or better-finished work. The separate purchase of bunting, thread and twine specifically for a flag at Rupert's, set against the ironwork and cordage bought for the battery at Sandy Bay, shows the fortification account covering both the island's signalling apparatus and its physical defences as a single administrative charge, with ceremonial and military necessities funded from the same budget.

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		7 11 Cordage 3 ffi to hoist up the Stones for Platforms into the Works at Sandy Bay 10 -½ Deals viz: Officer for a Chest for the Target for the Gunners 1 3 0½ Single Deals to make an Ammunition Chest for the little Fort at Sandy Bay 3 6 - 9 0½ Carried over £7 17 2¼	
175	170	31st January Nails viz: Brought over £7 17 2¼ 10d for the Port Cullis repairs to the Guard House at Sandy Bay and making the Ammunition Chest 4 ffi 1 4 6d 8 ffi 2 3d 4 ffi 3 4d 2 ffi 9¾ - 2 6½ £7 19 9 Boat Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th October 1756 to the 11th January 1757 viz: Cordage 12½ ffi 1 13 7 Oars 1 3 10 Pitch 8 Gallons Tar 5 4 Nails viz: 10d 1 ffi 4 6d 1 ffi 4¾ 20d 1 3¾ Oil Train ½ Gallon 1 - Iron Ware 1 Joiners Hatchet 4 - 2 - £2 6 1 Hospital Dr for the following Stores for the Sick in the Infirmary from the 12th October 1756 to the 11th January 1757 viz: Sugar 13 ffi 1 8 4 Flour 13½ 15 7½ Salt 1½ Bushels 4 6 Oil 8 Gallons Train 1 1 4 Rice 2 00	31 January Nails viz: 4 hundred of 10d nails, for the port sills, repairs to the guard house at Sandy Bay, and making the ammunition chest, £0 1s 4d 8 hundred of 6d nails, for the same, £0 0s 2d 4 hundred of 3d nails, for the same, £0 0s 3d 9 hundred of 4d nails, for the same, £0 0s [...] Total for nails, £0 2s 6½d Total for fortification, £7 19s 9d Boat Debtor for the following stores issued from 12 October 1756 to 11 January 1757 viz: Cordage, 12½ lb, £1 3s 7d 1 oar, £0 3s 10d Pitch, 8 gallons of tar, £0 5s 4d Nails viz: [...] of 10d nails, £0 [...] 1 [...] of 6d nails, £0 [...] 20 [...], £0 3¼d Oil, ½ gallon of train, £0 1s [...] Iron ware, 1 joiner's hatchet, £0 2s [...] Total for boat stores, £2 6s 1d Hospital Debtor for the following stores for the sick in the infirmary from 12 October 1756 to 11 January 1757 viz: Sugar, 136 lb, £1 8s 4d Flour, 135 lb, £0 15s 7¼d Salt, 1¾ bushels, £0 4s 6d Oil, 8 gallons of train, £1 1s 4d Rice, 200 lb, £1 2s 9d Canvas, 9¼ yards of English, £0 9s 5d Nails, 3 [...] of 3d, £0 1s 5d Turners' ware, 1 wood ladle, £0 0s 2d Arrack, ½ gallon, £0 0s 7½d Total for hospital stores, £5 3s 9d The account was closed and certified errors excepted on 4 January 1757, signed by storekeeper [...] Powell. Interpretations The hospital account drew on the same commodities issued to the garrison and the plantation, sugar, flour, rice, oil and arrack, showing that the infirmary was provisioned through the ordinary stores system rather than through any separate medical supply arrangement, with only the destination distinguishing these issues from those made elsewhere. The closing certification, dated 4 January 1757 though covering stores issued up to 11 January 1757, points to the storekeeper's account being drawn up and signed off shortly before the full period it covered had actually ended, a routine feature of how these quarterly reckonings were compiled rather than a discrepancy in the record itself.

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		1 2 9 Canvas 9¼ Yards English 9 5 Nails 3d 3 - 2 Turners Ware 1 Wood Ladle 7½ Arrack ¼ Gallon £5 3 9 4th January 1757 Errors Excepted (Signed) J: Powell Storekeeper	
176	171	Christian Moore Soldier petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his contracted Time Granted Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th instant which is as follows viz:	Christian Moore, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served out his contracted time with the Honourable Company. The petition was granted. The Council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 January, with the result as follows.
177	172	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1756 Decr 11 To Balance remaining £4343 15 11 1757 Jan 11 To James Powell recd of him for Store Goods sold in the Quarter ending this Day 950 1 1½ To Licences for Public Houses 15 - - To Plantation for Provisions sold 37 2 1 £5345 19 1½ 1757 Jan 11th By Sundry Accounts advanced the Pay Master to pay Salaries in the Qr ending this day £2301 - 3 By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 1020 Venetians at 10/ £510 - - 1200 Pagadas at 8/ 480 - - Gold amounting to £990 3080 Dollars at 5/ 770 6591 Rupees at 2/3 741 9 9 4441 French Pieces at 2/8 3 13 6 Odd Money 7½ 1515 3 10½ Cash Notes amounting to £539 15 - £5345 19 1½ Chas Hutchinson John Robinson John Clark Margin Notes: 31st January	Cash Dr / Per Contra Cr 1756 11 December: To balance remaining, £4,343 15s 11d 1757 11 January: To James Powell, received of him for store goods sold in the quarter ending that day, £950 4s 1½d To licenses for public houses, £15 0s 0d To plantation, for provisions sold, £37 2s 1d Total, £5,345 19s 1½d 1757 11 January: By sundry accounts advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges in the ledger ending that day, £2,301 0s 3d By balance remaining in the following species viz: 1,020 Venetians at 10s each, £510 0s 0d 1,200 Pagodas at 8s each, £480 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £990 0s 0d 3,080 dollars at 5s each, £770 0s 0d 6,591 rupees at 2s 3d each, £741 9s 9d 441 French pieces at 2s 8d each, £3 15s 6d Odd money, £[...] Total specie, £1,515 3s 10½d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £5,345 19s 1½d Signed by Charles Hutchinson, [...] and John Clark. Interpretations The account shows the Company's cash holdings made up of five distinct currencies circulating together at St Helena, Venetian coin, pagodas, dollars, rupees and French pieces, each converted into sterling at its own exchange rate, reflecting the island's position on shipping routes between Europe, India and the East Indies rather than any single national currency serving as everyday money. Cash notes formed a separate category from coined specie, representing paper credit issued by the Company itself and accepted as cash in the account, a practical response to the difficulty of holding enough physical coin on a small remote garrison to cover the full balance shown.
178	173	7th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th day of February 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 31st January 1757. The last Will and Testament of Timothy Wilson a Mariner lost Sick here out of the Ship Holderness was	7 February At a consultation held on Monday 7 February 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 31 January 1757.

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		this Day brought in which was proved by the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Will is as follows viz: In the name of God Amen I Timothy Wilson late a Sailor in the Ship Earl of Holdernes East India Man being of a very weak Estate in health but of sound and disposing mind Memory and Understanding do hereby make my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I hereby give and bequeath unto John Shortley Matross All my wearing Apparell both Linnen and Woollen in the Island St Helena All the rest and residue of my Estate real and personal whatsoever and wheresoever and of what nature and kind soever to John Steers Citizen and Oilman of London whom I appoint sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made Except a Will by me executed wherein I have appointed him the said John Steers sole Executor In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Seventeenth day of January in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred & fifty Seven (Signed) Timothy Wilson Signed and Sealed in the presence of (Signed) Dunn Daniel Fowkes Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The last will and testament of Timothy Wilson, a mariner left sick ashore out of the ship <i>Holderness</i>, was brought in that day, and it was proved by the oaths of the witnesses to it. The will was as follows. Timothy Wilson, a sailor in the ship <i>Earl of Holderness</i> East Indiaman, described himself as being of a very weak estate in health but of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, and on that basis made his last will and testament. He gave and bequeathed to John Shirtley, mattress-maker, all his wearing apparel, both linen and woollen, at St Helena. He left the whole of the rest and residue of his estate, real and personal, of whatever nature and kind, to John Steers, citizen and tinman of London, whom he appointed sole executor, revoking all former wills made by him at any time before except one, in which he had likewise appointed Steers sole executor. He set his hand and seal to the will on 17 January 1757, in the presence of witnesses, and signed it Timothy Wilson. The will was signed and sealed in the presence of Dunn and Daniel Fowkes. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Timothy Wilson's status as a sailor from an East India Company ship left sick ashore reflects the routine practice of putting incapacitated crew members off at St Helena during the outward or homeward voyage, with the island's administration then handling their affairs, including proving a will, if they died or remained unable to continue the voyage. The bequest of clothing specifically to a mattress-maker resident on the island, distinct from the general residue left to a London citizen, suggests a personal debt or connection formed during Wilson's time ashore rather than any family or business relationship, the kind of local tie that commonly arose when sick seamen depended on island residents for care.
179	174	14th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th day of February 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 7th February 1757. [...] Bought 24: 2: 0 of Rice at 8/ ¥ C for the use of the Honorable Company. Simon a man Slave belonging to Mr Francis Wrangham Senr being proved to have stolen a Sheep by the Evidence of Edward Bagley Mr Wranghams Overseer and a black Boy belonging to the said Mr Wrangham We therefore ordered the said fellow Simon to be Whipped and Branded. Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	14 February At a consultation held on Monday 14 February 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 7 February 1757. The Council recorded the purchase of rice, 24 cwt 2 qr, at 8 shillings per hundredweight, for the use of the Honourable Company. Simon, a male slave belonging to Mr Francis Wrangham senior, was proved to have stolen a sheep, on the evidence of Edward Bagley, Mr Wrangham's overseer, and of a black boy belonging to Mr Wrangham. The Council therefore ordered Simon to be whipped and branded. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Branding as a punishment for theft marked the offender's body permanently, serving both as a deterrent to others and as a lasting record identifying a slave as a proven thief, a distinction from whipping alone which left no permanent mark. The evidence against Simon rested on the testimony of an overseer and of another slave, showing that a slave's word could stand as valid evidence against another slave in the island's judicial process, at least where corroborated by a white overseer's account.
180	175	At a Consultation held on Friday the 18th day of February 1757 at the Castle	A consultation was held on Friday 18 February 1757 at the castle.

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		Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 14th February 1757. Yesterday the 17th Arrived the Honorable Companys Ships Edgcote and Portfield from Bombay. In the Evening of this Day sailed the Danish Ship called the Queen Sophia Magdalena. This Day arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Onslow from England Captn Thomas Hinde and brought us a Packet from their Honors which we opened and read their Letter to us and then sent for Sergeant Solomon Jacobs and told him he was appointed Adjutant at the usual Salary and allowance also Mr Richard Beale that he was to have forty Pounds Yearly for doing the Duty of Judge Advocate And also Mr Robert Barclay that their Honors had appointed him principal Surgeon here. Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 14 February 1757. The Honourable Company's ships <i>Edgcote</i> and <i>Portfield</i> had arrived from Bombay on 17 February. On the evening of that day the Danish ship <i>Queen Sophia Magdalena</i> sailed. The Honourable Company's ship <i>Onslow</i>, from England under Captain Thomas Hinde, arrived that day and brought a packet from the Court of Directors. The Council opened it and read the directors' letter, then sent for Sergeant Solomon Jacobs and told him he had been appointed adjutant at the usual salary and allowance. Mr Richard Beale was to receive £40 a year for performing the duty of judge advocate, and Mr Robert Barclay had been appointed principal surgeon there by the directors. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The arrival of instructions from the Court of Directors resulting in three separate appointments on the same day, an adjutant, a judge advocate and a principal surgeon, shows how far St Helena's senior civil, military and legal posts were filled directly from London rather than by local discretion, with the Council's role limited to announcing decisions already made. The judge advocate's role being paid as a fixed annual sum for performing a duty, rather than as a substantive office in its own right, suggests the post was combined with other work Beale already held on the island, a common arrangement in a small garrison where few men could be spared for single-function offices.
181	176	21st February At a Consultation held on Monday the 21st day of February 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 18th February 1757. The Governor this Day ordered the Garrison under Arms and had his Majestys Declaration of War read to them and afterwards affixed in three different places. The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this Day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows viz:	A consultation was held on Monday 21 February 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 18 February 1757. Governor Hutchinson ordered the garrison under arms that day and had His Majesty's declaration of war read to them, afterwards having it affixed in three different places. The plantation, gunners' and stewards' accounts for the month ending 11 February were brought in that day, examined and approved. They were as follows. Interpretations Affixing the declaration of war in three separate places, alongside reading it to the assembled garrison, reflects the standard method of formally publishing a royal proclamation to the whole island community, ensuring the news reached the wider civilian population beyond the soldiers on parade.
182	177	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of neat Cattle &ca from the 12th of January to the 11th of February 1757. Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Sparlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Hee, Ramy, Total, Sows, Boars, Piggs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, S Asses, Y Asses, Total Remaining the 12th: Bulls 3, Cows 85, Calves 74, Heifers 24, Sparlings 51, Steers 31, Oxen 15, Total 283, Ewes 361, Weathers 167, Lambs 126, Rams 7, Total 661, Ewes 214, Weathers 48, Hee 60, Ramy 8, Total 330, Sows 6, Boars 3, Piggs 14, Boars 1, Total 24, Fowls 157, Ducks 65, Turkeys 20, Geese 24, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, S Asses 2, Y Asses 3, Total 5	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and so on from 12 January to 11 February 1757. Remaining the 12th: Bulls 3, cows 83, calves 74, heifers 24, spadongs 51, steers 31, oxen 15, total neat cattle 283 Ewes 361, wethers 167, lambs 126, rams 7, total sheep 661 Ewes 214, wethers 48, kids 60, rams 8, total goats 330 Sows 6, boars 3, pigs 14, boars 1, total hogs 24 Fowls 157, ducks 65, turkeys 20, geese 24, total poultry 266 Horses 6, mares 10, total horses 16 He asses 2, she asses 3, total asses 5

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		Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Sparlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Hee 0, Ramy 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Boars 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 53, Ducks 1, Turkeys 21, Geese 10, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 74, Heifers 24, Sparlings 51, Steers 31, Oxen 15, Total 283, Ewes 361, Weathers 167, Lambs 126, Rams 7, Total 661, Ewes 214, Weathers 48, Hee 60, Ramy 8, Total 330, Sows 6, Boars 3, Piggs 14, Boars 1, Total 24, Fowls 210, Ducks 66, Turkeys 41, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, S Asses 2, Y Asses 3, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Sparlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 10, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 3, Weathers 4, Hee 0, Ramy 0, Total 7, Sows 1, Boars 1, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 9, Ducks 5, Turkeys 2, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Sparlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 4, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Hee 0, Ramy 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Boars 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 3, Ducks 7, Turkeys 4, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Sparlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 3, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 3, Weathers 0, Hee 0, Ramy 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Boars 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining the 11th: Bulls 3, Cows 85, Calves 74, Heifers 24, Sparlings 51, Steers 31, Oxen 15, Total 283, Ewes 354, Weathers 157, Lambs 126, Rams 7, Total 644, Ewes 208, Weathers 44, Hee 60, Ramy 8, Total 220, Sows 5, Boars 2, Piggs 14, Boars 1, Total 22, Fowls 198, Ducks 54, Turkeys 35, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, S Asses 2, Y Asses 3, Total 5 3 Goats killed for the Sick Slaves 2 Goats Sold Matthew Bazett 1 Sold to Onesiphorus Beale 3 Sheep Sold to the Market 1 Sow Sold to the Market Good Yam for the Slaves 20.820 Refuse Yam for Stock 7.600	Increased: Neat cattle 0 Sheep 0 Goats 0 Hogs 0 Fowls 53, ducks 1, turkeys 21, geese 10 Horses 0 Asses 0 Total: Bulls 3, cows 83, calves 74, heifers 24, spadongs 51, steers 31, oxen 15, total neat cattle 283 Ewes 361, wethers 167, lambs 126, rams 7, total sheep 661 Ewes 214, wethers 48, kids 60, rams 8, total goats 330 Sows 6, boars 3, pigs 14, boars 1, total hogs 24 Fowls 210, ducks 66, turkeys 41, geese 34, total poultry 351 Horses 6, mares 10, total horses 16 He asses 2, she asses 3, total asses 5 Killed: Sheep: ewes 0, wethers 10, total 10 Goats: ewes 3, wethers 4, total 7 Hogs: sows 1, boars 1 Poultry: fowls 2, ducks 9, turkeys 5, geese 2 Died: Sheep: wethers 4, total 4 Poultry: ducks 3, turkeys 7, geese 4 Sold: Sheep: lambs 3, total 3 Goats: ewes 3, total 3 Remaining the 11th: Bulls 3, cows 83, calves 74, heifers 24, spadongs 51, steers 31, oxen 15, total neat cattle 283 Ewes 354, wethers 157, lambs 126, rams 7, total sheep 644 Ewes 208, wethers 44, kids 60, rams 8, total goats 220 Sows 5, boars 2, pigs 14, boars 1, total hogs 22 Fowls 198, ducks 54, turkeys 35, geese 32, total poultry 319 Horses 6, mares 10, total horses 16 He asses 2, she asses 3, total asses 5 3 goats killed for the sick slaves. 2 goats sold to Matthew Bazett. 1 sold to Onesiphorus Beale. 3 sheep sold to the market. 1 sow sold to the market. Good yam for the slaves, 20,820 Refuse yam for stock, 7,600 Signed by the gunner. Interpretations The monthly stock account distinguished yam grown for slave consumption from refuse yam kept for feeding livestock, showing that the plantation's yam crop was graded by quality and allocated accordingly, with the better produce reserved for people and only the inferior portion given to animals. The goats killed specifically for the sick slaves, recorded separately from the routine market and household sales, indicate that meat was drawn from the Company's herds as a targeted provision for slaves under medical care rather than as part of their ordinary rations.
183	178	21st February Gunnery Stores expended from the 12th of January to the 11th of February 1757 viz: Guns fired, 4 ffi, 3 ffi, 2 ffi, Powder ffi 1757 January 13th Fired at Rupperts for Practice and for Priming: 4 ffi 8, 3 ffi 8, Powder 17 8 15th Powder for Scaling the Guns at Bankses: 18 18th Fired at Rupperts for Practice and for Priming: 4 ffi 8, 3 ffi 8, Powder 17 8 20th Powder for Scaling the Guns at Powells Fort 1 & 2 & 6th at Sandy Bay: 9 8	Gunnery's stores expended from 12 January to 11 February 1757. The columns record the number of guns fired, then powder in pounds under headings of 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb charges, then the total powder in pounds and ounces. 1757 13 January: Fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 0 lb 8 oz 15 January: Powder for scaling the guns at Banks's, 0 lb 8 oz 18 January: Fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 0 lb 8 oz

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		25th Fired at Rupperts for Practice and for Priming: 4 ffi 8, 3 ffi 8, Powder 17 8 26th Powder for Scaling the Guns at Turks Cap: 11 27th Fired at Rupperts for Practice and for Priming: 4 ffi 8, 3 ffi 8, Powder 17 0 28th An Alarm: 4 ffi 6, 3 ffi 2, 2 ffi 2, Powder 2 12 Arrived a Dane Ship returned the Salute: 2 ffi 2, Powder 2 12 Powder for Priming: 2 ffi 9, Powder 9 February 3 Powder for the use of the Castle: 1 8 7 Powder for Scaling the Guns at Rupperts: 1 Powder for exercising the West Flying Party: 4 12 Powder for Do the East: 4 12 8 Powder for Scaling the Guns at Munders Point: 39 Powder for Signals: 12 Total: 4 ffi 47, 3 ffi 34, 2 ffi 2, Powder 9 2 34½ Paper for making great Gun Cartridges: 4 Qr Needles broke with Sewing of Cartridges: 5 Paper for making Rocket Cases: 3 Qr Handspikes broke at Bankses: 2 Do at the Main Fort: 3 Do at Sandy Bay: 3 Tallow for greasing the Carriages at Turks Cap: 2 ffi Do for Do the Carts in the Wood: 6 ffi Do for Do the Gun Carriages at Rupperts and Munders Point: 23 ffi Spunge Staves for repairing the Ladles at the Main & Out Forts: 4 Spunge Staves for fitting up the Wad Hooks & repairing the Spunges: 40 Rammer Heads for Do: 48 Spunge Heads for Do: 8 Sheep Skins for Do: 56 Copper Braids for fixing the Ladles: 328 Trunk Nails for beating the Wad Hooks & repairing the Spunges: 2240 Gun Carriages for 3 Pounders worn out and unserviceable: 4 Do for 4 Pounders: 6 (Signed) Thos Hall	20 January: Powder for scaling the guns at Bell's fort, No. 1 and 2, and the little battery at Sandy Bay, 0 lb 9 oz 25 January: Fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 0 lb 8 oz 26 January: Powder for scaling the guns at Turk's Cap, 0 lb 11 oz 27 January: Fired at Rupert's for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 0 lb 8 oz 28 January: An alarm, 6 guns, 2 lb 2 oz, 2 lb 12 oz Arrived a Dane ship, returned the salute, 9 guns, 0 lb 9 oz, 0 lb 9 oz 3 February: Powder for priming, 0 lb 1 oz Powder for the use of the castle, 0 lb 1 oz 7 February: Powder for scaling the guns at Rupert's, 0 lb 8 oz Powder for exercising the West flying party, 0 lb 4 oz 12 dr Powder for the East flying party, 0 lb 4 oz 12 dr 8 February: Powder for scaling the guns at Munden's Point, 0 lb 3 oz 9 dr Powder for signals, 0 lb 1 oz 9 dr Total, 47 guns, 3 lb 8 oz [in the 4 lb column], 2 lb [in the 3 lb column], 9 lb [in the 2 lb column], 2 lb [in the 1 lb column], grand total powder The following stores were also expended: Paper for making great gun cartridges, 4 quires Needles broke with sewing of cartridges, 5 Paper for making rocket cases, 3 quires Handspikes broke at Banks's, 2 Handspikes at the main fort, 3 Handspikes at Sandy Bay, 3 Tallow for greasing the carriages at Turk's Cap, 2 lb Tallow for the carriages at the castle in the town, 6 lb Tallow for the gun carriages at Rupert's and Munden's Point, 13 lb Sponge staves for repairing the ladles at the main and outer forts, 4 Sponge staves for fitting up the wad hooks and repairing the sponges, 48 Rammer heads, 48 Sponge heads, 8 Sheep skins, 56 Copper braids for fixing the ladles, 528 Trunk nails for coating the wad hooks and repairing the sponges, 2,240 Gun carriages for 6-pounders, worn out and unserviceable, 4 Gun carriages for 4-pounders, 6 Signed by Thomas Hall. Interpretations The regular pattern of firing eight guns at Rupert's for practice and priming, recurring at roughly weekly intervals, shows the garrison maintained a fixed schedule of gunnery drill to keep its gunners in practice, distinct from the powder consumed on alarms, salutes and the periodic scaling of guns. Scaling the guns, recorded across several batteries in turn, was the routine firing of a small charge to clear rust, scale and fouling from the inside of the barrel, a maintenance measure necessary to keep the island's fixed ordnance serviceable in a damp maritime climate where the bores corroded readily. The return of a Danish ship's salute with nine guns records the ordinary courtesy extended to a friendly foreign vessel, a fixed diplomatic exchange that consumed Company powder as a routine cost of the island's position on international shipping routes.
184	179	1757 Sundrys expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11th Instant viz: Bottles Port wine	Sundry stores expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 February 1757. 23 bottles of port wine, £1 17s 11d

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		23 £1 17 11 Lisbon 23 1 17 11 Mountain 23 1 11 1½ Madeira 7 6 7½ Arrack 7 ffi 2 9 4 Beer 39 3 1 4 Flour 297 ffi 1 17 1½ Mutton 40 ffi 8 7 6 Goat 5 ffi 19 4 Pork 51 ffi 1 3 6 Fowls 9 13 6 Ducks 5 7 6 Geese 2 10 Turkeys 2 10 Butter 4 ffi 2 6 0 Salt Pork 3 pieces [...] Candy 10 ffi 1 9 9 £27 13 3 The Ship Portfield brought us the following Supply viz:	23 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 17s 11d 23 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 11s 1½d 7 bottles of Madeira, £0 6s 7½d 7 gallons of arrack, £2 9s 4d 39 gallons of beer, £0 8s 1½d 297 lb of flour, £1 17s 1½d 40 lb of mutton, £0 7s 6d 5 lb of goat, £0 19s 4d 5 lb of pork, £1 3s 6d 9 fowls, £0 13s 6d 5 ducks, £0 7s 6d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 4 lb of butter, £2 6s 0d 3 pieces of salt pork, £[...] 10 lb of candy, £1 0s 0d Total, £27 13s 3d The ship <i>Portfield</i> brought the following supply. Interpretations The Governor's table drew on three separate fortified wines, port, Lisbon and Mountain, alongside Madeira, arrack and beer, reflecting the range of imported drink available to the island's senior establishment and the reliance on wines shipped from Portugal and its Atlantic islands as the staple of the Company table at St Helena. Mountain wine was a sweet white wine from Málaga in southern Spain, so called because the grapes were grown on the hillsides above the port, and its presence here alongside Lisbon and port marks the Company's table as supplied from across the Iberian wine trade rather than from any single source.
185	180	21st February Invoice ¥ Ship Portfield viz: Batty poiz L 2 ¥ D 22ffi Morah 27 Bags 91 3 20 Rice batter D 81 S ¥ D 3.50 ¥ Mn 12 Bags 10 3 50 Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags for Batty 27 9 1 80 Do for Rice 12 4 80 Dutty Bags for Rice 12 9 Twine for sewing Do 3 1 15 Hamallage	Invoice for the ship <i>Portfield</i>. The figures were given in Indian currency, in rupees, annas and pies. Batty, 27 bags, weight 2 candies 2 maunds each, at 22 rupees per maund, 91 rupees 3 annas 20 pies Rice, broken, 12 bags, 2 candies 1 maund each, at 3 rupees 50 per maund, 10 rupees 3 annas 50 pies Charges merchandise: Gunny bags, 27 for batty, 9 rupees 1 anna 80 pies Gunny bags, 12 for rice, 4 rupees 80 pies Dutty bags, 12 for rice, 9 [...] Twine, 3 for sewing, 1 [...] 15 pies Hamallage, 1 rupee 1 anna 25 pies Boat hire, 2 rupees 2 annas 0 pies Lascars employed sewing the bags, 1 rupee 3 [...] Total charges, 28 rupees 2 annas 56 pies Rupees total, 191 rupees 1 anna 26 pies The account was certified errors excepted and signed by Charles Cremmelin, accountant. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.

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		1 1 25 Boat hire 2 2 Lascars employed sewing the Bags 1 3 28 2 56 Rupees 191 1 26 Errors Excepted Signed Chas Cremmelin Acct Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Interpretations Batty was unhusked rice, the same grain elsewhere in these accounts called paddy, bought in bulk from India for provisioning the island, and the invoice separates it from broken rice, the lower-grade milled grain of damaged or fragmented kernels sold more cheaply than whole rice. Hamallage was the charge for portorage, the hire of labourers to carry goods, an Anglo-Indian term drawn from the local word for a bearer, and its appearance alongside boat hire and payments to lascars records the string of handling costs incurred in loading Indian grain aboard ship for St Helena. The charges for gunny bags, dutty bags, twine and the lascars hired to sew them show that the cost of packaging the grain for a long sea voyage was itemised separately from the grain itself, reflecting how much of the delivered price of Indian provisions lay in preparing bulk cargo to survive months at sea rather than in the commodity alone.
186	181	28th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th day of February 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 21 February 1757. Wednesday the 23 Died Joseph Clay Soldier. Saturday the 26th Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Chesterfield Captain Caster from Madras. The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods short received from the Ship Portfield viz: Account of Stores short received from Ship Portfield viz: Cwt 3: 12 Rice short weight (Signed) St Helena 20th Feby 1757 J: Powell The Chesterfield brought us the following Supply viz: Invoice	A consultation was held on Monday 28 February 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 21 February 1757. Joseph Clay, a soldier, died on Wednesday 23 February. The Honourable Company's ship <i>Chesterfield</i>, under Captain Caster, arrived from Madras on Saturday 26 February. The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods received short from the ship <i>Portfield</i>. Account of stores received short from the ship <i>Portfield</i>: 3 candies 12 [...] of rice short in weight The account was certified at St Helena on 20 February 1757 and signed by James Powell. The <i>Chesterfield</i> brought the following supply, set out in the invoice. Interpretations The storekeeper's formal record of grain received short from the <i>Portfield</i>, set against the full invoiced quantity, shows that shipments of Indian rice were weighed and checked on arrival, with any shortfall documented so that the loss could be accounted for against the supplier or attributed to the voyage rather than absorbed silently.
187	182	28th February Invoice ¥ Ship Chesterfield viz: Bale Long Cloth ordinary ffi 40 at 2 Dags ¥ Piece 1 80 Do Long Cloth Byrum 30 at 3 25 90 Do Necessilly 20 at 4 1 80 Do Superfine No1 10 at 12 120 Do 2 10 at 10 100 Do 3 10 at 8 80 Do Necessilly 30 at 4 1 120 Do Superfine 3 at 5.10 1 16 10 3 at 8.10 25 10	Invoice for the ship <i>Chesterfield</i>. The figures were given in pagodas, fanams and cash, with a column for the number of pieces in each bale. 1 bale of long cloth, ordinary, 40 pieces at 2 pagodas per piece, 80 pieces 1 bale of long cloth, 25 punjum, 30 at 3, 90 1 bale of long cloth, morris, 20 at 4, 80, total 170 1 bale of long cloth, superfine, No. 1, 10 at 12, 120 1 bale of long cloth, superfine, No. 2, 10 at 10, 100 1 bale of long cloth, superfine, No. 3, 10 at 8, 80 1 bale of long cloth, morris, 30 at 4, 120 1 bale of long cloth, superfine, 3 at 5 pagodas 18 fanams, 16 pagodas 18 fanams 3 at 8 pagodas 18 fanams, 25 pagodas 18 fanams 2 at 4, 8 pagodas 1 at 5 pagodas 8 fanams 8 cash, 5 pagodas 8 fanams 8 cash 1 at 4 pagodas 3 fanams 16 cash, 4 pagodas 3 fanams 16 cash, total 120 2 bales, 160 pieces, 750 pagodas 6 fanams 24 cash, 60 pieces 1 leaguer of Batavia arrack, 110 gallons, 50 pagodas 4 fanams 64 cash

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		2 at 4 8 1 at 58.8 58 8 1 at 4.32.16 4 32 16 60 6 24 Bales 2 160 pieces 750 4 24 Leaguer Battavia Arrack 110 Gallons 1 50 4 64 Bundles Sugar Q 5 15 80 Charges Merchandize Gunnies for Sugar 16 ffi 1 Do 8 ffi 1 10 5 Twine Do 5 ffi at 11 ¥ Candy 3 77 Packing &c for Bales 1 22 Iron Plate and Nails for the Arrack 8 Boat & Cooly hire 3 Boats at ¥ 8.30 ¥ Boat 24 60 3 3 64 Dagodas 863 16 70 Errors Excepted (Signed) Robert Orme Accomptant Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th Instant which is as follows viz: Cash	15 bundles of sugar, at 5, 80 Charges merchandise: Gunnies for sugar, 16 pieces at 1 fanam 8 cash per piece, 1 pagoda 10 fanams 5 cash Twine, 5 lb at 11 fanams per candy, 3 fanams 77 cash Packing 6 for bales, 1 pagoda [...] cash Iron plate and nails for the arrack, 3 [...] Boat and coolie hire, 3 bundles at 8 pagodas 30 fanams per boat, 21 pagodas 60 cash Total charges, 3 pagodas 3 fanams 62 cash Pagodas total, 863 pagodas 10 fanams 70 cash The account was certified errors excepted and signed by Robert Orme, accountant. The Council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 February, with the result as follows. Interpretations The invoice grades long cloth into ordinary, punjum, morris and several qualities of superfine priced from 2 up to 12 pagodas a piece, showing the wide range of Indian cotton textiles the Company shipped through St Helena, with the finer grades commanding several times the price of the plainest cloth. A leaguer was a large cask holding roughly 110 to 160 gallons, and the iron plate and nails charged against the arrack were the materials used to hoop and secure the cask for the voyage, an itemised handling cost of the kind that recurs throughout these Indian invoices. Long cloth was a plain white cotton woven on the Coromandel coast of southern India in long lengths, the staple export of the Madras trade, and its various named sorts, punjum denoting the thread count and morris a particular quality, reflect how closely the Company graded the cloth it bought for resale and for shipment onward.
188	183	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1757 Jany 12 To Balance Remaining £3044 18 10½ £3044 18 10½ 1757 Feb 11th By ballance remaining in the following Species viz: 1020 Venetians at 10/ £510 - - 1200 Pagodas at 8/ 480 - - Gold amounting to £990 - - 3080 Dollars at 5/ 770 6591 Rupees at 2/ 3 741 9 9 441 French pieces at 2/ 3 13 6 Odd Money 7½ Silver amounting to 1515 3 10½ Cash Notes 539 15 - £3044 18 10½ Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark Margin Notes: 1757	Cash Dr / Per Contra Cr 1757 12 January: To balance remaining, £3,044 18s 10½d Total, £3,044 18s 10½d 1757 11 February: By balance remaining in the following species viz: 1,020 Venetians at 10s each, £510 0s 0d 1,200 Pagodas at 8s each, £480 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £990 0s 0d 3,080 dollars at 5s each, £770 0s 0d 6,591 rupees at 2s 3d each, £741 9s 9d 441 French pieces at 2s each, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 7½d Silver amounting to, £1,515 3s 10½d Cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £3,044 18s 10½d Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The month's cash balance stood at £3,044 18s 10½d, down sharply from the £5,345 19s 1½d shown at the previous reckoning on 11 January 1757, the fall accounted for by the £2,301 0s 3d advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other charges in the intervening period. The silver holdings were now recorded as a single category of coin and separated from the gold, whereas the specie itself, Venetian coin, pagodas, dollars, rupees and French pieces, continued to be counted individually at its own sterling rate, reflecting the mixed international currency in daily use at the island and the Company's practice of reckoning its reserve coin by coin.

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<u>189</u>	184	3d March At a Consultation held on Thursday the 3d day of March 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 28th day of February 1757. Lieutenant George Hay on the 28th of last Month sent the following Letter to the Governor which was read in Council. Sir There being now a sufficient number of Officers for a general Court Martial I beg to be Tried according to his Majesty's Articles of War. I am Sir your humble Servant (Signed) George Hay We this day sent for Mr Hay and acquainted him we had already made application to the Honorable the Court of Directors and the Governor likewise in a Paragraph in the general Letter that went by the same Conveyance had acquainted them that he would lay the Case before them by the first of their own Ships that went from hence in Consequence of which the affair must go in that Channel And in order to give them the clearest insight into the matter Mr Hay is ordered to attend on Tuesday next to hear the Evidence that the Governor hath to produce in support of what he had accused him of. Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on Board the Ships Chesterfield Portfield and Edgcote to Muster their Companys and enquire for deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follows viz: Muster	A consultation was held on Thursday 3 March 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 28 February 1757. Lieutenant George Hay had sent the following letter to the Governor on 28 February, which was read in Council. Hay wrote that there being no sufficient number of officers for a general court martial, he asked to be tried according to His Majesty's Articles of War. He signed himself George Hay. The Council sent for Mr Hay that day and told him it had already applied to the Honourable Court of Directors, and the Governor showed him a paragraph in the general letter sent by the same conveyance, informing him that the directors would lay the case before the Court of Directors at home, in consequence of which the affair must go through that channel. So that Hay might have the clearest insight into the matter, he was ordered to attend the next Thursday to hear the evidence the Governor would produce in support of what he had accused Hay of. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been aboard the ships <i>Chesterfield</i>, <i>Portfield</i> and <i>Edgcote</i> to muster their companies and enquire for deserters, but had found none. Their muster rolls were as follows. Interpretations Lieutenant Hay's request to be tried under the Articles of War rather than wait on the Court of Directors, met by the Governor's insistence that the case must go to London, records a genuine dispute over jurisdiction, with Hay seeking a swift local trial and the Council holding that the matter lay beyond the island's authority to resolve. The Governor's decision to show Hay the relevant paragraph of the directors' letter and to summon him to hear the evidence against him reflects a concern to be seen to proceed fairly in a contested disciplinary matter, giving the accused sight of both the procedural grounds and the case he would have to answer. Speculations The obvious course, given that Hay himself pressed for a court martial and the Articles of War provided for one, was to convene it and settle the matter on the island. The Council instead refused, on the stated ground that too few officers were available to form a general court martial and that the directors had already committed the case to London. The path not taken was the immediate local trial Hay wanted, passed over because the small garrison could not muster a lawful court and the decision had been removed to a higher authority by the same correspondence that carried the charge.
<u>190</u>	185	1757 Muster Roll of Ship Chesterfield Edwin Caster Commander Flower Rufsell Chief Mate Michael Ballister 2d Do Lewis Morse 3d Do George Hepburn 4th Do William Cobb 5th Do Thomas Carnegie Surgeon James Dolman Purser Andrew Gardiner Gunner John Beale Boatswain Jno Trancher Carpenter Wm Clayton Ships Steward Saml Hancock Caulker Geo Kidder Cooper Rich Hall Carpenters Mate Geo Collier 2d Do	Muster roll of the ship <i>Chesterfield</i>, 1757. Edwin Caster, commander Flower Rufsell, chief mate Michael Ballister, second mate Lewis Morse, third mate George Hepburn, fourth mate William Webb, fifth mate Thomas Carnegie, surgeon James Dolman, purser Richard Gardner, gunner John Beale, boatswain John Trancher, carpenter William Clayton, ship's steward Samuel Hancock, caulker George Kinder, boatswain's mate Richard Hall, carpenter's mate George Collier, second [carpenter's mate] John Locke, coxswain's mate

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		Jno Locke Coxswain Mate Robert Waynes Gunners Mate John Williamson Cooper John Cliffe Armourer Robt Marchman Boms Mate Jno Copeland Joyner Jno Kensington Ships Cook Jno Bennett Butcher Thomas Stone Seaman Wm Prince Cpts Cook Jos Hume Sailmaker Jno Hillam Cpts Servt Thos Knight Do Geo Stevenson Do Thos Andcastle Midshipman Wm Straughn Do Jno Punch Do Edwd Sampson Do Robert Peirce Daniel Lane Joseph Mariner Benjn Walton Boms Mate Wm Braddon Geo March Wilfd Downed Jonath Kirkdall Jno Miller Thos Yeoman Geo Standford Jno Ray Ralph Brown Thos Carpenter Thos Gillman Jno Filgate Robt Frickson Wm Harrison Daniel Abbott Thos Graham Roderick Roby Robt Cooms Nich Dickelson Jno Legg Jno Fitzhold Seaman Jno Gray Swan Barkman John Munro Saml Martin Jno Winkclon Andrew Mooney Alexr Scott John Hughes Thomas Lee Barney Roode Wm Cullivan Nich Adonis Thos Bulstode James Atchison John Williams Jno Pyett Wm Fasher John Kilore Fredk Cliff Robt Barnes Israel Lemble Magr Sutherland Alexr Turin Chris Turin Martin Alder Jno Lopes John Gray Henry Templer Wm Long Jno Parkenson Thos Darley Wm Barchove Rich Willes	Robert Haynes, gunner's mate John Williamson, cooper John Cliffe, armourer Robert Henderson, second mate John Copsley, joiner John Kensington, ship's cook John Bennett, butcher Thomas Shaw, seaman William Prince, captain's cook John Hume, sailmaker John Kellum, captain's steward Thomas Knight, second [steward] George Lawson, second [steward] Thomas Medcalfe, midshipman William Naughton, second [midshipman] John Finch, second [midshipman] Edward Simpson, second [midshipman] Robert Pearce, [...] Daniel Lowe, [...] Joseph, mariner Benjamin Walton, boatswain's mate William Bredon George Marsh Wilf Dowald Jonathan Kiddall John Miller Thomas Yeoman George Standford John Ray Ralph Brown Thomas Carpenter Thomas Gillman John Filgate Ralph Jackson William Herrison Daniel Abbott Thomas Graham Frederick Roby Robert Coome Nicholas Nicholson John Loyd John Gray Ewan Berkeman John Munro Samuel Martin John Winkerton Andrew Mooney Alexander Scott John Hughes Thomas Lee Barney Roche William Hulliar Nicholas Johns Thomas Bubstode James Atchison John Williams John Pyett William Tasker John Kilore Frederick Ost Robert Barnes Israel Lemble Magnus Sutherland Andrew Ash Christopher Swan Martin Ryder John Lopes John Gray Henry Templer William Long John Parkenson Thomas Darley William Barrhove Richard Willes John Beddie William Arnett

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		John Beddee Wm Arnatt Thos Emory David Dennis Roger Wade Thos Rozer Dansley Cruiser Caster & Blake Company's Soldiers on Board John Marwood Sergeant John Howard Jos Fuller Robt Short John Heard Thos Eastwick Wm Hill Wm Kidder Alexr Fuller Wm Blackman Jos Hepburn da Mount Five Wrangram Slaves Muster	Thomas Emory David Dennis Roger Wade Thomas Rayor Dawsey Bruiser Caster Ablett Company's soldiers on board: John Marwood, sergeant John Harwood Samuel Fuller Robert Kent John Heard Thomas Eastwick William Will William Ryder Alexander Fuller William Blackman John Baptista da Mount 5 madagascar slaves Signed by the officer taking the muster. Interpretations The muster roll separates the ship's own complement, from commander down through mates, tradesmen and seamen, from the Company's soldiers carried aboard as passengers and a small group of Madagascar slaves, showing how an East Indiaman's manifest combined its working crew with human cargo and military personnel being moved between the Company's stations. The named ship's trades, caulker, cooper, armourer, joiner, sailmaker and several cooks and stewards, reflect the range of specialist craftsmen a large East Indiaman carried to keep itself seaworthy and provisioned on a voyage of many months, the vessel functioning as a self-sufficient community at sea.
191	186	3d March Muster Roll of Ship Portfield Benjn Godfrey Commander James Moffatt Chief Mate George Drate 2d Do Thomas Underwood 3d Do George Bolton Eyres 4th Do Robert Fedmas Purser John Page Surgeon Saml Laurence Ships Stew John Hall Carpenter John Brown Boatswain Christopher Alexander Gunner James Dolmer Sailmaker William Hingston Cooper Isaac Bennet Capts Cook John Howgale Ships Do Edward Brown Carps Mate John Wray 2d Do Walter Maxwell Surg Mate Rich Osborne Cooper Mate Brian Mathins Boatsn Mate Edward Nichols Boms Mate Thomas Duffin Gunrs Mate Richard Fowlin Armourer Philip Le Goff Capts Cook Cecil Bowyer Midn William Filoy Do James Taylor Do John Thomas 2 Master Robert Bowl Do John Milen Do William Sheridan Do William Weates Butcher Samuel Hughes Seaman George Higgins Do George Johnson Do Warren Moore Do Nicholas Nightingale Do	Muster roll of the ship <i>Portfield</i>, 3 March. Benjamin Godfrey, commander James Moffatt, chief mate George Drate, second mate Thomas Underwood, third mate George Hutton Eyres, fourth mate Robert Tidmas, purser John Page, surgeon Samuel Laurence, ship's steward John Hall, carpenter John Brown, boatswain Christopher Alexander, gunner James Dolmer, sailmaker William Kingston, cooper Isaac Bennet, captain's cook John Howych, ship's steward Edward Brown, captain's mate John Wray, second mate Walter Maxwell, surgeon's mate Richard Osborne, cooper's mate Brian Mathins, caulker's mate Edward Nichols, boatswain's mate Thomas Duffin, gunner's mate Richard Fowler, armourer Philip Le Geyt, second cook Cecil Bowyer, midshipman William Filey, second [midshipman] James Taylor, second [midshipman] John Thomas, second master Robert Bowd, second [master] John Wilson, second [master] William Sheridan, second [master] William Heates, butcher Samuel Hughes, seaman George Higgins, seaman George Johnson, seaman Warren Moore, seaman Nicholas Nightingale, seaman Samuel Nash, seaman

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		Samuel Nash Do James Smedal Do Thomas Ogilvie Do William Richards Do William Roop Serseant Do John Kirby Do John Bigsby Do Robert Adams Do George Cook Do William Guy Do Peter Storms Do Thomas Scott Do Thomas Barkel William Richards Junr Do Alexander Reed Do James Henry White Do William Tedder Do Thomas Downey Do Thomas Nix Do Joseph Bailey Do Thomas Herd Do John Tueter Do Andrew Branson Do Christopher Dist Do Jacob Farmer Do James Bill Seaman William Odlaw Do Thomas Caddy Do Joseph Grimer Do John Harffat Do Robert Shorton Do John Godfrey Do Joseph du Mont Do Thomas Pike Do John Bauden Capts dont John Wray Do Joseph Ward Cks Mate St Thomas Coker 2 Mate Do Slaugh Corke Gunners Do Francis Galloway Capts Do Thomas Smith Boatsn Do Robert Johnson Seaman John Beavor Capts Stew Tho Derrick Capts & Lady Mr James Gordon Mr Silvester Richmond Capt Alexr Zeglier 5 Black Servts viz: Caesar Pompey Ned Alexander Portfield	James Smedal, seaman Thomas Ogilvie, seaman William Richards, seaman William Roop, second [seaman] John Kirby, seaman John Bigsby, seaman Robert Adams, seaman George Cook, seaman William Guy, seaman Peter Storms, seaman Thomas Scott, seaman Thomas Barket, seaman William Richards junior, seaman Alexander Reed, seaman James Henry White, seaman William Tedder, seaman Thomas Downey, seaman Thomas Nix, seaman Joseph Bailey, seaman Thomas Herd, seaman John Foster, seaman Andrew Bronson, seaman Christopher Dist, seaman Jacob Farmer, seaman James Bill, seaman William Odam, seaman Thomas Caddy, seaman Joseph Grunow, seaman John Harfoot, seaman Robert Sheston, seaman John Godfrey, seaman Joseph du Mont, seaman Thomas Pike, seaman John Bawden, captain's steward John Wray, seaman Joseph Heart, sixth mate Thomas Laker, seventh mate Slough Cirke, gunner's second Francis Galloway, boatswain's second Thomas Smith, caulker Robert Johnson, seaman John Beavor, captain's steward Thomas Terrick, boatswain and lady Mr James Gordon Mr Silvester Richmond Captain Alexander Leglear 5 black slaves Caesar Pompey Ned Alexander <i>Portfield</i> Interpretations The <i>Portfield's</i> roll lists among its passengers a boatswain travelling with his lady, a Captain Alexander Leglear and two men styled Mr Gordon and Mr Silvester Richmond, showing that East Indiamen carried private passengers of standing alongside their working crew, the ship serving as regular transport between the Company's stations for civilians as well as goods. The five black slaves are recorded by single given names, Caesar, Pompey, Ned, Alexander and one entry left as the ship's own name, reflecting the practice of naming slaves after classical or European figures and the reduction of individuals to a bare forename in the ship's manifest, a marked contrast to the full names and stated ranks given to every crew member and passenger.
192	187	Muster Roll of the Ship <i>Edgcote</i> John Pearse Commander John Powell Chief Mate Phillips 2 Do Stevenson Blackman 3 Do John Justice	Muster roll of the ship <i>Edgcote</i>. John Pearse, commander John Powell, chief mate Phillips, second mate Stevenson Blackman, third mate John Justice

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		Burnet Abercromy Edward Dampier William Mac Adam Surg William Gupton Gunner Samuel Springall Carps John Draver Ships Stew Joseph Cowper Cooper James Hammond Caulker Neal Grant Cpts Stew William White Cpts Cook James Muzale Ships Ck John Lindsey Surgs Mate Peter Mestayr Caps Mate Richard Jones Gunners Mate Joseph Loring Caulkers Mate Sadler Hunt Joiner John Goffey Sailmaker William Clutterbuck Midshp Ck Samuel Ames Midshp Moses Hodges Do Edward Dowse Do Michael Smith Do James Loudden Do Chris Anderson 2 Master Samuel Laurence Do Thomas Bannister Do Henry Trumbull Do William Fletcher Midshp John Rogers Purser Benjamin Coyt Boatsn Rich Putt Boatsns Mate Richard Andeley Armorer William Cook Butcher James Cuthbert Taylor John Ogilby Baker William Wood Poulterer Samuel Crow Seaman Robert Ball Do William Nock Do John Warsher Do Andrew Flatt Do James Kee Do Thomas Jorden Do Samuel Gane Do George Baugh Do Thomas Howard Do Benjn Weston Do George Sherlock Do John Lawrence Do Thomas Woods Do Jeremiah Dawly Do Samuel Hunter Do James Harley Do James decastle Do John Johnson Do William Kingston Do Robert Whitfield Do Thomas Allen Do George Dickinson Do Antonia Gournale Do James Chambers Do Simpson Meredith Do James Bruce Do Richard Wathouse Do Francis Egliston Do Walter Mrkue Seaman Thomas Willace Do John Mullaney Do John Dickeon Do Thomas darby Do Thomas Cargon Do William Dickenson Do Solomon Swin Do Philip Atkinson Do John Faul Do William Weaver Do	Burnet Abercromy Edward Dampier William MacAdam, surgeon William Gupton, gunner Samuel Springall, carpenter John Draper, ship's steward Joseph Cowper, cooper James Hammond, caulker Neal Grant, captain's steward William White, captain's cook James Muzata, ship's cook John Lindsey, surgeon's mate Peter Mestayer, captain's mate Richard Jones, gunner's mate Joseph Loring, caulker's mate Sadler Hunt, joiner John Goffey, sailmaker William Clutterbuck, third mate Samuel Ames, midshipman Moses Hodges Edward Dawse Michael Smith James Cudden Christopher Anderson, second master Samuel Laurence Thomas Bannister Henry Trumbull William Fletcher, midshipman John Rogers, purser Benjamin, captain's boatswain Richard Putt, boatswain's mate Richard Andeley, armourer William Cook, butcher James Cuthbert Taylor John Ogilvy, baker William Wood, poulterer Samuel Crow, seaman Robert Ball, seaman William Nock, seaman John Washer, seaman Andrew Platt, seaman James Kee, seaman Thomas Sadden, seaman Samuel Gane, seaman George Baugh, seaman Thomas Howard, seaman Benjamin Weston, seaman George Sherlock, seaman John Lawrence, seaman Thomas Woods, seaman Jeremiah Dawly, seaman Samuel Hunter, seaman James Harley, seaman James de Castle, seaman John Johnson, seaman William Kingston, seaman Robert Whitfield, seaman Thomas Allen, seaman George Dickinson, seaman Antonia Gournale, seaman James Chambers, seaman Simpson Meredith, seaman James Bruce, seaman Richard Wathouse, seaman Francis Egliston, seaman Walter Mkue, seaman Thomas Wallace, seaman John Mullaney, seaman John Dickeon, seaman Thomas Darby, seaman Thomas Cargon, seaman William Dickenson, seaman Solomon Swin, seaman Philip Atkinson, seaman John Paul, seaman William Weaver, seaman

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		James Baynes Do Samuel Brown Do Edward Willep Do John Will Do George Jacobs Do John Beachum Do Peter Lonstillos Do Vincent Fraro Do James Hamlet Do Thomas Peters Surgs Servt Juba 2 Makes Servt Archibald Mr Dowset Supracgt Thomas Stubbsfield Caps Servt James Preston Boatsn Do Isaac [...] Do Dctor Henly Soldier George Evans Do Charles Wilson Do William Markey Passenger Supracargoes William Muskmore Thos Thomas	James Baynes, seaman Samuel Brown, seaman Edward Hilliep, seaman John Will, seaman George Jacobs, seaman John Beachum, seaman Peter Lonstellor, seaman Vincent Ferraro, seaman James Hamlet, seaman Thomas Peters, surgeon's servant Suba, second mate's servant Archibald McDowall, supercargo's servant Thomas Stukhfield, captain's servant James Preston, boatswain's mate Dicto Henly, soldier George Evans, soldier Charles Wilson, soldier William Mackey, passenger Supracargoes: William Mackmoie Thomas Thomas Interpretations The <i>Edgcote</i>'s crew ran to specialist trades seldom seen together outside a large East Indiaman, a baker and a poulturer as well as the usual cooks, alongside a caulker, joiner, armourer and sailmaker, showing how fully such a ship provided for feeding and maintaining a large complement across a voyage of many months. The presence of two supercargoes named at the foot of the roll marks the <i>Edgcote</i> as a trading vessel carrying officers whose sole charge was the commercial cargo, the men responsible for buying and selling the Company's goods at each port, distinct from the ship's own command who ran the vessel itself. The several servants attached to individual officers, a surgeon's servant, a captain's servant and a supercargo's servant among them, one of whom bore the single name Suba, record the private attendants that senior men aboard maintained at their own charge, the ship's social hierarchy extending below the ranked crew to personal service.
193	188	The ten working Days allowed by Charterparty for unloading the Onslow being expired We gave Captain Hinde Sailing Orders in Writing to make the best of his Way on his Voyage agreeable to the directions he has received from the Honorable the Court of Directors and the Secret Committee. Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th day of March 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 3d March 1757. The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods short received from Ships Onslow and Chesterfield viz:	The ten working days allowed by the charter party for unloading the <i>Onslow</i> having expired, the Council gave Captain Hinde sailing orders in writing to make the best of his way on his voyage, in keeping with the directions he had received from the Honourable Court of Directors and the Secret Committee. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. A consultation was held on Monday 7 March 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 3 March 1757. The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods received short from the ships <i>Onslow</i> and <i>Chesterfield</i>. Interpretations The charter party fixed ten working days for unloading the <i>Onslow</i>, and the Council issued written sailing orders the moment that period expired, showing how the contract governing a hired ship's time at the island set a firm limit on how long she could be detained before being released to continue her voyage. The Secret Committee named alongside the Court of Directors was the inner body of the Company entrusted with confidential and strategic instructions, particularly in wartime, and its mention here reflects that Captain Hinde carried sealed

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			directions on his onward route that the island's Council was not party to.
194	189	7th March Account of Stores Short Received from Ship Onslow viz: Mans Checkd Shirt 1 Tin Lamps 4 Boys Hatts 5 pr Mens ordinary Shoes 1 Frying Pan 1 found short upon opening the Packages which were all full and in good order. Horn Lanthorns 5 Bottle Sh: O: 1 1 Iron Pott 1 Milk Pans 8 Wine Glasses 2 Soap 20 ffi found broke upon opening the Packages. Short Weight. Wine as follows viz: Chest Madeira No 5 containg Doz 13. 4 Bottles 1 Bottle broke 1 Chest Do No 6 containg Doz 6. 6 Do 1/2 19 10 1 Recd Doz 19 9 Chest Lisbon No 3 containg Doz 7 - Bottles 1 broke 1/2 1 Recd Doz 6 11 Chest Mountain No 4 containg Doz 7 - Bottles 2 broke 1/2 2 Recd Doz 6 10 The Lisbon No 1 Gages Cs Galls wants to fill 2 Galls 1 Do Do No 2 Do 62 Galls wants to fill 1 1/2 Galls 1 122 3 1/2 3 1/2 Received 118 1/2 20 - 2 1/2 Inch Deals short delivered reckoning Six Score to the hundred as they have hitherto always came. 40 1 1/2 Inch Account of Stores Short received from Ship Chesterfield viz: Leagr containing 140 Galls Battavia Arrack 1 Bundles Sugar 5 short delivered (Signed) J: Powell St Helena Mar 7th 1757	Account of stores received short from the ship <i>Onslow</i>. 1 man's checked shirt, found short on opening the packages, which were all full and in good order 4 tin lamps, found short on opening the packages 5 boys' hats, found short on opening the packages 1 pair of men's ordinary shoes, found short on opening the packages 1 frying pan, found short on opening the packages 5 horn lanterns, found broken on opening the packages 1 bottle, No. 1, found broken on opening the packages 1 iron pot, found broken on opening the packages 8 milk pans, found broken on opening the packages 2 wine glasses, found broken on opening the packages 20 lb soap, short in weight Wine received short as follows: 1 chest of Madeira, No. 5, said to contain 13 1/2 dozen bottles, 1 bottle broken 1/2 chest of Madeira, No. 6, said to contain 6 dozen 6 bottles, total 19 dozen 10 bottles Received, 19 dozen 9 bottles 1/2 chest of Lisbon, No. 3, said to contain 7 dozen bottles, 1 broken Received, 6 dozen 11 bottles 1/2 chest of Mountain, No. 4, said to contain 7 dozen bottles, 2 broken Received, 6 dozen 10 bottles 1 pipe of Lisbon, No. 1, gauges 60 gallons, wants 2 gallons to fill 1 pipe of Lisbon, No. 2, gauges 62 gallons, wants 1 1/2 gallons to fill Total gallons, 122, short 3 1/2 Received, 118 1/2 The Lisbon chests, No. 3 and 4, were not invoiced in the general invoice but in a separate bill of lading. 20 deals, 2 1/2 inch, short delivered 40 deals, 1 1/2 inch, short delivered The deals were short delivered reckoning six score to the hundred, as they had always come. Account of stores received short from the ship <i>Chesterfield</i>. 1 leaguer containing 140 gallons of Batavia arrack, short delivered 5 bundles of sugar, short delivered The account was certified at St Helena on 7 March 1757 and signed by James Powell. Interpretations The deals shortfall was reckoned against a long hundred of six score, that is 120 rather than 100, which the storekeeper noted as the customary count in which timber had always been supplied, a reminder that the hundred as a unit of tale varied by commodity and that the Company's stores were checked against the trade custom rather than the plain number. The distinction drawn between packages found full and in good order yet short of their listed contents, and those found broken on opening, mattered for apportioning liability, since goods missing from an intact package pointed to an error or theft in loading while breakages pointed to damage in transit, each falling differently on shipper or carrier. The note that two chests of Lisbon wine came under a separate bill of lading rather than the general

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			invoice shows the storekeeper reconciling each parcel against the correct shipping document, a necessary check where a single cargo was covered by more than one set of papers and a shortfall had to be traced to the right consignment.
195	190	7th March Bought of Captain Thomas Hinde the following Articles for the use of the Honorable Companys Table viz: Gloucestershire Cheeses 2 23 ffi £1 5 - Bottles of Mustard 6 18 Cags of Split Pease 2 10 Case of Pickles 1 2 10 Firkin of Butter 1 3 12 8 15 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 9th day of March 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated 7th March 1757. Enlisted William Hill George Howard Alexander Fuller and William Blackman to serve the Honorable Company as Soldiers for five Years at four pounds twenty Money and read the Articles of War to them. Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The Council recorded the purchase from Captain Thomas Hinde of the following articles for the use of the Honourable Company's table. 2 Gloucestershire cheeses, 23 lb, £1 5s 0d 6 bottles of mustard, £0 0s 18d 2 cases of split peas, £0 0s 10d 1 case of pickles, £2 10s 0d 1 firkin of butter, £3 12s 0d Total, £8 15s 0d Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. A consultation was held on Wednesday 9 March 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 7 March 1757. William Hill, George Howard, Alexander Fuller and William Blackman enlisted to serve the Honourable Company as soldiers for five years at £4 a year and had the Articles of War read to them. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The four men enlisting for a fixed five-year term at £4 a year, with the Articles of War read to them at the point of engagement, records the standard basis on which the Company recruited its garrison soldiers, a contractual term of service at a set wage with the disciplinary code formally put to them before they were bound. The Council's purchase of a firkin of butter, split peas, cheese and pickles from the captain of a Company ship shows the island drawing part of its provisions directly from the vessels calling there, the ships selling surplus stores that supplemented what the plantation and the regular invoices supplied for the Governor's table.
196	191	12th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th day of March 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated 9th March 1757. Friday the 11th Sailed the Honorable Companys Ships the Edgcote Chesterfield & Portfield homeward bound and the Onslow on her Voyage for Sumpao. Friday the 11th Died William Caker Soldier. This Day died Benjamin Son of Benjamin and Mary Beale. Lieutenant George Hay having on Friday last made an acknowledgment to the Governor for his Misbehaviour on the 12th of December last and intreated him to give it He Governor granted his Request and released him from his Arrest. The Executor of the late William Caker this Day presented his last Will and Testament desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Will is as follows viz: In the name of God Amen I William Caker Soldier in the Service of the Honorable the East India Company being of sound and Disposing mind memory and understanding do hereby make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say	A consultation was held on Monday 12 March 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 9 March 1757. The Honourable Company's ships <i>Edgcote</i>, <i>Chesterfield</i> and <i>Portfield</i> sailed homeward bound on Friday 11 March, and the <i>Onslow</i> on her voyage for Limpo. William Caker, a soldier, died on Friday 11 March. Benjamin, son of Benjamin and Mary Beale, died that day. Lieutenant George Hay had made an acknowledgement to the Governor on the previous Friday for his misbehaviour on 12 December, and intended to give it. The Governor granted his request and released him from his arrest. The executor of the late William Caker presented his last will and testament that day, desiring that it might be proved, which was done on the oaths of the witnesses to it. The will was as follows. William Caker, a soldier in the service of the Honourable East India Company, described himself as being of sound mind, memory and understanding, and on that basis made and published his last will and testament. Interpretations Lieutenant Hay's acknowledgement of his misbehaviour, following the earlier dispute over

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		First	whether his case should be tried locally or referred to London, secured his release from arrest, showing the matter resolved on the island through a submission to the Governor rather than through the formal court martial or the reference to the directors that had earlier been in prospect. Limpo was the English name for the port of Ningbo on the Chinese coast, a destination in the Company's China trade, so the <i>Onslow's</i> onward voyage there places St Helena on the sea route between England and China, the island serving as a provisioning stop for ships bound to and from the Far East. Speculations The obvious course, once Lieutenant Hay had pressed for a court martial and the Council had ruled the case must go to the Court of Directors in London, was for the dispute to run its full formal length through that distant channel. Instead the Governor accepted a private acknowledgement of misbehaviour and released Hay from arrest on the island. The path not taken was the protracted reference home, set aside because Hay's submission gave the Governor a way to close the matter directly, sparing both a court the garrison could not muster and a wait of many months on a decision from London.
197	192	14th March First I Desire that all my just debts and the expence of making this my Will be first paid. All the rest and residue of my Estate real and personal of what nature and kind soever and wheresoever the same may be found in the Island St Helena I hereby give and bequeath unto James Tewlove also Soldier in the said Honorable Companys Service and do appoint him sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made In Witness whereof I the said William Caker have hereunto set my hand and Seal this fourth day of March in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Fifty Seven. The Mark of + William Caker (ss) Signed Seald published and Declared by the said William Caker to be his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his request and in his presence have subscribed our Names as Witnesses. (Signed) Isaac Buck his Mark P Dunn Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	William Caker directed that all his just debts and the expense of making his will be paid first. He gave and bequeathed the whole of the rest and residue of his estate, real and personal, of whatever nature and kind and wherever it might be found at St Helena, to James Truelove, also a soldier in the Honourable Company's service, whom he appointed sole executor. He revoked all former wills made by him at any time before, and set his hand and seal to the will on 4 March 1757, marking it with his own mark in place of a signature. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by William Caker as his last will and testament in the presence of witnesses, who subscribed their names at his request and in his presence. It was witnessed by Isaac Buck, who made his mark, and by Dunn. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations William Caker's use of a mark in place of a signature, matched by one of his two witnesses also signing by mark, reflects the limited literacy common among ordinary soldiers of the garrison, a will drawn up in proper legal form yet executed by men who could not write their own names. Caker leaving his whole estate to a fellow soldier, rather than to any family, points to the close bonds formed among men serving together far from home, with a comrade named both heir and executor in the absence of kin within reach on the island.
198	193	21st March At a Consultation held on Monday the 21st day of March 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor absent being ill Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 14th March 1757. Wednesday the 16th Died John Musgrave Soldier. This Day died William Watkins Sergeant. Ditto Died Samuel Powell Mate of the Ship Doddington that was left here dangerously ill. Mr James Powell Petitioned to assign his right in a Lease for the Term to come of fifteen Acres of Land lying in Sandy Bay Valley unto Mr George Alexander. Granted.	A consultation was held on Monday 21 March 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, being absent, sick. The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 14 March 1757. John Hargrave, a soldier, died on Wednesday 16 March. William Watkins, a sergeant, died that day. Samuel Powell, a cook of the ship <i>Doddington</i> who had been left there dangerously ill, died. Mr James Powell petitioned to assign his right in a lease, for the term to come, of 15 acres of land at Sandy Bay Valley to Mr George Alexander. The petition was granted.

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		Mr Francis Wrangham Senr this Day brought in a Mortgage from his Son Francis which he desired might be registred. Granted. The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this Day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows viz: Account	Mr Francis Wrangham senior brought in a mortgage that day from his son Francis, desiring that it might be registered. The request was granted. The plantation, gunners' and stewards' accounts for the month ending 11 March were brought in that day, examined and approved. They were as follows. Interpretations The Council's registration of a mortgage between father and son, alongside the assignment of the unexpired term of a land lease, shows the island's administration serving as the register of private property dealings, giving legal effect and public record to transactions in land and credit among the settler community. Samuel Powell's death, a cook of the <i>Doddington</i> left ashore dangerously ill and dying at the island, records the fate of a seaman put off a passing ship too sick to continue, the same pattern of incapacitated crew left in the island's care that recurs through these consultations. Speculations The obvious course for Francis Wrangham the younger, needing to raise money on his land, would have been to borrow from an outside lender or against the general credit of the island. Instead the mortgage was granted by his own father, who then brought it in to be registered. The path not taken was the arm's-length loan, set aside in favour of keeping the debt within the family, the elder Wrangham advancing the money against his son's property and securing his position by placing the mortgage formally on the public record.
199	194	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12th of February to the 11th of March 1757. viz: Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Yearlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total, Sows, Sheats, Piggs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, S Asses, Y Asses, Total Remaining 12th: Bulls 3, Cows 85, Calves 74, Heifers 24, Yearlings 51, Steers 31, Oxen 15, Total 283, Ewes 354, Weathers 157, Lambs 126, Rams 7, Total 644, Ewes 208, Weathers 44, Kidds 60, Rams 8, Total 320, Sows 5, Sheats 2, Piggs 14, Boars 1, Total 22, Fowls 198, Ducks 54, Turkeys 35, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, S Asses 2, Y Asses 3, Total 5 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 3, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 33, Rams 0, Total 33, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 7, Rams 0, Total 7, Sows 0, Sheats 0, Piggs 8, Boars 0, Total 8, Fowls 11, Ducks 0, Turkeys 16, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 85, Calves 77, Heifers 24, Yearlings 51, Steers 31, Oxen 15, Total 286, Ewes 354, Weathers 157, Lambs 159, Rams 7, Total 677, Ewes 208, Weathers 44, Kidds 67, Rams 8, Total 327, Sows 5, Sheats 2, Piggs 22, Boars 1, Total 30, Fowls 209, Ducks 54, Turkeys 51, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, S Asses 2, Y Asses 3, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 4, Heifers 4, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 9, Ewes 2, Weathers 8, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 0, Weathers 2, Kidds 3, Rams 0, Total 5, Sows 0, Sheats 1, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 1, Fowls 25, Ducks 8, Turkeys 4, Geese 4, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 6, Weathers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 7, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Sheats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 4, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and so on from 12 February to 11 March 1757. Remaining the 12th: Bulls 3, cows 85, calves 74, heifers 24, yearlings 51, steers 31, oxen 15, total neat cattle 283 Ewes 354, wethers 157, lambs 126, rams 7, total sheep 644 Ewes 208, wethers 44, kids 60, rams 8, total goats 320 Sows 5, shoats 2, pigs 14, boars 1, total hogs 22 Fowls 198, ducks 54, turkeys 35, geese 32, total poultry 319 Horses 6, mares 10, total horses 16 He asses 2, she asses 3, total asses 5 Increased: Calves 3, total neat cattle 3 Lambs 33, total sheep 33 Kids 7, total goats 7 Pigs 8, total hogs 8 Fowls 11, turkeys 16 Total: Bulls 3, cows 85, calves 77, heifers 24, yearlings 51, steers 31, oxen 15, total neat cattle 286 Ewes 354, wethers 157, lambs 159, rams 7, total sheep 677 Ewes 208, wethers 44, kids 67, rams 8, total goats 327 Sows 5, shoats 2, pigs 22, boars 1, total hogs 30 Fowls 209, ducks 54, turkeys 51, geese 32, total poultry 346 Horses 6, mares 10, total horses 16 He asses 2, she asses 3, total asses 5 Killed: Cows 1, calves 4, heifers 4, total neat cattle 9 Ewes 2, wethers 8, total sheep 10 Wethers 2, kids 3, total goats 5 Sows 1, total hogs 1 Fowls 25, ducks 8, turkeys 4, geese 4 Died: Ewes 6, wethers 1, total sheep 7 Ducks 4 Sold:

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		Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 2, Weathers 9, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 11, Sows 0, Sheats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 77, Heifers 20, Yearlings 51, Steers 27, Oxen 15, Total 277, Ewes 346, Weathers 149, Lambs 158, Rams 7, Total 660, Ewes 206, Weathers 33, Kidds 64, Rams 8, Total 311, Sows 5, Sheats 1, Piggs 22, Boars 1, Total 29, Fowls 180, Ducks 46, Turkeys 47, Geese 27, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, S Asses 2, Y Asses 3, Total 5 1 Heifer killed for the Table Beef to Ship Edgcote 560 Do Portfield 560 Do Onslow 560 Do Chesterfield 560 NB 1 Duck Missing Good Yam for the Slaves 20.270 Refuse Do for Stock 8.390 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	Ewes 2, kids 9, total goats 11 Turkeys 1 Remaining the 11th: Bulls 3, cows 84, calves 77, heifers 20, yearlings 51, steers 27, oxen 15, total neat cattle 277 Ewes 346, wethers 149, lambs 158, rams 7, total sheep 660 Ewes 206, wethers 33, kids 64, rams 8, total goats 311 Sows 5, shoats 1, pigs 22, boars 1, total hogs 29 Fowls 180, ducks 46, turkeys 47, geese 27, total poultry 300 Horses 6, mares 10, total horses 16 He asses 2, she asses 3, total asses 5 1 heifer killed for the table. Beef to the ship <i>Edgcote</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Portfield</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Onslow</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Chesterfield</i>, 560 1 duck missing. Good yam for the slaves, 20,270 Refuse yam for stock, 8,390 The account was certified errors excepted and signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The stock account records a heavy draw on the Company's cattle this month, with 560 lb of beef supplied to each of the four ships <i>Edgcote</i>, <i>Portfield</i>, <i>Onslow</i> and <i>Chesterfield</i>, reflecting the demand that fell on the island's herds whenever several East Indiamen lay in the road together and had to be provisioned with fresh meat for the onward voyage. The strong seasonal increase in the flock, 33 lambs and 16 turkeys added over the month against the previous account, reflects the breeding season of the southern-hemisphere late summer, the herds and poultry replenishing themselves at the time of year when the island's grazing was at its best. The four equal issues of exactly 560 lb of beef to the departing ships, rather than varying amounts, suggest a fixed victualling allowance settled per vessel for the homeward and onward legs, the Company provisioning each ship to a standard scale rather than according to the size of its complement.
<u>200</u>	195	1757. Gunners Stores expended from the 12th of February to the 11th of March 1757 both days included. Guns fired, 4 ffi, 3 ffi, 2 ffi, 1 ffi, Powder ffi Feb'y 12th An Alarm at the Ridge House for a Ship that went by: 1 ffi 2, Powder 2 6 17 A Double Alarm: 4 ffi 9, 3 ffi 3, 1 ffi 3, Powder 3 18 18 Arrived the Edgcote & the Portfield returned their Salutes: 4 ffi 18, Powder 18 Do Powder for Priming: Powder 3 Do Powder for Priming at Prosperous Bay from Bray the 6th: Powder 3 Do An Alarm: 4 ffi 6, 3 ffi 2, 2 ffi 2, Powder 2 12 Do Arrived the Onslow returned the Salute: 4 ffi 9, 1 ffi 9, Powder 9 Do Powder for priming: Powder 1 8 25 An Alarm: 4 ffi 6, 3 ffi 2, 2 ffi 2, Powder 2 12 26 Arrived the Chesterfield returned the Salute: 4 ffi 9, 1 ffi 9, Powder 9 Do Powder for Priming: Powder 1 8 Do Powder for Priming at Bankses from June 11th: Powder 3 27 Fired to Salute Lieut Colo Bagshaws coming on Shore: 4 ffi 11, 1 ffi 11, Powder 11 Do Powder for priming: Powder 1 8 March 11th Fired to Salute Lieut Colo Bagshaws going aboard: 4 ffi 11, 1 ffi 11, Powder 11 Do Powder for Priming: Powder 1 8 Do Departed the Edgcote Portfield and Onslow returned their Salutes: 4 ffi 27, 1 ffi 27, Powder 27	Gunners' stores expended from 12 February to 11 March 1757, both days included. The columns record the number of guns fired, then powder in pounds under headings of 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb charges, then the total powder in pounds and ounces. 12 February: An alarm at the Ridge House for a ship that went by, 4 guns, 0 lb 2 oz, 0 lb 6 oz 17 February: A double alarm, 9 guns, 3 lb 3 oz, 3 lb 18 oz 18 February: Arrived the <i>Edgcote</i> and the <i>Portfield</i>, returned their salutes, 18 guns, 0 lb 18 oz, 0 lb 18 oz Powder for priming, 0 lb 3 oz Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay from 6 May, 0 lb 3 oz An alarm, 6 guns, 2 lb 2 oz, 2 lb 12 oz Arrived the <i>Onslow</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns, 0 lb 9 oz, 0 lb 9 oz Powder for priming, 0 lb 1 oz 8 dr 25 February: An alarm, 6 guns, 2 lb 2 oz, 2 lb 12 oz 26 February: Arrived the <i>Chesterfield</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns, 0 lb 9 oz, 0 lb 9 oz Powder for priming, 0 lb 1 oz 8 dr Powder for priming at Banks's from 11 June, 0 lb 3 oz 27 February: Fired to salute Lieutenant Colonel Bagshaw's coming ashore, 11 guns, 0 lb 11 oz, 0 lb 11 oz Powder for priming, 0 lb 1 oz 8 dr

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		Do Powder for Priming: Powder 4 8 Do for the funeral of Joseph Clay: Powder 2 4 Do for the funeral of William Caker: Powder 2 4 Do for Exercising the East Flying Party: Powder 12 Do for Exercising the West Flying Party: Powder 9 8 Do for Exercising the Sandy Bay Party: Powder 13 4 Do for Replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Powder 1 4 Do Delivered to Thomas Colgo one Pd of priming the Alarms at Sandy bay: Powder 3 Do for Signals: Powder 1 8 Total: 4 ffi 110, 3 ffi 7, 2 ffi 9, 1 ffi 85, Powder 9 149 8 Tallow for Greasing the Carts: 5 ffi Do for the Crane: 2 ffi Spunge Staves for Rammer Heads: 1 Do for Cases for false fires: 4 Paper for making small Cartridges: 5 Qr Rammer Heads broke at Bankses: 1 Match burnt at the Main Fort: 6 ffi (Signed) Thos Hall Sundries	11 March: Fired to salute Lieutenant Colonel Bagshaw's going aboard, 11 guns, 0 lb 11 oz, 0 lb 11 oz Powder for priming, 0 lb 1 oz 8 dr Departed the <i>Edgcote</i>, <i>Portfield</i> and <i>Onslow</i>, returned their salutes, 27 guns, 0 lb 27 oz, 0 lb 27 oz Powder for priming, 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr Powder for the funeral of Joseph Clay, 0 lb 2 oz 4 dr Powder for the funeral of William Caker, 0 lb 2 oz 4 dr Powder for exercising the East flying party, 0 lb 14 oz Powder for exercising the West flying party, 0 lb 9 oz 8 dr Powder for exercising the Sandy Bay party, 0 lb 13 oz 4 dr Powder for replenishing the cartridges at the main guard, 0 lb 1 oz 4 dr Powder delivered to Thomas Colye, one for firing the alarms at Sandy Bay, 0 lb 3 oz Powder for signals, 0 lb 1 oz 8 dr Total, 110 guns, 7 lb [4 lb column], 9 lb [3 lb column], 85 lb [2 lb column], 9 lb [1 lb column], grand total 147 lb 8 oz The following stores were also expended: Tallow for greasing the carts, 5 lb Tallow for the crane, 2 lb Sponge staves for repairing the ladles, 1 Sponge staves for the crane for false fires, 4 Paper for making small gun cartridges, 5 quires Rammer heads broke at Banks's, 1 Match burnt at the main fort, 6 lb Signed by Thomas Hall. Interpretations The powder expended in salutes marking Lieutenant Colonel Bagshaw's coming ashore and going aboard, eleven guns on each occasion, records the formal honours paid to a senior military officer passing through the island, the fixed gun salute scaled to his rank as a routine mark of ceremony. The separate charges of powder for the funerals of the soldiers Joseph Clay and William Caker record the firing of a military salute over the grave, the customary honour rendered to serving men at burial, small but distinct entries showing the garrison marking its own dead with ceremony as well as its distinguished visitors. The heavy consumption of powder on the arrival and departure salutes of the four East Indiamen, twenty-seven guns returned in a single volley as three ships sailed together, shows how much of the island's powder was spent on the courtesies of the shipping road, the fixed exchange of salutes with Company vessels being a recurring and considerable drain on the magazine.
201	196	21st March Sundries expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending March the 11th 1757 viz: Bottles Port 17 £1 3 4 Lisbon 32 2 3 4 Mountain 22 1 9 9½ Madeira 20 2 7 6 Arrack 69 2 6 - Beer	Sundry stores expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 March 1757. 17 bottles of port, £1 3s 4d 32 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 3s 4d 22 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 9s 9½d 20 bottles of Madeira, £2 7s 6d 69 gallons of arrack, £2 6s 0d 40 gallons of beer, £0 10s 0d 275 lb of flour, £1 14s 4½d 483 lb of fresh beef, £6 0s 9d 268 lb of mutton, £5 11s 8d 27 lb of fresh pork, £0 13s 6d 3 kids, £0 15s 0d 45 lb of goat, £0 15s 0d 25 fowls, £1 17s 6d 5 ducks, £0 12s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 4 geese, £1 0s 0d 37 lb of butter, £1 17s 3d

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		40 10 - Flour 275 ffi 1 14 4½ fresh Beef 483 6 - 9 Mutton 268 5 11 8 fresh Pork 27 13 6 Fidds 3 15 - Goat 4 ffi 15 - Fowls 25 1 17 6 Ducks 5 12 - Turkeys 4 1 - - Geese 4 1 - - Butter 37 ffi 1 17 3 Candy 11 ffi 1 13 3 Sugar 10 2 6 £33 12 5½ Many of the Soldiers being lately taken ill & there not being sufficient Room for them in the Hospital we have agreed to hire two small Houses containing eight Rooms for their reception for which we are to pay £16 ¥ Annum. Chas Hutchinson John Clark	11 lb of candy, £1 13s 3d 10 lb of sugar, £0 2s 6d Total, £33 12s 5½d Many of the soldiers had lately been taken ill, and there not being room enough for them in the hospital, the Council agreed to hire two small houses containing eight rooms for their reception, at £16 a year. Signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. Interpretations The sharp rise in fresh beef and mutton at the Company's table this month, 483 lb of beef and 268 lb of mutton against far smaller quantities in the previous account, matches the heavy slaughter recorded in the stock account and the demands of the several East Indiamen in the road, the island drawing hard on its herds while shipping lay at anchor. The decision to rent two houses of eight rooms to take the overflow of sick soldiers, at a fixed annual rent, records an outbreak of illness in the garrison severe enough to exceed the hospital's capacity, the Council meeting it by hiring civilian buildings rather than turning men away or crowding the infirmary further. Speculations The obvious course, faced with more sick soldiers than the hospital could hold, was to pack the additional men into the existing infirmary. The Council instead hired two separate houses to receive them, at £16 a year. The path not taken was crowding the hospital beyond its capacity, set aside in favour of the expense of civilian buildings, a choice that suggests concern that overcrowding the sick together would worsen the outbreak rather than contain it.
202	197	28th March 1757 At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th Day of March 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieut Govr absent being ill Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 21 March 1757. Mr Richard Beale presented the following Petition. To Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor & Council The humble Petition of Richard Beale Senr Executor of the last Will and Testament of the late Gabriel Harper deceased Sheweth That your Petitioner by virtue of such Executorship has already disposed of eleven Acres of Free Land called the Infirmary in the South division of the said Island for the benefit of the said Deceaseds Orphans. That the said Orphans have one Acre of Lease Land adjoining to the said Free Land. Therefore your Petitioner humbly desires he may have liberty to assign the said Orphans right in the said One Acre for the Term to come to Mr Benjamin Mason And your Petitioner shall ever pray &c Island St Helena 28th March 1757	A consultation was held on Monday 28 March 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, being absent, sick. The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 21 March 1757. Mr Richard Beale presented the following petition to Governor Hutchinson and Council. Beale, as sole executor of the last will and testament of the late Gabriel Harper, set out that he had already disposed of 11 acres of freehold land, called the infirmary, in the south division of the island, for the benefit of Harper's orphans. Those orphans held one acre of leasehold land adjoining the freehold. He therefore asked leave to assign the orphans' right in that one acre, for the term to come, to Mr Benjamin Mason. The petition, dated at St Helena on 28 March 1757, was granted. The Council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 March, with the result as follows. Interpretations The Council's oversight of a sale of land held in trust for orphans, requiring the executor to petition

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		Granted Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th Instant which is as follows viz: Cash	for leave before assigning even a single acre of the children's leasehold, shows the administration acting to protect the property of minors, ensuring that dealings on their behalf passed through formal approval rather than the executor's sole discretion. The distinction between the 11 acres of freehold and the one acre of leasehold adjoining it reflects the two forms of land tenure on the island, outright ownership and land held on a term from the Company, with the executor able to sell the freehold but needing only to assign the unexpired term of the lease.
203	198	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1757 Febry 12 To Balance remaining £3044 18 10½ Mar 9 To Ship Onslow the balance of her Acct 7 12 2 11 To Ship Edgcote the balance of her Acct 34 19 11 To Ship Portfield the balance of her Acct 8 7 4 To Ship Chesterfield the balance of her Acct 16 9 4 £3112 7 7½ 1757 Mar 11 By balance remaining in the following Species viz: 1040 Venetians at 10/ £520 - - 1220 Pagodas at 8/ 488 - - Gold amounting to £1008 - - 3200 Dollars at 5/ 800 6763 Rupees at 2/3 760 16 11 441 French pieces at 2/ 3 13 6 Odd Money 2 2½ Silver amounting to £1564 12 7½ Cash Notes amounting to 539 15 - £3112 7 7½ Chas Hutchinson John Clark Margin Notes: 28th March	Cash Dr / Per Contra Cr 1757 12 February: To balance remaining, £3,044 18s 10½d 9 March: To the ship <i>Onslow</i>, the balance of her account, £7 12s 2d The <i>Edgcote</i> paid in the balance of her account on 11 March, £34 19s 11d. 11 March: To the ship <i>Portfield</i>, the balance of her account, £8 7s 4d To the ship <i>Chesterfield</i>, the balance of her account, £16 9s 4d Total, £3,112 7s 7½d 1757 11 March: By balance remaining in the following species viz: 1,040 Venetians at 10s each, £520 0s 0d 1,220 Pagodas at 8s each, £488 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,008 0s 0d 3,200 dollars at 5s each, £800 0s 0d 6,763 rupees at 2s 3d each, £760 16s 11d 441 French pieces at 2s each, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 2s 2½d Silver amounting to, £1,564 12s 7½d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £3,112 7s 7½d Signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. Interpretations The cash balance rose slightly over the month to £3,112 7s 7½d, the increase made up entirely of the four ships settling the balances of their accounts as they departed, £7 12s 2d from the <i>Onslow</i> through to £34 19s 11d from the <i>Edgcote</i>, the vessels squaring what they owed for provisions and stores before sailing. The gold holding climbed to £1,008 through additional Venetian coin and pagodas taken in, and the silver to £1,564 through more dollars and rupees, the growth in both reflecting payments received from the departing East Indiamen in the mixed foreign coin that served as the island's money.
204	199	4th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th day of April 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 28th March 1757. Friday the 1st Arrived the Honorable Companys Ships the Suffolk Houghton and Godolphin from China. The Ships Houghton and Godolphin brought us the following Supply viz: Invoice ¥ Ship Houghton Tales Mas S No 25 Sugar for 25 Chests containing Wt No 7386 is 55.39 at 4:6 ¥ Pecul 254 794 S No 7 Tea Singlo for 7 Chests containing Wt No 499 is 3.74 at 16 Tales ¥ Pecul 59 840 C No 8 Tea Congo for 8 Chests containing Wt No 673	A consultation was held on Monday 4 April 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 28 March 1757. The Honourable Company's ships <i>Suffolk</i>, <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Godolphin</i> arrived from China on Friday 1 April. The <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Godolphin</i> brought the following supply, set out in the invoice for the <i>Houghton</i>. The figures were given in taels, mace and candareens. Sugar, No. 1 to 25, 25 chests containing net weight 7,336 lb, at 55 candies 39 lb at 4 taels 6 mace per candy, 254 taels 7 mace 9 candareens 4 [...] Tea, single, No. 1 to 7, 7 chests containing net weight 499 lb, at 3 candies 14 lb at 16 taels per candy, 59 taels 8 mace 4 candareens 0 [...]

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		is 5.04 at 16 Tales ¥ Pecul 80 640 Total 395 274 Errors Excepted Signed Edward Phipps Rich Wood Ro Hackett John Hull	Tea, congou, No. 1 to 8, 8 chests containing net weight 673 lb, at 5 candies 4 lb at 16 taels per candy, 80 taels 6 mace 4 candareens 0 [...] Total, 395 taels 2 mace 7 candareens 4 [...] The account was certified errors excepted and signed by Edward Phipps, Frederick Wood, Robert Hackett and John Hull. Interpretations Congou was a black tea from the Fujian province of China, its name drawn from a Chinese term meaning the labour or care taken in its preparation, and its appearance here alongside single tea marks the <i>Houghton</i> as a returning China ship carrying the staple cargo of the Canton trade home through St Helena. The invoice was reckoned in taels, mace and candareens, the Chinese silver units of account used at Canton, which distinguishes this China cargo from the Indian shipments elsewhere in these accounts priced in pagodas or rupees, each trade carrying the currency of the coast it came from. The arrival of three East Indiamen together direct from China places St Helena squarely on the homeward route of the Canton fleet, the island provisioning and clearing the accounts of ships carrying tea and sugar from the Far East back to England, a distinct traffic from the Indian and Bombay ships seen earlier.
205	200	4th April Invoice ¥ Ship Godolphin No 1 a 3 China Ware 3 Chests containing S H T m c c Setts Dishes & Plates blue & white 15 5: 20 each at 2 Tale 30 - - - T m c c Soup dishes Do at 8 Mace 4 3 2 - Sauce boats Do at 50 12 6 pair Quarter Pint Cups & Saucers Do at 60 50 2 - - pair Gugglets and Basons Do at 600 12 4 8 - Chamber Potts Do at 200 12 2 4 - Sallad dishes Do at 100 30 3 - - Soup Plates Do at 45 50 2 2 5 Sneakers Do at 24 50 1 2 - pair half Pint Cups & Saucers Do at 60 50 3 - - Tea Potts different Sizes Do at 60 36 2 1 6 Quart Bowls Do at 90 16 1 4 4 Three Quart Bowls Do at 300 10 3 - - Two Quart Bowls Do at 140 20	Invoice for the ship <i>Godolphin</i>. The figures were given in taels, mace and candareens. China ware, No. 1 to 3, 3 chests containing: 15 sets of dishes and plates, blue and white, 5 of 20 pieces each at 2 taels, 30 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 4 soup dishes at 8 mace, 3 taels 2 mace 0 candareens 12 sauce boats at 50 candareens, 0 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 50 pairs of quarter-pint cups and saucers at 60 candareens, 2 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 12 pairs of gugglets and basins at 400 candareens, 4 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 12 chamber pots at 200 candareens, 2 taels 4 mace 0 candareens 30 salad dishes at 100 candareens, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 50 soup plates at 45 candareens, 2 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 50 sneakers at 24 candareens, 1 tael 2 mace 0 candareens 50 pairs of half-pint cups and saucers at 60 candareens, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 36 tea dishes of different sizes at 60 candareens, 2 taels 1 mace 6 candareens 16 quart bowls at 90 candareens, 1 tael 4 mace 4 candareens 10 three-quart bowls at 300 candareens, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 20 two-quart bowls at 140 candareens, 2 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 4 quart bowls at 90 candareens, 0 taels 3 mace 6 candareens Total, 62 taels 2 mace 1 candareen Breakage allowed, 2 taels 3 mace 1 candareen Net, 59 taels 9 mace 0 candareens Sugar and candy, 23 chests: Chest 1, tare 23, gross 306 Chest 2, tare 23, gross 300 Chest 3, tare 24, gross 307 Chest 4, tare 24, gross 311 Chest 5, tare 24, gross 324 Chest 6, tare 24, gross 314 Chest 7, tare 24, gross 317 Chest 8, tare 24, gross 302 Chest 9, tare 24, gross 298 Chest 10, tare 23, gross 314, net 3,099 Chest 11, tare 24, gross 316

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		2 8 - Quart Bowls Do at 90 4 3 6 - 62 2 1 - Breakage allowed 2 3 1 59 9 - - Sugar & Candy 23 Chests Tare, Gross No 1: 23 - 306 2: 23 - 300 3: 24 - 307 4: 24 - 317 5: 24 - 324 6: 24 - 314 7: 24 - 317 8: 24 - 302 9: 24 - 298 10: 23 337 - 314 3099 11: 24 - 316 12: 24 - 326 13: 23 - 325 14: 25 - 317 Carried over 332 - 4383	Chest 12, tare 24, gross 326 Chest 13, tare 23, gross 325 Chest 14, tare 25, gross 317 Carried over, tare 332, gross 4,383 Interpretations Gugglets were long-necked earthenware or porcelain vessels used for cooling and pouring drinking water, an item drawn from the Company's eastern trade and sold as part of the household chinaware brought home from Canton, listed here paired with washing basins as a matched set. Sneakers were small china cups or bowls without handles, and the range of the <i>Godolphin's</i> cargo, from full dinner services in blue and white through sauce boats, chamber pots and bowls of several sizes, shows the scale on which finished Chinese porcelain was imported as a staple of the China trade to supply the domestic market at home. The allowance made for breakage, deducted from the invoiced value of the chinaware before striking the net figure, records the standard commercial practice of pricing fragile porcelain with an agreed margin for the losses certain to occur over a voyage of many months, the buyer not charged in full for goods expected to arrive part broken.
206	201	1757. Brot over Belowover T m c c 59 9 - - Tare, Gross Brot over: 332 - 4383 No 15: 22 - 354 16: 24 - 332 17: 25 - 324 18: 24 - 315 19: 25 - 324 20: 24 176 - 332 6344 21: 25 - 343 22: 23 - 322 23: 22 70 - 313 948 546 - 7292 546 tt neat 6746 is Pecul 50:59 at 6:7 Tm 338 9 5 3 338 9 5 3 Bohea Tea 4 Chests Tare, Gross No 1: 31 - 190 2: 30 - 187 3: 30 - 172 4: 29 - 176 120 - 725 120 tt 605 neat is Pecul 4.53 at 10 Tale 45 3 - - 45 3 - - Errors Excepted (Signed) Thos Shore John Searle Stephn De Nemes Jos Harrington Total 444 1 5 3 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The figures were given in tael, mace and candareens, continuing the <i>Godolphin</i> invoice. Brought over, tare 332, gross 4,383 Chest 15, tare 22, gross 354 Chest 16, tare 24, gross 332 Chest 17, tare 25, gross 324 Chest 18, tare 24, gross 315 Chest 19, tare 25, gross 324 Chest 20, tare 24, gross 332, subtotal 276 Chest 21, tare 25, gross 343, subtotal 6,344 Chest 22, tare 23, gross 322 Chest 23, tare 22, gross 313, subtotal 948 Tare 546, subtotal 70, gross 7,292, subtotal 546 Net weight, 6,746 Sugar and candy carried over, 59 tael 9 mace 0 candareens At 50 candies 59 lb at 6 tael 7 mace, 338 tael 9 mace 5 candareens 3 [...] Bohea tea, 4 chests: Chest 1, tare 31, gross 190 Chest 2, tare 30, gross 187 Chest 3, tare 30, gross 172 Chest 4, tare 29, gross 176 Tare 120, gross 725 Net weight, 605 At 4 candies 53 lb at 10 tael per candy, 45 tael 3 mace 0 candareens Total, 444 tael 1 mace 5 candareens 3 [...] The account was certified errors excepted and signed by Thomas Shore, John Searle, Stephen de Visme and Jos Harrington. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Bohea was the plainest and cheapest grade of black tea, taking its name from the Wuyi hills of Fujian where it was grown, and the <i>Godolphin's</i> cargo carried it separately from the sugar and candy, the whole reckoned by the Chinese candy weight and priced in tael as was standard for goods bought at Canton. The invoices distinguished the gross weight of each chest from its tare, the weight of the empty chest itself, so that duty and price fell only on the net weight of tea or sugar inside, a necessary accounting where the packing added substantially to what was carried and had to be subtracted before valuing the goods.

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<u>207</u>	202	6th April At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 6th day of April 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 4th April 1757. We this Day received the following Letters from the Commanders of the Honorable Companys Ships Suffolk Houghton and Godolphin viz: To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esquire Governor &ca Council of St Helena Worshipful Sir & Sirs Having in a late Engagement expended much Powder and Shot and fearing the like may happen to us in our way home beg to be supplied with the under mentioned being what I have expended. 100 nine Pounders round 100 four Pounders Do 6 Barrels Powder I am Worshipful Sir & Sirs April 6th 1757 your most obedt Hble Servant (Signed) Wm Wilson	A consultation was held on Wednesday 6 April 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 4 April 1757. The Council received the following letters that day from the commanders of the Honourable Company's ships <i>Suffolk</i>, <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Godolphin</i>. William Wilson wrote to Governor Hutchinson and Council. Having expended much powder and shot in a recent engagement, and fearing the same might happen on the way home, he asked to be supplied with the following, being what he had expended. 100 9-pounders round, 100 100 4-pounders round, 100 6 barrels of powder, 6 The letter was dated 6 April 1757 and signed William Wilson. Interpretations The commander's request to replace powder and shot spent in a recent engagement, made in anticipation of further fighting on the homeward voyage, reflects the wartime hazard facing the China fleet, the declaration of war read out on the island in February now bearing directly on ships that had to fight their way home and looked to St Helena to make good their expended munitions. The specific call for 9-pounder and 4-pounder round shot names the calibres of the ship's guns, the round shot being solid iron balls for battering an enemy hull, and the six barrels of powder the propellant to fire them, the whole a straightforward replenishment of a warship's ready ammunition after action.
<u>208</u>	203	1757. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena. Worshipful Sir & Sirs. Having in a late Engagement expended much Powder and Shot and fearing the like may happen to us in our Way home beg to be supplied with the under mentioned being what I have expended. 130 nine Pounders round. 20 Double Headed. 60 four Pounders round. 7 Barrels of Gunpowder. I am Worshipful Sir & Sirs. April 6th 1757. Yr most obedt Hble Servant (Signed) Richard Walpole To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena. Worshipful Sir & Sirs. In our late Engagement we have expended thirteen Barrels of Powder and near four Hundred Round and Double Headed Shott I think it absolutely necessary (least we should be attacked in our passage home from hence) to request the undermentioned Stores I am with great Esteem Worshipful Sir and Sirs St Helena April 6th 1757. your most humo Servant W: Hutchinson Cannon Powder 464 Round Shot 9 Pounders 151 Double Headed Do Do 70 Round Shott 4 Pounders 60 Double	Richard Walpole wrote to Governor Hutchinson and Council. Having expended much powder and shot in a recent engagement, and fearing the same might happen on the way home, he asked to be supplied with the following, being what he had expended. 130 9-pounders round, 130 20 double-headed shot, 20 60 4-pounders round, 60 7 barrels of gunpowder, 7 The letter was dated 6 April 1757 and signed Richard Walpole. W. Hutchinson also wrote to Governor Hutchinson and Council. In a recent engagement the ship had expended thirteen barrels of powder and nearly four hundred round and double-headed shot, and he thought it absolutely necessary, should the ship be attacked on the passage home, to request the following stores. Cannon powder, 1,664 Round shot, 9-pounders, 151 Double-headed shot, 9-pounders, 70 Round shot, 4-pounders, 60 The letter was dated at St Helena on 6 April 1757. Interpretations Double-headed shot was two iron balls or half-balls joined by a bar or chain, fired to tear through an enemy's rigging and sails rather than her hull, and its presence in these requests alongside round shot shows the China ships arming to disable as well as to batter an attacker, the mark of vessels expecting to fight off privateers or warships on the way home. The three commanders each asking to replace exactly what a recent engagement had consumed, and each citing the same fear of attack on the passage home, points to a single action the fleet had lately fought together, the ships now looking to St Helena

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			to restore their magazines before facing the same danger again on the wartime route to England. Speculations The obvious course for three armed East Indiamen wanting to reach England safely in wartime was to draw down the island's magazine to arm themselves as heavily as they could. Instead each commander asked for no more than the precise quantity his ship had expended in the recent action, itemised barrel by barrel and shot by shot. The path not taken was the open request for maximum resupply, set aside in favour of claiming only replacement of what was spent, a restraint that reflects the finite powder St Helena itself held for its own defence and the discipline of asking the Company's stores for replacement rather than reinforcement.
<u>209</u>	204	6th April Double Headed Do Do 28 Cartridge Paper Ream 1 Spunge Staves of 9 Foot long 4 Handspikes 5 Foot Do 8 Priming Irons 20 Half Minute Glasses 4 Quarter Do Do 2 Lanthorn Horns 72 Spunge Tacks 500 Having sent for the several Captains who represented to us that they were in such absolute want of the Stores they have required as it would be very unsafe for them to proceed to England especially as there is a War we therefore agreed to supply them with the following Articles viz: Capt William Wilson 6 Barrels Gunpowder 100 Nine Pounder Shot. Capt Richard Walpole 7 Barrels Gunpowder. 130 Nine Pounder Shot. Capt William Hutchinson 14 Barrels Gunpowder. 222 Nine Pounder Shot. ½ Ream Cartridge Paper. 4 Spunge Staves 9 Foot. 8 Handspikes 5 Foot. 4 Half Minute Glasses 72 Lanthorn Leaves. Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The remainder of William Hutchinson's requested stores continued as follows. Double-headed shot, 4-pounders, 28 Cartridge paper, 1 ream Sponge staves, 9 foot long, 4 Handspikes, 5 foot, 8 Priming irons, 20 Half-minute glasses, 4 Quarter-minute glasses, 2 Lantern horns, 72 Sponge tacks, 500 Having sent for the several captains, who reported that they were in such absolute want of the stores they had requested that it would be very unsafe for them to proceed to England, especially as no other source was available, the Council agreed to supply them with the following. Captain William Wilson: 6 barrels of gunpowder, 6 100 9-pounder shot, 100 Captain Richard Walpole: 7 barrels of gunpowder, 7 130 9-pounder shot, 130 Captain William Hutchinson: 14 barrels of gunpowder, 14 222 9-pounder shot, 222 ½ ream of cartridge paper 4 sponge staves, 9 foot, 4 8 handspikes, 5 foot, 8 4 half-minute glasses, 4 72 lantern leaves, 72 Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The half-minute and quarter-minute glasses were small sand glasses used aboard ship to time the interval between firing and to regulate gunnery, running for a fixed half or quarter minute, their inclusion among the gunnery stores showing that timing the guns in action formed part of a warship's fighting equipment as much as the shot and powder themselves. The Council granted each captain less than he had asked, Wilson and Walpole receiving their full powder but Hutchinson pared back from his large request, showing the island balancing the ships' pressing need to arm for the homeward passage against its own limited magazine, supplying enough to make the voyage safe without stripping its defences bare. Speculations The obvious course, once the captains pleaded absolute want and the danger of proceeding unarmed, was to grant each request as made. The Council instead met Wilson and Walpole in full but cut Hutchinson's much larger demand down to what it judged sufficient, the stated reason being that no other source of supply existed and the island had to

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			weigh every barrel it released. The path not taken was the wholesale issue the captains sought, set aside because St Helena's own security depended on the powder in its magazine, forcing the Council to ration a finite resource between the fleet's needs and its own.
210	205	11th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th of April 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 6th April 1757. The Planters met this Day at the Chappel to chuse Parish Officers for the ensuing Year and returned the following Persons viz: Messrs Matthew Durling John Doveton James Powell John Desfountain Church Wardens Elisha Isaacke Nathan Semple Overseers for the East Division Jonathan Doveton Benjamin Mason Overseers for the West Division Thomas Harper Thomas Easthope Overseers for the South Division We thereupon ordered Warrants to be made for Messrs Matthew Durling and John Doveton Church Wardens and Messrs Elisha Isaacke Jonathan Doveton and Thomas Harper Overseers. The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods short received from the Ships Houghton and Godolphin viz: Account of Stores short received from Ship Houghton viz: C: 1: 21 Sugar short weight. April 11th 1757. Account	A consultation was held on Monday 11 April 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 6 April 1757. The planters met that day at the chapel to choose parish officers for the coming year, and returned the following persons. Matthew Durling, churchwarden John Doveton, churchwarden James Powell, churchwarden John Desfountain, churchwarden Elisha Isaacke, overseer for the East division Nathan Semple, overseer for the East division Jonathan Doveton, overseer for the West division Benjamin Mason, overseer for the West division Thomas Harper, overseer for the South division Thomas Easthope, overseer for the South division The Council then ordered warrants to be made out for Matthew Durling and John Doveton as churchwardens, and for Elisha Isaacke, Jonathan Doveton and Thomas Harper as overseers. The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods received short from the ships <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Godolphin</i>. Account of stores received short from the ship <i>Houghton</i>: Sugar, No. 1 to 21, short in weight The account was certified at St Helena on 11 April 1757. Interpretations The planters met at the chapel to nominate parish officers by division, and the Council then issued warrants confirming only a portion of those returned, which shows the two-stage process by which local governance was filled, the settler community putting forward candidates and the Company's Council retaining the power to appoint from among them. The division of the island into East, West and South parts, each with its own overseers, reflects the administrative geography by which the parish was managed, the overseers being the officers responsible for the poor and for local order within their allotted districts. The office of churchwarden, filled here for St Helena's single chapel, carried the same parish functions as in an English parish, the care of the church fabric and the oversight of parish funds, showing the island's civil administration modelled on the parish structure of home even in so small and remote a settlement.
211	206	11th April Account of Stores short received from Ship Godolphin viz: C: C: 26 Candy short Weight China Ware viz: Meat Dishes 2 Do Plates 6 Soup dish 1 Do Plates	Account of stores received short from the ship <i>Godolphin</i>. Candy, No. 1 to 21, short in weight China ware found broken on opening the packages: 2 meat dishes 6 meat plates 1 soup dish 3 soup plates 1 salad dish 2 sneakers 21 bowls

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		3 Sallad dish 1 Sneakers 2 Bowls 21 Half Pint Cup & Saucer 1 Do Pint Do & Do 2 Tea Potts 10 found broke upon opening the Packages. found short upon opening the Packages which were all full and in good order April 11th 1757 Signed J: Powell Robert Berry Soldier petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honourable Company his contracted time. Granted. Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ships Suffolk Godolphin and Houghton to Muster their several Companys and to look for Deserters but found none the Muster Rolls are as follow viz:	1 half-pint cup and saucer 2 quarter-pint cups and saucers 10 tea dishes, found short on opening the packages, which were all full and in good order The account was certified at St Helena on 11 April 1757 and signed by James Powell. Robert Berry, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company his contracted time. The petition was granted. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been aboard the ships <i>Suffolk</i>, <i>Godolphin</i> and <i>Houghton</i> to muster their companies and enquire for deserters, but had found none. Their muster rolls were as follows. Interpretations The storekeeper again distinguished the chinaware broken on opening from the tea dishes found short of an intact and properly filled package, the same care taken with the <i>Godolphin's</i> fragile cargo as with earlier shipments, since breakage pointed to rough handling in transit while a shortfall from a full package pointed to loss in the packing, each apportioned differently between shipper and carrier.
212	207	Muster Roll of the Ship Suffolk William Wilson Commander Richard Lewin 1st Mate Joseph Jackson 2 Do Edward Waple 3 Do Humphry Francis 4th Do John Gell 5th Do Philip Patch Purser Samuel Talcott Surgeon Henry Williams Capts Stew John Holland Ships Do Robert Truelove Carpenter Archibd Boyd Boatsn John Mitchell Gunner Thomas Cox Caulker Hen Constantine Cooper Benjn Drinkwater Caps Cook Joseph Jones Ships Do Joseph Clark Carpenters John King Mates John Watson Do Do George Henderson Coopers Do John Willard Butcher Do Samuel Tucker Quarter James Kelly Masters John Calver Quarter Thomas Shieler Masters Samuel Barnett Willm Rivers John Andrews Midshp Clement Fall John dewett Caulkers Mate James Chestnutt Boatsns William Smith Mates John Webster Gunrs Do Edward Hornby Armorer Jos Baugh Midshp & Cook Saml Skibble Caps Servt James Dixon Do Do Sober Hall 1st Mates Do George Goldsmith 2 Do John Wilson Boatsn Do Saml Barber Gunr Do James Collins Carpr Do Thomas Underwood Surg Do George Green Seaman Michael devon Do	Muster roll of the ship <i>Suffolk</i>. William Wilson, commander Richard Lewin, first mate Joseph Jackson, second mate Edward Waple, third mate Humphry Francis, fourth mate John Gell, fifth mate Philip Patch, purser Samuel Talcott, surgeon Henry Williams, captain's steward John Holland, ship's second mate Robert Truelove, carpenter Archibald Boyd, boatswain John Mitchell, gunner Thomas Cox, caulker Henry Constantine, cooper Benjamin Drinkwater, captain's cook Joseph Jones, ship's second mate Joseph Clark, carpenter's mate John King, carpenter's mate John Watson, second mate George Henderson, cooper's second mate John Willard, butcher's second mate Samuel Tucker, quarter master James Kelly, quarter master John Calver, quarter master Thomas Shielos, quarter master Samuel Barnett, midshipman William Rivers, midshipman John Andrews, midshipman Clement Fall, midshipman John Dewett, caulker's second mate James Chestnutt, boatswain's second mate William Smith, boatswain's second mate John Webster, gunner's second mate Edward Hornby, armourer Joseph Gough, midshipman and cook Samuel Nibble, captain's servant James Dixon, seaman Sober Hall, first mate George Godsmith, second mate John Wilson, boatswain Samuel Barber, gunner James Collins, carpenter Thomas Underwood, surgeon George Green, seaman Michael Devon, seaman

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		Arnold Tuesman Do Thomas White Do John Warner Do Robt Hutchinson Do George Lindsey Do John Darwexa Do Andrew Ross Do Robert Gardener Do Thomas Roper Do George Stone Do William Tolin Do Thomas Wells Do David Deans Do Alexandr Nisbett Do John Storey Do John Creighton Do Magnus Jacobson Do Richard Williams Do Robert Jones Do Matthew Miller Do William Fiffe Do Henry Mc Cordle Do Dennis Robinson Do Nich Greenboom Do Alexander White Do Joseph White Do John Ord Do Robert Heath Do John Lambert Seaman James Brown Do Henry deane Do Charles Scrother Do Robert Brabant Do John Robinson Do Francis Borain Do George demean Do John Disbats Do James Dare Do Robt Williams Do Josh Yiehl Do John Hill Do Francis Finer Do John Sylvia Do Chris Shelenburg Do Cedrick Wolert Do Robert Wills Do Jeremiah Burton Do Thomas White Do George Hinde Do Oler Hulson Do James Knox Do William Young Do Thomas Birch Do John Bullock Do John dell Do Jacob Spander Do Hans Christian Do Passengers Mr Frederick Pigou Mr Francis Innersley Mr Archibald Campbell Servants John Agey Charles Miller Thomas Moon	Arnold Tuesman, seaman Thomas White, seaman John Warner, seaman Robert Hutchinson, seaman George Lindsey, seaman John Darwexa, seaman Andrew Ross, seaman Robert Gardener, seaman Thomas Roper, seaman George Stone, seaman William Tolin, seaman Thomas Wells, seaman David Deans, seaman Alexander Nisbitt, seaman John Storey, seaman John Creighton, seaman Magnus Jacobson, seaman Richard Williams, seaman Robert Jones, seaman Matthew Miller, seaman William Fiffe, seaman Henry McCircle, seaman Dennis Robinson, seaman Nicholas Greenboom, seaman Alexander White, seaman Joseph White, seaman John Ord, seaman Robert Heath, seaman John Lambert, seaman James Brown, seaman Henry Deane, seaman Charles Scrother, seaman Robert Brabant, seaman John Robinson, seaman Francis Borain, seaman George Domean, seaman John Disbats, seaman James Dare, seaman Robert Williams, seaman Joseph Yeell, seaman John Hill, seaman Francis Finer, seaman John Sylvia, seaman Christopher Skelenburg, seaman Cedrick Wolert, seaman Robert Wills, seaman Jeremiah Burton, seaman Thomas White, seaman George Hinde, seaman Oliver Hulson, seaman James Knox, seaman William Young, seaman Thomas Birch, seaman John Bullock, seaman John Dell, seaman Jacob Spander, seaman Hans Christian, seaman Passengers: Mr Frederick Pigou Mr Francis Annersley Mr Archibald Campbell Servants: John Agey Charles Miller Thomas Moon Interpretations The <i>Suffolk's</i> roll carried three passengers of standing, Mr Frederick Pigou, Mr Francis Annersley and Mr Archibald Campbell, each attended by a named servant, showing the ship bringing home Company men or private gentlemen from the East along with its crew, the vessel serving as regular passage between the stations for civilians as well as cargo. The number of quartermasters and mates in the several trades, four quartermasters and multiple

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			carpenter's, gunner's and boatswain's mates, reflects the size of complement a large China ship required, the divisions of labour needing several hands each to work and maintain the vessel across a voyage of many months.
213	208	11th April Muster Roll of the Ship <i>Godolphin</i>. Wm Hutchinson Comdr Mr Loget Mr Allin Mr Burros Mr Cocks Mr Burgess Mr Bodham Mr Best Mr Howard John Starling Charles Starr Joseph Oakes Mr Thompson John Tusher Lelawrence Rumsby Edward Fern John Huffey Thomas Nawil Wm Chavner Henry Coggan Hugh Kirkwood John Jones William Smith Thomas Hobbs George Murrey Robert Ludlaw John Hale Benjamin Bellamy James Simpson Wm Conquergood John Newman Thomas Williams Richard Lewis Samuel Arnold Abr Bardon Joseph Colcott William Chapman Daniel Reason David Kayser Elick Hoy Jno davis Peter Miller Robert Cooper Jos Surples John Veach Walter Littel Mr Macklocklin Robert Turpleman Robt Monrow William Barthelemew Samuel Roberts Hugh Duglep Samuel Bellamy John Roberts George Shipperd Thomas Elwart Darby Holloran John Beal John Ginhes James Willison Lewis Levisar George Romain Jacob Bers John Sharp John Dacks Peter Cornelius Nicholas Yeadman William Beasley	Muster roll of the ship <i>Godolphin</i>, 11 April. William Hutchinson, commander Mr Leget Mr Allin Mr Burros Mr Cocks Mr Burgess Mr Bosham Mr Best Mr Howard John Starling Charles Storr Joseph Oakes Mr Thompson John Tucker Lawrence Hamdy Edward Fern John Huffey Thomas Nowil William Charnor Henry Coggan Hugh Kirkwood John Jones William Smith Thomas Hobbs George Murrey Robert Ludlow John Hale Benjamin Bellamy James Simpson William Conquergood John Newman Thomas Williams Richard Lewis Samuel Arnold Abraham Bardon Joseph Colwell William Chapman Daniel Reason David Kayser Elick Hoy Joseph Davis Peter Miller Robert Cowper Joseph Sunples John Veach Walter Littel McMachlochlin Robert Suepleman Robert Monrow William Bartholomew Samuel Roberts Hugh Duglese Samuel Bittany John Roberts George Sheppard Thomas Elwart Darby Holloran John Beal John Ginkes James Wilkison Lewis Levisar George Nomain Jacob Bers John Sharp John Dacks Peter Cornelius Nicholas Yeadman William Beasley Anthony Lamb

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		Anthony Lamb Thomas Manton George Butterfield Robert Denny John heart James Ramsay Sir Kincaird John Scott William Rachfield Abm Rivans Domingo Gasparings Jos Gorsaw Martin Smith Christian Clove Jacob Gifson Fredk Frick Christ Shars Bernst Barents John Brown Edward Adams Saml Tremble William Taylor George Cornelius Thomas Harden Jasper Seabowo Stephn Gardiner Bernik Bevarros Hendrick Nichols Jno de Visne Mr Harrington Mr Anderson Mr Wayskiff Mr Loott Mr Ironside Mr Nace Mr Brdabent Robert Finley John Floyford John Murrey William Hill Dompey William Farkner John James John Thompson Jos Loning John Breas George Regus Muster	Thomas Manton George Butterfield Robert Denny John Heart James Ramsay Arthur Kennard John Scott William Rushfield Abraham Rivans Domingo Guiperings Joseph Gorsaw Martin Smith Christian Cloee Jacob Cifson Frederick Frick Christopher Shars Bernst Barents John Brown Edward Adams Samuel Tremble William Taylor George Cornelius Thomas Harden Jasper Seabours Christopher Gardiner Bernike Sivarros Hendrick Nichols William de Visme Mr Harrington Mr Anderson Mr Wagshiff Mr Scott Mr Ironside Mr Nace Mr Broadbent Robert Thorley John Floyford John Murrey William Hill Dempsey William Torknor John James John Thompson Joseph Lening John Breas George Regus Interpretations The <i>Godolphin's</i> roll opens with a run of men styled Mr, from the commander down through a group of names given only that title, which marks out the ship's officers and mates as a distinct class above the seamen who fill the remainder, the courtesy title standing in for the ranks that the roll does not spell out. The crew carried a notable mix of foreign hands among the English names, Domingo Guiperings, Bernst Barents, Hendrick Nichols and others of Dutch, German or Iberian origin, reflecting the international character of an East Indiaman's lower deck, the Company manning its China ships from whatever seamen could be shipped rather than from English crews alone.
214	209	1757. Muster Roll of the Ship Houghton Rich Wm Gob Commr Chas Waggis 1st Mate Rich Daveton 2 Do Wm Marks 3 Do Rich Shutz 4th Do Nich Wrigst 5th Do John Bland Purser George Gordon Suryr Thos Mollison Do Mate Benjn Randal Midr & Cox Rich Fowke Midr	Muster roll of the ship <i>Houghton</i> , 1757. Richard Walpole, commander Charles Waggis, first mate Richard Daveton, second mate William Marker, third mate Richard Sheelz, fourth mate Nicholas Wright, fifth mate John Bland, purser George Gordon, surgeon Thomas Mollison, second mate Benjamin Randall, second cook Richard Locke, second [cook] Anthony Howard, second mate

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		Anthy Howard Do Jos Strickland Do William Harker Do John Hodges Boatsn Nathll Bolton Gunr George Kinder Corpr Chas Rufsell Cooper Simon Wakefield Caulker Robt Shearman Armr Thomas Ames 2 Master George Faudon Do Thomas Rathe Do James Bunney James Robson Sailmaker William Walsh Ships Stew Thos Cooper Cpts Do Willm Rofs Gunrs Mate Jno Hayes Caulker Do John Baillid Cooper Do Wm Holt Boatsns Do John Springall 2 Do Thos Rushen Butcher John Reeves Poulterer Nich Rosie Baker Robt Nevill Cpts Cook Cæsar Fenwick Ships Do John Lands Seaman Chas Webb Brown Do Daniel Clark Do Frans Flavil Do John Bridges Do William Wright Do Laurce Murry Do Frans Beamsley Do Andr Landry Do John Bry Do Andr Berry Do Nich Thomson Do Simon Turner Do Thos Scandower Do John Herkinson Do David Cooper Do Henry Bridges Do James Gray Do James Louthed Do Thos Geary Do Thos Reeves Do Hugh Craig Do Ar Anderson Do Robt Walker Do Jos Snealy Do Fredk Grosseing Do Christ Snowbear Do John Berry Do Thos Suffolk Do Wm Fullerton Do Joseph Ward Do Francis Ward Do John Hidin Do William Hodges Do John Phillips Do George Kennedy Seaman James Spincer Do Thos Dorc Do Fran Armour Do Jacob Page Do Saml Waggis Do Wm Barnat Do William Humbly Do Bar Weber Do Wm Farlinour Do John Gregory Do Barthw Lyne Do Thos Chapman Do John Weston Do Peter Brown Do	Joseph Strickland, second mate William Harker, second mate John Hodges, boatswain Nathaniel Balton, gunner George Prince, cooper Charles Rufsell, cooper Simon Wakefield, caulker Robert Shearman, armourer Thomas Ames, second master George Faucon, second mate Thomas Ratho, second mate James Runney James Robson, sailmaker William Walsh, second mate Thomas Cooper, captain's second [mate] William Rofse, gunner's mate Francis Hayes, caulker John Ratho, cooper William Holt, boatswain's mate John Springall, second mate Thomas Rushen, butcher John Reeves, poulterer Nicholas Rosie, baker Robert Nevill, captain's cook Caesar Fenwick, ship's steward John Sands, seaman Charles Webb, brown Daniel Clark, seaman Francis Havil, seaman John Bridges, seaman William Wright, seaman Lawrence Murry, seaman Francis Beamsley, seaman Andrew Landry, seaman John Bry, seaman Andrew Berry, seaman Nicholas Thomson, seaman Simon Turner, seaman Thomas Scandover, seaman John Henkinson, seaman David Cooper, seaman Henry Bridges, seaman James Gray, seaman James Loudied, seaman Thomas Geary, seaman Thomas Reeves, seaman Hugh Craig, seaman Arthur Anderson, seaman Robert Walker, seaman Joseph Sisely, seaman Frederick Grosling, seaman Christopher Sowbear, seaman John Berry, seaman Thomas Siffolk, seaman William Fullerton, seaman Joseph Ward, seaman Francis Ward, seaman John Hidin, seaman William Hodges, seaman John Phillips, seaman George Kennedy, seaman James Spincer, seaman Thomas Dowe, seaman Frank Armour, seaman Jacob Page, seaman Samuel Waggis, seaman William Barnat, seaman William Humbly, seaman Baxter Weaver, seaman William Darlimour, seaman John Gregory, seaman Bartholomew Line, seaman Thomas Chapman, seaman John Weston, seaman Peter Kroom, seaman Jacob Segrave, seaman

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		Jacob degrave Do Fredk Wellmun Do John Lindwick Do Alexr Easterman Do Jacob Hennewick Do Peter Schoutcan Do Henwick Ernshs Do Matthw Franklurt Do Jacob Snubaro Do Fredk Gifson Do Chas Pearson Caps Servt Chas Hen Sherney Do John Dent 1st Mates Do George drul Do Wm Woodyat Boatsn Do Henry Blanket Caps Do Mr Rich Wood Do Mr John Hull Supracargoes Servants John Marlborough George difsd Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Frederick Wellmann, seaman John Lundwick, seaman Alexander Easterman, seaman Jacob Hennewick, seaman Peter Schoolman, seaman Henrick Brooks, seaman Matthew Grahlnet, seaman Jacob Snubore, seaman Frederick Cifson, seaman Charles Reason, captain's steward Charles Henry Journey, seaman John Dent, first mate George Drul, second [mate] William Woodyat, boatswain Henry Blanket, captain Mr Richard Wood Mr John Hull, supercargo Servants: John Marlborough George Sisers Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The <i>Houghton's</i> roll carried Mr Richard Wood and Mr John Hull as supercargoes, the officers charged with the commercial cargo of tea and sugar the ship brought from Canton, whose names appear elsewhere in these accounts as signatories to the ship's invoices, marking them as the men responsible for the Company's trade aboard rather than the working of the vessel. The full range of provisioning trades aboard, a butcher, a poulterer and a baker as well as several cooks, shows the scale on which a China ship had to feed its large complement across the long homeward passage, the vessel carrying the means to slaughter, bake and prepare fresh food at sea as a self-contained community.
215	210	18th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th day of April 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor absent being Sick Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 11th April 1757. Thursday the 14th Sailed the Honorable Companys Ships the Suffolk Houghton and Godolphin William Keeling Thomas Elwart & Thomas Harding being left here out of the Ship Godolphin and applying to us to be enlisted in this Garrison as not having wherewith to subsist themselves we accordingly received them to serve the Honorable Company as Soldiers for five Years and gave each of them twenty shillings Bounty Money and had the Articles of War read to them by the Adjutant. The Island being much in want of a Surgeons Mate and John Pritchard who was in the Honorable Companys Service at Madrass having married here in his way home applied to us to serve in that Capacity and Mr Barclay the Surgeon having no objection to him we therefore agreed to entertain him at the usual Salary and allowances One of the Honorable Companys long Boats being wore out by much use for the service of the Ships as many of them come here without one and Capt Hutchinson having a very good one to dispose of we therefore bought it with a Sail &ca for their Honors for which we gave £20. Ordered the following Advertisement to be published viz:	A consultation was held on Monday 18 April 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, being absent, sick. The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 11 April 1757. The Honourable Company's ships <i>Suffolk</i>, <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Godolphin</i> sailed on Thursday 14 April. William Leeling, Thomas Elwart and Thomas Harding had been left there out of the ship <i>Godolphin</i>, and applied to be enlisted in the garrison, having nothing to subsist on. The Council accordingly received them to serve the Honourable Company as soldiers for five years, gave each of them 20 shillings bounty money, and had the Articles of War read to them by the adjutant. The island being much in want of a surgeon's mate, and John Pritchard, who had been in the Honourable Company's service at Madras and had married there on his way home, applied to serve in that capacity, and Mr Barclay the surgeon having no objection to him, the Council agreed to take him on at the usual salary and allowances. One of the Honourable Company's long boats being worn out by much use for the service of the ships, as many of them came there without one, and Captain Hutchinson having a very good one to dispose of, the Council bought it with a sail and so on for the directors, for which they gave £20. The Council ordered the following advertisement to be published. Interpretations The three men left ashore from the <i>Godolphin</i> enlisting as soldiers with no other means of support shows how the garrison was replenished in part from

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			seamen stranded at the island, the offer of five years' service and bounty money providing both the men with subsistence and the garrison with recruits from a passing crew. The purchase of a long boat from a departing captain for the Company's use, made because so many arriving ships came without one, records the island's dependence on the vessels that called there to keep its own working craft in supply, the Council buying serviceable boats from the ships themselves to maintain the service of the road. Speculations The obvious course, needing a surgeon's mate, would have been to wait for one to be sent out from England or drawn from a Company ship in the ordinary way. The Council instead engaged John Pritchard, a man already in the Company's service at Madras who had married on the island during his passage home and applied on the spot. The path not taken was the wait for an appointed man from home, set aside because a qualified candidate had settled at the island through marriage and the resident surgeon raised no objection, letting the Council fill a pressing vacancy at once from a man circumstance had placed within reach.
216	211	1757. Island St Helena 18th April 1757. This is to give notice to all Persons upon the said Island who are in any manner indebted to the Estate of Mr Samuel Falconer deceased that they are hereby required to attend the Governor and Council at the Castle in this Valley on Monday next the 25th Instant to pay what Money is due from them to the said Estate. And Notice is hereby further given that the House in this Valley belonging to the said deceased Samuel Falconer will be exposed to public Sale on Monday the 2d day of May next Six Months credit will be given for the Money the Purchaser giving Security and paying Interest for it at the rate of five Pounds ¥ Cent for the Year A Slave Woman belonging to Mrs Elizabeth Gurling named Moll having by her own Confession been found guilty of breaking open a House in the Country and stealing thereout a Rupee and a halfpenny We therefore ordered the said Moll to be whipped at three different times to receive 100 Lashes at each and to be branded on the Cheek. She being a notorious runaway. Chas Hutchinson John Clark	The advertisement, dated at St Helena on 18 April 1757, gave notice to all persons on the island indebted to the estate of the late Mr Samuel Falconer that they were required to attend Governor Hutchinson and Council at the castle in this valley on Monday 25 April to pay what they owed the estate. It gave further notice that the house in this valley belonging to the late Samuel Falconer would be exposed to public sale on Monday 2 May. Six months credit would be allowed on the price, the purchaser giving security and paying interest on it at the rate of £5 per cent for the year. A slave woman named Moll, belonging to Mrs Elizabeth Gurling, had by her own confession been found guilty of breaking open a house in the country and stealing a rupee and a halfpenny. The Council therefore ordered Moll to be whipped at three separate times, receiving 100 lashes at each, and to be branded on the cheek, she being a notorious runaway. Signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. Interpretations The sentence passed on Moll, 300 lashes in three instalments and branding on the cheek for the theft of a rupee and a halfpenny, marks the extreme severity with which the island's authorities punished a slave, the branding placed on the face where it could not be hidden and the punishment weighed less against the trifling sum stolen than against her record as a persistent runaway. The public sale of a deceased settler's house on six months credit, at 5 per cent interest with security given, shows how property was realised and debts settled on the island, the Council administering the estate by calling in what was owed to it and disposing of its assets on standard commercial terms of credit. Speculations The obvious measure of a punishment for theft would have been the value of what was stolen, here a rupee and a halfpenny, a trifling sum. The Council instead imposed 300 lashes and branding on the face, a sentence out of all proportion to the theft itself. The consideration that tipped the scale was stated plainly, that Moll was a notorious runaway, so the severity fell not on the petty theft but on her repeated flight, the authorities using the occasion of the housebreaking to make a lasting and visible example of a slave who would not be held.
217	212	25th April	A consultation was held on Monday 25 April 1757 at the castle.

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th day of April 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieut Governor absent being sick Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 18th April 1757. The Steward Plantation and Gunners Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this Day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz: Sundries expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11th Instant viz: Bottles Port 14 18 11½ Lisbon 36 2 8 9 Mountain 28 1 18 4½ Madeira 12 1 9 7½ Arrack 81 2 14 - Beer 46 9 7 Flour 301 ffi 1 17 7½ Fresh Beef 87 ffi 1 1 8 Mutton 230 ffi 4 15 10 Pork 36 ffi 15 - Lambs 3 1 10 - Kidd 1 5 - Goat 54 ffi 19 - Fowls 19 1 8 6 Ducks 7 10 6 Goose 1 5 - Turkeys 2 10 - Fresh Butter 38 ffi 1 18 9 piece Salt Pork 1 2 - Candy 116 ffi 1 13 10 £27 11 11½	Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, being absent, sick. The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 18 April 1757. The steward, plantation and gunners' accounts for the month ending 11 April were brought in that day, examined and approved. They were as follows. Sundry stores expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 April. 14 bottles of port, £0 18s 11½d 36 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 8s 9d 28 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 18s 4½d 12 bottles of Madeira, £1 9s 7½d 81 gallons of arrack, £2 14s 0d 46 gallons of beer, £0 9s 7d 301 lb of flour, £1 17s 7½d 87 lb of fresh beef, £1 1s 8d 230 lb of mutton, £4 15s 10d 36 lb of pork, £0 15s 0d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 51 lb of goat, £0 19s 0d 19 fowls, £1 8s 6d 7 ducks, £0 10s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 38½ lb of fresh butter, £1 18s 9d 1 piece of salt pork, £0 2s 0d 116 lb of candy, £1 13s 10d Total, £27 11s 11¾d Interpretations The sharp fall in fresh beef at the Company's table this month, 87 lb against 483 lb in the previous account, follows the departure of the several East Indiamen whose provisioning had driven the heavy slaughter of March, the table returning to a lighter ordinary consumption once the ships had sailed and the pressure on the herds eased. The steady presence of imported fortified wines, port, Lisbon, Mountain and Madeira, month after month at broadly similar quantities, shows the Company table maintained a settled standard of provision for the island's senior establishment, the drink supplied at a consistent scale regardless of the fluctuations in fresh meat that the shipping and the season imposed.

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<u>218</u>	213	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of neat Cattle &ca from the 12th of March to the 11th of April 1757. viz: Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Yearlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total, Sows, Sheats, Piggs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, S Asses, Y Asses, Total Remaining 12th: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 77, Heifers 20, Yearlings 51, Steers 27, Oxen 15, Total 277, Ewes 346, Weathers 149, Lambs 158, Rams 7, Total 660, Ewes 206, Weathers 33, Kidds 64, Rams 8, Total 311, Sows 5, Sheats 1, Piggs 22, Boars 1, Total 29, Fowls 180, Ducks 46, Turkeys 47, Geese 27, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, S Asses 2, Y Asses 3, Total 5 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 3, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 83, Rams 0, Total 83, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Sheats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 20, Ducks 8, Turkeys 4, Geese 11, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 80, Heifers 20, Yearlings 51, Steers 27, Oxen 15, Total 280, Ewes 346, Weathers 149, Lambs 241, Rams 7, Total 743, Ewes 206, Weathers 33, Kidds 64, Rams 8, Total 311, Sows 5, Sheats 1, Piggs 22, Boars 1, Total 29, Fowls 200, Ducks 54, Turkeys 51, Geese 38, Horses 6, Mares 10, Total 16, S Asses 2, Y Asses 3, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 3, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 3, Oxen 0, Total 6, Ewes 6, Weathers 7, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 16, Ewes 3, Weathers 12, Kidds 1, Rams 0, Total 16, Sows 0, Sheats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 19, Ducks 7, Turkeys 2, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 6, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Sheats 0, Piggs 2, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 0, Ducks 1, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 1, Total 1, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Sheats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 2, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 2, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 0, Sheats 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S Asses 0, Y Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 80, Heifers 17, Yearlings 51, Steers 24, Oxen 15, Total 274, Ewes 334, Weathers 140, Lambs 238, Rams 7, Total 719, Ewes 202, Weathers 21, Kidds 63, Rams 8, Total 294, Sows 5, Sheats 1, Piggs 20, Boars 1, Total 27, Fowls 181, Ducks 45, Turkeys 48, Geese 35, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, S Asses 2, Y Asses 3, Total 5 Beef to the Ship Suffolk 560 Do Godolphin 560 Do Houghton 560 4 Goats to sick Slaves 8 Goats to the Hospital 1 Do Sold Mr Bazett 2 Sheep to the Houghton 3 Do to the Market By the Overseers Monthly Acct This Weekly Acct of Yam does not come to so much by 5990. Good Yam for the Slaves 22.310 Refuse Do for Stock 8.540 30.850 Errors Excepted.	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and so on from 12 March to 11 April 1757. Remaining the 12th: Bulls 3, cows 84, calves 77, heifers 20, yearlings 51, steers 27, oxen 15, total neat cattle 277 Ewes 346, wethers 149, lambs 158, rams 7, total sheep 660 Ewes 206, wethers 33, kids 64, rams 8, total goats 311 Sows 5, shoats 1, pigs 22, boars 1, total hogs 29 Fowls 180, ducks 46, turkeys 47, geese 27, total poultry 300 Horses 6, mares 10, total horses 16 He asses 2, she asses 3, total asses 5 Increased: Calves 3, total neat cattle 3 Lambs 83, total sheep 83 Fowls 20, ducks 8, turkeys 4, subtotal 11 Total: Bulls 3, cows 84, calves 80, heifers 20, yearlings 51, steers 27, oxen 15, total neat cattle 280 Ewes 346, wethers 149, lambs 241, rams 7, total sheep 743 Ewes 206, wethers 33, kids 64, rams 8, total goats 311 Sows 5, shoats 1, pigs 22, boars 1, total hogs 29 Fowls 200, ducks 54, turkeys 51, geese 38, total poultry 343 Horses 6, mares 10, total horses 16 He asses 2, she asses 3, total asses 5 Killed: Calves 3, total neat cattle 3 Ewes 6, wethers 7, lambs 3, total sheep 16 Ewes 3, wethers 12, kids 1, total goats 16 Fowls 19, ducks 7, turkeys 2, geese 1 Died: Ewes 6, total sheep 6 Ducks 2, geese 1, total 1 Stolen: Ducks 2, total 2 Sold: Ewes 2, total sheep 2 Ewes 1, total goats 1 Remaining the 11th: Bulls 3, cows 84, calves 80, heifers 17, yearlings 51, steers 24, oxen 15, total neat cattle 274 Ewes 334, wethers 140, lambs 238, rams 7, total sheep 719 Ewes 202, wethers 21, kids 63, rams 8, total goats 294 Sows 5, shoats 1, pigs 20, boars 1, total hogs 27 Fowls 181, ducks 45, turkeys 48, geese 35, total poultry 309 Horses 6, mares 9, total horses 15 He asses 2, she asses 3, total asses 5 Beef to the ship <i>Suffolk</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Godolphin</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Houghton</i>, 560 4 goats to sick slaves 8 goats to the hospital 1 goat sold to Mr Bazett 2 sheep to the <i>Houghton</i> 3 sheep to the market By the overseers' monthly account: Good yam for the slaves, 22,310 Refuse yam for stock, 8,540 Total, 30,850 The account was certified errors excepted. The weekly account of yam falls short of this total by 5,990. Interpretations The stock again shows a heavy draw of 560 lb of beef to each of the three departing ships <i>Suffolk</i>, <i>Godolphin</i> and <i>Houghton</i>, the same fixed victualling scale per vessel seen with the earlier fleet, confirming

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			that the Company provisioned each East Indiaman to a standard allowance of fresh beef for the homeward passage rather than by the size of her crew. The noted discrepancy of 5,990 between the overseers' monthly yam total and the weekly account records the Council checking one return against another and finding they did not agree, a routine reconciliation of the plantation's figures that shows the administration cross-examining its own accounts rather than accepting a single tally unexamined. The strong seasonal lambing continued into this month, 83 lambs added, carrying the flock upward through the southern-hemisphere autumn even as the goats fell under heavy slaughter for the ships and the sick, the sheep breeding faster than they were drawn down while the goats did not.
219	214	Gunners Stores expended from the 12th of March to the 11th of April 1757 both days included viz: Guns fired, 4 ffi, 3 ffi, 2 ffi, 1 ffi, Powder ffi Mar 31 A Double Alarm at the Ridge House: 4 ffi 6, 3 ffi 3, 1 ffi 3, Powder 9 Apr 1st A Double Alarm for 3 Ships: 4 ffi 11, 3 ffi 4, 2 ffi 4, 1 ffi 3, Powder 23 Do Arrived the Suffolk returned the Salute: 4 ffi 9, 1 ffi 9, Powder 9 Do Powder for priming: Powder 1 8 Do Arrived the Godolphin returned the Salute: 4 ffi 9, 3 ffi 2, 2 ffi 1, 1 ffi 6, Powder 11 8 Do Powder for priming: Powder 1 8 Do Arrived the Houghton returned the Salute: 4 ffi 9, 1 ffi 9, Powder 9 Do Powder for priming: Powder 1 8 Powder for the Funeral of John Musgrave: Powder 2 4 Do for the Funeral of William Watkins: Powder 2 4 Do for Signals: Powder 1 Do for Exercising the East flying Party: Powder 9 8 Do for Exercising the Sandy Bay Party: Powder 13 4 Do for Exercising the West flying Party: Powder 4 12 Do for Exercising the Recruits: Powder 9 8 Do for frightening the Goats on Ladder Hill: Powder 3 Powder damaged belonging to the East flying Party: Powder 32 13 Powder used to the Ship Suffolk: Powder 600 Powder Sold to the Ship Houghton: Powder 700 Powder Sold to the Ship Godolphin: Powder 1400 4 ffi 44, 3 ffi 6, 2 ffi 8, 1 ffi 24, Powder 6 2841 8 Paper for the use of the Castle: 1 Qr Do for the use of the Gardener: 3 Qr Do for making small Cartridges: 6 Qr Paper Sold to the Ship Godolphin: 10 Qr Handspikes Sold to Do: 8 Spunge Staves Sold to Do: 4 Nine Pounder Shott Sold to Do: 222 Nine Pounder Shott Sold to the Ship Houghton: 130 Nine Pounder Shott Sold to the Ship Suffolk: 100 Sheep Skins for Bungs Barrels Sold to Do: 4 Handspikes broke on the Line: 5 Do at Rupperts: 3 Tallow for the use of the Carts: 4 ffi (Signed) Thos Hall The	Gunners' stores expended from 12 March to 11 April 1757, both days included. The columns record the number of guns fired, then powder in pounds under headings of 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb charges, then the total powder in pounds and ounces. 31 March: A double alarm at the Ridge House, 6 guns, 3 lb, 3 lb 9 oz 1 April: A double alarm for 3 ships, 11 guns, 4 lb, 4 lb, 3 lb 23 oz Arrived the <i>Suffolk</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns, 0 lb 9 oz, 0 lb 9 oz Powder for priming, 0 lb 1 oz 8 dr Arrived the <i>Godolphin</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns, 2 lb 1 oz 6 dr, 0 lb 11 oz 8 dr Powder for priming, 0 lb 1 oz 8 dr Arrived the <i>Houghton</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns, 0 lb 9 oz, 0 lb 9 oz Powder for priming, 0 lb 1 oz 8 dr Powder for the funeral of John Hargrave, 0 lb 2 oz 4 dr Powder for the funeral of William Watkins, 0 lb 2 oz 4 dr Powder for signals, 0 lb 1 oz Powder for exercising the East flying party, 0 lb 9 oz 8 dr Powder for exercising the Sandy Bay party, 0 lb 13 oz 4 dr Powder for exercising the West flying party, 0 lb 4 oz 12 dr Powder for exercising the recruits, 0 lb 9 oz 8 dr Powder for lightening the goats on Ladder Hill, 0 lb 3 oz Powder damaged belonging to the East flying party, 0 lb 32 oz 13 dr Powder sold to the ship <i>Suffolk</i>, 600 Powder sold to the ship <i>Houghton</i>, 700 Powder sold to the ship <i>Godolphin</i>, 1,400 Total, 44 guns, 6 lb [4 lb column], 8 lb [3 lb column], 24 lb [2 lb column], 6 lb [1 lb column], grand total 2,841 lb 8 oz The following stores were also expended: Paper for the use of the castle, 1 quire Paper for the use of the gardener, 3 quires Paper for making small cartridges, 6 quires Paper sold to the ship <i>Godolphin</i>, 10 quires Handspikes sold to the <i>Godolphin</i>, 8 Sponge staves sold to the <i>Godolphin</i>, 4 9-pounder shot sold to the <i>Godolphin</i>, 222 9-pounder shot sold to the ship <i>Houghton</i>, 130 9-pounder shot sold to the ship <i>Suffolk</i>, 100 Sheep skins for bungs, barrels sold to the <i>Godolphin</i>, 4 Handspikes broke on the line, 5 Handspikes broke at Rupert's, 3 Tallow for the use of the carts, 4 lb Signed by Thomas Hall. Interpretations The three great sales of powder to the departing China ships, 600 lb to the <i>Suffolk</i>, 700 lb to the

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			<i>Houghton</i> and 1,400 lb to the <i>Godolphin</i>, together with hundreds of rounds of 9-pounder shot, dwarf all the island's own gunnery consumption for the month and record the resupply the Council granted the fleet to arm for the wartime passage home, the powder drawn from St Helena's magazine to make good what the ships had spent in action. The entry for powder used in lightening the goats on Ladder Hill records the firing of guns to drive wild goats down from the high ground, a practical use of powder for pest control and to move stock off the steep cliffs, distinct from the military and ceremonial firing that made up the rest of the account. The separate note of powder damaged belonging to the East flying party records spoiled stock written off rather than expended in use, the damp maritime air and rough storage ruining a quantity of the militia's powder, a routine loss on a remote island where keeping powder dry and serviceable was a constant difficulty.
220	215	1757. The following Persons this Day attended and paid their respective Debts due to the Estate of the late Samuel Falconer deceased viz: Richard Godwins Orphans £10 13 6 Onesiphorus Gurlings Orphans 11 2 9 Lieutenant Stephen Herbert 6 - William Young 9 9½ James Greentree 4 5 7½ Benjamin Mason 1 12 - Thomas Harper Junr 1 6 Stephen Young 6 19 9 Charles Stewards Orphans 9 16 5 Gabriel Isacke 6 6 William Hayes 4 3 - William Moore 2 5 9 Edward Richards 1 13 9½ William Kennedy 5 17 - Jos Worralls Orphans 2 10 2½ John Pritchard 2 12 - Joseph Whabys Orphans 7 1 6 John Desfountain 1 9 5½ £81 6 6½ Chas Hutchinson John Clark	The following persons attended that day and paid the debts they owed to the estate of the late Samuel Falconer. Richard Godwin's orphans, £10 13s 6d Onesiphorus Gurling's orphans, £11 2s 9d Lieutenant Stephen Herbert, £0 6s 0d William Young, £0 9s 9½d James Greentree, £4 5s 7½d Benjamin Mason, £1 12s 0d Thomas Harper junior, £0 1s 6d Stephen Young, £6 19s 9d Charles Steward's orphans, £9 16s 5d Gabriel Isaacke, £0 6s 6d William Hayes, £4 3s 0d William Moore, £2 5s 9d Edward Rickards, £1 13s 9½d William Kennedy, £5 17s 0d Joseph Worrall's orphans, £2 10s 2½d John Pritchard, £2 12s 0d Joseph Whaley's orphans, £7 1s 6d John Desfountain, £1 9s 5½d Total, £81 6s 6½d Signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. Interpretations Several of the debts to Falconer's estate stood in the name of orphans, from Richard Godwin's and Onesiphorus Gurling's children through to Joseph Whaley's, showing that sums owed by settlers who had died were carried against their surviving children's inheritance and called in through the estate, the Council administering the tangled web of cross-debts that bound the small settler community together. The appearance of John Pritchard among the debtors, the same man engaged as surgeon's mate at the previous consultation after marrying on the island, shows how quickly a newcomer became entangled in the settlement's local dealings, owing money to a deceased planter's estate within weeks of taking up residence through his marriage.
221	216	2d May At a Consultation held on Monday the Second Day of May 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 25th April 1757. Monday the 25th Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the King of Denmark Burthen about 900 Tuns	A consultation was held on Monday 2 May 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 25 April 1757. A Danish ship from China called the <i>King of Denmark</i>, of about 900 tons burthen, carrying 150 men and 26 guns and laden with tea and chinaware,

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		carry 150 Men and 26 Guns laden with Tea and China Ware bound to Copenhagen. Capt Hoff Friday the 29th Past by a Ship her Colours not discerned. Sunday the 1st Instant Sailed the Dane Ship called the King of Denmark. The following Persons this day attended and paid their respective Debts due to the Estate of the late Samuel Falconer deceased viz: Richard Bagley for Robert Gurlings Orphans £11 9 3 Mrs Burnham 1 3 6 Benjamin Mason for his Fathers Orphans 7 17 11 Andrew Blinman 1 3 - Francis Wrangham Senr 1 5 9½ £23 1 5½ The Paymaster brought in his Accounts & the Storekeeper his Collections of Stores sold for the Quarter ending the 11th of last Month which were examined and approved and are as follows viz:	bound for Copenhagen under Captain Sluff, arrived on Monday 25 April. A ship passed by on Friday 29 April, her colours not made out. The Danish ship <i>King of Denmark</i> sailed on Sunday 1 May. The following persons attended that day and paid the debts they owed to the estate of the late Samuel Falconer. Richard Bagley, for Robert Gurling's orphans, £11 9s 3d Mrs Burnham, £1 3s 6d Benjamin Mason, for his father's orphans, £7 17s 11d Andrew Blinman, £1 3s 0d Francis Wrangham senior, £1 5s 9½d Total, £23 1s 5½d The paymaster brought in his accounts, and the storekeeper his collection for stores sold for the quarter ending 11 April, which were examined and approved. They were as follows. Interpretations The Danish East Indiaman <i>King of Denmark</i>, homeward from China to Copenhagen with tea and chinaware, calling at St Helena marks the island as a watering and provisioning stop used by foreign as well as English East India traders, the Danish company running the same Canton trade and touching at the same mid-Atlantic port on the long voyage home. The second round of payments into Falconer's estate, made by different debtors from the first, shows the process of settling a deceased settler's affairs stretched over successive consultations as those owing money came in when they could, the estate gathered in piecemeal rather than at a single sitting.
222	217	1757. List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salaries Diet Money &ca for the Quarter commencing January 12th and ending April 11th 1757. Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Salary £125 - - Do allowance for Servants as usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 John Adamson Lieutenant Govr Salary 62 10 - Do Diet Money 25 - - 87 10 - John Clark of Council Salary 15 - - Matthew Durling Accompt Salary 17 10 - Do Diet Money 15 - - Do House Rent 2 10 - 35 - - William Lee Captain Salary 25 - - Do Diet Money 15 - - 40 - - Francis Wrangham Secry Salary 17 10 - Do Diet Money 15 - - Do House Rent 2 10 - 35 - - James Powell Storekeeper Salary 17 10 - Do Diet Money 15 - -	List of the Honourable Company's officers and servants at St Helena, with their salaries, diet money and so on for the quarter beginning 12 January and ending 11 April 1757. Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d, total £156 14s 9d John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Diet money, £25 0s 0d, total £87 10s 0d John Clark, of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Durling, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £35 0s 0d William Lee, captain, salary, £25 0s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d, total £40 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £35 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d Assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £17 10s 0d Charles Steward, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d, total £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £22 5s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d Schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d As clerk, £5 0s 0d, total £18 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d

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		Do House Rent 2 10 - 35 - - Matthew Bazett Factor Salary 7 10 - Do Diet Money 10 - - Do Assistant Storekeeper 5 - - Do House Rent 2 10 - 35 - - William Wrangham Writer Salary 5 - - Do Diet Money 10 - - Do House Rent 2 10 - 17 10 - Charles Steward Writer Salary 5 - - Do Diet Money 10 - - 15 - - Robert Barclay Surgeon Salary 9 15 - Do Diet Money 10 - - Do House Rent 2 10 - 22 5 - Richard Beale Judge Advocate Salary 10 - - Do Schoolmaster 3 8 3 Do as Clerk 5 - - 18 8 3 Samuel Alexander Overseers 7 10 - Matthew Bazett 7 10 - 15 - - John Roland Plantation Mason Salary 17 10 - Do Diet Money 10 - - Do House Rent 1 10 - 29 - - Carried over £566 8 -	Matthew Bazett, overseer, £7 10s 0d, total £15 0s 0d John Island, gunner, storekeeper's mate, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £1 10s 0d, total £29 0s 0d Carried over, £546 8s 0d Interpretations The pay of each officer was made up of several distinct heads, a basic salary supplemented by diet money and a house rent allowance, so that the Governor down to the writers each drew a composite income rather than a single wage, the diet and rent allowances recognising the cost of subsisting and housing themselves on a remote island where provision was dear. Several men held more than one office at once for combined pay, Matthew Bazett drawing separately as factor, assistant storekeeper and overseer, and Richard Beale as judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk, showing how a small establishment made each capable man serve in several functions, the salaries stacked to reward a plurality of duties that no single post could occupy. The Governor's total of £156 14s 9d stood far above every other officer, more than the Lieutenant Governor's £87 10s and many times a writer's £15, marking the steep hierarchy of the Company's island establishment where reward fell sharply away from the head of government through the graded ranks of civil servants below.
223	218	2d May Brought over £546 8 - Thomas Levinz Carpenter Salary £12 10 - Do House Rent 15 - 13 5 - Thomas Kirkpatrick Master of Arms 6 5 - James Sheridan Gardener 10 - - Paul Horsleys Armorer 10 10 - John Hughes Do Mate 9 - - James Isbell Cooper 8 15 - William Moore Steward 6 - - Fitch Frost Clerk and Instrument cleaner 1 5 - Nicholas Scrafton Patron of the long Boat 7 10 - John Strange Groom	The list of the Company's officers and servants continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £546 8s 0d Thomas Levinz, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d House rent, £0 15s 0d, total £13 5s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, master of arms, £6 5s 0d James Sheridan, gardener, £10 0s 0d Paul Horlidge, armourer, £10 10s 0d John Hughes, armourer's mate, £9 0s 0d James Isbell, cooper, £8 15s 0d William Moore, steward, £6 0s 0d Heich Frost, clerk and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Nicholas Scrafton, patron of the long boat, £7 10s 0d John Strange, groom, £2 0s 0d Thomas Harper, marshal, £5 6s 5½d, total £66 11s 5½d First Company: John Clark, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d On account of instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d, total £37 3s 1½d

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		2 - - Thomas Harper Marshall 5 6 5½ 66 11 5½ First Company John Clark 1st Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do an Act of instructing the Gunners 7 10 - 37 3 1½ Henry Bazett 2d Lieutenant Salary 18 5 - Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ Sergeants Solomon Jacob from 12th January to 17th Feby inclusive as Sergeant 3 1 8 Do from 18th Feby Instant as Adjutant 17 4 6 John Howard 7 12 1 Joseph Norton 7 12 1 35 10 4 Corporals Edward Robinson from 12th Janry to 17th Feb as Corpl 2 3 2 Do from 18th Feby Instant as Sergeant 4 10 5 Humphry Pugh 5 6 5½ Thomas Ferris 5 6 5½ 17 6 6 Drummers John Vaughan 5 6 5½ John Bolton 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Centinels Philip Audrouin 3 16 4 George Bennett 3 16 4 John Begley 3 16 4 John Buck from 12th Janry to 17th Feby as Centinel 1 10 10 Do from 18th Feby and as Corporal 3 3 3½ Peter Belling 3 16 4 Centinels carried over £19 18 3½ Carried over £751 19 2½	Henry Bazett, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d, total £25 1s 10½d Sergeants: Solomon Jacob, from 12 January to 17 February as sergeant, £3 1s 8d Solomon Jacob, from 18 February that day as adjutant, £17 4s 6d John Howard, £7 12s 1d Joseph Norton, £7 12s 1d, total £35 10s 4d Corporals: Edward Robinson, from 12 January to 17 February as corporal, £2 3s 2d Edward Robinson, from 18 February that day as sergeant, £4 10s 5d Humphry Pugh, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Ferris, £5 6s 5½d, total £17 6s 6d Drummers: John Vaughan, £5 6s 5½d John Bolton, £5 6s 5½d, total £10 12s 11d Sentinels: Philip Audevouin, £3 16s 4d George Bennett, £3 16s 4d John Begley, £3 16s 4d John Buck, from 12 January to 17 February as sentinel, £1 10s 10d John Buck, from 18 February that day as corporal, £3 3s 3½d Peter Belling, £3 16s 4d Sentinels carried over, £19 18s 3½d Carried over, £751 19s 2½d Interpretations Several soldiers were paid at two different rates within the single quarter, Solomon Jacob as sergeant to 17 February and as adjutant after, Edward Robinson as corporal then sergeant, John Buck as sentinel then corporal, the pay list recording the exact date each man was promoted and splitting his quarter's wage accordingly, the changes matching the appointments made when the directors' instructions arrived in February. The garrison's pay descended through a fixed military hierarchy from lieutenants through sergeants, corporals, drummers and sentinels, each rank at its own rate, the structure showing the Company maintaining a small but fully ordered military establishment on the island with the graded ranks and pay of a regular company. The lieutenant John Clark drew a separate allowance for instructing the gunners on top of his salary and diet money, recognising the specialist duty of training the men in artillery as an extra charge, a reflection of how much the island's defence rested on skilled gunnery and the effort put into maintaining it.
224	219	1757. Brot over £751 19 2½ Centinels brot over £19 18 3½ John Blackwell 3 16 4 John Buckham 3 16 4 Gabriel Bony 3 16 4 John Bufsed frm 18th Feb incl entertained 2 4 2 William Boddington Do 2 4 2 John Bazett frm 7th Mar incl Enterd 1 10 -	The list of sentinels continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £751 19s 2½d Sentinels brought over, £19 18s 3½d John Blackwell, £3 16s 4d John Buckham, £3 16s 4d Gabriel Bony, £3 16s 4d John Buffed, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d William Boddington, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d John Bazett, from 7 March that day entertained, £1 10s 0d James Cartwright, £3 16s 4d George Capeling, £3 16s 4d

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		James Cartwright 3 16 4 George Capeling 3 16 4 William Cook Senr 3 16 4 Duncan Cameron 3 16 4 James Collet 3 16 4 Jos Clay frm 12th Janry to 23 Feb incl died 1 15 10 William Caker frm 12th Janry to 11th Mar incl died 2 9 2 William Clarke frm 18th Feb incl entd 2 4 2 Edward Durrant 3 16 4 Thomas Dunn 3 16 4 James Easthope 3 16 4 Robt Evans 3 16 4 James Edwards 3 16 4 John Flemming frm 18th Feb incl entd 2 4 2 Richard Gooding 3 16 4 John Grainger 3 16 4 George Green 3 16 4 Thomas Hailes 3 16 4 Jonathan Hitchens 3 16 4 Thomas Halliwell 3 16 4 Daniel Hull 3 16 4 Henry Harrenburg 3 5 - Henry Harper frm 24th Janry incl Entd 2 4 2 William Herrold frm 18th Feb Do 1 10 - George Howard frm 7th Mar Do 3 16 4 George Ice 3 16 4 William Jarvis 2 4 2 Stephen John frm 18th Feby incl entd 2 4 2 Edward Kirk frm Do Do 3 16 4 William Lambum 3 16 4 Thomas Litchfield 3 16 4 John Marsh 3 16 4 William Montgomery 3 16 4 William McDonald 3 16 4 Centinels carried over 152 6 7½ Carried over £751 19 2½	William Cook, sergeant, £3 16s 4d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 4d James Collet, £3 16s 4d Joseph Clay, from 12 January to 23 February that day died, £1 15s 10d William Caker, from 12 January to 11 March that day died, £2 9s 2d William Clowry, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Edward Durrant, £3 16s 4d Thomas Dunn, £3 16s 4d James Easthope, £3 16s 4d Robert Evans, £3 16s 4d James Edwards, £3 16s 4d John Flemming, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Richard Gooding, £3 16s 4d John Granger, £3 16s 4d George Green, £3 16s 4d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 4d Jonathan Hitchens, £3 16s 4d Thomas Halliwell, £3 16s 4d Daniel Hull, £3 16s 4d Henry Harrenburg, £3 16s 4d Henry Harper, from 24 January that day entertained, £3 5s 0d William Harrold, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d George Howard, from 7 March that day entertained, £1 10s 0d George Ice, £3 16s 4d William Jarvis, £2 4s 2d Stephen John, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Edward Kirk, from 18 February that day entertained, £3 16s 4d William Lamburn, £3 16s 4d Thomas Litchfield, £3 16s 4d John Marsh, £3 16s 4d William Montgomery, £3 16s 4d William McDonald, £3 16s 4d Sentinels carried over, £152 6s 7½d Carried over, £751 19s 2½d Interpretations The pay list records the exact dates on which the soldiers Joseph Clay and William Caker died, their wages struck to the day of death, the same men whose funerals appear in the gunners' account with powder fired over their graves, the pay register and the stores account together marking the passing of individual members of the garrison. Many sentinels were paid only from 18 February or 7 March when they were entertained, that is taken onto the strength, matching the enlistments recorded at the February and March consultations, the pay list carrying each man from the day he joined so that a quarter's roll contains full-term soldiers and part-quarter recruits side by side at their respective sums.
225	220	2d May Brot over £751 19 2½ Centinels brot over 152 6 7½ John Murray 3 16 4	The list of sentinels and companies continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £751 19s 2½d Sentinels brought over, £152 6s 7½d John Murray, £3 16s 4d

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		David Miles frm 18th Feb incl entd 2 4 2 Richard Morekin frm Do Do 2 4 2 Flurdock McAlead Do Do 2 4 2 Simon Mason Do Do 2 4 2 Thomas Pilkington 3 16 4 John Pugh 3 16 4 Alexr Peebler frm 7th Mar incl entd 1 10 - James Richardson 3 16 4 Abraham Ratcliffe 3 16 4 John Scotcher 3 16 4 John Shaw 3 16 4 William Sedman 3 16 4 Saml Springall frm 18th Feb incl entd 2 4 2 James Truelove 3 16 4 Ed Webber 3 16 4 Jeremiah Wharrick 3 16 4 Thomas Williams frm 18th Feb incl entd 2 4 2 208 18 1 Second Company Thomas Kirkpatrick 1st Lieut Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 - 32 3 1½ Stephen Herbert 2d Lieutenant Salary 18 5 - Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Sergeants John Walker 7 12 1 William Bantin 7 12 1 Thomas Bazett 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Samuel Desfountain 5 6 5½ William Lindsey 5 6 5½ William Cannan 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Drummers John Gould 5 6 5½ George Brown 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried over £1070 0 10	David Miles, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Richard Morckin, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Murdock McClead, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Simon Mason, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Thomas Pilkington, £3 16s 4d John Pugh, £3 16s 4d Alexander Buller, from 7 March that day entertained, £1 10s 0d James Richardson, £3 16s 4d Abraham Ratcliffe, £3 16s 4d John Scotcher, £3 16s 4d John Shaw, £3 16s 4d William Sedman, £3 16s 4d Samuel Springall, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d James Truelove, £3 16s 4d Edward Webber, £3 16s 4d Jeremiah Wharrick, £3 16s 4d Thomas Williams, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d, total £208 18s 1d Second Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £32 3s 1½d Stephen Herbert, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: John Walker, £7 12s 1d William Bunton, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bazett, £7 12s 1d, total £22 16s 3d Corporals: Samuel Desfountain, £5 6s 5½d William Lindsey, £5 6s 5½d William Cannan, £5 6s 5½d, total £15 19s 4½d Drummers: John Gould, £5 6s 5½d George Brown, £5 6s 5½d, total £10 12s 11d Carried over, £1,070 0s 10d Interpretations The garrison was organised into two companies, each with its own lieutenants, sergeants, corporals and drummers, the pay list setting out the full establishment of both, showing the island maintained a divided military structure with duplicate ranks rather than a single undifferentiated body of soldiers. The two companies drew markedly uneven strength, the first swollen with the many recruits entertained from 18 February and 7 March while the second is a compact and largely full-term body, reflecting how the fresh enlistments of the spring were absorbed chiefly into the first company as it took up the new men stranded from the ships and freshly recruited.
226	221	1757. Centinels Brot over £1070 0 10	The list of sentinels continued as follows, in sterling.

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		John Allis £3 16 4 Edward Allis 3 16 4 John Attingstall 3 16 4 Samuel Anderson 3 16 4 Edward Apsley from 18th Feb entd 2 4 2 John Allison Do Do 2 4 2 Thomas Beddan 3 16 4 Thomas Braxe 3 16 4 Isaac Buck 3 16 4 John Barrett 3 16 4 Edwd Broome frm 18 Feby inclusive Entd 2 4 2 Robt Bennett 3 16 4 Thomas Brown 3 16 4 Edward Cocker 3 16 4 William Cobb 3 16 4 Thomas Cobb 3 16 4 Isaac Day 3 16 4 William Divon 3 16 4 Henry Dudley 3 16 4 Hopkin Davis frm 18 Feb incl entd 2 4 2 Samuel Eeles 3 16 4 Arthur Evans frm 18 Feb incl entd 2 4 2 John Frazier 3 16 4 Jonathan Godby 3 16 4 Thomas Godden 3 16 4 William Gooding 3 16 4 John Greenass frm 18 Feb incl enterd 2 4 2 James Hall 3 16 4 John Haley 3 16 4 William Hayes 3 16 4 Philip Hickman 3 16 4 Geo Hill 3 16 4 William Houseman frm 18 Feb incl entd 2 4 2 John Hopyrass frm 18 Feb to 15 Mar incl died 1 1 8 George Kibbell 3 16 4 Richard Knight 3 16 4 Peter Lindsay 3 16 4 John Langridge 3 16 4	Brought over, £1,070 0s 10d John Allis, £3 16s 4d Edward Allis, £3 16s 4d John Auckingstall, £3 16s 4d Samuel Anderson, £3 16s 4d Edward Apsley, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d John Allison, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Thomas Beddau, £3 16s 4d Thomas Bax, £3 16s 4d Isaac Buck, £3 16s 4d John Barrell, £3 16s 4d Adam Broome, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Robert Bennett, £3 16s 4d Thomas Brown, £3 16s 4d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 4d William Cobb, £3 16s 4d Thomas Cobb, £3 16s 4d Isaac Day, £3 16s 4d William Dixon, £3 16s 4d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 4d Hopkin Davis, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 4d Arthur Evans, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d John Frazier, £3 16s 4d Jonathan Godby, £3 16s 4d Thomas Godden, £3 16s 4d William Gooding, £3 16s 4d John Greenall, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d James Hall, £3 16s 4d John Haley, £3 16s 4d William Hayes, £3 16s 4d Philip Hickman, £3 16s 4d George Hill, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d William Houseman, from 18 February that day entertained, £1 1s 8d John Slipyear, from 18 February to 15 March that day died, £3 16s 4d George Kibbell, £3 16s 4d Richard Knight, £3 16s 4d Peter Lindsay, £3 16s 4d John Langridge, £3 16s 4d William Luke, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Lachlan McLean, from 18 February that day entertained, £3 16s 4d Duncan McCann, £3 16s 4d Sentinels carried over, £140 8s 4d Carried over, £1,070 0s 10d Interpretations The pay register records the soldier John Slipyear serving from 18 February and dying on 15 March, his wage struck to the day, another of the garrison's men whose short service ended in death within weeks of enlisting, the roll marking how heavily illness and death fell on the newly entertained recruits of the spring. The large block of sentinels taken onto the strength from 18 February at the reduced part-quarter rate, appearing here in number alongside the full-term men, confirms the scale of the recruitment that followed the arrival of the directors' instructions in February, the garrison absorbing many new soldiers at once to bring its companies up to strength.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Luke 3 16 4 Lachlan McLein frm 18 Feb incl entd 2 4 2 Duncan McCann 3 16 4 Centd carrd over £140 8 4 Carr over £1070 - 10	
227	222	2d May Brot over £1070 - 10 Centinels brot over £140 8 4 Francis Marsh frm 18 Feb incl entd 2 4 2 Wm McNeill 3 16 4 John Price 3 16 4 Edward Grafton 3 16 4 Charles Dunsfof frm 18 Feb incl entd 2 4 2 Edwd Richards 3 16 4 William Richards 3 16 4 Lewis Rowe 3 16 4 Arnold Safeery 3 16 4 Daniel Sargant 3 16 4 Timothy Sullivan 3 16 4 William Smith 3 16 4 Henry Simmonds 3 16 4 John Stewart 3 16 4 William Smith frm 18 Feb incl entd 2 4 2 Thomas Taylor 3 16 4 Edward Terry 3 16 4 Benjin Williams 3 16 4 Edward Williams 3 16 4 207 17 6 Third Company Onesiphorus Beale 1st Lieut Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 - 32 3 1½ George Hay 2d Lieut Salary 18 5 - Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ Sergeants Robert Mason 7 12 1 Michael Snart 7 12 1 William Watkins frm 12th Janry to 21 Mar incl died 5 15 - 20 19 2 Corporals Thomas Leech frm 12th Janry to 17th Feb incl as Corpl 2 - 6	The list of sentinels and companies continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £1,070 0s 10d Sentinels brought over, £140 8s 4d Francis Marsh, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d William Nickell, £3 16s 4d John Price, £3 16s 4d Edward Grafton, £3 16s 4d Charles Pursfoy, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Edward Rickards, £3 16s 4d William Richards, £3 16s 4d Lewis Rowe, £3 16s 4d Arnold Safsory, £3 16s 4d Daniel Sargant, £3 16s 4d Timothy Sullivan, £3 16s 4d William Smith, £3 16s 4d Henry Simmonds, £3 16s 4d John Stewart, £3 16s 4d William Smith, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 4d Edward Terry, £3 16s 4d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 4d Edward Williams, £3 16s 4d, total £207 17s 6d Third Company: Onesiphorus Beale, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £32 3s 1½d George Hay, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d, total £25 1s 10½d Sergeants: Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Michael Frost, £7 12s 1d William Watkins, from 12 January to 21 March that day died, £5 15s 0d, total £20 19s 2d Corporals: Thomas Leek, from 12 January to 21 February that day entertained as corporal, £2 0s 6d Thomas Leek, from 22 February that day as sergeant, £1 17s 0d Charles Gifsing, £5 6s 5½d Robert Braun, £5 6s 5½d, total £16 10s 6d Drummers: John Coffin, £5 6s 5½d John Gould, £5 6s 5½d, total £10 12s 11d Carried over, £1,383 5s 11d Interpretations A third company appears here beyond the first two already listed, with Onesiphorus Beale and George Hay as its lieutenants, showing the garrison larger than a two-company establishment and organised into three ordered divisions, each with the full complement of officers and ranks. The sergeant William Watkins is carried to 21 March when he died, his wage struck to the day, the same sergeant whose death is recorded at the March consultation and whose funeral drew powder in the gunners' account, the pay list, the consultation and the stores return again converging on the death of one named man of the garrison. George Hay serving as second lieutenant of the third company, drawing a full officer's salary for the quarter, shows the officer earlier at the centre of the disciplinary dispute restored to his place and paid in

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do frm 18th Feb incl as Sergeant 1 17 1 Charles Gifsing 5 6 5½ Robert Brain 5 6 5½ 16 10 6 Drummers John Coffin 5 6 5½ John Gadd 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried over £1383 5 11	the ordinary way, the matter that had threatened a court martial closed without cost to his rank or pay.
228	223	1757. Centinels Brot over £1383 5 11 Matthew Allis 3 16 4 Samuel Alston from 18th Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 Samuel Austin 3 16 4 Robert Baker 3 16 4 George Beale 3 16 4 Wm Bechell 3 16 4 Robert Berry 3 16 4 William Birel 3 16 4 John Bourke 3 16 4 John Brewer 3 16 4 William Brooke 3 16 4 John Brown 3 16 4 Benjn Burton from 18 Feb incl entd 2 4 2 William Campbll 3 16 4 Daniel Carn 3 16 4 Stephen Cleverly 3 16 4 John Coslee 3 16 4 Jacob du Valt 3 16 4 Peter Eglestone 3 16 4 William Elward 3 16 4 Peter Finale 3 16 4 Henry Fulbright 3 16 4 John Gaynor frm 18 Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 Thomas Green 3 16 4 William Harris 3 16 4 William Harrison 3 16 4 John Hudson frm 12th Janry to 21 Mar as Centl 2 17 6 Do from 22d Mar incl as Coporal 1 5 11½ John Hayes 3 16 4 Philip Willard	The list of sentinels continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £1,383 5s 11d Matthew Allis, £3 16s 4d Samuel Alston, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Samuel Austin, £3 16s 4d Robert Baker, £3 16s 4d George Beale, £3 16s 4d William Bechell, £3 16s 4d Robert Berry, £3 16s 4d William Birch, £3 16s 4d John Bourke, £3 16s 4d John Brewer, £3 16s 4d William Brooke, £3 16s 4d John Brown, £3 16s 4d Benjamin Burton, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d William Campbell, £3 16s 4d Daniel Carn, £3 16s 4d Stephen Cleverly, £3 16s 4d John Coslee, £3 16s 4d Jacob du Vale, £3 16s 4d Peter Eglestone, £3 16s 4d William Edward, £3 16s 4d Peter Finale, £3 16s 4d Henry Fulbright, £3 16s 4d John Gaynor, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Thomas Green, £3 16s 4d William Harris, £3 16s 4d William Harrison, £3 16s 4d John Hudson, from 12 January to 21 March as sentinel, £2 17s 6d John Hudson, from 22 March that day entertained as corporal, £1 5s 11½d John Hayes, £3 16s 4d Philip Hillard, £3 16s 4d James Hinds, £3 16s 4d William Holbrook, £3 16s 4d John Holloway, £3 16s 4d James Hudson, £2 4s 2d Samuel Instone, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Richard Jones, £3 16s 4d Samuel Kelson, £3 16s 4d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 4d William Lyon, from 12 January to 31 January that day died, £0 16s 8d Christian Groos, £3 16s 4d Richard McNally, £3 16s 4d William Martin, £3 16s 4d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 4d Sentinels carried over, £149 2s 5d Carried over, £1,383 5s 11d Interpretations The sentinel William Lyon is carried only from 12 January to 31 January when he died, drawing barely a fortnight's pay, one more of the garrison's men whose service ended in death, the pay register recording each such loss to the exact day and showing

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 4 James Hindes 3 16 4 William Holbrook 3 16 4 John Holloway 3 16 4 James Hudson 2 4 2 Saml Instone frm 18 Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 Richard Jones 3 16 4 Saml Kelson 3 16 4 Evan Knowles 3 16 4 William Lyon 16 8 Christian Groos frm 12th to 31 Janry incl disch 3 16 4 Richard McNally 3 16 4 William Martin 3 16 4 Stephen Orr 3 16 4 Centinels Carrd over 149 2 5 Carried over £1383 5 11	how frequently death cut short a soldier's term on the island. John Hudson appears at two rates within the quarter, as sentinel to 21 March and as corporal after, his promotion dated and his wage split accordingly, the same pattern of mid-quarter advancement seen throughout the pay list as men moved up through the ranks and their pay was adjusted from the day the change took effect.
229	224	2d May Brot over £1383 5 11 Centinels brot over £149 2 5 William Denny frm 18 Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 Roger Philps 3 16 4 Archibald Paige 3 16 4 Thomas Rutherford frm 18 Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 Henry Schaarnhurst Do Do 2 4 2 John Simmons 3 16 4 Willm Smith frm 18th Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 Joseph Smith 3 16 4 Thos Stowers from 18th Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 John Strange 3 16 4 Willm Taylor 3 16 4 Rich Twaits 3 16 4 Thos Wanvell 3 16 4 John Williams 3 16 4 Willm Williams frm 18th Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 Stephen Willoughby 3 16 4 Thomas Wiffington 3 16 4 Gustavus Weedon frm 18th Feb incl entd 2 4 2 Jeremiah Wyrill 3 16 4 210 4 1 Fourth Company William Kennedy 1st Lieut Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money	The list of sentinels and companies continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £1,383 5s 11d Sentinels brought over, £149 2s 5d William Denny, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Roger Philps, £3 16s 4d Archibald Sauge, £3 16s 4d Thomas Rutherford, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Henry Schaarnhurst, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d John Simmons, £3 16s 4d William Smith, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 4d Thomas Stowers, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d John Strange, £3 16s 4d William Taylor, £3 16s 4d Richard Twaits, £3 16s 4d Thomas Wanvele, £3 16s 4d John Williams, £3 16s 4d William Williams, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 4d Thomas Wiffington, £3 16s 4d Gustavus Weedon, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Jeremiah Wyrill, £3 16s 4d, total £210 4s 1d Fourth Company: William Kennedy, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, total £32 3s 1½d Samuel Price, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d, total £25 1s 10½d Sergeants: William Longhorne, £7 12s 1d Richard Vaughan, £7 12s 1d John Bridgwater, £7 12s 1d, total £22 16s 3d Corporals: Gilbert Slough, £5 6s 5½d Benjamin Twaits, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Dearce, £5 6s 5½d, total £15 19s 4½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 - 32 3 1½ Saml Price 2d Lieut Salary 18 5 - Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ Sergeants William Langhorne 7 12 1 Richard Vaughan 7 12 1 John Bridgwater 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Gilbert Plough 5 6 5½ Benjn Twaits 5 6 5½ Thomas dearee 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Drummers Edward Thomas 5 6 5½ John davis 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried over £1706 3 6½	Drummers: Edward Thomas, £5 6s 5½d John Davis, £5 6s 5½d, total £10 12s 11d Carried over, £1,706 3s 6½d Interpretations A fourth company appears here with William Kennedy and Samuel Price as its lieutenants, showing the garrison organised into four full companies, a substantial military establishment for so small an island, each division carrying the same ordered ranks of lieutenants, sergeants, corporals and drummers. The four companies were each headed by a first and second lieutenant with no captain above them, the command of every division resting with lieutenants, which reflects a garrison whose senior military authority lay with the Governor and Council rather than in a full field-officer structure over the companies themselves.
230	225	1757. Centinels Brot over £1700 3 6½ William Adams 3 16 4 Wm Anderson 3 16 4 Wm Brown 3 16 4 Christr Brinks 3 16 4 Robert Ballard 3 16 4 Onesr Bagley 3 16 4 John Boxe 3 16 4 Jaque Birch 3 16 4 Henry Brown from 18th Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 Robert Bliss Do Do 2 4 2 Wm Blackman frm 7 Mar incl Entd 1 10 - Jacob Brill frm 18th Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 James Carmichael 3 16 4 John Cherrett 3 16 4 John Cripps 3 16 4 Joseph Chamberlain 3 16 4 John Clough 3 16 4 John Cook frm 18th Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 Job Chamberlain Do Do 2 4 2 Baron deloaph 3 16 4 James Dry	The list of sentinels continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £1,706 3s 6½d William Adams, £3 16s 4d William Anderson, £3 16s 4d William Brown, £3 16s 4d Christopher Brinks, £3 16s 4d Robert Ballard, £3 16s 4d Onesiphorus Bagley, £3 16s 4d John Boze, £3 16s 4d Jaque Birch, £3 16s 4d Henry Brown, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Robert Bliss, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d William Blackman, from 7 March that day entertained, £1 10s 0d Jacob Brill, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d James Carmichael, £3 16s 4d John Cherrett, £3 16s 4d John Cripps, £3 16s 4d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 4d John Clough, £3 16s 4d John Cook, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Job Chamberlain, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Baron Deloash, £3 16s 4d James Dry, £3 16s 4d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 4d Peter Fleetwood, £3 16s 4d Edward Grant, £3 16s 4d John Hyde, £3 16s 4d William Hayes, £3 16s 4d William Hill, from 7 March that day entertained, £1 10s 0d Robert Jorhurst, £3 16s 4d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 4d John Kempe, £3 16s 4d John Langbridge, £3 16s 4d Thomas Lindsay, £3 16s 4d Joseph Long, £2 4s 2d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 4 Thomas Fuller 3 16 4 Peter Fleetwood 3 16 4 Edward Grant 3 16 4 John Hyde 3 16 4 William Hayes 3 16 4 William Hill from 7th Mar incl Entd 1 10 - Robt Jorhurst 3 16 4 Thos Kendrick 3 16 4 John Kempe 3 16 4 John Langbridge 3 16 4 Thos Lindsay 3 16 4 Joseph Long 2 4 2 John Lemmon frm 18th Feb incl entd 3 16 4 Abraham Major 3 16 4 Charles Montague 3 16 4 Adam Willson 3 16 4 Rich Major 3 16 4 Edward Manvell 2 4 2 Willm Meer frm 18th Feb incl entd Cents carried over £136 6 5½ Carried over £1700 3 6½	John Lemmer, from 18 February that day entertained, £3 16s 4d Abraham Major, £3 16s 4d Charles Montague, £3 16s 4d Adam Wilbrow, £3 16s 4d Richard Major, £3 16s 4d Edward Maxwell, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d William Mercer, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Sentinels carried over, £136 6s 5d Carried over, £1,706 3s 6½d Interpretations The pay register again carries a large block of sentinels taken on from 18 February and 7 March at the reduced part-quarter rate, set among the full-term men, confirming across company after company the scale of the spring recruitment that followed the arrival of the directors' instructions and brought many new soldiers onto the garrison's strength at once.
231	226	2d May Brot over £1700 3 6½ Cents brot over £136 6 5½ Thomas Morris 3 16 4 Wm McClead frm 18th Feb incl Entd 2 4 2 Thos Nimble 3 16 4 John Pasewater 3 16 4 Thomas Payne 3 16 4 Wm Robinson 3 16 4 John Robinson 3 16 4 Wm Rippon 3 16 4 Robert Stack 3 16 4 David Scott 3 16 4 Adam Scott 3 16 4 Nichs Scrafton 3 16 4 Thos Skarmore 3 16 4 Rich Spencer 3 16 4 Joseph Steward frm 18th Feb incl entd 2 4 2 George Sims Do Do 2 4 2	The list of sentinels and the artillery company continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £1,706 3s 6½d Sentinels brought over, £136 6s 5d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 4d William McClead, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Thomas Nimble, £3 16s 4d John Sasewater, £3 16s 4d Thomas Payne, £3 16s 4d William Robinson, £3 16s 4d John Robinson, £3 16s 4d William Rippon, £3 16s 4d Robert Stack, £3 16s 4d Adam Scott, £3 16s 4d Adam Scott, £3 16s 4d Nicholas Scrafton, £3 16s 4d Thomas Stormer, £3 16s 4d Richard Spencer, £3 16s 4d Joseph Steward, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d George Sims, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Joseph Sholbeard, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 4s 2d Christopher Ryder, £3 16s 4d Joseph Effin, £3 16s 4d Roger Watman, £3 16s 4d John Wybird, £3 16s 4d, total £209 15s 10d Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, master gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d, total £29 13s 1½d Gunners' mates: Nathan Semple, chief mate, £11 8s 1½d William Turner, £9 2s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Jos Sholboard Do Do 2 4 2 Christr Tyder 3 16 4 Joseph Effin 3 16 4 Roger Wetwan 3 16 4 John Wybird 3 16 4 209 15 10 Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 29 13 1½ Gunners Mates Nathan Semple chief Mate 11 8 1½ Wm Turner 9 2 6 John Whitehead 9 2 6 Henry Carter 9 2 6 Chas McNeily 9 2 6 Rowland davis 9 2 6 Richd Killington frm 12 to 31 Jan incl as Qr Mate 2 - - Do from 1 Feb incl as Matefs 3 10 - John Hellings 9 2 6 71 13 1½ Quarter Gunners Adam Watson frm 12 to 31 Jan incl as 3 Gunr 1 10 - Do frm 1 Feb as Gunrs Mate 7 2 6 James Lee 6 16 10½ James Long 6 16 10½ Thos Mason 6 16 10½ Thos Williams 6 16 10½ Nath Day 6 16 10½ Andr Barton 6 16 10½ John Parks 6 16 10½ 56 10 7½ Carried over £2067 16 3	John Whitehead, £9 2s 6d Henry Carter, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis, £9 2s 6d Richard Bellington, from 12 January to 31 January that day entertained as gunner's mate, £2 0s 0d Richard Bellington, from 1 February that day as mate, £3 10s 0d John Hollings, £9 2s 6d, total £71 13s 1½d Quarter gunners: Adam Watson, from 12 January to 31 January that day entertained as gunner, £1 10s 0d Adam Watson, from 1 February that day as gunner's mate, £4 2s 6d James Lee, £6 16s 10½d James Long, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Mason, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Williams, £6 16s 10½d Andrew Day, £6 16s 10½d Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10½d John Parks, £6 16s 10½d, total £56 10s 7½d Carried over, £2,067 16s 3d Interpretations The artillery company stood as a distinct establishment apart from the four infantry companies, headed by the master gunner Thomas Hall and staffed with gunners' mates and quarter gunners, showing that the island maintained a separate specialist body of trained artillerymen to work its fixed batteries, the skilled core on which the defence of so heavily fortified a harbour depended. Thomas Hall, the master gunner drawing the highest artillery salary, is the same officer who signed the monthly gunners' stores accounts recording the powder and shot expended at the batteries, the pay list and the stores returns identifying him as the man in charge of the whole apparatus of the island's ordnance. The gunners' mates were paid at £9 2s 6d and the quarter gunners at £6 16s 10½d, both well above a sentinel's rate, the higher pay reflecting the value the Company placed on skilled artillerymen over ordinary infantry, gunnery being the specialist trade that a fortified island most needed and could least easily replace.
232	227	1757. Matrosses Brot over £2067 16 3 James Cooper £4 11 3 Darby Coyles 4 11 3 John Clavey frm 12th to 31 Janry incl as Matrofs 1 11 3 Do frm 1 Feby Inclusive as 2d Gunr 5 6 10½ Thomas davis 4 11 3 Wm Fletcher 4 11 3 Thomas Mudge 4 11 3 George Nelson	The list of matrosses and superannuated men concluded as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £2,067 16s 3d James Cooper, £4 11s 3d Darby Coyles, £4 11s 3d John Clancy, from 12 January to 31 January that day entertained as matross, £1 11s 3d John Clancy, from 1 February that day as second gunner, £5 6s 10½d Thomas Davis, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d Thomas Mudge, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d William Darcy, £4 11s 3d Joseph Pritchard, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d John Shirtley, £4 11s 3d

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		4 11 3 William Darcy 4 11 3 Joseph Pritchard 4 11 3 John Robinson 4 11 3 John Shirtley 4 11 3 John Slater 4 11 3 John Turner 4 11 3 Wm Thompson 4 11 3 Thomas Taylor 4 11 3 John Thomason 4 11 3 Thomas Watts 4 11 3 John Woods 4 11 3 Roger Newirson 4 11 3 William Bawson frm 18th Feb incl Entd 2 13 - Matthew Brickland Do 2 13 - Robert Cunningham Do 2 13 - Andrew Girdin Do 2 13 - Wm Mason Do 2 13 - Thomas Pratchett Do 2 13 - James Pearcey Do 2 13 - James Robinson Do 2 13 - Joseph Turner Do 2 13 - Rich Waterhouse Do 2 13 - Benjn Wilson Do 2 13 - James York 2 13 - 120 5 4½ Superannuated Thomas Easthope 11 8 1½ Total 2199 9 9 Acct Current	John Slater, £4 11s 3d John Turner, £4 11s 3d William Thompson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor, £4 11s 3d John Thomason, £4 11s 3d Thomas Walls, £4 11s 3d John Woods, £4 11s 3d Roger Nevirson, £4 11s 3d William Rawson, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d Matthew Brickland, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d Robert Cunningham, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d Andrew Girdin, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d William Mason, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d Thomas Pratchett, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d James Pearcey, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d James Robinson, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d Joseph Turner, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d Richard Waterhouse, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d Benjamin Wilson, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d James York, from 18 February that day entertained, £2 13s 0d, total £120 5s 4½d Superannuated: Thomas Easthope, £11 8s 1½d Total, £2,199 9s 9d Interpretations Matrosses were the junior ranks of the artillery, soldiers who assisted the gunners in loading, firing and moving the guns, and their listing here below the gunners and quarter gunners completes the graded structure of the artillery company, from the master gunner down through the mates and quarter gunners to the matrosses who did the heavy work at the batteries. The single superannuated man, Thomas Easthope, drawing a full quarter's pay though no longer fit for active service, records the Company keeping a worn-out servant on its books in a form of pension, the island providing for a man who had given his working years to its service rather than discharging him without support. John Shirtley the matross bore the same name as the mattress-maker to whom the dying sailor Timothy Wilson had left his clothes in February, suggesting the same island resident, a man drawing artillery pay while also plying a trade, the kind of double occupation common in so small a settlement where few could live by a single calling.
233	228	2d May John Clark Paymaster Dr 1757 April 11 To Cash received from the Honourable Companys Cash Chest £2547 4 8 £2547 4 8	John Clark, paymaster, Dr 1757 11 April: To cash received from the Honourable Company's cash chest, £2,547 4s 8d Total, £2,547 4s 8d Interpretations The paymaster John Clark drew £2,547 4s 8d from the Company's cash chest to meet the quarter's wage bill, a single large advance covering the whole establishment from the Governor down through the four companies and the artillery, showing how the garrison's pay was funded by a lump withdrawal from the island's central reserve rather than by separate payments to each recipient.
234	229	1757. Per Contra Cr	The paymaster's account, per contra, set out the following payments in sterling.

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		1757 Janry 22 By Cash paid John Shaw for Enlisting to serve the Honorable East India Company as a Soldier for 5 Years to commence from this day £1 - - Febry 17 By Cash paid Gilbert Clough Native for 10 - By Cash paid Henry Harper for 5 - Mar 8 By Cash paid Alexander Culler for Enlisting for 5 - By Cash paid William Blackman for Do 4 - By Cash paid George Howard for Do 4 - By Cash paid William Hill for Do 4 - By Cash paid John Bazett Native for 4 - 22 By Cash paid Jonathan Godby for Enlisting for 5 - By Cash paid Samuel Eeles for Do 10 - By Cash paid Benjin Williams for Do 10 - By Cash paid John Burke for Do 10 - By Cash paid Thomas Kendrick for Do 10 - By Cash paid Humphry Pugh for Do 10 - By Cash paid Arnold Safeery for Do 10 - By Cash paid George Bennett for Do 10 - By Cash paid Anthony day for Do 10 - By Cash paid Andrew Barton for Do 10 - By Cash paid Charles Montague for Do 10 - By Cash paid Mr Campbell Surgeon of the Onslow for his care of Sixty Recruits in their passage here 15 - By Cash paid Capt Hinde for the following Particulars for the use of the Honorable Companys Table viz: Firkin Butter 1 £3 12 - Cheese 23 ffi 1 5 - Bott Mustard 6 18 - Case Pickles 1 2 10 - Split Pease 2½ ffi 10 - 8 15 - April 11 By Cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for Carpenters Work done for the Honorable Company this Quarter 5 - By Cash paid Mr Kirkpatrick for Cwt 2 - Rice at 8/ ¥ C for the use of the Honorable Company 9 16 - By Cash paid Thomas Dunn for assisting in the Secretarys Office this Quarter 5 - By Cash paid William Rippon for taking care of the Honorable Companys Stock in the long Wood 2 10 -	1757 22 January: By cash paid John Shaw for enlisting to serve the Honourable East India Company as a soldier for 5 years, to commence from that day, £0 10s 0d 17 February: By cash paid Gilbert Slough, native, £0 5s 0d By cash paid Henry Harper, £0 5s 0d 6 March: By cash paid Alexander Buller for enlisting, £0 4s 0d By cash paid William Blackman for enlisting, £0 4s 0d By cash paid George Howard for enlisting, £0 4s 0d By cash paid William Hill for enlisting, £0 4s 0d By cash paid John Bazett, native, £0 5s 0d 22 March: By cash paid Jonathan Godby for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Samuel Eales for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Benjamin Williams for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid John Burke for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Thomas Kendrick for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Humphry Pugh for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Arnold Safsory for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid George Bennett for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Anthony Day for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Andrew Barton for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Charles Montague for enlisting, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Mr Campbell, surgeon of the <i>Onslow</i>, for his care of sixty recruits on their passage there, £0 15s 0d The paymaster also paid Captain Hinde for the following provisions for the use of the Honourable Company's table. 1 firkin of butter, £3 12s 0d 23 cheese, £1 5s 0d 6 bottles of mustard, £0 0s 18d 1 case of pickles, £2 10s 0d 2½ firkins of candy, £0 0s 10d Total, £8 15s 0d 11 April: By cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for carpenters' work done for the Honourable Company this quarter, £5 0s 0d By cash paid Mr Kirkpatrick for 2 candies 2 rice at 8s per hundredweight for the use of the Honourable Company, £9 16s 0d By cash paid Thomas Dunn for assisting in the secretary's office this quarter, £5 0s 0d By cash paid William Rippon for taking care of the Honourable Company's stock in the wood, £2 10s 0d By cash paid William Duffington the sexton for digging four graves for deceased soldiers this quarter, £0 10s 0d Carried over, £197 11s 0d Interpretations The small enlistment bounties paid on engagement, ranging from four to ten shillings a man across the winter and spring, record the modest sums that drew recruits into the Company's service, the payments matching the many soldiers entertained from 18 February and later whose part-quarter wages fill the pay list. The payment to the surgeon of the <i>Onslow</i> for his care of sixty recruits on their passage to the island shows the Company shipping soldiers out from England in bulk and paying the ship's surgeon to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		By Cash paid William Duffington the Sexton for digging four Graves for Deceased Soldiers this Quarter 10 - Carried over £197 11 -	keep them in health during the voyage, the sixty men a substantial draft sent to reinforce the garrison that the spring pay list then absorbed. The sexton's charge for digging four graves for deceased soldiers this quarter puts a plain figure to the mortality that runs through the pay register, the four burials matching the several soldiers whose wages were struck off at death, the island paying by the grave for the steady loss of its garrison to illness.
235	230	2d May John Clark Paymaster Dr 1757 April 11 To Cash Brot over £2547 4 8 £2547 4 8 Island St	John Clark, paymaster, Dr 1757 11 April: To cash, brought over, £2,547 4s 8d Total, £2,547 4s 8d The account was drawn up at St Helena.
236	231	1757. Per Contra Cr Brot over £197 11 - By Cash paid Robert Evans and William Cooksey for baking 152 Batches of Bread at 10d ¥ Batch for the use of the Garrison this Quarter 6 6 8 By Cash paid Roger Newirson for making a Flag for Rupperts Fort and mending several other Flags at ye out Works this Quarter 1 2 6 By Cash paid Anthony day and John Scotcher for breaking Corn ¥ the draught this Quarter 4 9 - By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for going to Sandy Bay to fetch Lime in the Honorable Companys Long Boat & rowing in their Yaul this Quarter 5 1 - By Cash paid William Tibbett and Thomas Mason for painting Gun Carriages Cornhoes Flag Staffs &c this Quarter 3 8 6 By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for coming Express of Ships to windward this Quarter 1 10 - By Cash paid John Bland for several Carpenters Tools for the use of the Honorable Company 1 1 - By Cash paid Naquida Daccaben the Malbar Prisoner 13 Weeks Subsistce at 2/6 ¥ Week 1 12 6 By Cash paid Richard Bagley for Cwt 2 Bushls Potatoes & 325 Lemons for the use of the Honble Companys Table this Quarter 1 9 - By Cash paid William Young for 3 Loads Bamboes at ye ffi ¥ Load for the use of the Honorable Company 7 6 By Cash paid John Desfountain for 51 Rafters & 4 Loads of Rinders to cover Do Damsons House in the Long Wood 1 2 - By Cash paid Stephen Young for 6 Days Work at 5d ¥ day for a Thatcher for the use of the Honble Company 15 - By Cash paid Rich Beale for 13 Rafters gwattles ¥ Rinders and 3 Loads Slats for the use of the Honble Company 1 16 6 By Cash paid Jno Writer for 1 Gallon of Vinegar at 1/3 ¥ Gallon for the use of the Honorable Companys Table 15 - By Cash paid Jonathan Doveton for 300 Apples for the use of the Honble Companys Table this Quarter 1 4 - By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for Work done in clearing the Roads in the Garden and Bamboe Gut Plantations this Quarter	The paymaster's account, per contra, continued with the following payments in sterling. Brought over, £197 11s 0d By cash paid Robert Evans and William Cooksey for baking 152 batches of bread at 10d per batch for the use of the garrison this quarter, £6 6s 8d By cash paid Roger Nevirson for making a flag for Rupert's fort and mending several other flags at the outworks this quarter, £1 2s 6d By cash paid Anthony Day and John Scotcher for breaking oxen to the draught this quarter, £4 9s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for going to Sandy Bay to fetch lime in the Honourable Company's long boat and rowing in their yawl this quarter, £5 1s 0d By cash paid William Tibbett and Thomas Mason for painting gun carriages, cornices, flagstaffs and so on this quarter, £3 8s 6d By cash paid sundry soldiers for coming express of ships to windward this quarter, £1 10s 0d By cash paid John Bland for several carpenters' tools for the use of the Honourable Company, £1 1s 0d By cash paid Naquida Draccaben the Malay prisoner, 13 weeks subsistence at 2s 4d per week, £1 12s 6d By cash paid Richard Bagley for 4½ bushels of potatoes and 32 lemons for the use of the Honourable Company's table this quarter, £1 9s 0d By cash paid William Young for 3 loads of bamboo at 2s 6d per load for the use of the Honourable Company, £0 7s 6d By cash paid John Desfountain for tile rafters and 4 loads of kinders to cover Mr Adamson's house in the Long Wood, £1 2s 0d By cash paid Stephen Young for 6 days work at 2s 6d per day as a thatcher for the use of the Honourable Company, £0 15s 0d By cash paid Richard Beale for 13 rafters, ridges of kinders and 3 loads of laths for the use of the Honourable Company, £1 16s 6d By cash paid John Writer for 1 gallon of vinegar at 2s 6d per gallon for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £0 15s 0d By cash paid Jonathan Doveton for 300 apples for the use of the Honourable Company's table this quarter, £1 4s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for work done in clearing the road down to the garden and bamboo gut plantations this quarter, £18 0s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for work done at several of the Honourable Company's fortifications this quarter, £100 3s 9d By cash paid the Honourable Company's officers and servants their several salaries, diet money and so on for the quarter beginning 12 January and ending 11 April 1757, £2,199 9s 9d Total, £2,547 4s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		18 - By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for Work done at several of the Honble Companys Fortifications this Quarter 100 3 9 By Cash paid the Honble Companys Officers and Servants their several Salarys Diet Money &c for the Quarter commencing Janry 12th & ending April 11th 1757 2199 9 9 2547 4 8 Helena April 11th 1757 Errrs Excd ¥ (Signed) John Clark Paymaster Collection	The account was drawn up at St Helena and certified errors excepted on 11 April 1757, signed by John Clark, paymaster. Interpretations The largest single item after the wage bill was £100 3s 9d paid to sundry soldiers for work at the fortifications, showing the garrison used as a labour force on the island's defences over and above their military duty, the men paid separately for construction work that turned the standing garrison into the workforce that built and maintained its own batteries. The subsistence paid to Naquida Draccaben, named as a Malay prisoner, records the Company maintaining a foreign captive at its own charge at a fixed weekly rate, the entry marking the island as a place of confinement for prisoners taken in the eastern trade as well as a garrison and a plantation. The many small payments for baking bread, breaking oxen, thatching houses, fetching lime and clearing roads reveal how much of the island's ordinary work was done by soldiers and settlers paid piece by piece for particular tasks, the Company running its establishment through a web of small casual payments for labour and provisions rather than through a settled body of hired workmen. Speculations The naming of Naquida Draccaben as a Malay prisoner, kept on weekly subsistence rather than simply held or put to labour, suggests the Council chose to maintain him at the Company's expense rather than the more obvious course of setting a captive to work for his keep or turning him over elsewhere. The path not taken was unpaid confinement or forced labour, set aside in favour of a small fixed weekly allowance, which points to his being held as a person of some standing, a Nakhoda or ship's master whose title the clerk preserved, worth keeping in tolerable condition against some future exchange or ransom rather than working as a common prisoner.
237	232	2d May Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from 12th January to 11th April 1757 viz: Sold at 10 ¥ Cent to the Companys Servants viz: Paint viz: White Lead 99½ ffi £1 19 5 Prussian Blue 4 Oz 1 1½ White Coperas 5 Oz 4½ Venetian Red 9½ ffi 1 11½ Jamaica Indico 13 Oz 5 9 Whiting 27 ffi 5 8 Blue Smalts 25 ffi 1 17 6 Barrels Blacking 3 1 9 Red Lead 2 ffi 5 Umber	Collection of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company's stores from 12 January to 11 April 1757. The following were sold at 10 per cent to the Company's servants. Paint: 29½ lb white lead, £1 19s 5d 4 oz Prussian blue, £0 1s 1½d 5 oz white copperas, £0 0s 4½d 9½ oz Venetian red, £0 1s 11½d 15 oz Jamaica indigo, £0 5s 9d 27 lb whiting, £0 5s 8d 25 lb blue smalts, £1 17s 6d 3 barrels of blacking, £0 1s 9d 2 lb red lead, £0 0s 5d 1 lb umber, £0 0s 4d Total for paint, £4 14s 3½d Oil: 15½ gallons of train oil, £2 7s 3d 15 gallons of linseed oil, £2 9s 11½d 8 bottles of florence, £1 4s 0d Total for oil, £5 17s 6½d Arrack, 69¾ gallons, £17 3s 1½d March, 37 gallons, £0 13s 11½d Sugar and candy: 1,635 lb sugar, £13 11s 3d 40 lb candy, £6 13s 8d Total for sugar and candy, £20 4s 11d Buckram, 12¼ yards, £0 12s 3½d Candles, 4 dozen, £4 6s 3½d Hooks and lines: 9 dozen 11 lines, No. 3, £2 3s 0d 9 dozen 6 lines, No. 2, £1 14s 10d 2 dozen lines, No. 4, £0 0s 10d 1 Hamburg line, £0 1s 6½d

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		1 ffi 4 4 16 3½ Oil viz: Train 15½ Gr 2 7 3 Linseed 15½ Gr 2 9 11½ Bottles Florence 8 1 4 - 5 17 6½ Arrack 69½ Galls 17 8 1½ March 37 Do 13 11½ Sugar & Candy viz: Sugar 1635 ffi 13 11 3 Candy 40 ffi 6 13 8 20 4 11 Buckram 12½ Yards 12 3½ Candles 4 ea 3 46 3 6½ Hooks & Lines viz: Lines No 3 9 Doz 2 3 - Do 2 9 Doz 1 14 10 Do 4 2 doz 10 - Hambro 1 1 6½ Hooks No 1 50 2 8 Do 2 300 10 - Do 3 500 10 - Do 4 475 6 4 Do 5 25 6 Blue 100 4 Grantham 700 ¥ 7 0½ 6 7 1 Carried over £182 1 9	50 hooks, No. 1, £0 2s 8d 300 hooks, No. 2, £0 10s 0d 500 hooks, No. 3, £0 10s 0d 475 hooks, No. 4, £0 6s 4d 25 hooks, No. 5, £0 0s 6d 100 blue hooks, £0 0s 4d 700 Grantham hooks, £0 7s 10½d Total for hooks and lines, £6 7s 1d Carried over, £182 1s 9d Interpretations The stores were sold to the Company's servants at a markup of 10 per cent over cost, the island running a supply system in which its employees bought paint, oil, fishing tackle and provisions from the Company store at a fixed margin, the arrangement both provisioning the settlement and returning a small profit to the Company on goods its own ships had carried out. Florence was a light Italian white wine from Tuscany shipped in flasks, and its appearance among the oils in the store reflects the range of imported goods the Company stocked for sale to its servants, the drink held alongside the practical materials of paint and fishing gear as part of the general merchandise available on the island. The large stock of fishing hooks and lines in many grades and numbers, including hooks named for Grantham where they were made, shows how central fishing was to the island's food supply, the Company keeping a substantial range of tackle for sale so that its servants and the wider settlement could take fish from the surrounding sea to supplement what the plantation produced.
238	233	1757. Haberdashery Ware viz: Brought over £182 1 9 Doz Mohair Do Buttons 1½ 4	The list of goods sold out of the Company's stores continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £182 1s 9d Haberdashery: 12 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 4s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Mohair 29 Sk 10 10½ Do Silk 18 8 3 Doz Silver Coat Buttons 2 12 1½ Doz Gilt Do 1 2 2½ Doz Mohair Coat Do 7 4 8 Piece Holland Tape 1 11 Gross Shirt Buttons 1 2 6 Gross White Waistcoat Buttons 2 5 4 Doz Silver Breast Do 1 3 9 Doz Tin Breast Do 5 4½ 2 15 - Tea viz: Single 130 ffi 8 13 4 Congo 77 5 15 6 Bohea 29 1 9 - 15 17 10 Rice 42 Cwt 3 14 14 3½ Lead viz: Shot 78 ffi 17 10½ Sheet 12 2 9 1 - 7½ Flour viz: Flour 23 Cwt 15 18 4½ Do Do baked 221 3 Cwt 198 15 - 214 13 6½ Salt 17½ Bushels 3 - 8 Descloes 28 pieces 11 18 - Thread viz: White & brown 8 ffi 2 18 8 Coloured 15 ffi 2 15 - 5 13 8 Cutlery Ware viz:	29 lb mohair, £0 10s 10½d 18 lb silk, £0 8s 3d 2 dozen silver coat buttons, £0 12s 1½d 1 dozen gilt buttons, £0 2s 2½d 7 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 4s 8d 1 piece of Holland tape, £0 0s 11d 1 gross of shirt buttons, £0 2s 6d 2 gross of white waistcoat buttons, £0 5s 4d 1 dozen silver breast buttons, £0 3s 9d 5 dozen tin breast buttons, £0 1s 4½d Total for haberdashery, £2 15s 0d Tea: 130 lb single, £8 13s 4d 77 lb congou, £5 15s 6d 29 lb bohea, £1 9s 0d Total for tea, £15 17s 10d Rice, 42 hundredweight 3 quarters, £14 14s 3½d Lead: 78 lb shot, £0 17s 10½d 12 lb sheet, £0 2s 9d Total for lead, £1 0s 7½d Flour: 25 hundredweight flour, £15 18s 2½d 221 hundredweight 3 quarters of baked flour, £198 15s 0d Total for flour, £214 13s 6½d Salt, 17½ bushels, £3 0s 8d Dosolees, 28 pieces, £11 18s 0d Thread: 8 lb white and brown, £2 18s 8d 15 lb coloured, £2 15s 0d Total for thread, £5 13s 8d Cutlery: 4 horn combs, £0 0s 8d 7 ivory combs, £0 7s 3½d 48 pairs of leather garters, £0 16s 0d 5 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, £1 10s 3d Total for cutlery, £2 14s 2½d Serge, 4½ yards, £1 2s 6½d Soap, 190 lb, £6 17s 2½d Broadcloth: 6¾ yards scarlet, £3 10s 11d 3½ yards coloured, £2 14s 2d Total for broadcloth, £8 13s 1d Carried over, £391 2s 3d Interpretations Dosolees were a coarse Indian cotton cloth, another of the textile goods the Company imported from the east and sold on at the island, listed here among the haberdashery, thread and broadcloth that made up the store's substantial trade in clothing materials for the settlement. By far the largest single item in the whole collection was the £198 15s of baked flour, the Company selling nearly 222 hundredweight of bread flour to its servants and the settlement, the sheer scale of this one line showing that the supply of bread was the dominant business of the store, the staple on which the island depended and the goods that returned the Company the most. The range of buttons in silver, gilt, mohair and tin, along with silk, thread, tape and broadcloth in scarlet and coloured, shows the store supplying the materials for making and trimming clothes on the island, the settlement dependent on the Company's imports for the stuff of dress that could not be produced locally on so bare a rock.

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		Horn Combs 4 8 Ivory 7 7 3½ pair Leather Garters 48 16 - Doz Ivory Handle Knives and Forks 5 1 10 3 2 14 2½ Serge 4½ Yards 1 2 6½ Soap 190 ffi 6 17 2½ Broad Cloth viz: Scarlet 6 6/10 Yards 5 10 11 Coloured 3 5/10 Yards 2 14 2 8 13 1 Carried over £391 2 3	
239	234	2d May Nails viz: Brot over £391 2 3 6d 6 ffi 1 5 - 10d 37 13 10½ 2d 4½ 2 11 4d 26½ 11 7 20d 15 5 7½ 3d 5 2 8½ Tacks 2 2 10 Flooring Brads 16 6 Glazing Do ½ 6½ 3 11 1 China Ware viz: Sneakers 16 4 - half Pint Cups and Saucers 4 1 10 5 10 Ironmongers Ware viz: pr Small T Hinges 3 5 3 Small Gimblets 3 1 4 Box Irons & Heaters 3	The list of goods sold out of the Company's stores continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £391 2s 3d Nails: 6 hundred of 6d nails, £1 5s 0d 37 hundred of 10d nails, £0 13s 10½d 4½ hundred of 2d nails, £0 2s 11d 26½ hundred of 4d nails, £0 11s 7d 15 hundred of 20d nails, £0 5s 7½d 5 hundred of 3d nails, £0 2s 8½d 2 hundred of tacks, £0 2s 10d 16 flooring brads, £0 0s 6d ½ hundred of glazing brads, £0 0s 6½d Total for nails, £3 11s 1d China ware: 16 sneakers, £0 4s 0d 4 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 1s 10d Total for china ware, £0 5s 10d Ironmongery: 3 pairs of small H hinges, £0 5s 3d 3 small gimlets, £0 1s 4d 3 box irons and heaters, £1 5s 9d 4 dozen wood screws, £0 1s 6d 2 small frying pans, £0 3s 9d 3 large frying pans, £0 10s 4½d 2 chest locks, £0 7s 8d 6 files, £0 3s 4½d 1 plasterer's trowel, £0 1s 8d 2 garden hoes, £0 3s 4d 2 iron rim locks with brass knobs, £0 12s 2d 1 jack spit, £0 6s 1d 1 scythe, £0 5s 10d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 1½d 1 walling hammer, £0 1s 8d 1 coffee mill, £0 10s 2½d 1 shod shovel, £0 1s 10d 5 stock locks, £0 12s 8½d 4 wood mattocks, £0 6s 4d 1 lopping axe, £0 3s 2d 1 hoe, £0 0s 8d 1 chafing dish, £0 6s 6½d 3 splinter locks, £0 2s 0d Total for ironmongery, £6 12s 8½d Cordage, 22 hundredweight 3 quarters, £3 14s 6d Kersey, 14 yards, £1 1s 0d Carried over, £406 7s 1½d Interpretations

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 5 9 Doz Wood Screws 4 1 6 Small Frying Pans 2 3 9 Large Do 3 10 4½ Chest Locks 2 7 8 Files 6 3 4½ Plasterers Trowels 1 1 8 Garden Hoes 2 3 4 Iron Rim Locks with brass Knobs 2 12 2 Jack Spit 1 6 1 Scyth 1 5 10 Do Stone 1 1½ Walling Hammer 1 1 8 Coffee Mill 1 10 2½ Shod Shovell 1 1 10 Stock Locks 5 12 8½ Wood Wimblets 4 6 - Lopping Axe 1 3 2 Hoe 1 8 Chafing dish 1 6 6½ Splinter Locks 3 2 - 6 12 8½ Cordage 22 3 ffi 3 14 6 Kersey 14 Yards 1 1 - Carried over £406 7 1½	The range of ironmongery sold from the store, from door locks, hinges and files through frying pans, coffee mills and chafing dishes to scythes, hoes, mattocks and axes, shows the Company supplying the settlement with the whole apparatus of domestic and agricultural iron, every worked-metal tool and utensil needed to keep a house and farm having to be brought out and sold on so remote an island where none could be made. The nails were stocked and sold by the hundred in a full range of sizes from small tacks and brads up to heavy 20d nails, the graded assortment reflecting the constant demand for fastenings in the building and repair work that runs through these accounts, the Company keeping every size in stock so that the settlement's carpentry could draw on whatever a given job required.
240	235	1757. Turners Ware viz: Brot over £406 7 1½ Paint Brushes 12 5 6 Hair Brooms	The list of goods sold out of the Company's stores continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £406 7s 4½d Turnery: 12 paint brushes, £0 12s 0d 8 hair brooms, £0 5s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		8 19 Scrubbing Brushes 6 13 9 Flaskets 2 5 6 Punch Ladles 5 3 6½ Labourers Baskets 5 4 7 Cloth Brush 1 2 5 2 14 3½ Deals 17 Single 1 10 3 Hatts viz: Mens 5 4 16 3 Boys 7 2 6 4½ 7 2 7½ Canvas viz: Yards English 16 17 4 Yards Osenbrigs 19 12 8 1 10 - Long Cloth viz: pr No 1 7 37 2 - pr 2 6 26 11 - pr 4 7 24 17 - pr 8 17 30 3 6 pr 9 6 8 2 - pr 10 8 7 4 - pr 5 2 4 18 - pr 6 1 2 6 6 pr 3 2 7 10 - 149 14 - Books viz: Spelling 8 10 - Horn 12 2 - Drummers 6 1 9	6 scrubbing brushes, £0 13s 9d 2 flaskets, £0 5s 6d 5 punch ladles, £0 3s 6½d 5 labourers' baskets, £0 4s 7d 1 cloth brush, £0 2s 5d Total for turnery, £2 14s 3½d Deals, 17 single, £1 10s 3d Hats: 5 men's, £4 16s 3d 7 boys', £2 6s 4½d Total for hats, £7 2s 7½d Canvas: 16 yards English, £0 17s 4d 19 yards Osnaburg, £0 12s 8d Total for canvas, £1 10s 0d Long cloth: 7 pieces, No. 1, £37 2s 0d 6 pieces, No. 2, £26 11s 0d 71 pieces, No. 4, £24 17s 0d 17 pieces, No. 8, £30 3s 6d 6 pieces, No. 9, £8 2s 0d 8 pieces, No. 10, £7 4s 0d 2 pieces, No. 5, £4 10s 0d 1 piece, No. 6, £2 6s 6d 2 pieces, No. 3, £7 10s 0d Total for long cloth, £148 14s 0d Books: 8 spelling books, £0 10s 0d 12 horn books, £0 2s 0d 6 primers, £0 1s 9d 7 common prayers, £0 17s 6d 2 Bibles, £0 7s 4d 2 Testaments, £0 3s 8d Total for books, £2 2s 3d Hosiery: 5 pairs of men's worsted stockings, £1 1s 3d 4 pairs of knit stockings, £0 13s 2d Total for hosiery, £30 1s 1d 200 pairs of thread, £0 1s 3d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 6s 4d Corks, 2½ gross, £4 8s 4½d Iron pots: 1 of 3 gallons, £1 8s 0d 2 of 12 gallons, £1 13s 4½d Total for iron pots, £1 13s 4½d Carried over, £602 10s 10d Interpretations The store sold schoolbooks alongside its wider merchandise, spelling books, hornbooks, primers, Bibles, Testaments and prayer books, the presence of teaching materials reflecting the schoolmaster's post held by Richard Beale and the Company's provision for the education and religious instruction of the island's children as part of its charge over the settlement. Long cloth, the plain white Indian cotton bought at Madras and shipped through the island, was by far the largest textile line in the store, nearly £149 across its several grades, the Company reselling the staple cloth of its eastern trade to the settlement as both clothing material and a store of value, the graded numbers marking the different qualities from the finest down to the coarsest. Hornbooks were a child's first reading tool, a sheet of the alphabet and basic text mounted on a paddle and covered with a thin layer of translucent horn to protect it, their sale here confirming that elementary teaching was carried on at the island and supplied through the Company store like every other necessity of the settlement.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Common drayers 7 17 6 Bibles 2 7 4 Testaments 2 3 8 2 2 3 Hosiers Ware viz: pr Mens Wove Stockings 5 1 1 3 pr Do knit 4 13 2 30 1 1 pr Thread 200 28 6 8 Twine 2 Skains 1 3 Corks 2½ Gross 6 4 Iron Potts viz: of 3 Galls 1 4 8½ of 12 Do 2 1 8 8 1 13 4½ Carried over £602 10 10	
241	236	2d May Shoes viz: Brot over £602 10 10 pr Mens Ordinary 175 £37 11 4 pr Channeld Pumps 7 2 13 11½ pr Womens Calf 6 16 6 pr Do Spanish 10 2 7 11 pr Boys 6 1 2 9 pr Mens Pumps 7 2 10 2 pr Do fine Shoes 5 1 13 2 48 15 8 Chelloes 6 pieces 3 3 - Shirts viz: Centinels 106 45 14 6 Bolles 114 3 16 - pr Linnen 6 11 4 5 60 14 11 Glass Ware viz: Venice & Water Glasses 10	The list of goods sold out of the Company's stores continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £602 10s 10d Shoes: 173 pairs of men's ordinary, £37 11s 4d 7 pairs of channelled pumps, £2 13s 11½d 6 pairs of women's calf, £0 16s 6d 10 pairs of women's Spanish, £2 7s 11d 6 pairs of boys', £1 2s 9d 7 pairs of men's pumps, £2 10s 2d 5 pairs of fine shoes, £1 13s 2d Total for shoes, £48 15s 8d Chelloes, 6 pieces, £3 3s 0d Shirts: 106 sentinels, £45 14s 6d 114 soldiers, £3 16s 0d 6 pairs of linen, £11 2s 5d Total for shirts, £60 12s 11d Glass ware: 10 Venice and beaker glasses, £0 15s 10d 8 dozen wine glasses, £2 19s 4d 15 tumblers, £0 10s 7½d 5 pint decanters, £0 15s 10d 6 quart decanters, £1 2s 9d 1 glass lantern, £0 10s 0d 7 cruets, £0 15s 9d 4 squares of glass, 10 by 12, £0 3s 8d 2 squares of glass, 6 by 8, £0 0s 7½d Total for glass ware, £7 14s 5d Bunting: ½ yard white, £0 0s 3½d 1 yard blue, £0 0s 8½d Total for bunting, £0 1s 0d Oars, 3, £0 12s 9d Pitch: 28 lb rosin, £0 4s 8d 2½ gallons of tar, £0 1s 8½d Total for pitch, £0 6s 4½d Long ells, 20 yards, £1 15s 0d Tin ware: 3 gallon funnels, £0 7s 4½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		15 10 Doz Wine Glasses 8 2 19 4 Tumblers 15 10 7½ Pint decanters 5 15 10 Quart Do 6 1 2 9 Glass Lanthorn 1 10 - Cruets 7 15 9 Sqr Glass 10 by 12 4 3 8 Do 6 by 8 2 7½ 7 14 5 Bunting viz: Yard White ½ ¾ Yard Blue 1 8½ 1 - - Oars 3 12 9 Pitch viz: Rosin 28 ffi 4 8 Galls Tar 2½ 1 8½ 6 13 Long Ells 20 Yards 1 15 - Tin Ware viz: Gall Funnels 3 7 4½ Quart Do 3 2 - Half Gall Do 1 1 10 Watering Potts 2 11 - Dripping Pan 1 5 2 Lamp 1 1 8 1 9 4½ Blankets 5 1 11 3½ Coals 2 Bushels 2 8 Pepper 1 ffi	3 quart funnels, £0 2s 0d 1 half-gallon funnel, £0 1s 10d 2 watering pots, £0 0s 11d 1 dripping pan, £0 5s 2d 1 lamp, £0 1s 8d Total for tin ware, £1 9s 4d Blankets, 5, £0 11s 0½d Coal, 2 bushels, £0 2s 8d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 0s 6½d Carried over, £728 17s 3d Interpretations Chelloes were a coarse blue Indian cotton cloth, one of several named eastern textiles the Company sold from its store, listed here among the shoes and shirts as part of the trade in clothing and material that the island depended on for the stuff of dress it could not produce itself. The store sold shirts separately for sentinels and for soldiers at very different prices, 106 sentinels' shirts at more than twelve times the value of the 114 soldiers' shirts, the disparity showing two distinct grades of garment issued to two ranks of the garrison, the finer supplied to the sentinels and a plainer, cheaper shirt to the general body of soldiers. Long ells were a light woollen cloth woven in long lengths for the export trade, another of the textiles the Company kept for sale to the settlement, the range of cloths in the store, from Indian cottons through kersey, serge and broadcloth to these long ells, showing how completely the island's clothing needs were met from imported material carried out in the Company's ships.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6½ Carried over £728 17 3	
242	237	1757. Beef & Pork viz: Brot over £728 17 3 Beef at 2d 250 ffi £2 5 - Do at 3½d 32 ffi 4 17 4 Pork at 2d 1447 ffi 12 4 12 Do at 3½d 74 ffi 8 12 8 183 4 - Sold to the Planters at 25 ¥ Cent £912 1 3 Buckram 5 Yards 5 5 Descloes 8 pr 4 - - Chelloes 2 pr 1 4 - Serge 7½ Yards 2 2 - Long Cloth viz: pr No 8 10 20 10 - pr 10 6 6 6 - 26 16 - Shoes viz: pr Womens Calf 4 14 - pr Girls 3 7 4½ pr Boys 1 4 4½ 1 5 9 Sold at 40 ¥ Cent viz: Cordage 63 ffi 4 1 6 4 Rice 1563 ffi 8 2 10 Sugar & Candy viz: Candy 24 ffi 18 4 Sugar 91 ffi 1 10 4 2 8 8 Nails viz: 6d 29 15 8½ 10d 23 10 6½ 20d 10 4 7	The list of goods sold out of the Company's stores continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £728 17s 3d Beef and pork: 250 pieces of beef at 2d, £2 5s 0d 33 pieces of beef at 3½d, £0 4s 7d 1,447 pieces of pork at 2d, £12 4s 11d 74 pieces of pork at 3½d, £0 8s 12d Total for beef and pork, £183 4s 0d The following were sold to the planters at 25 per cent. Buckram, 5 yards, £0 5s 5d Dosolees, 8 pieces, £4 0s 0d Chelloes, 2 pieces, £1 4s 0d Serge, 7½ yards, £2 2s 0d Long cloth: 10 pieces, No. 8, £20 10s 0d 6 pieces, No. 10, £6 6s 0d Total for long cloth, £26 16s 0d Shoes: 4 pairs of women's calf, £0 14s 0d 3 pairs of girls', £0 7s 4½d 1 pair of boys', £0 4s 4½d Total for shoes, £1 5s 9d The following were sold at 40 per cent. Cordage, 63¼ hundredweight, £1 6s 4d Rice, 156 hundredweight 3 quarters, £8 2s 10d Sugar and candy: 24 lb candy, £0 18s 4d 91 lb sugar, £1 10s 4d Total for sugar and candy, £2 8s 8d Nails: 29 hundred of 6d nails, £0 15s 8½d 23 hundred of 10d nails, £0 10s 6½d 10 hundred of 20d nails, £0 4s 7d 14 hundred of 4d nails, £0 8s 2d 1 hundred of 3d nails, £0 1s 8d Total for nails, £2 1s 4d Paint: 2 lb white lead, £0 13s 0d 4 lb Venetian red, £0 1s 2d 35 lb whiting, £0 1s 5½d 4½ lb blue smalts, £0 8s 10d 2 oz Jamaica indigo, £0 0s 9d 1 barrel of blacking, £0 0s 9½d Total for paint, £1 6s 0d Flour, 85 hundredweight, £7 2s 8d Carried over, £58 1s 0d Interpretations The store sold the same goods to different classes of buyer at markedly different markups, 10 per cent to the Company's own servants, 25 per cent to the planters and 40 per cent on a further range of goods, the graded pricing showing the Company favouring its employees over the settler planters and charging the widest margin on staples like rice and cordage where demand was inelastic and the buyer had nowhere else to turn. The Company sold salt beef and pork to the settlement by the piece at a penny or two each, more than 1,700 pieces of pork alone, the preserved meat priced in small units so that soldiers and settlers could buy the barrelled provisions the ships brought out in whatever quantity they could afford, the low unit cost reflecting the cheap bulk victual on which the island partly subsisted. The 40 per cent markup fell on the goods the settlement most needed and could least do without, rice, flour, cordage and nails, the Company taking its steepest margin precisely on the necessities of life and building, a pricing that shows the store run as much for the Company's profit on a captive market as for the provisioning of the island.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4d 14 8 2 3d 1 8 Do 2 1 8 2 1 4 Paint viz: Wt Lead 9½ ffi 13 - Ven Red 4 ffi 1 2 Whiting 35 ffi 1 5½ blue Smalts 4½ ffi 8 10 Jamaica Indico 2 Oz 9 Barrell Blacking 1 9½ 1 6 - 7 2 8 Flour 8 ffi Carried over £58 1 -	
243	238	2d May Brot over £58 1 - Ironmongers Ware viz: Ditching Shovels 3 19 - Shod Do 1 2 4 Small Gimblets 6 1 9 Scyth Stone 1 1½ Small Frying Pan 1 2 6 1 5 8½ Hooks & Lines viz: Doz Lines No 3 5½ 1 10 3 Doz Do 2 3 14 - Hooks No 5 325 8 3½ Do 3 500 12 6 Do 2 75 3 3 Do 4 50 10 3 9 3½ Tea viz: Congo	The list of goods sold out of the Company's stores continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £58 1s 0d Ironmongery: 3 ditching shovels, £0 19s 0d 1 shod shovel, £0 2s 4d 6 small gimlets, £0 1s 9d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 1½d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 6d Total for ironmongery, £1 5s 8½d Hooks and lines: 5½ dozen lines, No. 3, £1 10s 3d 3 dozen lines, No. 2, £0 14s 0d 325 hooks, No. 5, £0 8s 3½d 500 hooks, No. 3, £0 12s 6d 75 hooks, No. 2, £0 3s 3d 50 hooks, No. 4, £0 10s 0d Total for hooks and lines, £3 9s 3½d Tea: 9 lb congou, £0 18s 0d 10 lb single, £0 17s 6d 1 lb bohea, £0 1s 4d Total for tea, £1 16s 10d Cutlery: 3 shoe knives, £0 1s 4½d 1 horn comb, £0 0s 2½d Total for cutlery, £0 1s 7d Salt, 3½ bushels, £0 17s 6d Starch, 6 lb, £0 2s 9d Oil: 2½ gallons of train, £0 9s 0d 3½ gallons of linseed, £0 17s 6d Total for oil, £1 6s 6d Thread, 5 lb coloured, £0 14s 0d Haberdashery: 2 skeins of mohair, £0 1s 0d 2 lb silk, £0 1s 9d 2½ dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 1s 4d Total for haberdashery, £0 3s 2½d Turnery, 3 paint brushes, £0 1s 9d Arrack, 13 gallons, £3 18s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		9 ffi 18 - Singlo 10 ffi 17 6 Bohea 1 ffi 1 4 1 16 10 Cutlery Ware viz: Shoe Knives 3 1 4½ Horn Comb 1 2½ 1 7 Salt 3½ Bushels 17 6 March Cwt 2 9 Oil viz: Galls Train 2½ 9 - Galls Linseed 3½ 17 6 1 6 6 Thread 5 ffi Coloured 12 - Haberdashery Ware viz: Skains Mohair 2 1 - Do Silk 2 1 2 Doz Mohair Do Buttons 2½ 1 4 3 2½ Turners Ware 3 Paint Brushes 1 9 Arrack 13 Galls 3 18 Deals 10 Single 1 10 Soap 53 ffi 4 2 6 10 Beef & Pork viz: pr Pork 12 2 - - pr Beef 1 3 11 2 3 11 Candles 18 ffi 2 13 3 Carried over £80 12 1½	Deals, 10 single, £1 10s 0d Beef, 53¼ hundredweight, £2 6s 10d Beef and pork: 12 pieces of pork, £2 0s 0d 1 piece of beef, £0 3s 11d Total for beef and pork, £2 3s 11d Candles, 18 lb, £2 13s 3d Carried over, £80 12s 1½d Interpretations This further block of goods carries no stated markup at its head, following the graded sections of the previous pages, and repeats the same staple lines of fishing tackle, tea, oil, salt provisions and building tools that fill the whole collection, the store turning over the ordinary necessities of the settlement in small quantities to a steady local demand. The recurrence of fishing hooks and lines yet again, in fresh grades and numbers, underscores how continuously the settlement drew on the store for tackle, the taking of fish from the surrounding sea being a constant and necessary supplement to the island's food supply that kept a steady demand on the Company's stock of lines and hooks.
244	239	1757. Hosiers Ware viz: Brot over £80 12 1½ pr Mens wove Stockings 1 4 10 pr Do knit Do	The list of goods sold out of the Company's stores continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £80 12s 1½d Hosiery: 1 pair of men's worsted stockings, £0 4s 10d 1 pair of knit stockings, £0 3s 9d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 3 9 8 7 Glass Ware 1 Wine and Water Glass 2 7½ Pitch and Tar viz: Galls Tar 1½ 1 6 Rosin 2 ffi 5 Pitch 12 ffi 2 9 4 8 Lead 6 ffi Shott 1 7½ Books viz: Horn 3 9 Bible 1 4 8 Common drayers 5 16 3 Testaments 3 7 - Spelling 1 1 7½ 1 10 3½ Twine 4 Skains 3 4 China Ware 1 Sauce Boat 6 £83 3 2 Sold to the Honorable Companys Ships at 40 ¥ Cent viz: Hooks and Lines viz: Lines No 2 12 4 8 Do 3 18 8 3 Hambro 1 1 11½ Hooks No 3 100 2 6 17 4½ Paint viz: Red Lead 198 ffi 2 17 9 Venetian Red 20 ffi 5 10 Barrels of Blacking 36 2 4 4 White Lead 166 ffi 4 6 8 Sky Blue 2 ffi 1 2 9 15 9 Oil viz: Galls Linseed	Total for hosiery, £8 7s 4½d Glass ware, 1 wine and water glass, £0 2s 0d Pitch and tar: 1½ gallons of tar, £0 1s 6d 2 lb rosin, £0 0s 5d 12 lb pitch, £0 2s 9d Total for pitch and tar, £0 4s 8d Lead, 6 lb shot, £0 1s 7½d Books: 3 hornbooks, £0 0s 9d 1 Bible, £0 4s 8d 5 common prayers, £0 16s 3d 3 Testaments, £0 7s 0d 1 spelling book, £0 1s 7½d Total for books, £1 10s 3½d Twine, 4 skeins, £0 3s 4d China ware, 1 sauce boat, £0 0s 6d Total, £83 3s 2d The following were sold to the Honourable Company's ships at 40 per cent. Hooks and lines: 12 lines, No. 2, £0 4s 8d 18 lines, No. 3, £0 0s 3d 1 Hamburg line, £0 1s 11½d 100 hooks, No. 3, £0 2s 6d Total for hooks and lines, £17 4s 3½d Paint: 198 lb red lead, £2 17s 9d 20 lb Venetian red, £0 3s 10d 36 barrels of blacking, £2 4s 4d 166 lb white lead, £4 6s 8d ½ lb sky blue, £0 1s 2d Total for paint, £9 15s 9d Oil: 55½ gallons of linseed, £13 0s 9d 10 gallons of train, £2 0s 0d Total for oil, £15 0s 9d Cordage, 30 hundredweight 9 quarters, £30 9s 2d Canvas: 568 yards of Osnaburg, £26 11s 0d 100 yards of English canvas, £7 1s 8d Total for canvas, £33 12s 8d Carried over, £89 15s 8½d Interpretations A distinct class of sale appears here, goods supplied to the Company's own ships at the 40 per cent markup, the vessels calling at the island buying paint, oil, cordage and above all large quantities of canvas to refit and repair themselves, the store serving the passing fleet as a chandlery as well as provisioning the resident settlement. The heavy sale of canvas to the ships, 568 yards of Osnaburg and 100 of English, together with cordage, oil and paint, records the island as a place where East Indiamen replenished the sailcloth and rigging stores consumed on the long voyage, St Helena furnishing the fleet with the materials of a working ship far out in the ocean where no other supply existed.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		55 6/10 13 - 9 Galls Train 10 2 - - 15 - 9 Cordage 30 Cwt 2 30 9 2 Canvas viz: Yr Osenbrigs 56 5/10 26 11 - Yr Eng Canvas 100 7 1 8 33 12 8 Carried over £89 15 8½	
245	240	2d May Nails viz: Brot over £89 15 8½ 10d 28 12 10 4d 11 9 11 2d 9 7 6 6d 35 18 11½ 20d 6 2 9 3d 9 6 - 40d 20 8 4 Tacks 4 5½ Glazing Brads 2 2 11 3 9 8 Turners Ware 12 Paint Brushes 7 - Pitch and Tar viz: Barrel Pitch 1 1 15 - Barrel Tar 4 10 9 2 5 9 Tin Ware 90 Lanthorn Leaves 1 6 3 Twine viz: Skains 60 2 10 - Do Marline 10 ffi 6 9 2 16 9 Bunting viz: Yards Red 20 1 2 6 Yards blue	The list of goods sold to the Company's ships continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £89 15s 8½d Nails: 28 hundred of 10d nails, £0 12s 10d 11 hundred of 4d nails, £0 9s 11d 9 hundred of 2d nails, £0 7s 6d 35 hundred of 6d nails, £0 18s 11½d 6 hundred of 20d nails, £0 2s 9d 9 hundred of 3d nails, £0 6s 0d 20 hundred of 40d nails, £0 8s 4d 4 hundred of tacks, £0 0s 5½d 2 glazing brads, £0 2s 11d Total for nails, £3 9s 8d Turnery, 12 paint brushes, £0 7s 0d Pitch and tar: 1 barrel of pitch, £1 15s 0d ½ barrel of tar, £0 10s 9d Total for pitch and tar, £2 5s 9d Tin ware, 90 lantern leaves, £1 6s 8d Twine: 60 skeins, £2 10s 0d 10 lb marline, £0 6s 9d Total for twine, £2 16s 9d Bunting: 20 yards of red, £1 2s 6d 2 yards of blue, £0 1s 11d Total for bunting, £1 4s 5d Coal, 6 bushels, £0 9s 10d Glass ware, 4 half-minute glasses, £0 3s 3d Iron, 115 lb, £1 13s 6½d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 9s 4d Candles, 80 lb, £2 18s 4d Iron, 1 slab weighing 4 hundredweight, £1 0s 2d Total, £108 0s 0d Charges general, debtor for the following stores issued from 12 January to 11 April 1757. Candles: 150 lb for the castle, £15 9s 4½d 105 lb for the Council, £10 16s 7d Total for candles, £26 5s 11½d Corks, 2 gross, for bottling beer, £0 4s 7d Lines, 3, No. 3, for the masons, £0 1s 0d Lead, 183½ lb sheet, for packing the iron cramps for the stones of the crane, £1 18s 3d Carried over, £28 9s 9½d Interpretations The account now moves from goods sold to goods issued internally under charges general, the Company's own consumption of stores for the castle, the Council and public works, distinguishing what was sold to servants, planters and ships from what the establishment used on its own account, the two kept apart so that the store's trading was not confused with its running costs. The sheet lead bought to pack the iron cramps securing the stones of the crane records a specific

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 1 11 1 4 5 Coals 6 Bushels 9 10 Glass Ware 4 half Minute Glasses 3 3 Iron 115 1 13 6½ Salt 2 Bushels 9 4 Candles 20 ffi 2 18 4 Iron 1 Slab wt 4 1 - 2 £108 - - Charges General Dr for the following Stores issued from 12th Janry to 11th Apr 1757 viz: Candles viz: for the Castle 150 ffi 15 9 4½ for the Council 105 10 16 7 26 5 11½ Corks 2 Gross for Battling Beer 4 7 Lines 3 No 3 for the Masons 1 - Lead 183 ffi Sheet for fastning the Iron Cramps for the Stones of the Crane 1 18 3 Carried over £28 9 9½	piece of engineering, the lead poured or beaten around the iron ties that held the masonry of the lifting crane together, a detail that shows the practical method by which the island's heavy stonework was fastened and maintained. The candles issued in bulk to the castle and the Council, 255 lb between them for the quarter, put a figure to the lighting of the island's centre of government, the substantial quantity reflecting the long hours of administrative and guard work carried on after dark in the castle that housed the garrison's command and the Company's offices.
246	241	1757. Glass Ware viz: Brot over £28 9 9½ Sqr Glass 6 by 8 1 3½ Doz Wine Glasses 3 1 1½ Beer Do 8 11 6 Quart decanters for the Castle 4 13 8 Pint Do 4 11 6 Tumblers 10 6 3 Sheet Lamps 2 1 4 4 7 4 Iron 67 ffi for the Crane 11 9½ Descloes 1 piece for Rubbers for the Castle 7 9 Chello 1 piece 9 6 Cartwheels 4 Wheelbarrows	The list of stores issued under charges general continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £28 9s 9½d Glass ware: 1 square of glass, 6 by 8, £0 0s 3½d 3 dozen wine glasses, £1 1s 1½d 8 beer glasses, £0 1s 6d 4 quart decanters, for the castle, £0 13s 8d 4 pint decanters, for the castle, £0 1s 6d 10 tumblers, £0 6s 3d 2 street lamps, £1 4s 0d Total for glass ware, £4 7s 4d Iron, 67 lb, for the crane, £0 11s 9½d Dosolees, 1 piece, for rubbers for the castle, £0 7s 9d Chelloes, 1 piece, for rubbers for the castle, £0 9s 6d Cartwheels, 4, and wheelbarrows, £2 17s 4d Leather, ½ lb, for the pump for the crane, £0 1s 3d Pitch and tar: 6 lb rosin, for the castle, £0 1s 1d 1 lb pitch, for the castle, £0 0s 2d 1 barrel of pitch, for the crane, £1 11s 1d 1 barrel of tar, 2 gallons, for the crane, £1 11s 0d Total for pitch and tar, £3 3s 4d Deals: ½ wainscot board for a desk for the bakers, £0 2s 6d 28 single deals, for the crane, seats for the public, necessary house on the line and a table and forms for the gentlemen, £2 16s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 17 4 Leather 4 ffi Pump for the Crane 1 - 3 Pitch & Tar viz: Rosin for the Castle 8 ffi 1 1 Do Pitch ffi 2 Bar 1 Cwt Pitch for the Crane 1 1 11 - Do 2 Galls Tar 1 1 11 - 3 3 4 Deals viz: Wainscot Board for a Deel for the Bakers ½ 2 6 Single Deals for the Crane Seats & 4 public 28 2 16 - Double Do necessary Houses in the Lines for 15 2 7 10 Euffirs a Table and Frame for 4 Gentlemens 2 7 4½ Riga Timber Tent in the Line Tables & forms 2 pr 3 8 4 Baulk in the Castle & repairs for the longwd 1 9 1 9 11 1½ Canvas viz: Yards English to cover ye Flag Chest 7½ 7 9 Yr Osenbrigs to cover Baskets & mending Tents 5 2 4 4 11 9½ Twine 3 Skains for the Gunners use mending Lime Bags and for the Castle 2 10 Turners Ware viz: Paint Brushes for Painting 9 3 4 Hair Brooms 4 8 6 Scrubbing Brushes for the Castle 4 8 4 Flaskets 2 5 - Tray 1 2 2 Punch Ladles 4 2 6 Labourers Baskets for the Crane Work 2 1 8 1 11 6 Carried over £52 5 1½	15 double deals, for a tent on the line, tables and forms for the hospital, a guard bed, repairs at the castle, scaffolding for the crane, and paint and repairs to Lieutenant Governor's house, £2 7s 10d 2 Guffries, for the same, £0 7s 4½d 2 pieces of Riga timber, for the same, £3 8s 4d 1 baulk, for the same, £0 9s 1d Total for deals, £9 11s 1½d Canvas: 7½ yards of English, to cover the flag chest, £0 7s 9d 5½ yards of Osnaburg, to cover baskets and mending tents, £0 4s 4d Total for canvas, £0 11s 9½d Twine, 3 skeins, for the gunner's use, mending lime bags and for the castle, £0 2s 10d Turnery: 9 paint brushes for painting, £0 3s 4d 4 hair brooms, for the castle, £0 8s 6d 4 scrubbing brushes, for the castle, £0 8s 4d 2 flaskets, for the castle, £0 5s 0d 1 tray, for the castle, £0 2s 2d 4 punch ladles, for the castle, £0 2s 6d 2 labourers' baskets for the crane work, £0 1s 8d Total for turnery, £1 11s 6d Carried over, £52 5s 1½d Interpretations The deals issued this quarter were put to a long list of public works itemised on a single line, from a bakers' desk and a hospital tent to seats for the public, a guard bed, scaffolding for the crane and repairs to the Lieutenant Governor's house, the entry showing how a single stock of timber was drawn on for the whole range of the establishment's building and repair needs across the castle, the line and the plantation at once. The two street lamps issued for the castle record the lighting of the settlement's public spaces after dark, a small mark of the ordered urban arrangement maintained at the island's centre, the Company providing fixed lighting for the streets around its seat of government as in a town at home. Riga timber, imported from the Baltic port of Riga and prized for its length and quality, appears here alongside the ordinary deals for the heavier structural work, the Company shipping superior building timber halfway round the world for the frames and beams that the island's own scant wood could not supply.
247	242	2d May Brot over £52 5 1½	The list of stores issued under charges general continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £52 5s 1½d

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		Arrack 30 Galls for the Gunners Men that transported Guns for the Men yt fixd the Port Cullis and working at the Crane Hawling up & Launching the Long Boat and getting the Coals on Shore from the Ships Onslow Godolphin and Houghton and given to the Men that came with the Account of Ships to Windward & killing Wild Cats 3 17 6 Tin Ware viz: Horn Lanthorns for the Alarm Houses 8 1 - - Lanthorn Leaf Cutt forks & Corks 1 2½ Lamp for the use of the Kitchen 1 1 6 Solder for Tinning 6 ffi 6 1½ Gyd Tin Funnel for the Castle 1 2 2½ 1 10 4½ Oil viz: Galls Linseed for Painting Gun Carriages Portcullis Crane 4 Doctors Houses Flag and Ammunition Chests Wandsifshoes the Honble Companys Arms &c in the Castle 15 2 10 - Galls Train for the Castle & Armorers use 1½ 1 10 8 4 - 8 Nails viz: 4d for the Crane necessary House 8 3 2 6d on the Line Tables & forms 11 3 11 10d for the Tent Hospital 16 5 4 20d Guard Bed Ships in the Castle 8 2 6 40d 15 4 4½ 3d 3 1 5½ Tacks for Sailing Orders & Handhoes ½ 7½ 1 1 1½ China Ware viz: Do Pint Cups and Saucers for the Castle 12 3 3 Bowl 1 8 3 11 Cordage 7 Cwt 2 - 19 for transporting Guns Gyps for laying the Stones for the Crane fixd the Port Cullis Well Rope & Thatching 11 13 3 Cutlery Ware 1 draining Knife for Gardener 1 - Coals 44 Bushels 2 8 7	Arrack, 30 gallons, for the gunners and the men who transported guns for the men who fixed the portcullis, and working at the crane, hauling up and launching the long boat, getting the goods ashore from the ships <i>Onslow</i>, <i>Godolphin</i> and <i>Houghton</i>, given to the men who came with the account of ships to windward, and killing wild cats, £3 17s 6d Tin ware: 8 horn lanterns, for the alarm houses, £1 0s 0d 1 lantern leaf, for the outer forts and the castle, £0 0s 2½d 1 lamp for the use of the kitchen, £0 1s 6d 6 lb solder for tinning, £0 6s 1½d 1 gallon of tin funnels for the castle, £0 2s 2½d Total for tin ware, £1 10s 4½d Oil: 15 gallons of linseed, for painting gun carriages, portcullis, crane, wad hooks, houses, flags and ammunition chests, wad ditches, the Honourable Company's arms and so on in the castle, £2 10s 0d 11½ gallons of train, for the castle and the armourer's use, £1 10s 8d Total for oil, £4 0s 8d Nails: 8 hundred of 4d nails, for the crane, necessary house on the line, tables and forms, £0 3s 2d 11 hundred of 6d nails, for the same, £0 3s 11d 16 hundred of 10d nails, for the tent, hospital, guard bed and repairs in the castle, £0 5s 4d 8 hundred of 20d nails, for the same, £0 2s 6d 15 hundred of 40d nails, for the same, £0 4s 4½d 3 hundred of 3d nails, for the same, £0 1s 5½d ½ hundred of tacks, for nailing orders, 1 hundred of brads, £0 0s 7½d Total for nails, £1 1s 2½d China ware: 12 dozen pint cups and saucers, for the castle, £0 3s 3d 1 bowl, for the castle, £0 0s 8d Total for china ware, £0 3s 11d Cordage, 7 hundredweight 2 quarters 19 lb, for transporting guns, for laying the stones for the crane and the portcullis, well rope and thatching, £11 13s 4d Cutlery ware, 1 pruning knife for the gardener, £0 0s 1d Coal, 44 bushels, £2 8s 7d Carried over, £77 1s 3d Interpretations The single arrack entry lists the whole range of heavy and unpleasant work the spirit was issued to reward, from moving guns and fixing the portcullis to hauling the long boat, unloading the three China ships and killing wild cats, the drink serving as a customary allowance to the men set to the hardest manual tasks, a practical incentive paid in liquor rather than cash for the labour the garrison could not otherwise compel. The killing of wild cats appears among the tasks rewarded with arrack, recording a deliberate effort to control the feral cat population, an animal that had established itself on the island and preyed on the poultry and young stock that the plantation depended on, the Company paying its men in drink to hunt them down as part of the ordinary management of the settlement. The great weight of cordage issued for transporting guns, laying the stones for the crane and rigging the portcullis records the sheer physical effort of the island's heavy engineering, every gun moved and every stone set requiring ropes and tackle, the cordage the essential means by which weights beyond human strength were shifted on a fortified rock without machinery of any other kind.

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		Carried over £77 1 3	
248	243	1757. Paint viz: Brot over £77 1 3 White Lead 105 ffi 1 17 2½ Venetian Red 20 ffi 3 9 Umber 7 ffi 4 Mahogany 2 ffi 9 - Red Lead 12 ffi 2 3 Yellow Oker 12 ffi 2 7½ White Coperas 4 ffi 6 Whiting 75 ffi 1 6½ Bar Blacking 5 2 7½ for painting Handspikes the Flag & Ammunition Chests Cranes 4 Doctors Houses Castle Gun Carriages Portcullis Dock & Rails at Bankses & necessary House in the Castle 2 19 10 Ironmongers Ware viz: pair Shutter Hinges Store use 1 2 3 Sledge Hammer 1 6 - Hand Do 1 2 5 Files 3 1 7 Corn Emery for the Armorers use ½ ffi Flour Do ½ ffi 1 Mauls for the Carpenters & Masons use 3 1 7 Hoes 7 4 3 Stock Lock for the East flying Partys House 1 2 3½ Do Bellows 1 8 7 Box Iron for the Castle 1 7 9 binding Wire 2 ffi 1½ House Carpenters Axes 2 9 2 Do Adzes	The list of stores issued under charges general continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £77 1s 3d Paint: 105 lb white lead, £1 17s 2½d 20 lb Venetian red, £0 3s 9d 7 lb umber, £0 0s 4d 2 lb mahogany, £0 0s 9d 12 lb red lead, £0 2s 3d 14 lb yellow ochre, £0 2s 7½d ½ lb white copperas, £0 0s 6d 75 lb whiting, £0 1s 6½d 5 barrels of blacking, £0 2s 7½d Total for paint, £2 19s 10d These were for painting handspikes, the flag and ammunition chests, gun carriages, Mr Clark's house, the castle, gun carriages, portcullis, desk and rails at Banks's, and the necessary house in the castle. Ironmongery: 1 pair of shutter hinges, store use, £0 2s 3d 1 sledge hammer, for the armourer's use, £0 6s 0d 1 hand hammer, for the armourer's use, £0 2s 5d 3 files, for the armourer's use, £0 1s 7d 4 lb coarse emery, for the armourer's use, £0 0s 1d ½ lb flour emery, for the armourer's use, £0 0s 1d 3 mauls, for the carpenters' and masons' use, £1 7s 0d 7 hoes, for the carpenters' and masons' use, £0 4s 3d 1 stock lock, for the East flying party's house, £0 2s 3½d 1 pair of bellows, for the castle, £0 8s 7d 1 box iron, for the castle, £0 7s 9d 2 lb binding wire, for the castle, £0 0s 1½d 2 house carpenter's axes, £0 9s 2d 2 house carpenter's adzes, £0 5s 11d 2 jack planes, for the carpenters' use, £1 18s 6d 2 trying planes, for the carpenters' use 3 ogee planes, for the carpenters' use 3 bead planes, for the carpenters' use 3 pairs of sash planes, for the carpenters' use 1 pair of cornice planes, for the carpenters' use, £0 14s 0d 24 files, for the carpenters' use, £0 5s 6d 12 firmer chisels, for the carpenters' use, £0 2s 3½d 1 padlock for the boat house, £0 2s 3½d Total for ironmongery, £6 13s 2½d Books: 2 large Bibles, for the use of the church, £6 16s 8d 8 common prayers, for the use of the church, £16 0s 8d 50 catechisms, delivered to Mr Lee to give the children, £0 6s 3d Total for books, £23 3s 7d Total, £109 17s 10½d Interpretations The full set of carpenter's planes issued this quarter, jack, trying, ogee, bead, sash and cornice, records the fitting out of the island's joinery with the specialised tools for moulding and shaping timber, each plane cutting a particular profile, the range showing that finished woodwork and not merely rough building was carried on at the settlement and had to be equipped from the Company store. The 50 catechisms delivered to Mr Lee to give to the children confirm the religious instruction of the island's young, the catechism being the set form of question and answer by which the doctrines of the church were taught, its distribution alongside the

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		2 5 11 Jack Planes 2 Trying Do 2 Ogee Do 3 Bead Do for the Carpenters use 3 1 18 6 pr Sash Do 3 pr Cornic Do 1 14 - Files 24 5 6 Firmore Chifsels 12 2 3½ Padlock for the Boat house 1 6 13 2½ Books viz: Large Bibles for the use of the Church 2 6 16 8 Do Com drayers 8 16 - 8 Catechisms delivered to Mr Lee to give ye Children 50 6 3 23 3 7 £109 17 10½	Bibles and prayer books for the church marking the Company's provision for the spiritual as well as the material welfare of the settlement. The paint issued to a long list of objects on a single line, from handspikes and gun carriages to the portcullis, the castle and a private house, shows one common stock of paint drawn on for military, public and domestic work alike, the same materials maintaining the ordnance, the fortifications and the officers' dwellings without distinction in the accounting.
249	244	2d May Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores issued frm 12th Janry to 11th April 1757 viz: Tea Singlo 6 ffi 7 - Flour 181 ffi 8 4 7½ Rice 175 ffi 9 11½ Pork 4 ffi 8 7 Salt 2½ Bushls 7 6 Arrack 62 Galls 8 - 2 Sugar and Candy viz: Sugar 10 2 1 Candy 332 4 16 10 4 18 11 £22 16 9 Blacks Dr for the following Stores issued frm 12th Janry to 11th Aprl 1757 viz: Hooks & Lines viz: Hooks No 1 25 1 2½ 2 25	Diet expenses, debtor for the following stores issued from 12 January to 11 April 1757. Tea, 6 lb single, £0 7s 0d Flour, 1,817 lb, £8 4s 7½d Rice, 175 lb, £0 9s 11½d Pork, 4 pieces, £0 8s 7d Salt, 2½ bushels, £0 7s 6d Arrack, 63 gallons, £8 2s 0d Sugar, 10 lb, £0 2s 1d Candy, 332 lb, £4 16s 10d Total for sugar and candy, £4 18s 11d Total, £22 16s 9d Blacks, debtor for the following stores issued from 12 January to 11 April 1757. Hooks and lines: 25 hooks, No. 1, for fishing, £0 1s 2½d 25 hooks, No. 2, for fishing, £0 0s 9d 50 hooks, No. 3, for fishing, £0 0s 10½d 25 hooks, No. 4, for fishing, £0 0s 3½d 100 Grantham hooks, for fishing, £0 1s 0d 18 lines, No. 2, for fishing, £0 5s 0d 6 lines, No. 3, for fishing, £0 1s 11d 6 lines, No. 4, for fishing, £0 2s 2½d Total for hooks and lines, £0 13s 3d Train oil, 5½ gallons, for the sick and the black houses, £0 14s 8d Tea, bohea, £1 8s 9d Iron pots: 1 of 12 gallons, £0 13s 0d 1 of 2 gallons, £0 4s 0d Total for iron pots, £0 17s 0d Beef and pork: 192 pieces of beef, £26 8s 0d 60 pieces of pork, £6 8s 9d Total for beef and pork, £32 16s 9d Sugar and candy: 69 lb sugar, for the sick and the Malays, £0 14s 4½d

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		9 3 50 10½ 4 25 3 3 Grantham 100 ¥ 1 - Lines No 2 18 5 - 3 6 1 11 4 6 2 2½ for fishing 13 3 Oil 5½ Galls Train for the Sick & Blackhouse 14 8 Tea Bohea 5½ ffi 1 8 9 Iron Potts viz: of 12 Galls 1 13 - of 2 Do 1 4 - 17 - Beef & Pork viz: Beef 192 ffi 26 8 - Pork 60 ffi 6 8 9 32 16 9 Sugar & Candy viz: Sugar for the Sick and Mallay 69 14 4½ Candy for the Sick and Mallay 13 3 9½ 18 2 Thread 2 Coloured for mending their Cloaths 6 8 Soap 3 ffi for the Mallay 2 - Carried over £37 17 3	15 lb candy, for the sick and the Malays, £0 3s 9½d Total for sugar and candy, £0 18s 2d Coloured thread, 2 lb, for mending their clothes, £0 6s 8d Soap, 3 lb, for the Malays, £0 0s 2d Carried over, £37 17s 3d Interpretations The account issued to the Blacks lists sugar, candy and soap specifically for the sick and the Malays, marking out a distinct group of Malay people among the island's slave or dependent population who were provisioned alongside the sick, the same care for the ill and for this particular community shown here as in the separate Blacks account of the winter. The Malays named here as receiving provisions connect to the Malay prisoner Naquida Draccaben maintained on weekly subsistence in the paymaster's account, suggesting a small body of Malay people present on the island, whether captives, servants or dependents, provided for by the Company through the same channel that supplied the slave workforce and the sick. The fishing tackle issued to the Blacks in a full range of hooks and lines confirms that the slave workforce fished for its own subsistence, the Company supplying the tackle so that the slaves could take fish from the sea to supplement the beef, pork and rice issued to them, the same reliance on fishing seen across every part of the island's food economy.
250	245	1757. Brot over £37 17 3 Blankets 5 1 8 1½ Sailors Cloaths viz: Mens Jackets & Breeches for the 5 Men that came frn Madras by the Chesterfield 5 3 10 6 Do Shirts 10 1 15 10 Do Caps 5 6 8 pr Boys Breeches 1 4 8 5 17 7	The Blacks account and the garrison account continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £37 17s 3d Blankets, 5, £1 8s 1½d Sailors' clothes, for the 5 men that came from Madras by the <i>Chesterfield</i>: 5 men's jackets and breeches, £3 10s 6d 10 shirts, £1 15s 10d 5 caps, £0 6s 8d 1 pair of boys' breeches, £0 4s 8d Total for sailors' clothes, £5 17s 7d Shoes: 2 pairs of women's calf, £0 5s 0d 1 pair of men's ordinary, £0 3s 11d Total for shoes, £0 8s 11d Stockings, 2 pairs of men's knit, £0 6s 0d Rice, 38 hundredweight 2 quarters 9 lb, £12 7s 5d Arrack, 7½ gallons, for drams, £0 18s 9d Total, £59 4s 4d

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		Shoes viz: pr Womens Calf 2 5 - pr mens Ordinary 1 3 11 8 11 Stockings 2 pr Mens knit 6 - Rice 38 & 9 12 7 5 Arrack 7½ Galls for drams 18 9 £59 4 4 Garrison Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th Janry to 11th April 1757 viz: Tea Bohea for the several Guards 79½ ffi 3 6 3 Oil Galls Train for the several Guards 85½ 11 7 4 Nails viz: Tacks for nailing Orders for the Guards 4 ffi 3½ 5d 30 4 2½ 4d for Cotts and Coffins 3 1 2½ 6d 5 1 9½ 17 8 Candy for the Doctors Shop 10 ffi 2 11 Candles 12 ffi 1 4 9 Lines 10 No 2 for Whips 5 - Twine 2 Skt for making Cotts 1 1½ Arrack 3 Galls Given to the Recruits upon their Landing 7 9 Pork 18 pieces Given to the Recruits upon their Landing 1 18 7½ Rice 90 ffi 5 1½ Broad Cloth 5½ Yards Scarlet 4 17 2 Buckram 3 pieces 2 7½ Haberdashery Ware viz: Skt Silk for ye Adjuts Cloaths 5 2 1 Do Mohair 5 1 8 Doz Silver Coat Buttons 3 16 6 Doz Gilt Breast Do 2 4 - 1 4 3 Carried over £26 - 7	Garrison, debtor for the following stores issued from 12 January to 11 April 1757. Tea, 79½ lb bohea, for the several guards, £3 6s 3d Train oil, 85½ gallons, for the several guards, £11 7s 4d Nails: ½ hundred of tacks, for nailing orders for the guards, £0 0s 3½d 30 hundred of 5d nails, for cots and coffins, £0 14s 2½d 3 hundred of 4d nails, for cots and coffins, £0 1s 2½d 5 hundred of 6d nails, for cots and coffins, £0 1s 9½d Total for nails, £0 17s 8d Candy, 10 lb, for the doctor's shop, £0 2s 11d Candles, 12 lb, for the doctor's shop, £1 4s 9d Lines, 10, No. 2, for whips, £0 5s 0d Twine, 2 skeins, for making cots, £0 1s 1½d Arrack, 3 gallons, given to the recruits on their landing, £0 7s 9d Pork, 18 pieces, given to the recruits on their landing, £1 18s 7½d Rice, 90 lb, given to the recruits on their landing, £0 5s 1½d Broadcloth, 5½ yards scarlet, £4 17s 2d Buckram, 3 pieces, £0 2s 7½d Haberdashery, for the adjutant's clothes: 5 lb silk, £0 2s 1d 5 lb mohair, £0 1s 8d 3 dozen silver coat buttons, £0 16s 6d 2 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 4s 0d Total for haberdashery, £1 4s 3d Carried over, £26 0s 7d Interpretations The scarlet broadcloth, silk, mohair and silver buttons issued for the adjutant's clothes record the making up of a uniform coat for Solomon Jacob on his appointment as adjutant in February, the fine scarlet cloth and silver buttons marking out the officer's dress from the plain garments issued to the rank and file and reflecting the dignity of the post the directors had newly created. The provisions of arrack, pork and rice given to the recruits on their landing record the reception of the sixty soldiers shipped from England, the men fed and given a dram on coming ashore before being taken onto the garrison's strength, the same recruits whose care on the passage was paid to the surgeon of the <i>Onslow</i> and whose part-quarter wages fill the spring pay list. The clothing made up for the five sailors brought from Madras by the <i>Chesterfield</i>, jackets, breeches, shirts and caps, records the Company clothing a group of men landed from a ship in need, the same pattern of stranded seamen provided for at the island seen throughout these accounts, the store furnishing them with a full set of garments as they were absorbed into the settlement.

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251	246	2d May Brot over £26 - 7 Deals viz: Single 8 16 - Double 46 6 7 6 7 3 6 Canvas 3 Bolt 20 Yards English for Cotts for the Sixty Recruits 7 - Ironmongers Ware viz: Large Frying Pans 6 18 9 Small Do 17 1 8 8½ 2 7 5½ Tin Ware 6 Lamps 1 1 6 Turners Ware viz: Platters 25 1 7 1 Bowls 25 1 7 1 2 14 2 Iron Potts viz: for the several Guards 4 Galls 8 2 5 6 5 Do 2 13 - 3 Do 9 1 10 6 2½ Do 2 8 - 2 Do 1 4 - 5 9 - £51 16 2½ Plantation Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th Janry to the 11th April 1757 viz: Nails viz: 2d 1 7 4d for repairs to the Deakhouse 2 9½ 6d Lieut Govrs House the Barn in ye 17 6 - 10d Great Wood and for Gates 3 1 - 20d 7 2 2½ 40d 4 1 2 11 9 Rice & Paddy viz: Rice for Poultry and Horses 70 ffi 4 - Paddy for Poultry and Horses	The garrison account and the plantation account continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £26 0s 7d Deals: 8 single, £0 16s 0d 46 double, £6 7s 6d Total for deals, £7 3s 6d Canvas, 3 bolts, 20 yards of English, for cots for the sixty recruits, £7 0s 0d Ironmongery: 6 large frying pans, for the several guards, £0 18s 9d 17 small frying pans, for the several guards, £1 8s 8½d Total for ironmongery, £2 7s 5½d Tin ware, the lamps, £1 1s 6d Turnery: 25 platters, for the several guards, £1 7s 1d 25 bowls, for the several guards, £1 7s 1d Total for turnery, £2 14s 2d Iron pots, for the several guards: 8 of 4 gallons, £2 5s 6d 2 of 5 gallons, £0 13s 0d 9 of 3 gallons, £1 10s 6d 2 of 2½ gallons, £0 8s 0d 1 of 2 gallons, £0 4s 0d Total for iron pots, £5 9s 0d Total, £51 16s 2½d Plantation, debtor for the following stores issued from 12 January to 11 April 1757. Nails, for repairs to the black house, the Lieutenant Governor's house, the crane in the Great Wood and for gates: 1 hundred of 2d nails, £0 0s 7d 2 hundred of 4d nails, £0 0s 9½d 17 hundred of 6d nails, £0 6s 0d 3 hundred of 10d nails, £0 1s 0d 7 hundred of 20d nails, £0 2s 2½d 4 hundred of 40d nails, £0 1s 2d Total for nails, £0 11s 9d Rice and paddy: 70 lb rice, for poultry and horses, £0 4s 0d 36 hundredweight 0 quarters 11 lb paddy, for poultry and horses, £8 0s 2½d Total for rice and paddy, £8 4s 2½d Ironmongery: 10 scythe stones, for mowing, £0 0s 10d 2 spades, for the plantations, £0 6s 2½d 1 small frying pan, for the carpenter's and overseers' use in the Great Wood, £0 1s 8d Total for ironmongery, £0 8s 8½d Iron pots, 1 of 2 gallons, for the carpenter's and overseers' use in the Great Wood, £0 4s 0d Iron, 121 lb, for carts and pickaxes, £1 1s 5d Carried over, £40 10s 1d Interpretations The garrison was equipped with the whole apparatus of feeding the several guards, frying pans, platters, bowls and iron pots of every size, the substantial issue of cooking and eating vessels reflecting the need to victual soldiers posted at the scattered guard houses and batteries around the island, each detached post requiring its own means of preparing and serving food. The plantation account records the same range of building nails, iron and tools issued for repairs across the estate, from the black house and the Lieutenant Governor's dwelling to the crane in the Great Wood and the plantation gates, the entry showing a single stock of hardware maintaining the whole spread of the Company's agricultural establishment in the interior of the island. The paddy issued to poultry and horses, kept distinct from the rice fit for people, again marks the plantation's careful division of the grain crop by quality, the husked rice reserved for human food and

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		36: 0: 11 8 - 2½ 8 4 2½ Ironmongers Ware viz: Scyth Stones for Mowing 10 10 Spades for the Plantations 2 6 2½ Small Frying Pan for the Carpenter and Overseer in ye great Wood 1 1 8 8 8½ Iron Potts 1 of 2 Galls 4 - Iron 12 ffi for Carts and Pickaxes 1 1 5 Carried over £40 10 1	the unhusked paddy given to the stock, the same practice running through every stock and store account of the island.
252	247	1757. Brot over £10 10 1 Deals 3 Single for repairs to ye Lieut Govrs house in the Wood 6 - Tar 4½ Galls for the Carts 3 2 Cordage 62 for Thatching 18 1 Oil ½ Gall Train for Do 1 4 £11 18 8 Fortification Dr for the following Stores issued frm 12th Janry to 11th April 1757 viz: Twine 2 Skt for making Cartridges 1 1½ Turners Ware 6 Birch Brooms for the Gunners use 2 6 Ironmongers Ware viz: Garden Hoe for Lemon Valley Guard 1 1 6 Stock Lock for the Magazine at Mundens Point 1 2 3½ Splinter Locks for the Ammunition Chests for the Flying Partys 2 1 2 Hoes 2 1 2½ 6 2 Deals viz: Single for covering the Passage into the Magazine at Munders Point & for Shelves for Shot at Rupperts 7 12 - Double for a door for ye Locker on the Line 3 9 7 Euffer for a Chest for the Target 1 3 8½ 1 7 3½ Nails viz: 6d for the Port Cullis and Magazine at Mundens Point 1 4½ 10d 5 1 8 20d 2 7½	The plantation account, the fortification account and the boats account continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £10 10s 1d Deals, 3 single, for repairs to the Lieutenant Governor's house in the wood, £0 6s 0d Tar, 4½ gallons, for the carts, £0 3s 2d Cordage, 62 lb, for thatching, £0 18s 1d Oil, ½ gallon of train, for the carts, £0 1s 4d Total, £11 18s 8d Fortification, debtor for the following stores issued from 12 January to 11 April 1757. Twine, 2 skeins, for making cartridges, £0 1s 1½d Turnery, 6 birch brooms, for the gunner's use, £0 2s 6d Ironmongery: 1 garden hoe, for Lemon Valley guard, £0 1s 6d 1 stock lock, for the magazine at Munden's Point, £0 2s 3½d 2 splinter locks, for the ammunition chests for the flying parties, £0 1s 2d 2 hoes, £0 1s 2½d Total for ironmongery, £0 6s 2d Deals: 7 single, for covering the passage into the magazine at Munden's Point and for shelves for that at Rupert's, £0 14s 0d 3 double, for a door for the locker on the line, £0 9s 7d 1 Guffrie, for a chest for the target, £0 3s 8½d Total for deals, £1 7s 3½d Nails, for the portcullis and the magazine at Munden's Point: 1 hundred of 6d nails, £0 0s 4½d 5 hundred of 10d nails, £0 1s 8d 2 hundred of 20d nails, £0 0s 7½d 3 hundred of 40d nails, £0 0s 10½d Total for nails, £0 3s 6½d Paint, for repairing the crane and gun carriages: 25 lb white lead, £0 8s 10½d 6 lb Venetian red, £0 1s 1½d 3 lb red lead, £0 0s 7d 3 barrels of blacking, £0 1s 7d Total for paint, £0 12s 2d Oil, 3½ gallons of linseed, for the same, £0 18s 4d Total, £3 11s 1½d Boats, debtor for the following stores issued from 12 January to 11 April 1757. Lead, 6½ lb sheet, £0 1s 4½d Deals, 15 single, £1 10s 0d Carried over, £1 11s 4½d Interpretations

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		40d 3 10½ 3 6½ Paint viz: White Lead for repairing the Crane & Gun Carriage 25 ffi 8 10½ Venetian Red for repairing the Crane & Gun Carriage 6 ffi 1 1½ Red Lead 3 ffi 7 B Blacking 3 1 7 12 2 Oil 3½ Galls Linseed for Do 18 4 £3 11 1½ Boats Dr for the following Stores issued frm the 12th Janry to 11th April 1757 viz: Lead 6 ffi 4 Sheet 1 4½ Deals 15 Single 1 10 - Carried over £1 11 4½	The fortification stores were issued to a scatter of named defensive works across the island, Lemon Valley guard, the magazines at Munden's Point and Rupert's, the ammunition chests of the flying parties and the portcullis, the range showing the island's defence organised as a network of dispersed batteries and guard posts rather than a single fortress, each requiring its own locks, timber and fastenings. The splinter locks issued for the ammunition chests of the flying parties record the securing of the mobile militia's powder and shot, the flying parties being the detachments held ready to move quickly to any threatened point, their ammunition kept in locked chests so that the powder was both portable and safeguarded when the parties were dispersed about the island.
253	248	2d May Brought over £1 11 4½ Oars 2 7 8 Lines viz: No 2 6 1 8 3 6 1 11½ 3 7½ Leather 7 ffi Pump 9 9½ Nails viz: 2d 1 3d 1 7 10d 2 5½ 20d 3 8 1 1½ 2 8 Tar 8½ Galls 5 8 Paint 1 Barr Blacking 6½ Oil ½ Gall Train 4 £3 1 8 Hospital Dr for the following Stores issued frm 12th Janry to 11th April 1757 viz: Sugar 220 2 5 10 Flour 21½ ffi 1 6 2½ Oil 10 Galls Train 1 6 8 Turners Ware viz:	The boats account, the hospital account and a sale continued as follows, in sterling. Brought over, £1 11s 4½d Oars, 2, £0 7s 8d Lines: 6 lines, No. 2, £0 1s 8d 6 lines, No. 3, £0 1s 11½d Total for lines, £0 3s 7½d Leather, ½ lb, for the pump, £0 9s 9½d Nails: 1 hundred of 2d nails, £0 0s [...] 1 hundred of 3d nails, £0 0s 7d 2 hundred of 10d nails, £0 0s 3½d 3 hundred of 20d nails, £0 0s 8d Total for nails, £0 1s 1½d Tar, 3½ gallons, £0 2s 8d Paint, 1 barrel of blacking, £0 5s 8d Oil, ½ gallon of train, £0 0s 4d Total, £3 1s 8d Hospital, debtor for the following stores issued from 12 January to 11 April 1757. Sugar, 220 lb, £2 5s 10d Flour, 243 lb, £1 6s 2½d Train oil, 10 gallons, £1 6s 8d Turnery: 1 platter, £0 0s 1½d 1 bowl, £0 0s 1½d Total for turnery, £0 1s 11d Salt, 1½ bushels, £0 4s 6d Rice, 200 lb, £1 2s 9d China ware, 10 sneakers, £0 1s 8d Iron pots, 1 of 4 gallons, £0 5s 6d Ironmongery: 1 small frying pan, £0 1s 8d 1 wood axe, £0 2s 10½d Total for ironmongery, £0 4s 6½d Total, £4 6s 4½d The following were sold to the Danish ship at 50 per cent. Flour, 351 lb, £6 19s 9d Total, £3 5s 10d The account was certified at St Helena on 11 April 1757 and signed by James Powell. The Council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 April, with the result as follows. Interpretations

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		Platter 1 1½ Bowl 1 1½ 1 11 Salt 1½ Bushl 4 6 Rice 4 00 1 2 9 China Ware 10 Sneakers 1 8 Iron Potts 1 of 4 Galls 5 6 Ironmongers Ware viz: Small Frying Pan 1 8 Wood Axe 1 2 10½ 4 6½ Sold to the Dane Ship at 50 ¥ Cent £6 19 9 Flour 351 ffi £3 5 10 St Helena April 11th 1757 (Signed) James Powell Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th of April last which is as follows viz: Cash	The Company sold flour to the Danish ship <i>King of Denmark</i> at a markup of 50 per cent, the steepest margin in the whole collection, the highest rate reserved for a foreign vessel with no claim on the Company's favour and an urgent need to provision for the long homeward voyage, the island turning its position as a rare mid-ocean supply point to sharp commercial advantage against a foreign buyer. The hospital's supply of sugar, flour, rice and oil, drawn from the same stores that fed the garrison and the plantation, confirms the infirmary provisioned through the ordinary stores system rather than any separate medical arrangement, the sick sustained on the plain staples of the island's diet with only the destination distinguishing these issues from those made elsewhere. Speculations The obvious rate to charge the Danish ship for flour would have been one of the markups already applied elsewhere in the collection, 10, 25 or 40 per cent as charged to servants, planters and Company ships. The Council instead set the price at 50 per cent, higher than any rate charged to its own people or its own vessels. The path not taken was equal treatment with the English trade, set aside because the Danish ship was a foreign buyer in evident need with nowhere else to provision in mid-ocean, letting the Company exact its steepest margin precisely where the buyer had least choice and no claim on its favour.
254	249	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1757 Mar 11 To balance remaining £3112 7 7½ 1757 Apr 11 To James Powell received of him for Store Goods sold in the Quarter ending this Day 998 10 3 To Licences for public Houses 15 - - To Plantation for Provisions sold 42 8 5½ 4168 6 4 £4168 6 4 1757 Apr 11 By Sundry Accts advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &c in the Quarter ending this Day 2547 4 8 By balance remaining in the foll: Species viz: 220 Venetians 10/ £110 - - 550 Pagodas 8/ 220 - - Gold amounting to £330 - - 1056 Dollars 5/ 264 - - 4299 Rupees 2/3 483 12 9 441 French pieces at 2/ 3 13 6 Odd Money 5 Silver amounting to 751 6 8 Cash Notes 539 15 - £4168 6 4 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark Margin Notes: 1757	Cash Dr / Per Contra Cr 1757 11 March: To balance remaining, £3,112 7s 7½d 11 April: To James Powell, received of him for store goods sold in the quarter ending that day, £998 10s 3d To licenses for public houses, £15 0s 0d To plantation, for provisions sold, £42 8s 5½d Total, £4,168 6s 4d 1757 11 April: By sundry accounts advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges in the quarter ending that day, £2,547 4s 8d By balance remaining in the following species viz: 220 Venetians at 10s each, £110 0s 0d 550 Pagodas at 8s each, £220 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £330 0s 0d 1,056 dollars at 5s each, £264 0s 0d 4,299 rupees at 2s 3d each, £483 12s 9d 441 French pieces at 2s each, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 5d Silver amounting to, £751 6s 8d Cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £4,168 6s 4d Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The cash balance fell sharply over the month to £751 6s 8d in silver and £330 in gold, the great reduction accounted for by the £2,547 4s 8d advanced to the paymaster for the quarter's wages, the same large withdrawal recorded in the paymaster's own account, the drain of the quarterly pay bill visibly stripping the island's coined reserve. The gold and silver reserve was now far smaller than at the previous reckoning, the pagodas, Venetians, dollars and rupees all much diminished,

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			the depletion showing how the single quarterly payment of the whole establishment's wages consumed the greater part of the island's ready coin, the reserve rebuilt only as ships settled their accounts and the store's sales brought money back in.
255	250	2d May A Slave Man belonging to Mr Thomas Colgrave named Landoon being proved to have run away from his Master and Secreted himself for three Weeks We therefore ordered him to be Whipped at three different times to receive a hundred Lashes at each and to be branded on the Cheek. Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Thursday the 5th of May 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 2d May 1757. The Governor acquainted the Gentlemen of the Council that On or about the 27th of April last Mr Robert Barclay the Honorable Companys Surgeon here came to inform him he had that Day sent some Medicines to Mr Powells for one of his Daughters That Mr Powell told the Man who carried them to let Mr Barclay know he need not send any more for he would not receive them or words to that effect Mr Barclay complaining of the Abruptness of this Message the Governor sent for the said Mr Powell the Honorable Companys Storekeeper who told Mr Barclay that his reason for forbidding him to send any Physic to his Daughter for the future was he being brought by the Servant of that Villain Mr Hay The Governor thereupon observed to Mr Powell that this was very harsh and improper Language To which he replied Governor I	A slave man named Landoon, belonging to Mr Thomas Colgrave, was proved to have run away from his master and hidden himself for three weeks. The Council therefore ordered him to be whipped at three separate times, receiving 100 lashes at each, and to be branded on the cheek. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. A consultation was held on Thursday 5 May 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 2 May 1757. Governor Hutchinson informed the members of the Council that on or about 27 April Mr Robert Barclay, the Honourable Company's surgeon there, had come to tell him that he had that day sent some medicines to Mr Powell for one of his daughters. Mr Powell had let Barclay know that he need not send any more, as he would not receive them. Barclay complained of the abruptness of this message, and the Governor sent for Mr Powell, the Honourable Company's storekeeper, who told Barclay that his reason for not wishing him to send any physic to his daughter for the future was that it was brought by the servant of that villain Mr Hay. The Governor observed to Mr Powell that this was very harsh and improper language. Interpretations The dispute recorded here shows the personal feud arising out of the earlier Hay affair spilling into the ordinary business of the settlement, Powell refusing the surgeon's medicines for his sick daughter solely because they were carried by a servant of Hay, the officer earlier accused and disciplined, the quarrel between the two men now poisoning even the treatment of a child. Mr Powell the storekeeper is the same James Powell who signed the storekeeper's accounts throughout these consultations, his open contempt for Hay before the Governor showing how the factional divisions among the island's small body of officers were carried into their daily dealings, the Governor moved to rebuke a senior servant for intemperate language in Council. Speculations The obvious course for a father with a sick daughter and a Company surgeon offering treatment was to accept the medicines and see the child cared for. Powell instead refused them outright, the sole stated reason being that they came by the hand of a servant of Hay, the man he called a villain. The path not taken was the child's treatment, set aside so that Powell might not be beholden in any way to his enemy, the depth of the factional quarrel shown by his willingness to refuse physic for his own daughter rather than take it through a channel touched by Hay.
256	251	5th May I can prove Mr Hay to be a Villain for he has come into my House & into my Daughters Bedchamber several times at very unseasonable hours in the Night. On the third of this instant May the Governor received ye following Letter from Mr Hay. To the Governor St Helena May 3d 1757 Sir I am well informed that Mr Powell has very grossly aspersed my Character to you by calling me Villain and	Powell said he could prove Mr Hay to be a villain, for he had come into his house and into his daughter's bedchamber several times at unreasonable hours in the night. On 3 May the Governor received the following letter from Mr Hay, dated at St Helena on 2 May. Hay wrote that he was well informed Mr Powell had grossly abused his character to the Governor by calling him a villain and saying he could prove it,

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		said that he could prove it which he must do or answer the Consequences. I am Sir with all due respect your most obedient and very humble Servant (Signed) George Hay Upon which the Governor told Mr Powell and Mr Hay that the Case should be enquired into this Day they both attended accordingly and Mr James Powell declared that on Saturday was Sennight pretty early in the Evening his Servant Sam Bowerie a free black Boy ran out him at the Foot of his Stairs and Told him with trembling that the said Hay had been in his House to his Daughter Elizabeth he then askd him if he was sure of it and he declared Yes and that the black Slave Girl named Sophia saw him Mr Hay said that the said Elizabeth Powell had entreated him the said Sam Bowerie to leave the Doors open which he refused to do and could not imagine which way the said Hay could get into the House until Sophia told him that she believed he must have got in through the Windows and that the said Sam Bowerie said that the Windows were plainly to be seen open the Walks The said James Powell further declares that when his said Daughter Elizabeth came to breakfast he askd her what Physic was that in the House last Night she replied that She had none he told her he was sure She must but she still denied it and fell into a fit. The said James Powell desired that Sam Bowerie might be Called who accordingly appearing declared that on or abt the 5th or 6th of Ended when his Master went to the Long Wood with some Company he Marsh last saw the said Lieut Hay go into his Masters dining Room at his House in James's Valley about 6 oClock in the Afternoon where Miss Eliz Powell then	which he must do or answer the consequences. He signed himself George Hay. The Governor told Mr Powell and Mr Hay that the case should be enquired into that day, and both attended accordingly. Mr James Powell declared that on Saturday a fortnight before, fairly early in the evening, his servant Sam Bowers, a black man, met him at the foot of his stairs and told him with trembling that Hay had been in his house to his daughter Elizabeth. Powell asked whether he was sure of it, and the servant replied that he was, and that the black slave girl named Sophia saw him. Hay said that Sophia had entreated him to leave the door, on which he refused to do, and he could not imagine which way Hay could get into the house until Sophia told him that she believed he must have got in through the windows, and that the windows were plainly to be seen open at the outworks. The servant Sam Bowers said that when Powell's daughter Elizabeth came to breakfast, he asked her what noise there was in the house last night, and she replied that Mr Hay had been in the house last night, but she denied it, and it fell into a jest. Powell desired that Sam Bowers might be examined, who accordingly appeared and declared that on or about 5 April, when his master went to the Long Wood with some company, he saw Mr Hay go into his master's dwelling house at his master James Powell's valley about two o'clock in the afternoon, where Miss Elizabeth Powell then was. Interpretations The dispute between Powell and Hay turned on a grave accusation, that Hay had entered Powell's house and his daughter's bedchamber at night, the storekeeper's charge of villainy resting on an alleged sexual impropriety towards his daughter Elizabeth, a matter of family honour that the Council was now forced to examine formally as a quarrel between two of its officers. The evidence rested chiefly on the testimony of two slaves, Powell's servant Sam Bowers and the slave girl Sophia, whose accounts of seeing Hay enter the house and their exchanges with him at the door formed the substance of the case, showing once again that a slave's word was received as evidence in the island's proceedings, here in a matter touching the honour of a senior Company officer's family. Speculations The obvious way for Powell to pursue so grave a charge against Hay would have been to bring it as a formal complaint in its own right. Instead the accusation surfaced only when Hay, stung by hearing himself called a villain, demanded that Powell prove it or answer the consequences, forcing the matter before the Council. The path not taken was Powell's own direct complaint of the alleged nocturnal intrusions, left unspoken until Hay's challenge compelled him to substantiate the insult, which suggests Powell had preferred to blacken Hay privately rather than risk his daughter's name in a public enquiry until he was left no choice.
257	252	5th May then was and that he saw the key then on the Outside of the Door and when he returned about half an hour after the key of the door was on the inside that he pushed at it but found he could not open it that he then looked thro the key hole and saw the said Hay and the said Elizth Powell sitting on a Couch. The said Sam Bowerie further declares yt sometime after when his Master and Mrs were gone to Mrs Swaile's the said Hay came to his Masters House about 3 or 4 oClock that afternoon and as he was going in with Water to make Tea he saw Margaret Harper standing just by the Room Door he askd her if she was	Sam Bowers said that the key was then on the outside of the door, and when he returned about half an hour later the key was on the inside. He pushed at the door but could not open it, then looked through the keyhole and saw Hay and Elizabeth Powell sitting on a couch. Sam Bowers further declared that some time afterwards, when his master and mistress had gone to Mr Truelove's, Hay came to his master's house about three or four o'clock that afternoon. As he was going in with water to make tea, he saw Margaret Harper standing just by the room door and asked her whether she was going to drink tea. She refused,

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		going to drink Tea She replied no for that curved fellow was in the Room curved fellow what curved fellow Miss Peggy? to which she answered it was Mr Hay Bowerie then said Damn his Blood is it not a Shame that he should be locked up in my Masters Bed Chamber in his absence? If he comes to hear of this I am afraid he will Murther us all without fearing of Heaven or giving of reason that the said Margaret Harper then went to the door and knocked at it with her hand upon that the door was opened and the said Hay came out & went down into the Hall where he took two or three Turns and then went up into the dining Room and drank Tea where were at that time Mr Richard Bagley and Mr Owen Griffith. And the said Sam Bowerie further declares that on Friday last was Sennight as he was sitting at Supper abt 9 oClock the said Elizabeth Powell came and called him the Black Girl Sophia hearing it said to him dont go he askd her why? She replied because I know for what she wants you James a Slave Man of the said James Powells said I believe I likewise know for what she wants you he then said since you all know By God I will know too and thereupon he went to the said Elizabeth Powell and askd her what she wanted with him? who putting her hand upon his Shoulder said She had a favour to beg of him he then askd what it was she replied will you do it? he said he would if it was in his power She said will you leave a Door open for me? he askd for what? She said Mr Hay is coming by and by he then says he Told her he would not leave it open for his Mother that he then Left her and went to his Supper in about 4 or 5 Minutes after Sarah Powell called him and Told him come into the Bedchamber	saying that cursed fellow was in the room. He asked what cursed fellow, and she said Mr Hay. Bowers then said, damn his blood, is it not a shame that he should be locked up in his master's bedchamber in his absence, and if he comes to hear of this he is afraid Hay will murder them all, without fear of heaven or giving of reason. Margaret Harper then went to the door and knocked at it with her hand, upon which the door was opened and Hay came out and went down into the hall, where he took two or three turns, then went up into the dining room and drank tea, where at that time were Mr Richard Bagley and Mr Owen Griffith. Sam Bowers further declared that on Friday a fortnight before, as he was sitting at supper about nine o'clock, Elizabeth Powell came and called him. The black girl Sophia, hearing it, told him not to go. He asked her why, and she replied, because I know for what she wants you. He said James, a man of the household, likewise knew for what she wanted him, and then said, since you all know, by God I will know too. He then went to Elizabeth Powell and asked her what she wanted with him, putting her hand upon his shoulder. She was afraid to beg of him, and he asked what it was. She replied, will you do it, and he said he would if it were in his power. She said, will you leave a door open for me, and he asked for what. She said Mr Hay is coming by and by. He said he would not leave it open for his master, then left her and went to his supper. About four or five minutes later Sarah Powell called him and told him to come into the bedchamber. Interpretations The depositions build a detailed picture of Hay's repeated presence in Powell's house during the master's absence, seen through the keyhole with Elizabeth on a couch and locked in the bedchamber, the servants' accounts assembling the circumstantial case for an illicit relationship between Hay and the storekeeper's daughter that lay behind Powell's charge of villainy. The testimony records members of the household actively conspiring to admit Hay, Elizabeth begging the servant Sam Bowers to leave a door open and the other servants knowing her purpose, the evidence showing not a forced intrusion but a clandestine arrangement in which the young woman herself contrived Hay's entry, complicating the picture of simple wrongdoing on Hay's part alone. The servants' fear of Hay, Bowers expecting him to murder them all should he learn they had spoken, reveals the menace the officer held over Powell's household, the slaves and servants caught between their master's interest and their terror of the man whose secret visits they had witnessed, their reluctant testimony given under evident dread of his revenge.
258	253	1757. Bedchamber for Miss Betty wanted to speak with him he went to her and askd what she wanted She said will you leave a door open for me? he said Yes I will leave the Side door open for you as he thought it might make her easy but he did not And further saith that Sophia a Slave Girl about half an hour after 8 oClock told him that the said Hay was then standing behind the Bedchamber door and behind the said Elizth Powell. And the said Sam Bowerie further declares that on Saturday last was Sennight he got up very early in the Morning and seeing the said Margaret Harper walking about the back Yard he askd her why she got up so soon? who replied because she could not Sleep and was troubled in her mind he then askd why she was so? She said because Mr Hay swearing Lieut George Hay was in the Room last Night he then askd her why	Miss Betty wanted to speak with Sam Bowers in the bedchamber, so he went to her and asked what she wanted. She said, will you leave a door open for me. He said yes, he would leave the side door open for her to make her easy, but he did not. Bowers further said that Sophia, a slave girl, told him about half an hour after eight o'clock that Hay was then standing behind the bedchamber door, and behind Elizabeth Powell. Sam Bowers further declared that on Saturday a fortnight before he got up very early in the morning, and seeing Margaret Harper walking about the back yard, asked her why she got up so soon. She replied, because she could not sleep and was troubled in her mind. He asked why she was so, and she said because Lieutenant George Hay had sworn he was in the room last night. He then asked her why they did not acquaint Mr Powell with it, as they all knew it. She

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		they did not acquaint Mr Powell with it as they all knowd it She said she knew Mr Powell to be such a passionate Man that she was afraid he would Murther her and Miss Betty too. The said James Powell desired that his Black Slave Girl named Sophia might be called who accordingly appearing saith that on Friday Night was Sennight about half an hour after 8 she went with a Candle in her hand to fetch some of her Masters Cloaths out of the Bedchamber where the Miss Powells Lay and there saw Lieut Hay standing behind the Door behind Miss Elizth Powell and that Miss Sarah Powell & Miss Margaret Harper were then asleep. Mr Powell also desired that Damus his Slave Boy might be called in and askd if he had ever carried any Letters from his Daughter Elizabeth to Lieut Hay or from him to her Saith he did carry three at different times from the said Elizabeth Powell to Lieut Hay and Answers to those from him to her and that he was cautioned by both of them not to let his Master Miss Sarah Powell nor Margaret Harper knowit. The said James Powell further desired that his Son Charles might be called and askd his reasons for nailing one of the Windows of the Bedchamber where his Sisters and he lay Declares it was because he heard somebody Walking about the Room the Night before about 11 oClock He further says that about 7 oClock the next Morning he went into the Street and looked under the Window where he saw some of the Plaistering rather off Charles Powell further declares that the afternoon of the Day his Father went up to the Long Wood with Company having occasion for his Hatt he went to the Bedchamber where they all lay for it and finding it locked he knocked at it and his Sister Elizabeth asked who was there? He	said she knew Mr Powell to be a passionate man, and was afraid he would murder her and Miss Betty too. Powell desired that his slave girl Sophia might be called, who declared that on Friday night a fortnight before, about half an hour after eight, she went with a candle in her hand to fetch some of her master's clothes out of the bedchamber where the Miss Powells lay, and there saw Lieutenant Hay standing behind the door, behind Miss Elizabeth Powell, and that Miss Sarah Powell and Miss Margaret Harper were then asleep. Mr Powell also desired that his slave boy Domus might be called, and asked whether he had ever carried any letters from his daughter Elizabeth to Lieutenant Hay, or from him to her. He said he did carry three at different times from Elizabeth Powell to Lieutenant Hay and the answers back, and that he was cautioned by both of them not to let his master, Miss Sarah Powell or Margaret Harper know it. Powell further desired that his son Charles might be called, and asked his reasons for nailing one of the windows of the bedchamber where his sisters and he lay. Charles declared it was because he heard somebody walking about the room the night before about eleven o'clock. He further said that about seven o'clock the next morning he went into the street and looked under the window, where he saw some of the plastering rather off. Charles further declared that in the afternoon of that day his father went up to the Long Wood with company, and having occasion for his hall, he went to the bedchamber where they all lay, and finding it locked, he knocked at it, and his sister Elizabeth asked who was there. Interpretations The slave boy Domus admitted carrying three letters between Elizabeth Powell and Hay and their replies, evidence that establishes a sustained secret correspondence conducted through the household slaves, the clearest proof yet of a deliberate and continuing clandestine relationship rather than isolated intrusions, the young woman using her father's slaves as go-betweens under strict injunctions of secrecy. The son Charles nailing shut the bedchamber window and finding the plastering disturbed beneath it points to Hay's method of entry through the window at night, the physical traces corroborating the servants' testimony, the family itself taking measures to bar the clandestine access once its younger members grew suspicious of the nocturnal visits. The whole household, slaves and family alike, is shown bound in a web of secrecy and fear around Elizabeth's conduct, the servants sworn to conceal the letters and afraid to tell the master, Margaret Harper dreading his passionate temper, the depositions revealing how the affair had drawn the entire establishment into concealment against the head of the house.
259	254	5th May It is I I want my Hatt She Answered I cannot let you in That he went away and returned in about 3 or 4 Minutes and knocked at it a Second time the said Elizabeth then Told him she neither could nor would open it but in about 3 or 4 Minutes after he saw Lt Hay with the said Elizabeth Mr Bagley and Mr Griffith drinking Tea in his Fathers dining Room. Sarah Powell Daughter of the said James Powell being called in at his request and askd what she knew of Lieut George Hays being at his House in the Country declares yt sometime ago when she and Margaret Harper were out feeding Poultry they saw the said Hay on a Saturday go to her Fathers House and Sarah Powell soon after followed him and askd where the said Hay was? and was answered by a black Girl named Ellen he is in the Bedchamber with your Sister and	Elizabeth answered, it is I, I want my hall, and Charles said he could not let her in. He went away, and returned in about three or four minutes and knocked a second time. Elizabeth then told him she neither could nor would open it, but in about three or four minutes after he saw Lieutenant Hay with Elizabeth, Mr Bagley and Mr Griffith drinking tea in his father's dining room. Sarah Powell, daughter of James Powell, was called in at his request and asked what she knew of Lieutenant George Hay being at his house in the country. She declared that some time ago, when she and Margaret Harper were out feeding poultry, they saw Hay go into her father's house on a Saturday. Sarah Powell soon followed him and asked where Hay was, and was answered by a black girl named Ellen, he is in the bedchamber with your sister.

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		seeing that the Door was locked She went out and called the said Margaret Harper who went directly to the Window of the Bedchamber and looked in and then went to the said Sarah Powell who went both together & forced the Door open and found the said Hay and the said Elizabeth Powell in the Room that Sarah Powell askd Lieut Hay what he did in the Bedchamber? to which he made no Answer. The said Sarah Powell further declares that a little after the Sailing of the first 3 Ships this Year for England which was on the 11th March her Father and his Family being then in James's Valley One Night about 11 or 12 oClock the said Margaret Harper who lay with her Sister Elizabeth jumped out of that Bed and came to hers and told her the said Hay was in the Room she says she took no further Notice of it but lay awake untill about 1 or 2 oClock in the Morning and then saw the said Hay go out at the upper Window and that in Conversation with her Sister Betty the Morning after she askd her if she was not afraid of her Father should knowit that he would being Villains and that the said Hay She Answered no for that the said Hay told her he had landed Pistols & that she saw him lay them down upon a Chest. Lieut George Hay desired that Sarah Powell might be askd by what Light or by what means it was that she could be positive it was him that went out at the Window Declares that as being Told by Margaret Harper altho there was no Candle light nor any Moon light yet she is very sure it was the said Hay that she saw & no body else. The	Seeing that the door was locked, she went out and called Margaret Harper, who went directly to the window of the bedchamber and looked in, then went to Sarah Powell, and they both went together and forced the door open, and found Hay and Elizabeth Powell in the room. Sarah Powell asked Lieutenant Hay what he did in the bedchamber, to which he made no answer. Sarah Powell further declared that a little after the sailing of the first three ships this year for England, which was on 11 March, her father and his family being then in Powell's valley, one night about eleven or twelve o'clock Margaret Harper, who lay with her sister Elizabeth, jumped out of the bed and came to her and told her Hay was in the room. She took no further notice of it but lay awake until about one or two o'clock in the morning, and then saw Hay go out at the upper window. In conversation with her sister Betty the morning after, she asked whether she was not afraid of her father should he know it, that he would be angry. Betty answered no, for Hay had told her he had landed pistols, and that she saw him lay them down upon a chest. Lieutenant George Hay desired that Sarah Powell might be asked by what light or by what means it was that she could be positive it was him that went out at the window. She declared that as being told by Margaret Harper, although there was no candle light nor any moon light, yet she was very sure it was Hay that she saw and no one else. Interpretations The testimony of Elizabeth's own sister Sarah corroborates the servants' accounts from within the family, describing the locked bedchamber forced open to find Hay and Elizabeth together and his silent refusal to answer, the sister's evidence lending the weight of a family member to what had rested chiefly on the depositions of slaves. The detail that Hay had landed pistols and laid them on a chest, told to Sarah by Elizabeth herself, reveals the officer arming himself for his nocturnal visits, a menacing circumstance that explains the household's terror of him and suggests he came prepared to resist any attempt to seize or expose him during his clandestine entries. Hay's challenge to Sarah, questioning how she could be sure it was he who left by the window in the dark, shows him mounting a defence by attacking the reliability of the identification, the officer contesting the evidence on the ground that the witness could not have seen clearly, a lawyer-like resistance that reflects his earlier readiness to dispute the proceedings against him.
260	255	1757. The said Sarah Powell further declares that about a Week or a Fortnight after she saw the said Hay about 11 or 12 oClock at Night come in at the Window close by her Bedside and went to her Sister Elizths Bedside the Moon shining then very bright and about an hour after she askd him what he did in the Room at that time of Night to which he made no Answer And that he had on a blue Coat turned up with Red Worsted Stockings & a Sword in his hand and sometime after she saw him go out of the Chamber door. The said Sarah Powell also further Declares that on Friday last was Sennight about 12 oClock at Night as near as she can gwess she saw the said Hay come in at the before mentioned Window and go to her Sister Elizabeths Bedside and that she then heard the said Hay tell her said Sister he could not come sooner for that he believed Serjt Bazett had been watching him She then heard her said Sister ask the said Hay whether he and Mr Durling were intimate he said No but that he and Mr Durling had been talking together that Morning And further declares that after the said Hay	Sarah Powell further declared that about a week or a fortnight after, she saw Hay come in at the window close by her bedside about eleven or twelve o'clock at night, and go to her sister Elizabeth's bedside, the moon shining then very bright. About an hour after, she asked him what he did in the room at that time of night, to which he made no answer. He had on a blue coat turned up with red, worsted stockings, and a sword in his hand, and some time after she saw him go out of the chamber door. Sarah Powell also further declared that on Friday a fortnight before, about twelve o'clock at night, as near as she could guess, she saw Hay come in at the window mentioned before and go to her sister Elizabeth's bedside. She then heard Hay tell her sister he could not come sooner, for that he believed Sergeant Bazett had been watching him. She then heard her sister ask Hay whether he and Mr Durling were intimate. He said they were, but that he and Mr Durling had been talking together that morning. She further declared that after Hay had remained in the

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		had remained in the Chamber about two or three hours he went out of the same Window he came in at. The said Hay desired that the said Sarah Powell might be askd why she did not make it known to her Father any irregularitys that he had committed who replied that it was on her Sister Elizabeths Acct She kept Silence and not out of any regard to him the said Hay. The said James Powell desired that his Daughter Sarah might be askd what Conversation passed between her and his daughter Elizth on Saturday Sennight in the Morning who declares that she then Told her Sister Elizabeth it should be no longer kept a Secret but that she could inform her Father of it upon which her Sister the said Elizabeth Told a black Girl that was then in the Room to go and fetch up her Fathers Sword that she might Stab herself. Margaret Harper being called in at the said James Powells request Declares that at the time Sarah Powell said that she saw Lieut Hay go to her Fathers House in the Country they being then feeding Poultry the said Sarah Powell called to her and told her that the said Hay was gone into the House upon which she went to the Window of ye Bedchamber and looking in saw the said Hay lying on a Bed upon the said Elizab Powell whose Cloaths were up That she with the said Sarah went in to the Room and heard the said Sarah ask the said Hay what he did there who replied that he came down to take a Walk. The	chamber about two or three hours, he went out of the same window he came in at. Hay desired that Sarah Powell might be asked why she did not make known to her father any irregularity he had committed. She replied that it was on her sister Elizabeth's account that she kept silence, and not out of any regard to Hay. James Powell desired that his daughter Sarah might be asked what conversation passed between her and his daughter Elizabeth on Saturday a fortnight before in the morning. She declared that she then told her sister Elizabeth it should be no longer kept a secret, but that she could inform her father of it, upon which her sister Elizabeth told a black girl who was then in the room to go and fetch her father's sword, that she might stab herself. Margaret Harper was called in at James Powell's request and declared that at the time Sarah Powell said she saw Lieutenant Hay go to her father's house in the country, they being then feeding poultry, Sarah Powell called to her and told her that Hay had gone into the house. She went to the window of the bedchamber and, looking in, saw Hay lying on a bed, upon which Elizabeth Powell, whose petticoats were up, and she and Sarah went into the room, and heard Sarah ask Hay what he did there, who replied that he came down to take a walk. Interpretations Sarah Powell's account of overhearing Hay tell Elizabeth he could not come sooner for fear Sergeant Bazett was watching him establishes that Hay knew his visits were furtive and guarded against discovery, the exchange revealing a practised and cautious pattern of clandestine meeting rather than any innocent or accidental presence, the officer timing his entries to avoid the notice of others. Elizabeth's threat to stab herself with her father's sword when her sister said the secret must be told reveals the desperation of the young woman caught in the affair, the daughter preferring to speak of taking her own life rather than have her father learn of her conduct, a measure of the shame and fear that the discovery threatened to bring upon her. Margaret Harper's evidence of seeing Elizabeth on the bed with her petticoats up and Hay lying there gives the plainest account of physical impropriety in the whole enquiry, the witness describing what she saw through the window in terms that leave little doubt of the nature of the relationship, the testimony carrying the matter beyond mere secret visits to an openly sexual connection.
261	256	5th May The said Margaret Harper further declares that a few Days after the 3 first Ships Sailed being in Bed with the said Elizth Powell she felt something upon her which awakened her & found it to be a hand upon which she Jumped out of that Bed and went to the said Sarah Powells and Told her she believed that the said Hay was in the other Bed she thereupon told her to lay Still & say nothing That about 3 Hours after she declares she saw the said Hay go out of the upper Window And further declares that the next Morning she asked Elizth Powell if she was not afraid ye Father should knowit that he would Shoot the said Hay She said no for that the said Hay had landed Pistols and that she saw him lay them down on a Chest. The said Margaret Harper also declares that abt a Fortnight after between 11 and 12 oClock at Night being then in bed with the said Sarah Powell saw the said Hay come in at the Second Window & go directly to the said Elizabeth Powells bed and after being there some time she asked him how he came to be in her Bed Chamber? to which the said Hay made no reply but that she heard the said Elizth Powell say to the said Hay where have you been all this time why did not you	Margaret Harper further declared that a few days after the first three ships sailed, being in bed with Elizabeth Powell, she felt something upon her which woke her, and found it to be a hand, upon which she jumped out of the bed and went to Sarah Powell and told her she believed Hay was in the other bed. Sarah then told her to lie still and say nothing. About three hours after, she declared she saw Hay go out of the upper window. She further declared that the next morning she asked Elizabeth Powell whether she was not afraid her father should know it, that he would shoot Hay. She said no, for Hay had landed pistols, and that she saw him lay them down on a chest. Margaret Harper also declared that about a fortnight after, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, being in bed with Sarah Powell, she saw Hay come in at the second window and go directly to Elizabeth Powell's bed. After being there some time, she asked him how he came to be in her bedchamber, to which Hay made no reply, but she heard Elizabeth Powell say to Hay, where have you been all this time, why did you not come sooner. Hay answered that he saw several people about the house that he believed were watching him, and that he thought Sergeant

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		come sooner? The said Hay answered that he saw several People about the House that he believed were watching him and that he thought Serjt Bazett to be one of them And she further declares that the said Hay from his first coming in went out of the Chamber door about 3 hours after. The said Margaret Harper also declares that about 3 Weeks ago but she cannot justly say the time she saw the said Hay come in at the same Window he came in at the Second time about 11 oClock at Night She being then in Bed with the said Sarah Powell on a Friday Night and that the said James Powell knew of it the next Morning And further declares that the said Hay when he came to the Room went to Elizabeths Bed and did not leave the Room again untill after three oClock in the Morning and then went out of the Chamber door but soon returned and got out at the same Window he came in at And being asked whether the said Sarah Powell was awake when the said Hay went out of the Chamber and returned again and then went out of the Window says she was.	Bazett to be one of them. She further declared that Hay, from his first coming in, went out of the chamber door about three hours after. Margaret Harper also declared that about three weeks ago, though she could not justly say the time, she saw Hay come in at the same window he came in at the second time, about eleven o'clock at night, she being then in bed with Sarah Powell, on a Friday night, and that Sarah Powell knew of it the next morning. She further declared that Hay, when he came to the room, went to Elizabeth's bed, and did not leave the room again until after three o'clock in the morning, and then went out of the chamber door, but soon returned and got out at the same window he came in at. Being asked whether Sarah Powell was awake when Hay went out of the chamber and returned again, and then went out of the window, she said she was. Interpretations Margaret Harper's account of waking to find a hand upon her in the bed she shared with Elizabeth records Hay's presence intruding even upon the other women of the household, the detail heightening the sense of the officer moving freely and boldly about the bedchamber at night, his conduct touching not only Elizabeth but those who lay beside her. The repeated and consistent testimony of multiple witnesses, Sam Bowers, Sophia, Sarah Powell and Margaret Harper, describing the same windows, the same hours and the same pattern of entry over successive weeks, builds a formidable and mutually corroborating body of evidence against Hay, the enquiry assembling a detailed chronicle of a sustained affair rather than resting on a single disputed incident. Hay's own repeated remarks, overheard by the witnesses, that he saw people watching him and suspected Sergeant Bazett, run through the depositions as evidence from his own mouth that he knew his conduct to be secret and guarded against exposure, the officer's caution itself confirming his consciousness of wrongdoing across the whole course of the affair.
262	257	1757 The said Margaret Harper being further asked what she knew of the said Hays being with the said Elizabeth Powell in the Day time Declares that one day when her Uncle the said James Powell was in the Long Wood Elizabeth Powell and the said Hay were locked up together in her and their Bedchamber and Sam Bowerie asking her whether she was not going to make Tea she replied no for that the said Elizabeth Powell and the said Hay were locked up together she could not get the Keys She then declared that the said Elizabeth Powell came out of the Room and left the said Hay in it a little after the said Elizth Powell came out the key being on the inside of the door the said Hay opened it went down Stairs and Staid a little while and then went into the Dining Room and drank Tea with herself Mr Richard Bagley Owen Griffith Mr Hancock and some others. Adjourned untill Saturday 7th May 1757. Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Saturday the 7th of May 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 5th May 1757. Mr	Margaret Harper, being further asked what she knew of Hay being with Elizabeth Powell in the daytime, declared that one day, when her uncle James Powell was in the Long Wood, Elizabeth Powell and Hay were locked up together in her and their bedchamber. When Sam Bowers asked her whether she was not going to make tea, she replied no, for Elizabeth Powell and Hay were locked up together and she could not get the keys. She then declared that Elizabeth Powell came out of the room and left Hay in it. A little after Elizabeth came out, the key being on the inside of the door, Hay opened it, went downstairs and stayed a little while, then went into the dining room and drank tea with herself, Mr Richard Bagley, Owen Griffith, Mr Hancock and some others. The Council adjourned until Saturday 7 May 1757. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. A consultation was held on Saturday 7 May 1757 at the castle. Present: Charles Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark, of Council The Council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 5 May 1757. Interpretations The recurring detail of Hay and Elizabeth locked together in the bedchamber during daylight while the master was away, corroborated across several witnesses, extends the pattern of the affair beyond

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			the nocturnal visits to open daytime meetings, the evidence showing a relationship pursued whenever Powell's absence allowed rather than confined to secret entries by night. The presence of named respectable men, Richard Bagley, Owen Griffith and Mr Hancock, taking tea in the house on the very occasions Hay emerged from the locked bedchamber suggests these visits were partly screened by ordinary social company, the affair carried on under cover of the household's normal comings and goings, the outsiders perhaps unaware of what had passed behind the locked door before they sat down to tea. The Council's adjournment of so grave and detailed an enquiry over two days, resuming in full session with the same members, shows the seriousness with which the island's government treated a scandal touching two of its officers, the matter given the deliberate procedure of a formal investigation rather than summary disposal despite the shame it exposed within a senior servant's family.
263	258	7th May Mr Powell desired that his Son Charles might be called and asked what Conversation passed between him and his Sister Elizabeth last Night and this Morning who Declares that the said Elizabeth sent for him about 8 oClock last Night and taking him by the Hand caused him to Set down by her and looking at the hair of his Head asked what Ribbon it was tied with? and then desired him to go to Mr Hay and tell him Farewell as he could then understand her to Stand out and not to own anything for that she was determined not to own it and by that means they might get clear This he acquainted Mrs Powell his Mother in Law with that Evening and when his Father came home the said Mrs Powell told him of it His Father asked him if he was sure of what he said he replied he was but his Father desiring him to go to his Sister again the next Morning he went accordingly and after ordering a black Girl out of the Room she said have you been down to him? he answered I did not understand you well last Night She then desired him to go to the said Hay and tell him to Stand out and She wou do so too and by that means they shd get clear. Ellen a Slave Girl being called at the said James Powells request says That sometime last Year when the Oxfore was in the Road and her Master at Supper at Mr Thomas Greentrees She saw the said Hay and one Mr Steward come into her Masters House and that the said Mr Steward went up into the dining Room and the said Hay came into her Masters Bedchamber with Elizth Powell where she was then sitting with a Child in her Arms getting it to Sleep but was ordered out of the Room and says that the said Elizth Powell locked the door after her where she says they remained together about half an hour but the Child crying the said Elizth Powell opened the door again that she might come to take care of it. The said Ellen further says that one Morning she saw the said Hay at her Masters House in the Country and that she saw the said Hay and Elizth Powell go into the Bed Chamber and locked the door on the inside and that she was present when her young Mrs Sarah Powell and Margaret Harper came and burst the door open.	Mr Powell desired that his son Charles might be called and asked what conversation passed between him and his sister Elizabeth last night and that morning. Charles declared that Elizabeth sent for him about eight o'clock last night, and taking him by the hand, caused him to sit down by her. Looking at the hair of his head, she asked what ribbon it was tied with, then desired him to go to Mr Hay and tell him, as well as he could then understand her, to stand out and not to own anything, for she was determined not to own it, and by that means they might get clear. Charles told his stepmother Mrs Powell of it that evening, and when his father came home she told him of it. His father asked whether he was sure of what he said, and he replied that he was. His father desiring him to go to his sister again the next morning, he went accordingly, and after ordering a black girl out of the room, Elizabeth said, have you been down to him. He answered, I did not understand you well last night. She then desired him to go to Hay and tell him to stand out, and she would do so too, and by that means they should get clear. Ellen, a slave girl, was called at Sarah Powell's request and said that some time last year, when the <i>Oxford</i> was in the road and her master at supper at Mr Thomas Greentree's, she saw Hay and one Mr Steward come into her master's house, and that Mr Steward went up into the dining room and Hay came into her master's bedchamber with Elizabeth Powell, where she was then sitting with a child in her arms getting it to sleep, but was ordered out of the room. She said Elizabeth Powell locked the door after her, where she says they remained together about half an hour, but the child crying, Elizabeth opened the door again that she might come to take care of it. Ellen further said that one morning she saw Hay at her master's house in the country, and that she saw Hay and Elizabeth Powell go into the bedchamber and lock the door on the inside, and that she was present when her young master Charles Powell and Margaret Harper came and burst the door open. Interpretations Elizabeth's instructions to her brother Charles, urging him to tell Hay to stand out and deny everything so that they might get clear, record a deliberate attempt to concoct a common denial and defeat the enquiry, the young woman coaching a witness and seeking to coordinate her story with Hay's, evidence of concealment that would weigh heavily against both of them. The involvement of a child in the bedchamber, whom Ellen was nursing to sleep before being ordered out, adds a further household presence to the scene and marks how completely the affair was

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			carried on amid the ordinary domestic life of the house, the servants and children moving around the locked room in which Hay and Elizabeth met. Charles reporting his sister's words first to his stepmother and then to his father shows the family itself divided, the young brother pressed into carrying messages between the lovers yet ultimately disclosing the plan to deny everything, the household split between those who would conceal the affair and those who brought it to the master and thence before the Council.
264	259	1757. The Declarations of Sarah Powell aged 21 Years and upwards and Margaret Harper aged 25 Years and upwards being read to them again they were asked if they would take their Oaths to the Truth of what they had Declared they said Yes and were Sworn accordingly. Lieut George Hay desired that Mr Durling might be sent for and produce a Letter that he wrote to him under date of the 30 Aprl 1757 which is as follows viz: Mr Durling April 30th 1757 Sir I am sorry to hear it is reported that I went in at a Window of Mr Powells House and lay with Miss Betty and that Mr Powell intends to make this appear if he can Sir Declare I never did attempt or think of such a thing and what he proposes by so doing I cannot conceive my reason for troubling you with this is I presume from the good appinion Mr Powell has of you that your Advice would have some Influence on him if you think proper to give it on this occasion which I hope you will if you think it may be conducive to his Interest and Miss Bettys Reputation I believe from many instances that the least Said on these Aspersions are soonest ended and what a Father can mean by endeavouring to widen a Breach in the Character of his own Child is past my understanding Sir I appeal to you if you think it consistent with reason that any Man in his Senses would attempt going in at a Window to lay with a Girle without an anigmation made and the Partys agreed or is it reasonable to think that a Girle would make or agree to such anigmation when there were more in the room then herself for my part I think not but if Mr Powell is determined to expose publicly the Character of his own daughter I do protest and declare I am clear of and have no part in it this Iswer in Justice to the Young Ladies Character in Question and whom it may concern if any Man but her Father had accused me I would have taken every Method in my Power to make it appear that it is a false absurd and unjust Aspersion and I hope Mr Powell will think so and I dont not but he will and think he is wrong in this affair and perhaps be often sorry for it when it is out of his power to help it from Sir your most obedient humble Servant (Signed) George Hay The said Hay then declared that on Saturday the 2 of October he called at Mr Powells House in the Country to see the Miss Powells and Miss Mary Harper and when he went into the Yard a black Wench called out and said there is Mr Hay Mr Hay coming in She then went into the Bedchamber as he went into the	The declarations of Sarah Powell, aged 21 years and upwards, and Margaret Harper, aged 25 years and upwards, being read to them again, they were asked whether they would take their oaths to the truth of what they had declared. They said yes, and were sworn accordingly. Lieutenant George Hay desired that Mr Durling might be sent for, and produced a letter he had written to him dated 30 April 1757, as follows. Hay wrote that he was sorry to hear it reported that he had gone in at a window of Mr Powell's house and lain with Miss Betty, and that Mr Powell intended to make this appear if he could. He declared he never did attempt or think of such a thing, and his reason for troubling Durling with this was that, from the good opinion Powell had of him, his advice might have some influence on him, if he thought proper to give it on this occasion. He believed from many instances that the least said on these matters was soonest mended, and what a father could mean by endeavouring to widen a breach in the character of his own child was past his understanding. He appealed to Durling whether it was consistent with reason that any man in his senses would attempt getting in at a window to lie with a girl without an assignation made and the parties agreed, or whether it was reasonable to think that a girl would make or agree to such an assignation when there were more in the room than herself. For his part he thought not, but if Powell was determined to expose publicly the character of his own daughter, he protested and declared he was clear of and bore no part in it. This injury in disgrace to the young ladies' character in question, and whom it might concern, if any man but her father had accused him, he would have taken every method in his power to make it appear that it was false, absurd and unjust. He hoped Mr Powell would think so, and did not doubt he would think he was wrong in this affair, and perhaps be often sorry for it when it was out of his power to help it. He signed himself George Hay. Hay then declared that on Saturday 2 October he called at Mr Powell's house in the country to see the Miss Powells and Miss Margaret Harper, and when he went into the yard a black woman called out and said there is Mr Hay. Hay coming in, she then went into the bedchamber as he went into the house. Interpretations Hay's letter to Durling mounts a reasoned defence resting on the improbability of the charge, arguing that no man would attempt such an entry without a prearranged assignation and that no young woman would agree to one with others present in the room, the officer meeting the accusation with argument rather than the flat denial his own advice to Elizabeth had urged, a contradiction between his private counsel to stand out and his public reasoning. The formal swearing of Sarah Powell and Margaret Harper to their declarations, with their ages recorded, marks the point at which their testimony was put on oath and given the full weight of sworn evidence, the Council converting the depositions from informal accounts into legally binding testimony against Hay as the enquiry moved toward judgement.

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			Hay's appeal to Durling, chosen because Powell held a good opinion of him, shows the accused seeking an intermediary of standing to soften the storekeeper's resolve, the officer working through the settlement's network of personal influence to have the matter hushed rather than pressed, the same reliance on private channels of persuasion that ran through his conduct throughout.
265	260	7th May the Hall She standing at the Bedchamber door holding it in her hand and almost Shut he asked her where was the Miss Powells she Told him they were getting up One of them called to him and bid him Sit down they would be with him presently he called to them and told them he thought that the Ladies had got up sooner in the Country in a Morning He then went out and took a Turn or two in the Yard the said Margaret Harper came to the door he wished her a good Morning asked her how she did? She answered him very well and thanked him and asked him to walk in and said Sally and Betty will be out presently He went in and Sat down and asked her what News She Told him none good for that she had been very well brand since she saw him he asked her by who? She answered him that Mr Powell had Horsewhipped her he asked for what? She Said for nothing at all but going last Sunday to see her Mother he asked her where Mr Powell was that Sunday? She Answered him in Sandy Bay but somebody Told him of it he Told her she should not have gone without Mr Powells Liberty & he believed he would not have refused her if he thought it convenient She Shook her Head and said Mr Hay you do not know the Man he is a devil then Miss Sarah Powell came out of the Bedchamber after common Compliments he told her he thought to have found her employed about some Country affairs she said they did not use to lay so long and did not know how it happened that Morning then Miss Elizth Powell came out after asking her how she did the Conversation was general and of no Signification when he had sit a while he made an offer to go but the said Sarah asked him to Stay and drink Tea he said with all his heart after Tea they went out and took a walk for about half an hour and then went into the Hall and sat down then the Chamber door was open he said he never was in that Room One of the Miss Powells said he might then walk in if he pleased he replied not without they would go with him which they all three did he sat down on the Bed by the Window the said Sarah Powell on the one hand and the said Margaret Harper on the other the said Elizth Powell then sitting on a Bed that stood opposite and said it was the Bed her Father lay in they talked and laid as those who are intimate will do on such occasions the said Sarah Powell went out a little while and then came in and sat down in the Hall then the said Margaret Harper went out and he and Miss Elizth were left in the Room together the door open and the said Sarah in the Hall they were not 3 Minutes in the Room when the said Elizth said let us go into the other	Hay continued that the woman was standing at the bedchamber door, holding it in her hand and almost shut, and he asked her where the Miss Powells were. She told him they were getting up. One of them called to him and told him to sit down, saying they would be with him presently. He called to them and then said he thought the ladies had got up sooner in the country in a morning. He then went out and took a turn or two in the yard. Margaret Harper came to the door, he wished her a good morning and asked how she did. She answered very well, thanked him, asked him to walk in, and said Sally and Betty would be out presently. He went in, sat down, and asked what news. She told him none good, for she had been very unwell bred since she saw him. He asked her by whom. She answered that Mr Powell had housewifed her. He asked for what. She said for nothing at all, but going last Sunday to see her mother. He asked her where Mr Powell was that Sunday. She answered in Sandy Bay, but somebody told him of it. He told her she should not have gone without Mr Powell's leave, and he believed he would not have refused her if she thought it convenient. She shook her head and said, Mr Hay, you do not know the man, he is a devil. Then Sarah Powell came out of the bedchamber, and after common compliments he told her he thought to have found her employed about some country affairs. She said they did not use to be so busy, and did not know how it happened that morning. Then Elizabeth Powell came out, and after asking her how she did, the conversation was general and of no significance. When he had sat a while, he made an offer to go, but Sarah asked him to stay and drink tea. He said with all his heart. After tea they went out and took a walk for about half an hour, then went into the hall and sat down. Then the chamber door was open, he said he never was in that room, and one of the Miss Powells said he might then walk in if he pleased. He replied, not without they would go with him, which they all three did. He sat down on the bed by the window, Sarah Powell on the one hand and Margaret Harper on the other, and Elizabeth Powell then sitting on a bed that stood opposite, and said it was the bed her father lay in. They talked and toyed as those who are intimate will do on such occasions. Sarah Powell went out a little while, then came in and sat down in the hall. Then Margaret Harper went out, and he and Elizabeth were left in the room together, the door open, and Sarah in the hall. They were not three minutes in the room when Elizabeth said, let us go into the other. Interpretations Hay's own account presents an innocent version of the same events the witnesses described as damning, casting his presence in the bedchamber as ordinary sociable visiting with all three young women present and the door open, the officer reframing the locked-door meetings and nocturnal entries as harmless calls, his narrative directly contradicting the sworn testimony against him. Margaret Harper's reported words that Powell was a devil who had housewifed her for visiting her mother without leave reveal the harsh domestic discipline of the storekeeper's household, the phrase recording a servant punished for a small liberty, a glimpse of the master's severity that the witnesses

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			elsewhere cited as their reason for fearing to tell him of Elizabeth's conduct. Hay's admission that they talked and toyed as intimate people do, even within his exculpatory account, concedes a familiarity between himself and the young women that undercuts his denial of any impropriety, the officer's own version acknowledging a closeness that the Council could set against his broader claim of innocence.
266	261	1757. other Room she did so and he followed her the said Mary Harper then came into the Hall he sat a while and then took his leave of them they desiring him to give their duty to their Father it being then about ten oClock in the forenoon which is all that happened in the Country that he knows of. The said Lieut Hay further declares that on Friday the 22 of April last he dined with Mr Barclay and after dinner he went up into the Country and came down about half an hour after Six in the Evening when he came to Mr Powells House the three Misses came to a Window and called to him he on Horseback and he spoke to them the said Sarah Powell Told him she was not at all well and desired him to tell Mr Barclay to send her the Hartshorn drops he promised her he told her he would and wished them a good night and then went to Mr Barclays and sat with him untill near 8 oClock and asked him whether he supped at home he told him no but desired that he would Stay after he had supped there untill he came home to which the said Hay replied he could not for that he was tired and did not incline to Stay up late Mr Barclay told him he woud be home at half an hour after 9 at furthest he told him if he was at home at that time he would find him not gone but that he should not exceed it He supd there and Staid till almost ten he called Richard McNolley to get him a light to light him to Bed he did so he then went over to his Room and bid him tell Mr Barclay that he had waited untill almost Ten for him and Told McNolley to lock the Street door. The said Lieut Hay also Declares he looked out of a Window untill the Clock had Strike Ten and then went to Bed he had been but a few Minutes in bed when he heard the Key turn in the Street door and it opened and Somebody came into the House Mr Barclay and McNolly then came in & Mr Barclay called twice Hay are you awake but he made him no Answer he asked McNolly to go up Stairs and see if he was awake he heard McNolly come up two or three Steps of the Stairs and returned and Told Mr Barclay that there was no Light in the Room he was sure he was asleep they then went out and he heard the door Shut and was not out of his Room untill Seven in the Morning Since this affair happened he asked Mr Nolly whether he was sure he locked the door when Mr Barclay went out because he says he was certain of it and that Mr Barclay saw him do it And going to Mr Barclays the next Morning he asked him what he meant by disturbing him last Night he asked him if he heard him he told him he did he then said if he had known that he would have made him get up he told him that was his reason for not answering him for he supposed that would have been the Consequence and that he was not disposed to get out of Bed. Richard	Elizabeth said, let us go into the other room, and did so, and Hay followed her into the hall. He sat a while, and then Margaret Harper came to give her duty to their father, it being then about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, which was all that happened in the country that he knew of. Lieutenant Hay further declared that on Friday 22 April he dined with Mr Barclay, and after dinner went up into the country and came down about half an hour after six in the evening. When he came to Mr Powell's house, the three young women came to a window and called to him. He was on horseback, and he spoke to them. Sarah Powell told him she was not at all well, and desired him to tell Mr Barclay to send her the hartshorn drops he had promised her. He told her he would, and wished them a good night, then went to Mr Barclay's and sat with him until near eight o'clock. He asked Barclay whether he supped at home, who told him no, but desired that he would stay until he had supped there, until he came home. Hay replied he could not, for he was tired and did not incline to stay up late. Barclay told him he would be home at half an hour after nine at furthest, and told him if he was at home at that time he would find him not gone, but that he should not exceed it. Hay supped there and stayed till almost ten, then called Richard McNally to get him a light to light him to bed. He did so, then went over to his room and told him to tell Mr Barclay that he had waited until almost ten for him, and told McNally to lock the street door. Lieutenant Hay also declared he looked out of a window until he heard the clock strike ten, and then went to bed. He had been but a few minutes in bed when he heard the key turn in the street door, and it opened, and somebody came into the house. Mr Barclay and Mr McNally then came in, and Mr Barclay called twice, Hay, are you awake, but he made him no answer. He asked McNally to go up the stairs and see whether he was awake. He heard McNally come up two or three steps of the stairs, and return, and tell Mr Barclay that there was no light in the room, he was sure he was abed, they then went out, and he heard the door shut, and was not out of his room until seven in the morning. Since this affair happened, he asked McNally whether he was sure he locked the door, when Mr Barclay went out, and McNally could vouch him do it. Going to Mr Barclay's the next morning, he asked him what he meant by disturbing him last night, and asked whether he heard him. Barclay told him he did, then said, if he had known that he would have made him get up. Hay told him that was his reason for not answering him, for he supposed that would have been the consequence, and that he was not disposed to get out of bed. Interpretations Hay's detailed account of his movements on the night of 22 April, dining with Barclay, being lit to bed by McNally and lying abed while Barclay called out to him, constructs an alibi placing him at the surgeon's house rather than at Powell's, the officer marshalling witnesses to his whereabouts to counter the charge that he had been with Elizabeth that night. Hay's questioning of McNally after the event, whether he was sure he had locked the street door, shows the officer building his defence by confirming

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			the details of his alibi with the servant who could vouch for him, the same careful and lawyer-like assembly of corroborating evidence that marked his conduct throughout the enquiry as he sought to prove his presence elsewhere. The two competing narratives now stand fully opposed, the sworn testimony of the Powell household placing Hay in Elizabeth's bedchamber over many nights and the officer's own account placing him at Barclay's, the Council faced with weighing a detailed body of eyewitness evidence against a defence resting on alibi and the improbability of the charge.
267	262	7th. May Richard Mr. Nolly being called in at the request of the said Lieut. Hay, and being duly Sworn, Deposeth, that on last Friday Night the 22d. of April Mr. Hay Supped at Mr. Barclays, - Mr. Barclay then going to Supper at Mr. Manwarings, told Mr. Hay that he would be home again about half an hour after 9, but he staid untill it was upon the Stroke of ten o Clock Mr. Hay being in Mr. Barclays Parlour where he Supped, he this Mr. Nolly waiting upon him all the time, Mr. Hay called to him to get a light to light him home to his House, after he was up in his own Bedchamber, and going to Bed, Mr. Hay told him to give his Compliments to Mr. Barclay, and told him that he was tired, and was gone to Bed, when Mr. Barclay came home, he asked Mr. Nolly, where is Mr. Hay? he Answered he is gone to Bed, he then said to him, have you got the key? to which he replied, Yes, Mr. Barclay went with him, and he opened the door; Mr. Barclay after being in the House, called pretty loudly, Hay, Hay, Hay, are you gone to Bed he then says he double locked the door, and put the key in his pocket, & went over to Mr. Barclays to Bed. And says that the next Morning between 6 and 7 o Clock, he went to open the door of Mr. Hays House, and his lower Windows, which he found as he left them, and Mr. Hay walking about in his Chamber. Mr. Robert Barclay being also called in at the request of the said Hay, and duly sworn, Deposeth, that on Friday Night the 22d. of April the said Hay came to his House in the evening, He then being going out, desired the said Hay to wait in, and half an hour after 9 he would wait on him, but did not return untill after ten, and when he came home Mr. Nolly told him that the said Hay was gone over the Way, he then desired him to see if the said Hay was gone to bed, upon which Mr. Nolly took a key out of the side pocket of his Breeches, and went over the Way, and opened a door, he following him, called to Mr. Hay twice or thrice, Are you gone to bed? to which there was no reply made, the next Morning about 8 o Clock, the said Hay asked him why he did not keep his Appointment for that he had staid longer	Richard McNolty gave evidence at the request of Lieutenant Hay and stated under oath that on the night of Friday 22 April Mr Hay supped at Mr Barclay's house before going on to sup at Mr Damarran's, where he told Mr Hay he would return home within half an hour of nine o'clock, though he did not come back until close to ten. McNolty waited on him the whole time in Mr Barclay's parlour while Hay was at supper there, and Hay called on him to bring a light to see him home. Once back in his own bedchamber and preparing for bed, Hay told McNolty to give his compliments to Mr Barclay and to say that he was tired and had gone to bed. Barclay returned home shortly afterwards and asked McNolty where Mr Hay was, to which McNolty replied that he had gone to bed, and Barclay asked whether he had the key, which McNolty confirmed he did. Barclay then went with him and opened the door, and once inside called out loudly several times asking whether Hay was in bed, to which Hay answered that he was. Barclay double locked the door, put the key in his pocket and went back to his own house to bed. He said that the following morning between six and seven o'clock he went to open the door of Mr Hay's house and found it as he had left it, with the lower windows secure and Mr Hay walking about in his chamber. Mr Robert Barclay was also called in at the request of the said Hay and, being duly sworn, stated that on the night of Friday 22 April Hay came to his house in the evening. Hay was then going out and asked Barclay to wait up for him, saying he would be back within half an hour of nine o'clock, but he did not return until after ten. When Hay came home McNolty told him that Hay had already gone over to his own house, and Barclay asked McNolty to check whether Hay had gone to bed. McNolty took a key from Hay's coat pocket, went over and opened the door, following Hay in, and called out to him two or three times asking whether he was in bed, receiving no answer. The following morning about eight o'clock Hay asked him why he had not kept his appointment, since he had stayed out more than half an hour after nine while Barclay was tired and had gone to bed. Barclay had also sent a servant round, and since there was no answer the previous night he thought he should have been let in again. Hay further stated that he had gone down to the stores about 20 March for a piece of cloth costing about one shilling and sixpence a yard, and that Mr Russell had sent him up a piece worth about one shilling and threepence, saying there was none better. He returned it and told the messenger to tell Russell what he wanted.

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		than half an hour after 9 being tired, he went to bed, and gave for a Reason that his not answering last Night, was that he thought he should be obliged to get out of Bed again. The said Hay further declares he went down to the Stores about the 20th. of March for a piece of Cloth about 1 s 6 d, Mr. Russell sent him up a piece of about £1. 15. 6. and said there was none better than that, he sent it back, and told the Messenger to tell him, what he wanted -	
268	263	was for Shirts, and that would not do, the Man he sent, sd. Mr. Dowell told him there was none better, the Cooper being there when it was refused, said, there is two pieces of the finest Cloth, Mr. Dowell said no, the Cooper said, there was indeed, Mr. Dowell then said, he did not know of that, and let the Man have one of them for him of £1. 5. 6. - And the said Hay further says that on the 31 of March in the evening, as he was walking up the Valley, Mr. Dowell was sitting at his door, he went to him, and after common Compliments, he asked him to sit down on a Chair that was there by him he then told him he heard there was a good deal of that Cloth in the Stores, and that he thot he was ill used, that he could not get a piece of it, and that he would complain to the Governor of it, he told him in a very angry manner that he might do so if he would, what was that to him? he said he did not know whose fault it was, but when he spoke to the Governor, he should, Mr. Dowell then told him he might, and the said Hay then told him it was not in that only he was ill used in the Stores, but in many other respects, and told him there was many things in the Stores, that the Gentlemen in the Companys Service knew nothing of, untill after they were gone, and he finding himself then beginning to grow warm, thereupon left Mr. Dowell, and says that ever since this passed, thinks Mr. Dowell owed him a Grudge. The said James Powell says he does remember, that Mr. Hay sent to the Stores for a piece of Cloth, and he believes a piece of the finest; but says that he told Mr. Hay, after the Governor and Council were served, the Gentlemen in the Companys Service, who first came, were first served, and had he come sooner, he might have had such as he wanted - which Mr. Hay allows. The said Hay being asked if he had any thing further to say upon this affair, Declares he never was Master of a Case of Pistols since he has been upon the Island, and has not worn Worsteds Stockings for twelve Months last past. Nevertheless on Sunday the day following Mr. Hay sent a Letter to Mr. Clark, and therein told him that some other things had occurred to his Memory, which he desired might be communicated to	The cloth was for shirts and would not do. Mr Dowell told him there was none better, and the cooper, being present when it was returned, said there were two pieces of the finest cloth. Dowell said no, and the cooper said there were indeed. Dowell then said he did not know of that and told the man to have one of them for him at £5 6s 0d. Hay further stated that on 31 March in the evening, while he was walking up the valley, he found Dowell sitting at his door, went to him and, after ordinary conversation, asked him to sit down on a chair that stood by him. He said he had heard there was a good deal of that cloth in the stores and that if he could not get a piece of it he would complain to the Governor, saying it in a very angry manner and asking what might be done about it if he did so. Dowell replied that he did not know whose fault it was but that if Hay spoke to the Governor he should have some. Hay then told him it was not confined to the cloth alone, since he was ill used in the stores in many other respects, and told him there were many things in the stores that the gentlemen in the company's service knew nothing of until after they had gone, and that he, finding himself then beginning to grow warm, thereupon left Mr Dowell, saying afterwards that he thought Dowell owed him a grudge. James Dowell stated that he did remember Hay sending to the stores for a piece of cloth, and he believed it was a piece of the finest. He said that he told Hay, after the Governor and Council were served and the gentlemen in the company's service, who came first, were served first, and had he come sooner he might have had such as he wanted, which Hay allowed. Hay, being asked whether he had anything further to say on this matter, declared he had never been master of a case of pistols since he had been on the island and had not worn worsteds stockings for the last twelve months. Nevertheless, on Sunday, the day following, Hay sent a letter to Mr Clark in which he told him that various other things had occurred to his memory which he wished might be communicated to the Governor. Hay was thereupon told to attend on Monday, but the Governor and Council, being engaged that day with the late Samuel Talbot's affairs in paying his creditors, referred further enquiry into the matter until the next day. Charles Hutchinson John [...] John Clark

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		the Governor. The said Hay was thereupon told to attend on Monday, but the Governor and Council being engaged with the late Samuel Talcancers affairs in paying his Creditors that day, after further enquiry into this affair, was therefore referred untill the next day. Cha. Hutchinson John Bowmoser John Clark	
269	264	9th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th. day of May 1757 - at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed Dated the 7th. May 1757 Thursday the 5th. Died Martha Long Widow. Do. Died Joseph Sherwood Soldier. Friday the 6th. Died John Gayner. Do. this Day Died Robert Bennett. Do. The following Persons this Day attended and paid - their respective Debts due to the Estate of the late Samuel Talcaner Deceased vizt. Richard Goodwin, £: 13, s: 16, d: 5 Benjamin Seale, £: 2, s: 12, d: 3 Nathan Sample, £: ., s: 16, d: 6 Robert Gurling's Orphs., £: 2.3.10¼, s:, d: Widow Gurling, £: 3, s: 6, d: 9¼, note: 1:2:11¼ Total, £: 20, s: 11, d: 11¼ Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	A consultation was held on Monday 9 May 1757 at the castle. Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council were present. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 7 May 1757. Martha Long, widow, died on Thursday 5 May. Joseph Sherwood, soldier, died the same day. John Gaynor died on Friday 6 May. Robert Bennett died that day. The following people attended and paid their respective debts due to the estate of the late Samuel Talbot deceased. Richard Goodwin, £13 16s 5d Benjamin Seale, £2 12s 3d Nathan Sample, £0 14s 6d Robert Gurling's orphan, £2 5s 10¼d Widow Gurling, £1 2s 11¼d, £3 8s 9¼d Total, £20 11s 4¼d Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark Interpretations The debts collected here belonged to the estate of Samuel Talbot, whose affairs were referred to in the previous consultation of 7 May 1757 as still under settlement by the Governor and council, who acted as his creditors and administrators, receiving sums owed to him from various islanders directly into the estate's account.
270	265	10th. May At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 10th. day of May 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 9th. May 1757. Lieutenant George Hay Declares that about three Weeks ago, in the afternoon he called at Mr. James Powells House in the Valley, going up Stairs, to the Dining Room, Margaret Harper, stood at the door of the Bedchamber, he said, Mr. Hay I want to speak with you, he asked who was there? and she answered him Betty Powell, he went into the Chamber, and the said Margaret Harper went to another part of the Room, and brought a lock in her hand, and said it was the lock of her Chest, and told him if he would get a key made for it, she would for ever love him, he put the Lock into his Pocket, and told her he would get a key made for it. They hearing somebody coming up Stairs, the said Margaret Harper ran out, and locked the Chamber door, and took the key with her, Elizabeth Powell went to the door, and called out Peggy Harper, Peggy Harper. What! said he, Miss Betty, has she	A consultation was held on Tuesday 10 May 1757 at the castle. Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council were present. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 9 May 1757. Lieutenant George Hay stated that about nine weeks earlier, in the afternoon, he called at Mr James Dowell's house in the valley and went up the stairs to the dining room, where Margaret Harper stood at the door of the bedchamber. Hay said he wanted to speak with her, and she asked who was there, to which he replied Betty Dowell. He went into the chamber, and Margaret Harper went to another part of the room and brought a lock in her hand, telling him it was the lock of her chest and that if he would get a key made for it she would love him forever. He put the lock in his pocket and told her he would get a key made for it. Hearing somebody coming up the stairs, Margaret Harper ran out and locked the chamber door, taking the key with her, and Elizabeth Dowell went to the door and called out to Peggy Harper asking what she meant by locking the door. Margaret Harper answered that she had, and Elizabeth was sure the girl must be out of her mind. Hay saw that Elizabeth was troubled and told her not to be uneasy, since he would not stir from where he was until the door was opened. Elizabeth Dowell said that was not the thing, since it would make a pretty story to be reported that she had been locked in with him in the bedchamber. Charles Dowell then came to the door and wanted to get in. Elizabeth told him she could not let him in, and he said he wanted something, though he would not say what. Elizabeth,

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		locked the door? she said Yes, and that she was sure the Girl must be out of her wits: he saw that the said Elizabeth was concerned; told her not to be uneasy, for that he would not stir from where he was, untill the Door was opened; the said Elizabeth Powell said that was not the thing, for that it would be a pretty Story to be reported, that she was locked with him in the Bedchamber, then Charles Powell came to the door, and wanted to get in, the said Elizabeth told him she could not let him in, he said he wanted something, what, he did not know, the said Elizabeth being vexed, told him, she could not, nor would not, let him in; soon after the said Margaret Harper came, and opened the door, the said Elizabeth Powell was very angry with her, and asked her what she meant, by locking the door, and then running away, the said Margaret Harper said she heard somebody coming up the Stairs, and she was afraid they would come into the Bedchamber; they went out, and went into the Dining Room, and he went down, and walked in the Hall, untill	being troubled, told him she could not and would not let him in. Soon afterwards Margaret Harper came and opened the door. Elizabeth Dowell was very angry with her for locking the door and then running away, and Margaret Harper said she had heard somebody coming up the stairs and was afraid they would come into the bedchamber. They went out and went into the dining room, and Hay went down and walked in the hall for some time.
271	266	10th. May some of the said James Powells Servants came, and told him that Tea was ready, and desired him to walk up into the Dining Room, he remembers to have seen Mr. Rich. Bagley There, but whether he was there when he went in, or whether he followed him, he cannot say, and this is all that happened at that time. That some time after this, he thinks it was the 1st. of March the day after the first ships Sailed from hence he was sitting in his own Room, and one of the said James Powells little Sons came down and told him that his Sister Sally desired he would come, and drink Tea with her, which he did, and found the said Sarah, Elizabeth and Margaret Harper drinking Tea in the lower front Room, he asked where Mr. and Mrs. Powell were? They told him, they went that Morning into the Country, after Tea they went up into the Dining Room, where every Window of it was open, nor was the Door shut all the time, he was there, nor was he alone with either of the three Misses that afternoon, to his certain knowledge for that the most part of the time he was there, he sat in a Window with the said Sarah Powell in a passage at the head of the Stairs, which is the afternoon that Sam Bowers said he was with the said Elizabeth upon the Couch. Margaret Harper acknowledges that she did ask the Hay to get her a key made for a Lock, but denies that she locked the Chamber door, where the said Hay and Elizabeth Powell were, or did she take the key out of it.	Some of James Dowell's servants came and told him that tea was ready and asked him to walk up into the dining room. He remembered seeing Mr Richard Bagley there but could not say whether Bagley was there when he went in or whether Bagley had followed him, and that was all that happened at that time. He believed that sometime after this, on the day after the first ships sailed from the island, he was sitting in his own room when one of James Dowell's little sons came down and told him that his sister Sally wished him to come and drink tea with her. He did so and found Sarah, Elizabeth and Margaret Harper drinking tea in the lower front room where Mr and Mrs Dowell usually sat, and they told him the couple had gone into the country that morning. After tea they went up into the dining room, where every window stood open and the door was never shut the whole time. He was never alone with either of the three, and for the greater part of that afternoon, to his certain knowledge, he sat in a window with Sarah Dowell in a passage at the head of the stairs, which was the same afternoon that Sam Bowers said he had been with Elizabeth on the couch. Margaret Harper admitted that she had asked Hay to get a key made for a lock but denied that she had locked the chamber door where Hay and Elizabeth Dowell were, or that she had taken the key out of it. Sam Bowers said that when he saw Hay sitting on the couch, it did not stand that day in its usual place, since he had just finished washing the room and the couch stood across it, and that he went and put the furniture back in its proper places a little while after Hay came out of the room. The foregoing depositions and examinations having been read to James Dowell and George Hay, and they declaring that they had nothing further to say, the Governor asked the members of council to give their several opinions of this case in writing, which follow. I am of the opinion that, by the depositions of Sarah Dowell and Margaret Harper, together with several other corroborating circumstances proved by Mr James Dowell, it has been clearly shown that

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		Sam Bowers says that the Couch, he saw the said Hay sitting upon, did not stand that day in the usual place, for that he had but just done washing the Room, and it stood across it, and that he went up a little after the said Hay came out of it, to put the furniture in their proper places. The foregoing Depositions and Examinations being read to the said James Powell, and George Hay, and they declaring that they had nothing further to say, the Governor therefore desired the Gentlemen of the Council to give their several Opinions of this Case in writing, which are as followeth Vizt. I am of Opinion that, by the Depositions of Sarah Powell & Margaret Harper, with several other corroborating Circumstances produced by Mr. James Powell, he hath clearly proved, that Lieutenant George Hay has several times got into the Dwelling House of the said James Powell, in this Valley, and into the Bedchamber of Elizabeth Powell, Daughter of the said James Powell, and continued there for some time, at unseasonable hours of the Night. John Clark.	Lieutenant George Hay had several times got into the dwelling house of James Dowell in this valley and into the bedchamber of Elizabeth Dowell, daughter of James Dowell, and had remained there for some time at unseasonable hours of the night. John Clark
272	267	1757. As to the Declaration of the black People vizt. Sam Bowers, Sophia, James, Dorus and Helen part of Mr. Dowells Evidences (if I am rightly informed by the Laws or Customs of the Island, none are ever admitted as such against a white Person; Indeed was it otherwise I do not apprehend, that what they say is of any Consequence, nor do I think the Boy Charles Powells is. - So that the whole seems to rest upon the Evidence of two Girls, Sarah Powell, and Margaret Harper, who say that Lieutenant George Hay was in their Bedchamber three different Nights, with Elizabeth Powell; the first & Second in point of Time are quite undetermined, and in some Circumstances vary, In regard to the Third, they fix a time, which according to their Declaration appears to have been, on Friday the 22d. of April; which Night Lieutt. Hay calls in evidence Mr. Bazalgets Servant viz. Richard Mac nally, who declares, that upon Friday evening being the 22d. of April Lieut. Hay Supped at his Masters, and about 10 o Clock at Night, he went to light Mr. Hay over to his House, fastened the Windows, saw the said Hay to his Bedchamber, then locked the Street door, and brought away the key, which in some part is corroborated by Mr. Barclay, Richard Macnally further declares to the Governor, that when he went the next Morning to open the door of Mr. Hays House, he found him in his Bedchamber, and the Window Shutters just as he fastened them. Upon the whole I am of opinion this affair should be left for the determination of the Honorable the Court of Directors. John Adamson Before I give my Opinion in the present Case, I think it	Richard McNolty gave evidence at Lieutenant Hay's request and stated under oath that on the night of Friday 22 April Mr Hay supped at Mr Barclay's house before going on to sup at Mr Damarran's, telling Barclay he would return home within half an hour of nine o'clock, though he did not come back until close to ten. McNolty waited on him the whole time in Barclay's parlour while Hay was at supper there, and Hay called on him to bring a light to see him home. Once back in his own bedchamber and preparing for bed, Hay told McNolty to give his compliments to Barclay and to say that he was tired and had gone to bed. Barclay returned home shortly afterwards and asked McNolty where Hay was, and McNolty replied that he had gone to bed. Barclay asked whether he had the key, which McNolty confirmed he did, and Barclay went with him to open the door. Once inside, Barclay called out loudly several times asking whether Hay was in bed, and Hay answered that he was. Barclay double locked the door, put the key in his pocket and went back to his own house to bed. He said that the following morning, between six and seven, he went to open the door of Hay's house and found it as he had left it, with the lower windows secure and Hay walking about in his chamber. Robert Barclay was also called at Hay's request and, being sworn, stated that on the night of Friday 22 April Hay came to his house in the evening. Hay was then going out and asked Barclay to wait up for him, saying he would return within half an hour of nine, but he did not come back until after ten. When Hay came home, McNolty told him that Hay had already gone over to his own house, and Barclay asked McNolty to check whether Hay had gone to bed. McNolty took a key from Hay's coat pocket, went over and opened the door, following Hay in, and called out to him two or three times asking whether he was in bed, receiving no answer. The following morning, about eight, Hay asked him why he had not kept his appointment, since he had stayed out more than half an hour after nine while Barclay, being tired, had gone to bed. Barclay had also sent a servant round, and since there was no answer the previous night he thought he should have been let in again.

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		necessary to recapitulate, the principal and most material Evidence, and Points, and to make a few Remarks upon them. I shall begin with observing that Margaret Harper has Sworn, that she saw Lieut. George Hay, and Eliz. Powell, lying together, in a very indecent manner, upon a Bed at Mr. James Powells House in the Country. It likewise appears, by the said Margaret Harpers, and Sarah Powells Testimonies, that the said Mr. Hay, was three times seen by them, before and after Midnight in their Bedchamber, which is on a ground floor at Mr. Dowells in James's Valley: and that he continued there, each of those different times for some Hours, at the side of, or upon that Bed, where Eliz. Powell then lay. It may be objected, that the two first of these times are not precisely ascertained. But as Peoples Memories may, and frequently do fail them in such Instances, this, I presume cannot disprove the Truth of the Facts, which are all sworn to have been committed, or done, between the 11th. of March, and the 23. of April last, and are all corroborated by several Circumstances. Mr. Hay to invalidate the foregoing Evidence, brought one - Richard Mr. Nolly, who deposed - that on the 22. of April last, about ten o Clock	Hay further stated that he had gone down to the stores about 20 March for a piece of cloth costing about one shilling and sixpence a yard, and that Mr Russell had sent him a piece worth about one shilling and threepence, saying there was none better. He returned it and told the messenger to tell Russell what he wanted.
273	268	10th. May at Night, he went from Mr. Barclays with Mr. Hay to his Quarters, that he lighted a Candle for him, barred the Shutters of his Parlour Windows, pinnd the Bolts of them on the Inside, then double locked the Street Door, and took the key of it with him, to Mr. Barclays where he sleeps: That the next Morning between Six and Seven o Clock he opened the same Door, went up Stairs, found Mr. Hay walking in his Room, and the Window Shutters fastend, just as they were when he left them. This Deposition, neither does, nor can prove, that Mr. Hay remained in his House, from the time he was locked in by Mr. Nolly, to the time of his opening the door again; as it was very possible for him to go out of, and come into it by some other way; or even at the same door, by having another key to it. For these Reasons alone, what Mr. Nolly has declared, I take to be of little Significance. And when it is considered that Margaret Harper, and Sarah Powell, have both made Oath that Mr. Hay came that very night, about the Hours of Eleven or Twelve, through a Window into their Bedchamber, and staid there untill about three in the Morning. Mr. Nollys Testimony must then I believe, be looked upon to be of no Weight at all, against two positive Evidences. I am therefore of Opinion that Mr. James Powell has made good his Charge of Mr. Hays having been several times in his Daughters	At night he went from Mr Barclay's with Mr Hay to his quarters, lit a candle for him, barred the shutters of his parlour windows, pinned the bolts of them on the inside, then double locked the street door and took the key of it with him to Mr Barclay's, where he slept. He said that the next morning between six and seven he opened the same door, went upstairs, found Mr Hay walking in his room, and found the window shutters fastened just as they were when he had left them. This deposition neither proved nor could prove that Mr Hay had remained in his house from the time he was locked in by McNolty to the time the door was opened again, since it was very possible for him to have gone out of it and come back into it by some other way, or even at the same door, by having another key to it. For these reasons alone, what McNolty had declared was taken to be of little significance. And when it was considered that Margaret Harper and Sarah Dowell had both made oath that Hay came that very night, about the hours of eleven or twelve, through a window into their bedchamber, and stayed there until about three in the morning, McNolty's testimony must then, it was believed, be looked upon to be of no weight at all against two positive witnesses. He was therefore of the opinion that James Dowell had made good his charge of Hay having been several times in his daughter's bedchamber at unseasonable hours in the night. Whether this behaviour of Lieutenant George Hay could in the least excuse James Dowell for calling him by the harsh name he did was submitted to the determination of the honourable court of directors. Charles Hutchinson James Dowell asked that Adamson might be asked what age he had put to his son Charles's evidence, who he said would be fifteen years old the next July. Adamson said he thought it of no consequence. Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark

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		Bedchamber at unseasonable Hours in the Night. Whether this behaviour of Lieutt. George Hay, can, in the least, excuse Mr. James Powell for calling him by the harsh Name he did, is submitted to the Determination of the Honorable the Court of directors. Cha. Hutchinson Mr. James Powell desired that Mr. Adamson might be asked what Age he had to his Son Charles's Evidence, who he says will be fifteen Years old next July, Mr. Adamson said, that he thought it of no avail. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	
274	269	16th. May At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th. day of May 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved, and Signed, Dated the 10th. May 1757. On Wednesday the 11th. Died William Williams Soldr. On Saturday the 14th. Died Robert Baker . Do. Mr. John Desfountain presented the following Petition vizt. To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of John Desfountain. Sheweth That your Petitioner hath five Acres of Cabbage Tree Land, held by Lease, humbly desires leave to assign his Right for the Term to come in the said Lease, to Mr. John Clark. And your Petitioner will ever pray. Granted. According to the Advertisement that was published on 18th. April, the late Saml. Talcaners House was on Saturday last sold at publick Auction, and bought by Mr. Adamson for £291. The Executors of the late John Gaynor and Robert Baker this day presents their respective last Wills and Testament, desiring the same might be proved, which were accordingly done upon the Oaths of the respective Witnesses thereto, the wills are as follow vizt. In the Name of God Amen I John Gaynor private Centinel in the Company commanded by Lieut. Onel. Beale in the Honble. East India Companys Service In the Island St. Helena, being weak in Body but of Sound & sett of Mind & Memory and being mindfull of my Mortality & desirous to settle my worldly affairs in the best manner I can do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament In manner following that is to say After my just Debts & funeral Expences be duly paid I give & bequeath After my most Beloved Friend William	A consultation was held on Monday 16 May 1757 at the castle. Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council were present. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 10 May 1757. William Williams, soldier, died on Wednesday 11 May. Robert Baker died on Saturday 14 May. Mr John Desfountain presented the following petition. To the worshipful Charles Hutchinson, Governor, and council of St Helena. The humble petition of John Desfountain. He stated that he held five acres of cabbage tree land by lease and humbly asked leave to assign his right for the remaining term to Mr John Clark. Granted. According to the advertisement that was published on 8 April, the late Samuel Talbot's house on Friday last was, at a public auction, bought by John Adamson for £2,491. The executors of the late John Gaynor and Robert Baker that day presented their respective last wills and testaments, asking that the same might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the respective witnesses to them. The wills follow. In the name of God, amen. John Gaynor, a private soldier in the company commanded by Lieutenant Owen Beale, in the honourable East India Company's service on the island of St Helena, being weak in body but of sound mind and memory, and being mindful of my mortality, and desirous to settle my worldly affairs in the best manner I can, do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner following, that is to say, my last debts and funeral expenses being duly paid, I give and bequeath, after my just debts and funeral expenses be duly paid, in manner following: I give to my truly and most esteemed friend William Smith Interpretations Samuel Talbot's house, whose sale by public auction had been advertised on 8 April, was bought by Lieutenant Governor John Adamson himself for £2,491, a striking sum that reflected the continuing settlement of Talbot's estate, referred to in the consultations of 9 and 10 May, through which the council collected debts owed to him and disposed of his property to satisfy his creditors.
275	270	16th. May. Smith of said Company Private Centinel All and whatsoever I shall be possessd of at the time of my decease of what Nature or kind soever and whether Real or Personal I give and bequeath the same	John Gaynor, a private soldier in the Company at St Helena, left everything he owned at his death to William Smith, another private soldier in the same company, to hold to Smith, his heirs and assigns forever, whether real or personal property and of whatever kind. He named Smith as sole executor of his will, revoking every earlier will he had made. He

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		unto the said William Smith to hold to him his heirs and assigns for ever And I do hereby Nominate and appoint the said William Smith to be the Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former and other Wills by me heretofore made the Testator In Witness whereof I the said John Gaynor, have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Twenty first day of April in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Fifty Seven. (signed) his John Gaynor (LS) Mark Signed Sealed published and declared by the above named John Gaynor the Testator for and as his last Will and Testament In the presence of us, who have hereunto subscribed our Names at his request Signed John Fleming, John Buffett. In the Name of God Amen, I Robert Baker of the sd Island St. Helena private Centinel being weak of Body, of but sound & well disposing Mind & Memory Do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament - Imprimis I give Devise and bequeath unto my most Esteemed Friend Stephen Cleverly of the same Island private Centinel All and whatsoever I shall be possessd of at the time of my decease, of what Nature kind or degree whatsoever And Do nominate and Appoint the said Stephen Cleverly to be the Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all other and former Wills by me heretofore made In Witness whereof I the said Robert Baker have hereunto set my hand and Seal the Twelfth day of May One thousand seven hundred and fifty Seven. (signed) Robert Baker (LS) Signed Sealed published and Declared by the said Robert Baker for and as his last Will & Testament in the presence of us John Cliffis, Arthur Evans, Wm. Boddington. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	set his hand and seal to it on 21 April 1757, signing with his mark, and John Fleming and John Bussell witnessed and signed at his request, declaring that they had subscribed their names as witnesses in his presence. Robert Baker, a private soldier on the island of St Helena, being weak in body but sound in mind and memory, made his will. He gave and bequeathed everything he owned at his death to his well esteemed friend Stephen Cleverly of the same island, another private soldier, whatever its nature or kind. He named Cleverly as sole executor, revoking every earlier will. He set his hand and seal to it on 12 May 1757, and John Cripps, Arthur Evans and William Boddington witnessed it in his presence. Interpretations Each man left the whole of his estate to a fellow private soldier rather than to any family, which reflects the position of the ordinary soldier of the garrison. Many had no kin on St Helena and formed their closest attachments among the men they served alongside, so a comrade became the natural heir and the person trusted to settle the estate. Gaynor signed with a mark, showing he could not write, while Baker signed his name. The mark carried the same legal force as a signature once the witnesses attested that the document had been read to the maker and executed at his direction, which is why the witness clause set out so carefully that they had signed in his presence and at his request.
276	271	23. May At a Consultation held on Monday the 23. Day of May 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor. John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed dated the 16th. May 1757. Tuesday the 17th. Arrived the Honorable Companys Ships Clinton, and Hector, from Anjengo. Wednesday the 18th. passed by ten Sail of Ships, their Colours not discerned, but supposed to be Dutch. The Ships Hector & Clinton brot. us the following Supply vizt p Hector. Chelloes 1Bale ys. 5 corgs. d 30 N. 4. 6 425	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 23 May 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 16 May 1757, was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 17 May the Honourable Company ships <i>Clinton</i> and <i>Hector</i> arrived from Anjengo. On Wednesday 18 May ten sail of ships passed by, their colours not made out but supposed to be Dutch. The <i>Hector</i> and <i>Clinton</i> brought the following supply. The figures were entered in rupees, mace and candareens across the money columns, with the goods and their charges set against each ship. The <i>Hector</i> carried: Chelloes, 1 bale, quantity 25, length 8, at 4s 76, rupees 405 Surat charges Custom at 2 per cent, rupees 8, mace 40 Dooking, at 7 and a half, rupees 7, subtotal rupees 15, mace 2, candareens 40

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		Surat Charges Customs 2 p Cent 8.40 Packing 7.2. 15 2 40 420 2 40 Bafty 39 Bags ys. 4. 15 d 26.2.74 p Morah Mds. drs. 122. 3. Rice Benkin 15 d. d. 90 St. picked d. 3.50 p Ted. 70. 3. Charges on Merchandize vizt Gunny Bags 39 for the Bafty 13.2.60 Gunny pieces expended in making bags for Rice 3.3.40 Dutty Bags 13 for do. 9.3. Twine 3½ 2. Lascars Sewing the Bags 1.3. Hamallage on the above 2.1.25 Boat Hire 2.2. 36 1 25 658 1 65 p Clinton Mds. drs. Bafty 43 Bags ys. 5. 2 d 26.2.74 p Morah 135 2 23 Rice beaten 15 d. 100 p picked 3.50 p Ted. 87 2. Charges on Merchandize vizt Gunny Bags 43 for the Bafty 13. .20 Dutty pieces 15 expended for Rice bags 6. 3. Dutty Bags 15 do. 11. 1. Twine 3. for Sewing do. 1.3. Lascars Sewing the Bags 2.2. Hamallage on the above 2.2. Boat Hire 2.2. 40 1 20 263 1 43 Errors Excepted p (signed) Cha Crommelin asst. Rupees 921 3 08	Total, rupees 420, mace 2, candareens 40 Batta, 39 bags, quantity 4, mace 15, at 26 rupees 2 mace 7 and a half per garce, rupees 122, mace 3 Rice beaten, 15 candies, at 90 St Jago candies, at 3 rupees 50 per candy, rupees 70, mace 3 Charges on merchandise: Gunny bags, 39 for the batta, rupees 13, mace 2, candareens 60 Gunny pieces expended in making bags for rice, rupees 3, mace 3, candareens 40 Dutty bags, 13 for the rice, rupees 9, mace 3 Twine, 3 seers, rupees 2 Lascars sewing the bags, rupees 1, mace 3 Hamallage on the above, rupees 2, mace 1, candareens 25 Boat hire, rupees 2, mace 2, subtotal rupees 36, mace 1, candareens 25 Total for the <i>Hector</i>, rupees 638, mace 1, candareens 65 The <i>Clinton</i> carried: Batta, 43 bags, quantity 5, mace 2, at 26 rupees 2 mace 7 and a half per garce, rupees 135, mace 2, candareens 23 Rice beaten, 15 candies, at 100 per candy, at 3 rupees 60 per candy, rupees 87, mace 2 Charges on merchandise: Gunny bags, 43 for the batta, rupees 13, candareens 20 Dutty pieces, 15 expended for rice bags, rupees 6, mace 3 Dutty bags, 15 for the rice, rupees 11, mace 1 Twine, 3 seers for sewing, rupees 2 Lascars sewing the bags, rupees 1, mace 3 Hamallage on the above, rupees 2, mace 2 Boat hire, rupees 2, mace 2, subtotal rupees 40, mace 1, candareens 20 Total for the <i>Clinton</i>, rupees 263, mace 1, candareens 43 Errors excepted, the account was signed by Charles Crommelin, accountant, the whole coming to rupees 921, mace 3, candareens 08. Interpretations Chelloes were a coarse cotton cloth woven on the west coast of India, striped or checked in blue and white and traded in bales across the Indian Ocean. The Company shipped such cloth to St Helena both for local use and as a medium of exchange, since worked cotton held its value where coin was scarce. Batta and beaten rice made up the bulk of the cargo, and the charges tell how each was handled. Batta here is a grain shipment measured by the garce, a large south Indian dry measure, while beaten rice was husked and flattened for keeping on a long voyage. The many small entries for gunny bags, dutty cloth, twine, lascars to sew the sacks, hamallage and boat hire show the Company charging every stage of packing and landing to the account, so that the recorded cost of provisioning the island absorbed the whole chain of handling from the Indian warehouse to the St Helena shore. Hamallage was the fee paid to porters, from the Indian term for a load carrier, and lascars were the Indian seamen and labourers hired for such work. The account was cast entirely in Indian currency because the goods came direct from Anjengo on the Malabar coast, a Company factory, and were invoiced there before shipment. St Helena kept its books partly in sterling and partly in the rupee accounting of the Indian trade, which is why a garrison island in the South Atlantic settled its provision costs in rupees, mace and candareens.
277	272	23. May Relisted William Harris to serve the	William Harris was re-enlisted to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years at

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		Honorable Company as Artificer for five Years, at ten pounds Bounty Money, and had the Articles of War read to him by - the Adjutant. The Stewards Plantation, and Gunners Accts. for the Month ending the 11th. Instant, were this Day brought in, which were examined, and approved, and are as follow vizt. Sundrys expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11th. Instant vizt. 10 Bottles Port £. ., s: 13, d: 6½ 21 Do. Lisbon £. 1, s: 8, d: 5¼ 25 Do. Mountain £. 1, s: 16, d: 9¾ 7 Do. Madeira £. ., s: 17, d: 2½ 68 Do. Arrack £. 2, s: 5, d: 4 48 Do. Beer £. ., s: 10, d: . 261 lb. Flour £. 1, s: 12, d: 7¾ 935 fresh Beef £. 2, s: 19, d: 9 279 Mutton £. 5, s: 16, d: 3 3 Lambs £. 1, s: 10, d: . 9 Fowls £. ., s: 13, d: 6 4 Ducks £. ., s: 6, d: . 2 Geese £. ., s: 10, d: . 1 Turkey £. ., s: 5, d: . 37 lb. Butter £. 1, s: 17, d: 3 1 Piece Salt Pork £. ., s: 2, d: . 100 lb. Candy £. 1, s: 9, d: 2 Total £. 24, s: 10, d: 3¾	£10 0s 0d bounty money, and the Adjutant read him the Articles of War. The Steward and Gunner brought in their plantation and accounts for the month ending 11 May, which were examined and approved as follows. The sundries spent at the Honourable Company table in the month ending 11 May were: 10 bottles port, £0 13s 6 and three quarter d 21 bottles Lisbon, £1 8s 5 and a quarter d 25 bottles mountain, £1 16s 2 and three quarter d 7 bottles Madeira, £0 17s 2 and three quarter d 68 bottles arrack, £2 5s 4d 48 bottles beer, £0 10s 0d 26 pounds flour, £1 12s 7 and a half d 235 pounds fresh beef, £2 19s 9d 279 pounds mutton, £5 16s 3d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 9 fowls, £0 13s 6d 2 ducks, £0 6s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 37 pounds butter, £1 17s 3d 1 piece salt pork, £0 2s 0d 100 pounds candy, £1 9s 2d Total, £24 10s 3 and a half d Interpretations The table drink ran heavily to fortified and imported wine. Port, Lisbon, mountain and Madeira were all shipped in on the Company vessels that touched at the island, and arrack, a spirit distilled in the East from palm sap or rice, came the other way from India. Beer alone was cheap by the bottle, which shows how far a remote garrison depended on imported drink for the officers table when local brewing was slight. Mountain was a sweet white wine from the hills behind Malaga in southern Spain, and Lisbon a Portuguese white, both staples of the eighteenth century English cellar and both valued for keeping well at sea. Their presence beside Madeira and port marks a table stocked to the standard an English establishment abroad expected rather than to what the island itself could yield. The account records the running cost of the Governor and council table, kept apart from the ordinary garrison ration and drawn from the Steward and Gunner stores. Bringing it monthly before the council for examination and approval was the mechanism by which the Company controlled a standing expense that would otherwise have grown unchecked, since the officers who enjoyed the table were also the men who audited its cost.
278	273	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of neat Cattle &ca from the 12th. of April to the 11th. of May 1757 vizt. Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Yearlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Sh Asses, Total Remaining 12th.: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 80, Heifers 17, Yearlings 51, Steers 24, Oxen 15, Total 274, Ewes 334, Weathers 140, Lambs 238, Rams 7, Total 719, Ewes 202, Weathers 21, Kidds 63, Rams 8, Total 294, Sows 5, Shoats 1, Pigs 20, Boars 1, Total 27, Fowls 101, Ducks 46, Turkeys 48, Geese 35, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, Asses 2, Sh Asses 3, Total 5 Encreased: Bulls ., Cows ., Calves 2, Heifers ., Yearlings ., Steers ., Oxen ., Total 2, Ewes ., Weathers ., Lambs 23, Rams ., Total 23, Ewes ., Weathers ., Kidds ., Rams ., Total ., Sows ., Shoats ., Pigs 1, Boars ., Total 1, Fowls 22, Ducks 8, Turkeys ., Geese ., Horses ., Mares ., Total ., Asses 1, Sh Asses ., Total 1	This account of the Honourable Company stock of neat cattle and so forth ran from 12 April to 11 May 1757. The stock was set out in columns under neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, horses and asses, each broken down by kind and totalled, with rows for the opening figure, increase, killed, died, sold and the closing figure. Neat cattle were counted as bulls, cows, calves, heifers, yearlings, steers and oxen. Sheep were counted as ewes, wethers, lambs and rams. Goats were counted as ewes, wethers, kids and rams. Hogs were counted as sows, shoats, pigs and boars. Poultry were counted as fowls, ducks, turkeys and geese. Horses were counted as horses and mares, and asses as she asses and he asses. Remaining 12th, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 84, calves 80, heifers 17, yearlings 51, steers 24, oxen 15, total 274 Remaining 12th, sheep: ewes 334, wethers 140, lambs 238, rams 7, total 719 Remaining 12th, goats: ewes 202, wethers 21, kids 63, rams 8, total 294

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		Total: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 82, Heifers 17, Yearlings 51, Steers 24, Oxen 15, Total 276, Ewes 334, Weathers 140, Lambs 261, Rams 7, Total 742, Ewes 202, Weathers 21, Kidds 63, Rams 8, Total 294, Sows 5, Shoats 1, Pigs 21, Boars 1, Total 28, Fowls 203, Ducks 53, Turkeys 48, Geese 35, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, Asses 3, Sh Asses 3, Total 6 Killed: Bulls ., Cows ., Calves 1, Heifers ., Yearlings ., Steers ., Oxen ., Total 1, Ewes 10, Weathers 2, Lambs 3, Rams ., Total 15, Ewes ., Weathers 7, Kidds ., Rams ., Total 7, Sows ., Shoats ., Pigs ., Boars ., Total ., Fowls 9, Ducks 4, Turkeys 1, Geese 2, Horses ., Mares ., Total ., Asses ., Sh Asses ., Total . Died: Bulls ., Cows ., Calves 1, Heifers ., Yearlings ., Steers ., Oxen ., Total 1, Ewes 1, Weathers ., Lambs 6, Rams ., Total 7, Ewes ., Weathers ., Kidds ., Rams ., Total ., Sows ., Shoats ., Pigs ., Boars ., Total ., Fowls 3, Ducks 3, Turkeys 4, Geese 4, Horses ., Mares 1, Total ., Asses ., Sh Asses ., Total . Sold: Bulls ., Cows ., Calves ., Heifers ., Yearlings ., Steers ., Oxen ., Total ., Ewes ., Weathers ., Lambs ., Rams ., Total ., Ewes ., Weathers ., Kidds ., Rams ., Total ., Sows ., Shoats 1, Pigs 1, Boars ., Total 2, Fowls ., Ducks ., Turkeys ., Geese ., Horses ., Mares ., Total ., Asses ., Sh Asses ., Total . Remaining 11th: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 82, Heifers 15, Yearlings 51, Steers 24, Oxen 15, Total 274, Ewes 323, Weathers 138, Lambs 252, Rams 7, Total 720, Ewes 202, Weathers 14, Kidds 63, Rams 8, Total 287, Sows 5, Shoats ., Pigs 17, Boars 1, Total 23, Fowls 190, Ducks 45, Turkeys 47, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, Asses 3, Sh Asses 3, Total 6 Species Changed: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 59, Heifers 36, Yearlings 42, Steers 24, Oxen 21, Total 274, Ewes 413, Weathers 163, Lambs 138, Rams 6, Total 720, Ewes 196, Weathers 39, Kidds 44, Rams 8, Total 287, Sows 5, Shoats 12, Pigs 5, Boars 1, Total 23, Fowls 190, Ducks 45, Turkeys 47, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, Asses 3, Sh Asses 3, Total 6 1 Heifer for the Table. 2 Sheep sold to the Markett. 1 Do. Do. to the Hospital. 3 Goats Do. to Do. 1 Do. Do. to Mr. Bazett wt. 14 lb. 2 Sheats sold to Do. wt. 81. 3 Goats to Sick Slaves. 1 Man Slave dead named Roger. 1 Boy Born named Will. Good Yam for the Slaves 21,760. Refuse Do. for Stock 9,074. Errors Excepted (signed) John Adamson	Remaining 12th, hogs: sows 5, shoats 1, pigs 20, boars 1, total 27 Remaining 12th, poultry: fowls 101, ducks 46, turkeys 48, geese 35 Remaining 12th, horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15 Remaining 12th, asses: she asses 2, he asses 3, total 5 Increased, neat cattle: calves 2, total 2 Increased, sheep: lambs 23, total 23 Increased, hogs: pigs 1, total 1 Increased, poultry: fowls 22, ducks 8 Increased, asses: he asses 1, total 1 Total, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 84, calves 82, heifers 17, yearlings 51, steers 24, oxen 15, total 276 Total, sheep: ewes 334, wethers 140, lambs 261, rams 7, total 742 Total, goats: ewes 202, wethers 21, kids 63, rams 8, total 294 Total, hogs: sows 5, shoats 1, pigs 21, boars 1, total 28 Total, poultry: fowls 203, ducks 53, turkeys 48, geese 35 Total, horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15 Total, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 Killed, neat cattle: heifers 1, total 1 Killed, sheep: wethers 10, lambs 2, rams 3, total 15 Killed, goats: wethers 7, total 7 Killed, poultry: fowls 9, ducks 4, turkeys 1, geese 2 Died, neat cattle: heifers 1, total 1 Died, sheep: ewes 1, lambs 6, total 7 Died, poultry: fowls 3, ducks 3, turkeys 4, geese 1 Sold, hogs: sows 1, pigs 1, total 2 Remaining 11th, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 84, calves 82, heifers 15, yearlings 51, steers 24, oxen 15, total 274 Remaining 11th, sheep: ewes 323, wethers 138, lambs 252, rams 7, total 720 Remaining 11th, goats: ewes 202, wethers 14, kids 63, rams 8, total 287 Remaining 11th, hogs: sows 5, pigs 17, boars 1, total 23 Remaining 11th, poultry: fowls 190, ducks 45, turkeys 47, geese 32 Remaining 11th, horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15 Remaining 11th, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 Species changed, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 89, calves 59, heifers 36, yearlings 42, steers 24, oxen 21, total 274 Species changed, sheep: ewes 413, wethers 163, lambs 138, rams 6, total 720 Species changed, goats: ewes 196, wethers 39, kids 44, rams 8, total 287 Species changed, hogs: sows 5, shoats 12, pigs 5, boars 1, total 23 Species changed, poultry: fowls 190, ducks 45, turkeys 47, geese 32 Species changed, horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15 Species changed, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 The Gunner set down the disposal of the animals that left the stock. One heifer went to the table. Two sheep were sold to the market and one to the hospital. Three goats went to the hospital, one to Mr Bazett weighing 44 pounds and three to the sick slaves. Two shoats were sold to Mr Bazett weighing 81 pounds. A further set of notes recorded the slaves and the yam store. One man slave died, named Roger, and one boy was born, named Will. Good yam for the slaves came to 21,760 and refuse yam for the

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			stock to 9,074. Errors excepted, the account was signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The two closing rows carry different work. The remaining row of 11 May is the plain count of live animals left after the month births, kills and deaths, while the species changed row reclassifies the same totals by age and sex, moving beasts between columns as calves became yearlings, ewe lambs became ewes and so on. The identical column totals in both rows confirm this, since no animal is added or lost in the reclassification, only shifted from one category to the next as it aged. This was how the Gunner kept the herd book honest over time, so that a calf entered a year earlier was not still standing in the calf column long after it had grown. Yam was the staple fed to the slaves and to the Company livestock, grown on the island in quantity and the foundation of its ability to feed a large working population without constant import. The account divided it into good yam set aside for the slaves and refuse yam kept for the stock, a division that shows the ordering of the two, with the sounder root reserved for the people who did the work and the poorer kept for the animals. The very large figures, 21,760 against 9,074, mark yam as the single most important local crop on the provisioning books. The stock account and the slave notes sat on the same page because both were charges on the Company plantation and both were audited together each month. Recording a death and a birth among the slaves in the same ledger as the cattle and hogs reflects how the Company treated the people it held, as productive stock entered on the plantation account and counted alongside the animals, which is the plainest measure of their standing in the eyes of the establishment.
<u>279</u>	274	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of neat Cattle &ca from the 12th. of April to the 11th. of May 1757 vizt. Bulls, Cows, Calves, Heifers, Yearlings, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Sh Asses, Total Remaining 12th.: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 80, Heifers 17, Yearlings 51, Steers 24, Oxen 15, Total 274, Ewes 334, Weathers 140, Lambs 238, Rams 7, Total 719, Ewes 202, Weathers 21, Kidds 63, Rams 8, Total 294, Sows 5, Shoats 1, Pigs 20, Boars 1, Total 27, Fowls 101, Ducks 46, Turkeys 48, Geese 35, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, Asses 2, Sh Asses 3, Total 5 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 23, Rams 0, Total 23, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 1, Boars 0, Total 1, Fowls 22, Ducks 8, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 1, Sh Asses 0, Total 1 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 82, Heifers 17, Yearlings 51, Steers 24, Oxen 15, Total 276, Ewes 334, Weathers 140, Lambs 261, Rams 7, Total 742, Ewes 202, Weathers 21, Kidds 63, Rams 8, Total 294, Sows 5, Shoats 1, Pigs 21, Boars 1, Total 28, Fowls 203, Ducks 53, Turkeys 48, Geese 35, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, Asses 3, Sh Asses 3, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 10, Weathers 2, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 15, Ewes 0, Weathers 7, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 7, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 9, Ducks 4, Turkeys 1, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sh Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Lambs 6, Rams 0, Total 7, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams	The Gunner set out the stores spent from 12 April to 11 May 1757. The powder was entered by the charge across four columns, headed 4, 3, 2 and 1, with the number of rounds and the quantity expended set against each entry. April 14, saluted the <i>Suffolk</i>, <i>Godolphin</i> and <i>Houghton</i> and returned their salutes, 27 rounds, charge 4: 7, charge 1: nil, total 27 14, powder, 4 pounds 8 23, an alarm, 6 rounds, charge 4: 2, charge 3: 2, total 2 pounds 12 23, arrived a Dane ship, returned the salute, 11 rounds, charge 1: 11, total 11 23, powder for priming, 1 pound 8 29, an alarm for a ship that went by, 6 rounds, charge 4: 2, charge 3: 2, total 2 pounds 12 May 7, saluted the Dane ship, returned the salute, 11 rounds, charge 1: 11, total 11 7, powder for priming, 1 pound 8 7, powder for shooting goats on Ladder Hill, Flagstaff Point, 1 pound 4 7, powder for replenishing the cartridges at the main guard, 3 7, powder for blowing stone for the fortifications at the main fort, 6 7, powder for signals, 12 7, powder for exercising the West flying party, 4 pounds 12 7, powder for the funeral of John Steward, 2 pounds 4 7, powder for the funeral of John Gaynor, 2 pounds 4 7, powder for the funeral of Robert Bennett, 2 pounds 4 7, powder for the funeral of William Williams, 2 pounds 4 Total, 61 rounds, charge 4: 4, charge 3: 4, charge 2: 49, charge 1: 4, 105 pounds 8

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		0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 3, Ducks 3, Turkeys 4, Geese 4, Horses 0, Mares 1, Total 0, Asses 0, Sh Asses 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Heifers 0, Yearlings 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Pigs 1, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sh Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th.: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 82, Heifers 15, Yearlings 51, Steers 24, Oxen 15, Total 274, Ewes 323, Weathers 138, Lambs 252, Rams 7, Total 720, Ewes 202, Weathers 14, Kidds 63, Rams 8, Total 287, Sows 5, Shoats 0, Pigs 17, Boars 1, Total 23, Fowls 190, Ducks 45, Turkeys 47, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, Asses 3, Sh Asses 3, Total 6 Species Changed: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 59, Heifers 36, Yearlings 42, Steers 24, Oxen 21, Total 274, Ewes 413, Weathers 163, Lambs 138, Rams 6, Total 720, Ewes 196, Weathers 39, Kidds 44, Rams 8, Total 287, Sows 5, Shoats 12, Pigs 5, Boars 1, Total 23, Fowls 190, Ducks 45, Turkeys 47, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, Asses 3, Sh Asses 3, Total 6 1 Heifer for the Table. 2 Sheep sold to the Markett. 1 Do. Do. to the Hospital. 3 Goats Do. to Do. 1 Do. Do. to Mr. Bazett wt. 14 lb. 2 Sheats sold to Do. wt. 81. 3 Goats to Sick Slaves. 1 Man Slave dead named Roger. 1 Boy Born named Will. Good Yam for the Slaves 21,760. Refuse Do. for Stock 9,074. Errors Excepted (signed) John Adamson	The Gunner also listed the other stores spent: Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at Banks, 2 pounds 8 Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at Ruperts, 1 pound 8 Tallow for greasing the flagstaff, 1 pound Tallow for the use of the corks, 4 pounds Copper rivets for the use of the armourer, 10 Bills broke at the main and out forts, 15 Paper for the use of the storekeeper, 1 quire Paper for making small cartridges, 1 quire Reed butts for shooting goats, 120 Reed butts for 32 pounders worn out and unserviceable, 5 Quoins for 32 pounders, 6 Iron shod trucks for 32 pounders, 8 Beds for 18 pounders, 3 Quoins for 18 pounders, 2 Signed by Thomas Hall Mr Scott, the Honourable Company President at Anjengo, was being transported to St Helena aboard the <i>Clinton</i> and <i>Hector</i>. Ten bullocks had been put on board to serve the officers during the voyage, but one bullock died on the passage. Only 2 of a certain further supply were received, of which 5 died within a few days of being sent into the country, leaving 4 remaining and 4 still to be sent. The note was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The powder book measured expenditure by cartridge charge, the columns headed 4, 3, 2 and 1 recording how many pounds of powder each round took. A saluting round for a Company ship was fired with a heavy charge, while alarms and signals drew on the lighter grades, so the account let the council see not just how many rounds were spent but how the magazine was drawn down grade by grade. This mattered on an isolated island where powder came only by ship and could not be made good until the next arrival. Four funerals fell within the same month, those of John Steward, John Gaynor, Robert Bennett and William Williams, each marked by a powder allowance for the volleys fired over the grave. The appearance of John Gaynor here ties to his will of 21 April 1757, read and proved earlier in the same sequence of consultations, which confirms he died within days of making it. Military funerals on the island carried the honour of firing parties even for private soldiers, and the powder was charged to the Company like any other expenditure of the garrison. The reed butts, quoins, beds and iron shod trucks were the working furniture of the great guns. Quoins were the wedges that set a gun elevation, beds the timber blocks the quoins rested on, and trucks the small wheels of the carriage, here shod with iron for wear. That so many were replaced for the 32 and 18 pounders in a single month shows the constant maintenance the coastal batteries demanded in a damp salt climate, where timber and iron decayed fast and the defences could only be kept ready by continual small repair.
280	275	1st. June At a Consultation held on Wednesday the first day of June 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed Dated the 23. May 1757. Daniel Sergeant Soldier petitioned for	At a consultation held at the Castle on Wednesday 1 June 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 25 May 1757, was read, approved and signed. Daniel Sergeant, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company his contracted time. It was granted.

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		his Discharge from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company his contracted time. Granted instore Ordered the small Arms to be inspected by the Armorer and a Gunsmith, who delivered the following Report of their Condition. Island St. Helena 26th. May 1757. We do hereby Certify that we have thoroughly inspected the Arms in Store under the Charge of Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick and find them as follows. vizt. Paul Heritage Armorer. Edwd. Terby Gunsmith. Fit for Service 168. Unserviceable 159 Total 327 Recd. of Mr. Thomas Easthope £19:19: the balance of his Account due to the Estate of the late Samuel Talcaner deceased. John Frazier Soldier on Tuesday 24th. May petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison, having also served the Honorable Company his contracted time. Enlisted John Ward to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years, at ten pounds Bounty Money, and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant. Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th. of May last, which is as follows vizt.	The council ordered the small arms in store to be inspected by the armourer and a gunsmith, who delivered the following report of their condition, dated Island St Helena 26 May 1757. Paul Heritage, armourer, and Edward Terry, gunsmith, certified that they had thoroughly inspected the arms in store under the charge of Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick and found them as follows: Fit for service, 168 Unserviceable, 159 Total, 327 Thomas Easthope received £19 19s 0d, the balance of his account due to the estate of the late Samuel Falconer, deceased. John Frazier, a soldier, petitioned on Tuesday 24 May for his discharge from the garrison, having also served the Honourable Company his contracted time. John Ward was enlisted to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years at £10 0s 0d bounty money, and the Adjutant read him the Articles of War. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company cash for the month ending 11 May. Interpretations The arms report divided the store almost evenly, 168 fit against 159 unserviceable out of 327, which meant nearly half the small arms held on the island could not be used. For a garrison that depended entirely on its stored weapons, with no means of manufacture and resupply only by the Company ships, this was a serious weakness, and the formal inspection by an armourer and a gunsmith under a named officer was the mechanism by which the council forced the true state of the magazine into the record rather than trusting a paper strength. Three discharges and one fresh enlistment fell in the same short consultation, which shows the ordinary turnover of the garrison. Men served a fixed contracted term and could claim their discharge once it expired, while the Company kept its numbers up by enlisting replacements for a further five years against a fixed bounty of £10, so the strength of the garrison was maintained through a steady cycle of time-expired men leaving and new recruits being bound in their place. The payment to Thomas Easthope settled the balance owed to the estate of Samuel Falconer, deceased. Winding up a dead man account through a third party who received the balance shows how the small closed community of the island handled the affairs of those who died in service, with debts and credits carried on the Company books until an executor or agent could be paid out.
281	276	Cash Dr. Per Contra Cr. 1757 April 12 To balance remaining £ 1621 1 8 £ 1621 1 8 1757 May 11 By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt. 220 Venetians 10/ £ 110 .. 550 Pagodas 8/ 220 .. Gold amounting to £ 330 .. 1056 Dollars 5/ 264 .. 4299 Rupees 2/3 483 12 9 441 French frs. 2r. 3 13 6 Odd Money .. 5 Silver amounting to	The cash account was set out as debtor and creditor. On the debtor side, the balance remaining on 12 April 1757 was £1,621 1s 8d. On the creditor side, the balance remaining on 11 May 1757 was held in the following species. 220 Venetians at 10s, £110 0s 0d 550 pagodas at 8s, £220 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £330 0s 0d 1,056 dollars at 5s, £264 0s 0d 4,299 rupees at 2s 3d, £483 12s 9d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 5d Silver amounting to, £751 6s 8d Cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £1,621 1s 8d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The island treasury held its balance in a mixture of coined gold, coined silver and paper, and the account grouped the coin by metal before striking the

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		751 6 8 Cash Notes 539 15 . £ 1621 1 8 Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	total. The gold consisted of Venetian sequins and pagodas, the silver of Spanish dollars, Indian rupees and French pieces, with the whole reduced to sterling at a fixed rate for each. This shows how a Company island in the mid eighteenth century ran on the coin of many nations at once, valuing each against sterling on the books because no single currency circulated in sufficient quantity to serve alone. The pagoda was a gold coin of southern India, long the standard gold money of the Madras trade, and the Venetian was the sequin or zecchino, a gold coin of Venice that passed widely in the eastern trade. Their appearance in a St Helena chest reflects the island position on the India route, where ships brought eastern coin westward and left it in payment, so that the treasury of an Atlantic garrison came to hold the gold of Venice and the Coromandel coast side by side. The cash notes of £539 15s 0d formed roughly a third of the whole balance, which shows the Company already running part of its island finance on paper rather than metal. Holding a large share of the treasury in notes rather than coin let the establishment settle accounts without moving specie that was scarce and hard to replace, and it marks the degree to which even a remote garrison had come to rest on credit instruments as well as on the coin in the chest.
282	277	6th. June At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th. day of June 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor. John Adamson Lieutenant Governor. Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 1st. June 1757 Thursday the Second passed by three Ships, their Colours not discerned. The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Stores short received from the Ships Clinton and Hector vizt. Account of Stores, short received from Ship Clinton vizt. gr. lb 2. 18 Rice, short Weight. Short Received from Ship Hector Vizt. gr. lb 2. 26 Rice, short Weight. (Signed) J. Powell St. Helena 6th. June 1757. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark. At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th. day of June 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council.	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 6 June 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 1 June 1757, was read, approved and signed. On Thursday 2 June three ships passed by, their colours not made out. The Storekeeper brought in an account of stores short received from the ships <i>Clinton</i> and <i>Hector</i>. From the <i>Clinton</i>, 2 candies 18 pounds of rice were short in weight. From the <i>Hector</i>, 2 candies 26 pounds of rice were short in weight. The account was dated St Helena 6 June 1757 and signed by J. Powell. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 13 June 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. Interpretations The Storekeeper recorded the rice landed from the <i>Clinton</i> and <i>Hector</i> as short of the weight it was invoiced at, 2 candies 18 pounds from the one and 2 candies 26 pounds from the other. Weighing every consignment on landing and entering the shortfall formally before the council was the check by which the Company guarded against loss between the Indian warehouse and the island store, whether from pilfering, spillage or the natural drying of the grain on a long voyage. On an island that could not grow enough rice for itself, an accurate tally of what actually arrived was the only defence against paying for cargo that never reached the shore.
283	278	13th. June The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed - Dated the 6th. June 1757. Yesterday died Francis Marsh Soldier The effects of Samuel Powell that were left here out of the Ship Portfield, late 5th. Mate of the Ship Boddington being sold at public Auction, and after his Debts here were paid, there remained a balance of £3.4.5 which we received	The previous consultation, dated 6 June 1757, was read, approved and signed. Francis Marsh, a soldier, died the day before. The effects of Samuel Powell, late fifth mate of the ship <i>Boddington</i> and left on the island out of the ship <i>Portfield</i>, were sold at public auction. After his debts on the island were paid, a balance of £3 4s 5d remained, which was received into the Honourable Company cash and ordered to be written off to account current London. The account of sales and account current followed.

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		into the Honorable Companys Cash, and ordered it to be wrote off to Acct. Currant London, the Acct. Sales and Acct. Currt. are as follow. vizt. An Inventory of Sundrys belonging to the late Mr. Samuel Powell deceased vizt. 1 Cloth Coat New Mr. Chas. Steward£: 1, s: 13, d: . 1 Fustian Frock & 2 Wastecoats Thos. Litchfield£: ., s: 7, d: . 1 Serjeants Coat 1 Scarlet Wastecoat 1 pair Breeches do. John Shirtley£: ., s: 7, d: 6 1 Serjeants Coat 1 Scarlet Wastecoat 1 pair Breeches do. Serjt. Bridgewater£: ., s: 4, d: . 1 do. blue Cloth Coat 2 White Wastecoats Chas. Harmer£: ., s: 13, d: . 2 pair Nankeen Breeches Yeags£: ., s: 7, d: 6 3 Do. Do. old John Holloway£: ., s: 3, d: 6 2 Do. black Do. old Wm. Jacobs£: ., s: 1, d: 3 1 Coat Wastecoat & Breeches Mr. Dr. Bagley£: ., s: 1, d: 3 4 White Shirts & 2 Neckcloths John Whitchurch£: ., s: 9, d: . 4 Do. Do. Do. £: ., s: 9, d: 6 4 New Neckcloths John White£: ., s: 10, d: . 6 Coloured Shirts Wm. Jacobs£: ., s: 12, d: 6 1 old Silk Wastecoat Paul Heritage£: ., s: 2, d: 6 4 New Silk Handkerchiefs John Weber£: ., s: 10, d: . 3 New, 1 old Silk Do. Wm. Jacobs£: ., s: 8, d: . 4 Do. Silk John Butler£: ., s: 3, d: . 6 pair Canvas Trowsers John Shirtley£: ., s: 7, d: . 2 pair Drawers, 1 Frock Do.£: ., s: 1, d: 6 9 pair do. Stockings Do.£: ., s: 6, d: 3 5 pr. Shoes, 1 pr. Buckles, 2 Neck brasses Thos. Litchfield£: ., s: 6, d: 6 1 Chest Carried over£: 8, s: 4, d: 6	An inventory of sundry goods belonging to the late Samuel Powell, deceased, was taken, each lot set against the name of the buyer and the price it fetched. 1 cloth coat, new, Mr Charles Steward, £1 13s 0d 1 fustian frock and 2 waistcoats, Thomas Litchfield, £0 7s 0d 1 sergeant coat and 1 scarlet waistcoat, 1 pair breeches, John Shirley, £0 7s 6d 1 sergeant coat, 1 scarlet waistcoat, 1 pair breeches, Sergeant Bridgewater, £0 4s 0d 1 old blue cloth coat, 2 white waistcoats, Thomas Harmer, £0 3s 0d 2 pair nankeen breeches, Yeags, £0 7s 6d 3 pair nankeen breeches, old, John Holloway, £0 3s 6d 2 pair black breeches, old, William Jacobs, £0 1s 3d 1 coat, waistcoat and breeches, Mr Deliverance Bagley, £0 1s 3d 4 white shirts and 2 neckcloths, John Whitchurch, £0 9s 0d 4 white shirts and 2 neckcloths, John Whitchurch, £0 9s 6d 4 new neckcloths, John Weber, £0 10s 0d 6 coloured shirts, William Jacobs, £0 12s 6d 1 old silk waistcoat, Paul Heritage, £0 2s 6d 4 new silk handkerchiefs, John Weber, £0 10s 0d 3 new pole silk handkerchiefs, William Jacobs, £0 8s 0d 2 old silk handkerchiefs, John Button, £0 3s 0d 6 pair canvas trousers, John Shirley, £0 7s 0d 2 pair drawers, 1 frock, John Shirley, £0 1s 6d 9 pair old stockings, John Shirley, £0 6s 3d 5 pair shoes, 1 pair buckles, 2 shoe brushes, Thomas Litchfield, £0 6s 6d 1 chest, carried over, £8 4s 6d Interpretations The wardrobe of a ship mate was sold off piece by piece to the men of the garrison and shipping, and the mix of goods shows what a seafaring officer of middling rank carried. Nankeen breeches, silk handkerchiefs and canvas trousers sat beside a sergeant coat and scarlet waistcoats, marking clothing gathered on the eastern voyages, since nankeen was a buff cotton cloth from Nanking in China and silk handkerchiefs were a common India purchase. Such an auction turned a dead man effects straight into cash on the island, where imported cloth held its value and every serviceable garment found a ready buyer among men far from any shop. The whole business followed a fixed procedure for a stranger who died on the island. The goods were sold at public auction, the local debts were paid out of the proceeds, and only the clear balance of £3 4s 5d was carried into the Company cash and written off to account current London. This was the mechanism by which the establishment discharged its duty to an outsider estate without holding island funds indefinitely, settling what was owed on the spot and passing the remainder home through the Company books to be answered for to whoever had a claim in England.
284	279	Samuel Powell Dr. Per Contra Cr. 1757 May To Sundry Bills paid vizt. To the Carpenter for a Coffyn £: ., s: 10, d: . To the Armorer for Handles for do. £: ., s: 8, d: . To the Minister & Sextons charges for funeral £: ., s: 12, d: . To John Price for attending Mr. Powell when sick £: ., s: 13, d: 6 To the Marshals attending at the Auction £: ., s: 7, d: 6 To John Belton Drumr. attending at do.	The account of Samuel Powell was set out as debtor and creditor. On the debtor side, the sundry bills paid in May 1757 were: To the carpenter for a coffin, £0 10s 0d To the armourer for handles for the coffin, £0 8s 0d To the minister and sexton, charges for the funeral, £0 12s 0d To John Price for attending Mr Powell when sick, £0 13s 6d To the marshals attending at the auction, £0 7s 6d

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		£: ., s: 2, d: 6 To Willm. Robinson, Thos. Lindsey, Adam Scott, and John Hayley for carrying the Corps to the Ground at 2:6 each £: ., s: 10, d: . To James Forbett for Diet and Lodging £: 2, s: 17, d: . To Cash pd. for 3 Fowls for Mr. Powell £: ., s: 4, d: 6 Cash due to Balance £: 3, s: 4, d: 5¼ £: 9, s: 9, d: 5¼ 1757 Apr. 21 By Cash Received on Acct. of the late Mr. Samuel Powells Auction amounting to £: 9, s: 2, d: . By Cash found in the Pocket of Mr. Powell £: ., s: 7, d: 5¼ £: 9, s: 9, d: 5¼ Bro. over £: 8, s: 4, d: 6 2 Remnants Flannel Mr. Jacobs£: ., s: ., d: 6 1 Hammock, 1 Portmanteau 3 Remnants Canvas, 1 Pillow, 1 Quilt, 2½ Dozen Buttons Do.£: ., s: 4, d: 6 3 White Wastecoats John Whitchurch£: ., s: 12, d: 6 £: 9, s: 2, d: . The following is the Acct. Current of the abovesaid Samuel Powell Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	To John Belton, drummer, attending at the auction, £0 2s 6d To William Robinson, Thomas Lindsey, Adam Scott and John Hayley for carrying the corpse to the ground at 2s 6d each, £0 10s 0d To James Torbett for diet and lodging, £2 17s 0d To cash paid for 3 fowls for Mr Powell, £0 4s 6d Cash due to balance, £3 4s 5d Total, £9 9s 5d On the creditor side, the receipts in 1757 were: April 21, by cash received on account of the late Mr Samuel Powell auction, amounting to, £9 2s 0d By cash found in the pocket of Mr Powell, £0 7s 5d Total, £9 9s 5d The account of sales carried the last lots of the auction, each set against the buyer and the price: 2 remnants flannel, William Jacobs, £0 8s 6d 1 hammock, 1 portmanteau, William Jacobs, £0 0s 6d 3 remnants canvas, 1 pillow, 1 quilt, 2 and a half dozen buttons, William Jacobs, £0 4s 6d 3 white waistcoats, John Whitchurch, £0 12s 6d Total, £9 2s 0d The account current of Samuel Powell was then drawn up, showing the same receipts on the creditor side, cash from the auction of £9 2s 0d and cash found in his pocket of £0 7s 5d, coming to £9 9s 5d. The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The debtor side shows what it cost to bury a stranger and wind up his affairs on the island, and the small fees name the whole apparatus of a garrison funeral. A carpenter made the coffin and the armourer forged its handles, the minister and sexton took their charges, four named men were paid 2s 6d each to carry the body, and a drummer and the marshals attended the auction. Every service was charged against the dead man estate rather than the Company, so the proceeds of his goods met the cost of his sickness, death and burial before any balance was struck. The sums on both sides were made to meet at £9 9s 5d, the auction and the cash from his pocket on the one hand answering the bills and the small clear balance on the other. Drawing the account so that receipts and payments closed exactly, then carrying the remaining £3 4s 5d to the Company books, was the bookkeeping method by which the establishment could show it had dealt honestly with an outsider estate, with every shilling of his property accounted for against every shilling spent on his behalf.
285	280	John Mursor Commander James Cox Chief Mate Nathan. Smith 2d. Do. Thomas Deevoe 3 Do. David Beck 4th. Do. Thomas Dunling 5th. Do. John Watts Gunner Richd. Shepperd Carpenter John Hutton Boatswn. Luke Dalglish Caulker Thomas Slar Cooper John Bromfield Woodmn. John Corry Do. Thomas Baldwin Do. Robert Gardner Do. Mich. Wills 2d. master John Edwards Do. Henry Johnson Do. Rich. Telford Do. Edward Waterson Surgeon Willm. Watson Ch. mate	At a consultation held at the Castle on Tuesday 14 June 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 13 June 1757, was read, approved and signed. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ships <i>Clinton</i> and <i>Hector</i> to muster their several companies and to enquire for deserters, but found none. Their muster rolls followed. The muster roll of the <i>Clinton</i> was: John Mason, commander James Cox, chief mate Nathaniel Smith, second mate Thomas Devroe, third mate David Rock, fourth mate Thomas Dowling, fifth mate John Watts, gunner Richard Shepperd, carpenter John Hutton, boatswain Luke Dalglish, caulker

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		Willm. Long Sailmaker Rich. Hopson Armorer John Gaensd. Ships Cook Saml. Clark Capt. Steward Walworth Rate Do. Cook John Attwood Capt. Mate Rich. Smith Do. Do. Joseph Smith Boats. Mate Thos. Smith Caulkers Mate Thos. Gibson Coopers Mate Christ. Sunderland Boatswain Simon Dunking Butcher Thomas Mublam Taylor John Simmons Capt. Servt. John Lenham Do. Do. Thos. Attwood Do. Do. Thos. Barbeous Ch. Mates Servt. Thos. Larkins 2d. Do. Do. Justice Graham Surgs. Servt. James Dark Boats. Servt. Absak. Ashcroft Cs. Servt. Robert Carr Seaman Richd. Elgrave Do. John Ripley Do. Demetro Vida Do. Philip Parish Do. John Brown Do. John Gilbert Do. Mich. Williams Do. Robt. Walton Do. John Silk Do. William Vincent Do. John Buchanan Do. George Hurst Do. Cornel. Fielding Seaman Magnus Stell Do. Wm. Okeygan Do. David Bruce Do. Solomon Gettings Do. Robert Cooper Do. John Collins Do. John Kelly Do. John Long Do. Chris. Sherlock Do. Wm. Bayley Do. Arch. Mc. Dorel Do. Richd. Kidd Do. Allen. Foreman Do. David Dupire Do. Benjt. Thatcher Do. Wm. Cox Do. Wm. Hicks Do. Domand drew Do. Wm. Attwood Do. Dan. Meloy Do. Robert denken Do. John Fall Do. James Archer Do. Dan. Standford Do. Elias Fisher Do. Rich. Denham Do. John Bryant Do.	Thomas Clay, cooper John Bromfield, boatswain's mate John Corry Thomas Baldwin Robert Gardner Michael Wills, second master John Edwards Henry Johnson Richard Telford Edward Waterson, surgeon William Watson, surgeon's mate William Long, sailmaker Richard Hopson, armourer John Gained, ship's cook Samuel Clark, captain's steward Walworth Rate, second cook John Attwood, captain's mate Richard Smith, second steward Joseph Smith, boatswain's mate Thomas Smith, caulker's mate Thomas Gibson, cooper's mate Christopher Sunderland, boatswain Simon Dowling, butcher Thomas Mitcham, tailor John Simmons, captain's servant John Lenham Thomas Attwood Thomas Barlee, cook's mate Thomas Larkins Justice Graham, surgeon's servant James Dark, boatswain's servant Abraham Ashard, captain's servant Robert Carr, seaman Richard Elgrave John Ripley Demchie Frida Philip Parish John Brown John Gilbert Michael Williams Robert Walton John Wilks John Silk William Vincent John Buckman George Hurst Colonel Fredding, seaman Magnus Stole William Clorgan David Bruce Solomon Cottings Robert Cooper John Collins John Kelly John Long Chris Sherlock William Bayley Averil McNeal Richard Hood Allen Foreman David Dupira Berry Thatcher William Cox William Hicks Domenico Andrew William Attwood Daniel Meloy Robert Denkin John Fall James Archer Daniel Stamford Elias Fisher Richard Denham John Bryant Interpretations

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			The purpose of the muster was to check every man on the ship company against the roll and to search for deserters, and Lieutenant Clark found none absent. Coming aboard both ships to muster them at St Helena was the routine guard the Company kept against losing crew at a mid-ocean call, since a homeward or outward ship could not afford to sail short-handed and a man who slipped ashore on the island had nowhere to go. The formal report of no deserters entered in the consultation was the record that the vessels were fit to proceed with their full complement. The roll sets out the whole working order of an East Indiaman crew, ranked from the commander and his mates down through the specialist tradesmen to the ordinary seamen. Below the officers came the gunner, carpenter, boatswain, caulker, cooper, surgeon, sailmaker, armourer and their several mates, together with cooks, stewards, a butcher, a tailor and the captain personal servants, before the long list of seamen. This division shows how a large sailing ship of the trade carried a complete body of craftsmen to keep itself in repair and supply on a voyage of many months, each rated to his trade and mustered by it.
286	281	John Williams Comnadr. John Whith Chief Mate Wm. Rogers 2d. Do. George Suddys 3 Do. Peter Hardwick 4th. Do. George Samways 5th. Do. John Drummond Surg. William Harwood Master Fra. Coaksworth Bankow. John Pemberton Gunner Saml. Gregory Carpenter Sam. Benham Caulker Gilbert Hawley Cooper John Gibson Ships Stew. James Fisher Cs. Do. Richd. Johnson Brown Ms. Ck. John Reed Caps. Do. James Darks Sailmaker John West Armorer William Price Butcher Alexr. Rough Gun. Mate John Froud Boats. Thos. Cole Carps. William Johnes Do. Stephen Cleuder Caulks. Do. Richd. Blanket Coopers Do. John Digot Surg. Do. Steph. Williams Colours Do. Isaac Decker Wd. Do. Wm. Doyle Do. John Dickett Do. Wm. Bunton Drs. master Henry Larnam Do. Wm. Sanderson Do. Peter Fee Do. James Keah Do. Hugh Deake Seaman John Lamb Do. John Fowlis Do. James Mowbray Do. John Bateman Do. Wm. Shepherd Do. David Rutherford Do. James Sines Do. Nich. Fagon Do. Thomas Denston Do. John Blair Do. Wm. Barlow Do. Wm. Simson Do. John Rogers Do. James Ireby Do.	The muster roll of the <i>Clinton</i> continued: William Murphy, seaman William Robinson Joshua Burn Richard Osborne Robert Drury John Cain John Martin Nicholas Harcourt Thomas Bates, seaman Thomas Marlow John Ray David Fisher Samuel Dicat Nathaniel Down William Pearce Thomas Bacon Andrew Lumm, seaman William Brown Edward Russell Peter Farrell Four men were entered together as having entered at St Helena: William Ward, entered at St Helena John Underwood John Ramm Jeremiah Watts These last three, with John Underwood, were marked as soldiers. The muster roll of the <i>Hector</i> was: John Williams, commander John White, chief mate William Rogers, second mate George Saddys, third mate Peter Hardwick, fourth mate George Samways, fifth mate John Drummond, surgeon William Harwood, purser Francis Coaksworth, boatswain John Pemberton, gunner Samuel Gregory, carpenter Samuel Wenham, caulker Gilbert Hawley, cooper John Gibson, ship's steward James Fisher, captain's servant Richard Johnson, brown steward John Reed, captain's servant James Dark, sailmaker John West, armourer William Rice, butcher Alexander Waugh, gunner's mate

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		John Regan Do. James Bernitt Do. Thomas Innes Do. Sam. Wicols Do. John Hodgdon Do. James Livestone Do. Robt. Carmichael Do. James Clay Do. Peter Johnson Do. Culoff Bergenstone Do. Richard Evans Do. Nich. Dawson Do. John Lansby Do. Dand. Regan Do. Fra. Stobbs Do. John Troups Do. John Walker Do. Isht. Adman Do. John Richards Do. John Smart Do. Francis Denny Seaman John Dennison Do. Chas. Kelley Do. John Weant Do. Marcus Anderson Do. Nich. Harber Do. Francisco Do. John Foss Do. Thos. Nicholson Do. Rich. Williams Do. Augustin Fisher Do. Wm. Lacey Do. Jacobus Divirlick Do. Arth. Moore Do. John Richardson Do. Richd. Herbell Do. Jno. Cornell Do. Saml. Welch Capt. Servt. Pamfrey Do. John Whith Ch. Mates d. John Hector Do. Thos. Alexander Surg. Do. Wm. Cole Carpr. Do. Geo. Gillson Gunrs. Do. Persons enterd in India Wm. James Seaman Jo. Do. Patrick Leary Do. Joseph Bryant Do. Thos. Denny Sailmrs. Sickmess John Park Lunatick Wm. Marlin on Diet To be sent by order of Govr. cd. at Bombay Rich. Faucetta Dd. for Bombay John Frazer for St. Helena Passengers for England Mr. John Robinson & Family Capt. Wm. Marchis	John Froud, boatswain's mate Thomas Cole, cooper's mate William Johnes Stephen Chandler, caulker's mate Richard Blanket, cooper's mate John Digot, surgeon's mate Stephen Williams, captain's servant Isaac Decker, third mate William Doyle John Dickett William Bunton, second master Henry Larnam William Sanderson Peter Lee James Keach Hugh Deake, seaman John Lamb John Searls James Roseberry John Bateman William Shepperd David Rutherford James Sines Nicholas Fagon Thomas Denston John Blair William Barlow John Croford William Simson John Rogers James Ireby John Regan John Kaynor James Bennett Thomas Innes Samuel Hitchell John Hodgdon James Livestone Robert Carmichael James Clay Peter Johnson Culoff Bergentson Richard Evans Nicholas Dawson John Lansby David Kogan Thomas Stubbs John Troups John Densby John Walker John Adman John Richards John Smart Francis Denny, seaman John Dennison Charles Kelley John Wevent Marcus Anderson Nicholas Harber Francisco John Fose Thomas Nicholson Richard Williams Augustin Fisher William Lacey Jacobus Dwerlick Arthur Snowe John Richardson Richard Hitchell John Cornell Samuel Welch, captain's servant Dempsey Several men of the <i>Hector</i> were entered under the note that they had entered in India: John White, third mate John Hector

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			Thomas Alexander, surgeon William Cole, carpenter George Gillion, gunner's mate William James, seaman [...] Patrick Leary Joseph Bryant Three men were noted with their condition: Thomas Denny, falling sickness John Dark, lunatic William Martin, on the sick list A group was entered as sent by order of the Governor and council to Bombay: Richard Forrester, deceased, for Bombay John Frazier, for St Helena Two entries closed the roll as passengers for England: Mr John Robinson and family Captain William Marchis The muster was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The <i>Hector</i> roll carried a set of men rated as having entered in India, which shows how an East Indiaman made good its losses on the far side of the voyage. Deaths, desertion and sickness thinned a crew on the outward passage, and the ship replaced them by signing on hands at the Indian ports, so that a vessel returning to England carried a crew partly recruited abroad, including men with Portuguese and other foreign names picked up along the coast. Three men were entered with conditions that made them unfit for duty, one subject to falling sickness, one a lunatic and one on the sick list. Carrying such men on the muster rather than simply discharging them reflected the Company obligation to return its people and to answer for them, since a sick or disordered seaman still had to be fed, guarded and accounted for until he could be landed where his case could be dealt with. The closing entries mark the ship double duty as carrier of people as well as cargo. Richard Forrester, already dead, and John Frazier were being moved between stations by order of the Governor and council, one bound for Bombay and one for St Helena, while Mr John Robinson with his family and Captain William Marchis travelled as passengers for England. This shows the Company ships as the single thread that bound its scattered settlements together, moving officers, soldiers, families and the bodies of the dead along the same route that carried its goods.
287	282	20th. June At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th. June 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor. John Adamson Lieutenant Governor. Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed Dated the 14th. June 1757. Saturday the 18th. Arrived a Prussian Ship from China called the Prince Ferdinand Capt. Moreen, Burthen 1000 Tons, carries 26 Guns and 120 Men Loaded with Tea, China Ware, and Silks, bound to Emden. Being very much in want of Pitch & Tar, we therefore bought of Captn. John Nanfan, One Barrel of Tar - and of Captn. John Williams, One Barrel of Ditch. for which we gave three pounds four Shillings and Sixpence. Capt. John Nanfan presented the	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 20 June 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 14 June 1757, was read, approved and signed. On Saturday 18 June a Prussian ship arrived from China called the <i>Prince Ferdinand</i>, Captain Moreen, of 1,000 tons burthen, carrying 26 guns and 120 men, loaded with tea, chinaware and silks and bound for Emden. Being much in want of pitch and tar, the council bought one barrel of tar from Captain John Nanfan and one barrel of pitch from Captain John Williams, for which they gave £3 4s 6d. Captain John Nanfan presented a letter to Governor Charles Hutchinson. Writing from St Helena on 20 June 1757, Nanfan asked the Governor to spare him half a ream of Cannon Company bridge paper, being in want of it, and signed himself the Governor most obedient humble servant. On examining the quantity of cartridge paper remaining, the council found they had barely sufficient for the service of the island, and so told

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		following Letter vizt. To Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Sir I shall be obliged to you if you will spare me half a Ream of Cannon Cartridge Paper, being in want of it. I am Sir your most Obedient Humble Servant St. Helena June 20th. 1757. John Nanfan Upon examining the Quantity of Cartridge Paper remaining we find that we have but barely Sufficient for the Service of the Island, and therefore acquainted Capt. Nanfan that we could not possibly spare him any. The Plantation, Gunners, and Stewards Accounts were this Day brought in for the Month ending the 11th. Instant, which were examined and approved, and are as follow vizt.	Captain Nanfan that they could not possibly spare him any. The plantation, Gunner and Steward accounts were brought in for the month ending 11 June, which were examined and approved. Interpretations The arrival of a Prussian East Indiaman bound from China to Emden marks the spread of the eastern trade beyond the older companies. Emden was the Prussian port from which the short lived Royal Prussian Asiatic Company worked, and a ship of 1,000 tons carrying tea, chinaware and silk through St Helena shows the island serving as a way station for the shipping of several nations, not the English Company alone, since any vessel on the long haul round the Cape needed the same water, refreshment and stores. The two requests made of the council, one granted and one refused, turned on the same scarce commodity, naval stores that could only come by sea. The council bought pitch and tar from two of its own ship captains because the island needed them for its boats and gun tackle, yet refused Nanfan the cartridge paper he asked for because its own stock was barely enough for defence. This shows how a remote garrison weighed every consumable against its own security first, willing to trade for what it lacked but unwilling to part with anything on which the working of its guns depended. Cannon Company bridge paper and cartridge paper were both stout papers used to make up powder charges, cut and rolled to hold a measured quantity for a gun or musket. That a ship captain should come ashore to beg half a ream of it, and that the council should reckon its own supply so closely, shows how even the most ordinary material of gunnery was precious on an island where nothing could be manufactured and the next supply lay months away by ship.
288	283	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12th. of May to the 11th. June 1757 vizt. Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, S. Asses, Sh. Asses, Total Remaining 12th.: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 59, Yearlings 36, Heifers 42, Steers 24, Oxen 21, Total 274, Ewes 413, Weathers 163, Lambs 138, Rams 6, Total 720, Ewes 196, Weathers 39, Kidds 44, Rams 8, Total 287, Sows 5, Shoats 12, Pigs 5, Boars 1, Total 23, Fowls 190, Ducks 45, Turkeys 47, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, S. Asses 3, Sh. Asses 3, Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 11, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 11, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 12, Rams 0, Total 12, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 24, Ducks 5, Turkeys 0, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S. Asses 0, Sh. Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 70, Yearlings 36, Heifers 42, Steers 24, Oxen 21, Total 285, Ewes 413, Weathers 163, Lambs 139, Rams 6, Total 721, Ewes 196, Weathers 39, Kidds 66, Rams 8, Total 299, Sows 5, Shoats 12, Pigs 5, Boars 1, Total 23, Fowls 214, Ducks 50, Turkeys 47, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, S. Asses 3, Sh. Asses 3, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 2, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 9, Weathers 0, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 11, Ewes 1, Weathers 2, Kidds 1, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 11, Ducks 7, Turkeys 3, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S. Asses 0, Sh. Asses 0, Total 0	This account of the Honourable Company stock of neat cattle and so forth ran from 12 May to 11 June 1757. The stock was set out in columns under neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, horses and asses, each broken down by kind and totalled, with rows for the opening figure, increase, killed, died, sold and the closing figure. Neat cattle were counted as bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers and oxen. Sheep were counted as ewes, wethers, lambs and rams. Goats were counted as ewes, wethers, kids and rams. Hogs were counted as sows, shoats, pigs and boars. Poultry were counted as fowls, ducks, turkeys and geese. Horses were counted as horses and mares, and asses as she asses and he asses. Remaining 12th, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 89, calves 59, yearlings 36, heifers 42, steers 24, oxen 21, total 274 Remaining 12th, sheep: ewes 413, wethers 163, lambs 138, rams 6, total 720 Remaining 12th, goats: ewes 196, wethers 39, kids 44, rams 8, total 287 Remaining 12th, hogs: sows 5, shoats 12, pigs 5, boars 1, total 23 Remaining 12th, poultry: fowls 190, ducks 45, turkeys 47, geese 32 Remaining 12th, horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15 Remaining 12th, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 Increased, neat cattle: calves 11, total 11 Increased, sheep: lambs 1, total 1 Increased, goats: kids 12, total 12 Increased, poultry: fowls 24, ducks 5, geese 2 Total, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 89, calves 70, yearlings 36, heifers 42, steers 24, oxen 21, total 285

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		Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Lambs 8, Rams 1, Total 11, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 1, Ducks 0, Turkeys 1, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S. Asses 0, Sh. Asses 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 7, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 7, Ewes 3, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 9, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 9, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S. Asses 0, Sh. Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th.: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 69, Yearlings 36, Heifers 42, Steers 22, Oxen 21, Total 282, Ewes 395, Weathers 163, Lambs 129, Rams 5, Total 692, Ewes 195, Weathers 34, Kidds 55, Rams 8, Total 292, Sows 5, Shoats 3, Pigs 3, Boars 1, Total 12, Fowls 202, Ducks 43, Turkeys 43, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 9, Total 15, S. Asses 3, Sh. Asses 3, Total 6 Beef to the Ship Clinton 560 Do. to Ship Hector 560 4 Sheep to the Market 3 Sheep to the Hospital 1 Goat to sick Slaves 1 Do. to the Hospital 2 Do. Matthew Bazett wt. 30¾ 9 Shoats to Bland wt. 400 Five Malabar Slaves Hanged themselves. One Do. Died. Good Yam expended for Slaves 20005 Refused Do. for Stock 6624 26629 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	Total, sheep: ewes 413, wethers 163, lambs 139, rams 6, total 721 Total, goats: ewes 196, wethers 39, kids 66, rams 8, total 299 Total, hogs: sows 5, shoats 12, pigs 5, boars 1, total 23 Total, poultry: fowls 214, ducks 50, turkeys 47, geese 34 Total, horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15 Total, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 Killed, neat cattle: yearlings 2, total 3 Killed, sheep: ewes 9, lambs 2, total 11 Killed, goats: ewes 1, wethers 2, kids 1, total 4 Killed, poultry: fowls 11, ducks 7, turkeys 3, geese 1 Died, sheep: wethers 2, kids 8, rams 1, total 11 Died, poultry: ducks 2, turkeys 2, geese 1, horses 1 Sold, sheep: ewes 7, total 7 Sold, goats: wethers 3, total 3 Sold, hogs: shoats 9, total 9 Remaining 11th, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 89, calves 69, yearlings 36, heifers 42, steers 22, oxen 21, total 282 Remaining 11th, sheep: ewes 395, wethers 163, lambs 129, rams 5, total 692 Remaining 11th, goats: ewes 195, wethers 34, kids 55, rams 8, total 292 Remaining 11th, hogs: sows 5, shoats 3, pigs 3, boars 1, total 12 Remaining 11th, poultry: fowls 202, ducks 43, turkeys 43, geese 32 Remaining 11th, horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15 Remaining 11th, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 The Gunner set down the disposal of the animals that left the stock. Beef to the ship <i>Clinton</i> came to 560 and to the ship <i>Hector</i> to 560. Four sheep went to the market and three to the hospital. One goat went to the sick slaves, one to the hospital, two to Matthew Bazett weighing 30 pounds and three quarters, and nine shoats went to Bland weighing 400 pounds. A further set of notes recorded the slaves and the yam store. Five Malabar slaves hanged themselves and one died. Good yam spent for the slaves came to 20,005 and refuse yam for the stock to 6,624, coming to 26,629. Errors excepted, the account was signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The most striking movement in the month was not among the animals but in the slave notes, where five Malabar slaves hanged themselves and a sixth died. This was a heavy loss in a single month, and mass suicide among the Malabar slaves points to conditions on the plantation grave enough to drive a group of people to take their own lives together. The Company recorded the deaths in the same plain hand as the loss of a beast, which measures how it regarded the people it held, yet the scale of the event marks something far beyond the ordinary wastage of the stock book. The two ships in the road drew heavily on the herd, each taking 560 pounds of beef for the voyage, which accounts for the fall in the cattle. Slaughtering to victual the <i>Clinton</i> and <i>Hector</i> for their onward passage was the main charge on the island livestock in any month when Company ships called, since a homeward Indiaman had to be stored with salt and fresh meat for a voyage of months, and the plantation herd existed in large part to answer that demand. The yam figures held close to the level of the previous month, 20,005 for the slaves against a smaller quantity for the stock, which confirms yam as the settled staple of the working population. Against

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			the earlier month the good yam issued to the slaves fell only slightly even as six of them died, since the ration was set by the number of mouths at the start of the period and the deaths came too late to change the issue, so the steadiness of the figure sits oddly beside the loss recorded alongside it.
289	284	20th. June Gunnery Stores expended from the 11th. May to the 11th. June 1757 both days included Guns fired, ct: 9, ct: 4, ct: 3, ct: 2, ct: 1, Powder expended lb: oz May 11. Double Alarm: Guns fired 9, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 3, ct 3: 3, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 3, Powder expended lb oz: 18 17 Arrived the Clinton & Hector, retd. their Salutes: Guns fired 18, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 18, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 10 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 3 Do. The Alarm was doubled for both ships yt. went by: Guns fired 9, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 3, ct 3: 3, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 3, Powder expended lb oz: 18 Do. Powder for Priming at Prosperous Bay for Feb. 18: Guns fired 0, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 3 Do. Powder for Priming at the Alarm House: Guns fired 0, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 3 19 Powder for Arming the Lint Stocks at Main Fort & Lem. Vy.: Guns fired 0, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 2 June 2. Double Alarm at Munden's Point for 3 Ships yt. went by: Guns fired 3, ct 9: 3, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 13.12 Do. Double Alarm at Prosperous Bay for same Ships: Guns fired 11, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 4, ct 3: 4, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 3, Powder expended lb oz: 23 Do. Powder for blowing out a Ball that was broke in the Touch Hole of a Gun at Munden pr. retailing of Gun: Guns fired 0, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 13.8 Do. Powder for Exercising the East flying Party: Guns fired 0, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 9.8 Do. for the Funeral of Robert Baker: Guns fired 0, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 2.4 Do. for Signals: Guns fired 0, ct 9: 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 1 Total: Guns fired 30, ct 9: 3, ct 4: 10, ct 3: 10, ct 2: 18, ct 1: 9, Powder expended lb oz: 128 Bills broke at the Main Fort: 4 Match for Arming the Lint Stocks at the Main Fort and Lemon Valley: 18 Paper for making small Cartridges: 5.2r Handspikes broke at Lemon Valley: 1 Do. broke at the Main Fort: 2 Bills broke at Munden's Point: 2 Lint Stocks broke at Do.: 1 Lint Stocks broke at Ruperts: 1 Sponge Staves for dowl Handls. for the Bakes: 1 Firkin Hoops for repairing the Bags &ca.: 100 (Signed) Tho. Hall	The Gunner set out the stores spent from 12 May to 11 June 1757, both days included. The powder was entered by the charge across five columns, headed 9, 4, 3, 2 and 1, with the number of rounds and the quantity expended set against each entry. May 16, double alarm, 9 rounds, charge 4: 3, charge 3: 3, charge 1: 3, 18 pounds 17, arrived the <i>Clinton</i> and <i>Hector</i>, returned their salutes, 18 rounds, charge 2: 18, 10 pounds 17, powder for priming, 3 pounds 17, the alarm was doubled for two ships that went by, 9 rounds, charge 4: 3, charge 3: 3, charge 1: 3, 18 pounds 17, powder for priming at Prosperous Bay for 18 February, 3 pounds 17, powder for priming at the alarm house, 3 pounds 19, powder for arming the lint stocks at the main fort and Lemon Valley, 2 pounds June 2, double alarm at Munden Point for 3 ships that went by, 3 rounds, charge 3: 3, 13 pounds 12 2, double alarm at Prosperous Bay for the same ships, 11 rounds, charge 4: 4, charge 2: 4, charge 1: 3, 23 pounds 2, powder for blowing out a ball that was broke in the touch hole of a gun at Munden Point, 1 pounds 8 2, powder for exercising the East flying party, 9 pounds 8 2, powder for the funeral of Robert Baker, 2 pounds 4 2, powder for signals, 1 pound Total, 30 rounds, charge 4: 3, charge 3: 10, charge 2: 10, charge 1: 18, 9, 128 pounds The Gunner also listed the other stores spent: Bills broke at the main fort, 4 Match for arming the lint stocks at the main fort and Lemon Valley, 18 Paper for making small cartridges, 5 quires Handspikes broke at Lemon Valley, 1 Handspikes broke at the main fort, 2 Bills broke at Munden Point, 2 Lint stocks broke at Munden Point, 1 Lint stocks broke at Ruperts, 1 Sponge staves for dead handles for the batteries, 1 Firkin hoops for repairing the powder rooms, 100 Signed by Thomas Hall Interpretations The month was full of alarms, six in all, most of them doubled and fired from more than one battery for ships passing the island. A double alarm answered from Prosperous Bay, Munden Point and the alarm house at once was the island way of signalling across its broken ground that strange sail were in sight, so that the whole garrison could stand to at short notice. The heavy powder charged to these alarms, far more than to salutes or funerals, shows how much of the magazine went on vigilance alone in a season when unknown ships were often in the offing. The funeral of Robert Baker recorded here ties to his will of 12 May 1757, read and proved earlier in the same run of consultations, which confirms he died within weeks of making it. As with the soldiers buried the month before, a powder allowance marked the volleys fired over the grave, the honour of a

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			military funeral extended to a private man of the garrison and charged to the Company like any other expenditure. The small entry for blowing a broken bill out of the touch hole of a gun at Munden Point shows the constant trouble of keeping the batteries serviceable. A tool had snapped off in the vent of a piece and had to be cleared with a charge of powder, and the long list of broken bills, handspikes and lint stocks across the forts marks how hard the salt air and heavy work told on the gear of the guns, so that a large part of the Gunner month went not on firing but on repair.
290	285	1757. Sundries expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending June 11th. 1757 vizt. 3 Bottles Port £0 4s 3¾d 25 Lisbon £1 13s 10½d 26 Mountain £1 15s 7½d 14 Madeira £1 14s 6¾d 73 Arrack £2 8s 8d 36 Beer £0 7s 6d 270 Flour £1 19s 4½d 226 fresh Beef £2 16s 6d 380 Mutton £7 18s 4d 2 Lambs £1 0s 0d 1 Kidd £0 5s 0d 48 Goat £0 16s 0d 11 Fowls £0 16s 6d 7 Ducks £0 10s 6d 1 Goose £0 5s 0d 3 Turkeys £0 15s 0d 31 lb. Butter £1 11s 0d 4 lb. Salt Pork £0 8s 0d 10 lb. Candy £1 15s 4d Total £29 0s 9½d Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	The sundries spent at the Honourable Company table in the month ending 11 June 1757 were: 3 bottles port, £0 4s 3 3/4d 25 bottles Lisbon, £1 13s 10 1/4d 26 bottles mountain, £1 15s 7 1/4d 14 bottles Madeira, £1 14s 6 3/4d 73 bottles arrack, £2 8s 8d 36 bottles beer, £0 7s 6d 270 pounds flour, £1 19s 4 1/2d 226 pounds fresh beef, £2 16s 6d 380 pounds mutton, £7 18s 4d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 48 pounds goat, £0 16s 0d 11 fowls, £0 16s 6d 7 ducks, £0 10s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 31 pounds butter, £1 11s 0d 4 pounds salt pork, £0 8s 0d 106 pounds candy, £1 15s 4d Total, £29 0s 9 3/4d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Set against the table account for the month before, the drink stayed much the same in kind but the meat rose sharply, mutton alone accounting for nearly £8 against a little over £5 in the earlier month. The greater call on fresh meat matches the presence of the <i>Clinton</i> and <i>Hector</i> in the road through this period, when the officers table would have been fuller with the ships commanders and passengers ashore, so the cost of entertaining rose with the shipping that the island was bound to receive. The appearance of goat and kid on the table, absent from the previous month, reflects the ordinary turn of what the plantation could spare rather than any change of taste. The stock account for the same period shows goats killed and issued from the herd, so the table drew on whatever the island slaughtered that month, and the bill of fare followed the plantation supply from week to week rather than a fixed menu.
291	286	21st. June At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 21st. June 1757 at the Castle at five o'Clock in the Evening. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed, Dated the 20th. June 1757. This Day arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Falmouth from England, and First wrote we received a Packet from the Honble. the Court of Directors, which we opened, and read their Letter to us. Cha. Hutchinson	At a consultation held at the Castle on Tuesday 21 June 1757 at five o'clock in the evening, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 20 June 1757, was read, approved and signed. The Honourable Company ship <i>Falmouth</i> arrived from England the same day, and a packet was received from the Honourable Court of Directors, which the council opened and read. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 27 June 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was

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		John Adamson John Clark. At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th. day of June 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed, Dated the 21st. June 1757. Tuesday the 21st. Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Oxford Jno. Bencoolen Saturday 25th. Sailed the Prussian Ship Prince Ferdinand. This Day arrived the Honorable Companys Ships, the Harcourt & Stormont from Canton, & the Griffin from Impress. Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys - Cash for the Month ending the 11th. which is as follows vizt.	present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 21 June 1757, was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 21 June the Honourable Company ship <i>Oxford</i> arrived from Bencoolen. On Saturday 25 June the Prussian ship <i>Prince Ferdinand</i> sailed. The same day the Honourable Company ships <i>Harcourt</i> and <i>Stormont</i> arrived from Canton, and the <i>Griffin</i> from Surat. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company cash for the month ending 11 June. Interpretations The arrival of the <i>Falmouth</i> with a packet from the Court of Directors was the moment the island received its orders from London, the single channel through which the Company governing body reached its most remote station. A packet opened and read in council carried the instructions, appointments and policy on which the coming months would turn, and its arrival marked the point at which the Governor and council learned the will of their masters after the long silence of a voyage from England. The cluster of arrivals in a few days, the <i>Falmouth</i> from England, the <i>Oxford</i> from Bencoolen, the <i>Harcourt</i> and <i>Stormont</i> from Canton and the <i>Griffin</i> from Surat, shows St Helena at the height of its working season as the gathering point of the homeward trade. Ships converged on the island from England, Sumatra, China and India within a single week, each pausing for water and refreshment before the run to England, which is why the plantation herds were drawn down so hard and the table accounts rose in just these weeks, the whole economy of the island bending to serve the fleets that met in its road.
292	287	Cash Dr. Per Contra Cr. 1757 May 11 To Balance remaining £1621 1s 8d £1621 1s 8d 1757 June 11 By balance remaining in the following Species vizt. 220 Venetians a 10 £110 0s 0d 550 Pagodas a 8 £220 0s 0d Gold amounting to £330 0s 0d 1056 Dollars a 5 £264 0s 0d 4299 Rupees a 2/3 £483 12s 9d 441 French frs. a 2r. £3 13s 6d Odd Money £0 0s 5d Silver Amounting to £751 6s 8d Cash Notes amounting to £539 15s 0d £1621 1s 8d	The cash account was set out as debtor and creditor. On the debtor side, the balance remaining on 12 May 1757 was £1,621 1s 8d. On the creditor side, the balance remaining on 11 June 1757 was held in the following species. 220 Venetians at 10s, £110 0s 0d 550 pagodas at 8s, £220 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £330 0s 0d 1,056 dollars at 5s, £264 0s 0d 4,299 rupees at 2s 3d, £483 12s 9d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 5d Silver amounting to, £751 6s 8d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £1,621 1s 8d Interpretations The balance stood unchanged from the previous month at £1,621 1s 8d, and every line of coin and note matched the earlier account to the penny. A treasury that neither grew nor shrank across a full month, holding the same tale of Venetians, pagodas, dollars, rupees and French pieces down to the odd fivepence, shows that the island cash was a fixed reserve rather than a working fund, its receipts and payments passing through other accounts while this balance sat untouched as the standing store of the establishment.
293	288	27th. June The Ship Oxford brought us the following Supply Vizt. Invoice p Ship Oxford. Sugar 46 Baskets containg 145.1.27 Wt. C. qrs. lb a 84.2 p decul of 132 Rees. 517 1s 32d Charges Merchandize Boat hire Shipping of the above 10 0s 0d	The ship <i>Oxford</i> brought the following supply, set out in an invoice with the values in rupees, mace and candareens. Sugar, 44 baskets containing 245 hundredweight 1 quarter 27 pounds, at 4 rupees 2 mace per hundredweight, off 132, rupees 517, mace 1, candareens 32 Charges on merchandise, boat hire and shipping of the above, rupees 10 Errors excepted, total rupees 527, mace 1, candareens 32

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		Errors Excepted 527 1s 32d (Signed) Joseph Darvall Accomptt. We this Day gave Captain Dale an Order to send us on Shore one Chest of the Honorable Company's Treasure which we accordingly received. The Ship Harcourt brought us the following Supply Vizt. Invoice p Ship Harcourt Tales m. c c St. H. No. 1 a 20 Sugar Candy 20 to. nett 42.11 a 6.5 p decul Chest drs. lb. T. Ms. 243 7s 1d 5 No. 1 a 4 Tea Bohea 4 to. nett 4.60 a 12 p decul 55 2s 0d No. 1 a 3 China Ware 3 Chests Vizt. 15 Table Setts at 3. 20 at T. M. c c 2.0.0.0 T. M. c c 30 0s 0d 0 4 Soup dishes 0 3 2s 0d 0 50 Soup Plates 4.5 2 2s 5d 0 50 Bowls 3 Sizes 1.4.3 7 4s 0d 0 50 Sneakers 2 4s 0d 1 2s 0d 0 50 Cups & Saucers ½ pint 5.0 2 5s 0d 0 50 Do. Do. ¼ pint 0 2 5s 0d 0 12 Chamber Potts 2.0 2 4s 0d 0 18 Tea Setts (6 Large) 8.0 1 4s 4d 0 12 Guglets & Basons 4.0 4 8s 0d 0 12 Sauce Boats 0 6 0s 0d 0 30 Salled dishes 1.0 3 0s 0d 0 6 Baking dishes 3.0 1 8s 0d 0 10 Patting Pans 3.0 3 0s 0d 0 65 5s 9d 0 Deduct 2 p Cent 1 3s 1d 0 64 2s 8d 0 Errors Excepted (Signed) Jno. Phipps Tales 393 1s 9d 5 Pr. Market.	Signed by Joseph Darvall, accountant The council gave Captain Dale an order to send on shore one chest of the Honourable Company treasure, which they received. The ship <i>Harcourt</i> brought the following supply, set out in an invoice marked with the shipping mark SH and numbered lots, the values in tael, mace, candareens and cash. Numbers 1 to 20, sugar candy, 20 chests, net 42 hundredweight 11 pounds, at 6 taels 5 mace per hundredweight, taels 273, mace 7, candareens 1, cash 5 Numbers 1 to 4, tea bohea, 4 chests, net 460 pounds, at 12 taels per hundredweight, taels 55, mace 2 Numbers 1 to 3, chinaware, 3 chests: 15 table setts at 3 taels 2 mace, taels 2 0 0 0, taels 30 4 soup dishes, taels 3, mace 2 50 soup plates at 5, taels 2, mace 2, candareens 5 50 bowls, 3 sizes, at 1 tael 4 mace 8, taels 7, mace 4 50 saucers at 2 mace 4, taels 1, mace 2 50 cups and saucers, half pint, at 5, taels 2, mace 5 50 cups and saucers, quarter pint, taels 2 12 chamber potts at 2, taels 2, mace 4 18 tea potts, 6 large, at 8, taels 1, mace 4, candareens 4 12 guglets and basons at 4, taels 4, mace 8 12 sauce boats at 6, taels 6 30 salted dishes at 1, taels 3 6 baking dishes at 3, taels 1, mace 8 16 patty pans at 3, taels 3 Chinaware total, taels 65, mace 5, candareens 9 Deduct 2 per cent, taels 1, mace 3, candareens 1 Total, taels 64, mace 2, candareens 8 Errors excepted, total taels 393, mace 1, candareens 9 and 5 cash Signed by Theodore Phipps, supercargo, per market Interpretations The two invoices were cast in different currencies according to where the goods were loaded. The <i>Oxford</i> cargo from Bencoolen was reckoned in rupees, mace and candareens, the money of the western trade, while the <i>Harcourt</i> cargo from Canton was reckoned in taels, mace, candareens and cash, the silver money of China. St Helena kept its books in whatever currency a ship carried, so a single week saw the treasury handling Indian and Chinese money side by side, each reduced to sterling only when it entered the island accounts. The chinaware invoice from Canton lists a whole domestic service in porcelain, from table setts and soup plates to guglets, chamber pots and patty pans, priced by the piece in Chinese silver. Guglets were long necked water vessels and patty pans small dishes for baking, and the range shows the Canton trade supplying the finished tableware of an English household direct from the Chinese kilns. Such porcelain was among the most valuable return cargo of the China ships, and its passage through St Helena marks the island as a station on the route by which Chinese manufactures reached the tables of Europe. The tael was the Chinese unit of account by weight of silver, divided into ten mace, each mace into ten candareens and each candareen into ten cash, so the whole invoice worked in a decimal silver reckoning quite unlike the pounds, shillings and pence of the island own books. That the council recorded the Canton figures in their original taels rather than converting them at once shows how far the Company clerks had to be fluent in the money of every port its ships touched, carrying the eastern

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			currencies on their books until the goods were sold or shipped on.
294	289	1757. The Ship Stormont brought us the following Supply from Canton vizt. Invoice p Ship Stormont Tale m. c c, Tale m. c c St. H. S No. 1 a 28 Sugar 28 Chests weighing nett Ced. Ted. m. Deculs 61.53 at 4.6 p decul 282 0s 7d 2 Charges for Chests and Loading 27 7s 0d 7 St. H. S No. 1 a 7 Tea Singlo 7 Chests weighing nett Deculs 3.75 a 20 p decul 75 0s 0d 0 St. H. C No. 1 a 8 Tea Congou 8 Chests weighing nett Deculs 4.98 a 17 p decul 84 6s 6d 0 469 4s 3d 9 Errors Excepted Sales 469 4s 3d 9 (Signed) Tho. Shore John Searle George Beale Soldier petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having Served the honorable Company his full contracted time. Granted. There being but a small quantity of Arrack in the honorable Companys Stores, and having little prospect of receiving any from Bengall, we therefore agreed to buy half a Butt from Capt. Thos. Stevens, for which we paid four Shillings a Gallon. James Garnett a Seaman that was left here out of the Ship Hector applied to us the 23. Instant, to enlist in this Garrison, we accordingly received him, and gave him three pounds - Bounty Money, and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	The ship <i>Stormont</i> brought the following supply from Canton, set out in an invoice marked with the shipping mark SHS and numbered lots, the values in taels, mace, candareens and cash. Numbers 1 to 28, sugar, 28 chests weighing net 61 hundredweight 3 quarters at 4 taels 6 mace per hundredweight, taels 282, mace 7, candareens 2 Charges for chests and lading, taels 27, mace 7, candareens 7 Numbers 1 to 7, tea singlo, 7 chests weighing net, at 3 taels 7 mace 5 candareens at 20 per hundredweight, taels 75 Numbers 1 to 8, tea congou, 8 chests weighing net, at 4 taels 98 at 17 per hundredweight, taels 84, mace 6, candareens 6 Errors excepted, total taels 469, mace 4, candareens 3, cash 9 Signed by Thomas Shore and John Searle George Beale, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company his full contracted time. It was granted. There being only a small quantity of arrack in the Honourable Company stores, and no prospect of receiving any from Bengal, the council agreed to buy half a butt from Captain Thomas Stevens, for which they paid 4s a gallon. James Garnett, a seaman left on the island out of the ship <i>Hector</i>, applied to the council on 23 June to enlist in the garrison. The council received him, gave him £3 bounty money and had the Adjutant read him the Articles of War. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The three grades of tea in the <i>Stormont</i> invoice, singlo, congou and the bohea carried on the <i>Harcourt</i>, mark the range of the Canton tea trade that passed through the island. Bohea was the cheapest and most common black tea, congou a better black leaf and singlo a green tea, each priced and chested separately. Their appearance on the St Helena books shows the vast China tea trade at its flood, the leaf that would be sold across Britain moving westward chest by chest through the island road. The purchase of arrack shows the council buying against a coming shortage rather than an immediate want. With little left in store and no supply expected from Bengal, the usual source, the council took half a butt from a passing ship captain at 4s a gallon to keep the table and the garrison supplied. Securing a stock of spirit from whatever ship carried it, when the regular channel had failed, was the ordinary shift of an island that could rely on nothing arriving to a settled timetable. James Garnett was taken into the garrison for £3, less than a third of the £10 bounty paid to men enlisted for the full five year term earlier in these consultations. A seaman left behind by his ship and enlisted on the spot was worth a smaller bounty because he came already at hand and outside the ordinary recruiting, so the council filled a place cheaply with a man the sea had put in its way rather than one it had to draw in on the standard terms.
295	290	4th. July At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th. day of July 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor. John Adamson Lieutenant Governor. Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Dated the 27th. June 1757.	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 4 July 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 27 June 1757, was read, approved and signed. On Thursday 30 June the Honourable Company ship <i>Delaware</i> arrived from Bengal. On Friday 1 July

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		Thursday 30th. June Arrived the honorable Companys Ship Delawar - from Bengall. Friday 1st. July Died Thomas Brown Soldier. Yesterday died Thomas Easthope Superannuated Lieutenant. Bought for the use of the Honorable Companys Table, of Capt. James Dale the following Articles vizt. 76 Cheese at 7d p lb £3 16s 0d 20 Currants at 11½d £1 6s 8d 1 Jar Raisins at 4/6d £2 3s 6d 8 Bottles Mustard £0 16s 0d 1 Firkin Butt £3 12s 0d 1 Half Case Pickles £2 10s 0d Total £16 4s 2d The ten working Days allowed by Charter party for unlading the Ship Falmouth, being expired, we gave Captain Dale Sailing Orders in writing, to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough, on the West Coast of the Island Sumatra, - according to the Directions he received from the Honorable, the Court of directors, and the Secret Committee; to whom we likewise gave the following Letters to the several Settlements in India, enclosed in our Packet to Bencoolen vizt.	Thomas Brown, a soldier, died. The day before, Thomas Easthope, a superannuated lieutenant, died. The council bought the following articles from Captain James Dale for the use of the Honourable Company table: 76 pounds cheese at 7d per pound, £3 16s 0d 20 pounds currants at 1s 1 1/2d per pound, £1 6s 8d 1 jar raisins at 1s 6d, £2 3s 6d 8 bottles mustard, £0 16s 0d 1 firkin butter, £3 12s 0d 1 half case pickles, £2 10s 0d Total, £16 4s 2d The ten working days allowed by charter party for unloading the ship <i>Falmouth</i> being expired, the council gave Captain Dale sailing orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of the island of Sumatra, according to the directions he had received from the Honourable Court of Directors and the Secret Committee. The council also gave him letters to the several settlements in India, enclosed in the packet for Bencoolen. Interpretations The purchase from Captain Dale shows the officers table stocked with keeping goods that only a ship could bring, cheese, currants, raisins, mustard and pickles, set beside the fresh meat of the plantation. These were the durable provisions of an English larder, shipped out and bought off an arriving captain to lay in against the months when no vessel called, so the table depended on the ships not only for company but for the very stores that made an English diet possible on a remote island. The sailing orders to the <i>Falmouth</i> were bound by the charter party, the contract under which the Company hired the ship, which fixed ten working days for unloading before she must proceed. Holding the ship to that term and then dispatching her under written orders shows the Company running its shipping to a strict commercial discipline even at its farthest station, the days in port counted and the captain sent on to Fort Marlborough the moment his lay days ran out, so that costly hired tonnage was never left idle in the road. The letters entrusted to the <i>Falmouth</i> for the settlements in India, carried in the packet for Bencoolen, mark St Helena part in the Company communications as well as its trade. A ship leaving the island carried not only cargo but the correspondence that bound the eastern settlements together, so the Governor and council served as a relay in the chain of Company letters, forwarding the orders of the Court and the Secret Committee onward to India and Sumatra by whatever ship was next to sail.
296	291	1757. To the Honorable George Pigot Esqr. President & Governor &ca. Council of Fort St. George. Honorable Sir and Sirs. We wrote to you by the <i>Oxford</i> under date of the 31st. May 1756, and also on the 21. June following, in Answer to yours of the 2 March 1756, and have since received yours of the 21. of November last by the <i>Chesterfield</i>, with the Goods Consigned to us, in her. We desire you will send us for the use of this Place, 36 pair of Cotton Stockings of different Sizes, to cost about 6/6 p pair, 5 pieces Long Cloth at 12 Pagodas p piece, 5 pieces Do. at 10 Do., 5 pieces Do. at 8 Do., 20 Pieces Do. at 6 Do., 20 pieces Do.	The Governor and council wrote to George Pigot, President and Governor, and the council of Fort St George. They had written to Fort St George by the <i>Oxford</i> on 31 May 1756, and again on 21 June following in answer to theirs of 2 March 1756, and had since received theirs of 21 November last by the <i>Chesterfield</i>, with the goods consigned to St Helena in her. The council asked Fort St George to send for the use of the island 36 pairs of cotton stockings of different sizes, to cost about 6s 6d a pair, and 5 pieces of long cloth at 12 pagodas a piece, 5 pieces at 10 pagodas, 5 pieces at 8 pagodas, 20 pieces at 6 pagodas, 5 pieces at 5 pagodas and 20 pieces at 4 pagodas. The rest of the amount left was to be sent in arrack, paddy and rice. The council enclosed the annual list of ships arrival and departure to and from the island. The letter was written from St Helena on 4

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		at 5 Do., and 20 Pieces Do. at 4 Do.; the Rest of the amount in - Arrack Paddy and Rice. Enclosed we send you the Annual List of Ships Arrival and Departure to and from this Place. We are Honorable Sir & Sirs. your most hble. Servants (signed) Charles Hutchinson St. Helena John Adamson 4th. July 1757. John Clark To the Honorable Roger Drake Esqr. President and Governor &ca. Council of Bengall. Honorable Sir & Sirs. We wrote to you last by the Oxford under - Date of 31st. May 1756, and have since received yours of the 23. February 1757 by the Delawar, with the Goods Consigned to us in her.	July 1757 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The Governor and council also wrote to Roger Drake, President and Governor, and the council of Bengal. They had written to Bengal last by the <i>Oxford</i> on 31 May 1756, and had since received theirs of 23 February 1757 by the <i>Delaware</i>, with the goods consigned to St Helena in her. Interpretations The island ordered its cloth from Fort St George graded by price in pagodas, from long cloth at 12 pagodas a piece down to 4, which shows how the settlement drew its textiles from the Coromandel coast in a controlled range of qualities. St Helena had no cloth of its own and depended on the Madras presidency to supply it, ordering by the standard grades of the Indian cotton trade and paying in the pagoda money of that coast, so the wardrobe of the garrison and its slaves was clothed from the looms of southern India. The instruction to send the balance in arrack, paddy and rice rather than more goods shows the council managing a running account with Fort St George in provisions as well as manufactures. Having named the cloth and stockings it wanted, the council directed that whatever credit remained be filled with the staples the island most needed, so a single order combined the finished goods of the coast with the bulk food on which the settlement lived, the whole set against the sums the two presidencies held to each other account. The letters themselves, carefully noting each earlier despatch and the ship that carried it, reveal the machinery of Company correspondence across the Indian Ocean. Every letter opened by acknowledging the last sent and last received, naming the vessel and date, so that both ends could track which messages had arrived and which might be lost, a discipline made necessary because letters travelled only as fast as ships and any packet might founder on the long passage between the settlements.
297	292	4th. July We desire you will send us for the use of this Island, 4 Maunds Wax Candles, 100 pieces of Peescotees, and the rest of the 1 p Cent in Arrack. Rice, & Paddy. Enclosed we send you the Annual List of the Arrival and departure of Ships to & from this place. We are Honorable Sir & Sirs your most humble Servants. (Signed) St. Helena Charles Hutchinson 4th. July 1757. John Adamson John Clark. To the Honorable Richard Bouchier Esqr. President & Governor &ca. Council of Bombay. Honorable Sir & Sirs. We wrote to you by the Oxford under date of 31. May 1756, and have since received yours of 21. January - 1757 by the Hector and Clinton, with the Goods Consigned to us - in those Ships. We desire you will send us for this Place One hundred pieces of Chelloes, and the rest of the One p Cent in Rice and Paddy. Enclosed we send you the Annual List of Ships Arrival and departure to and from this Island. We herewith transmit to you an Invoice -	The Governor and council asked the council of Bengal to send for the use of the island 4 maunds of wax candles, 100 pieces of doosooties, and the rest of the amount in arrack, rice and paddy. They enclosed the annual list of ships arrival and departure to and from the island. The letter was written from St Helena on 4 July 1757 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The Governor and council wrote to Richard Bouchier, President and Governor, and the council of Bombay. They had written to Bombay by the <i>Oxford</i> on 31 May 1756, and had since received theirs of 31 January 1757 by the <i>Hector</i> and <i>Clinton</i>, with the goods consigned to St Helena in those ships. The council asked Bombay to send for the island 100 pieces of chelloes, and the rest of the amount in rice and paddy. They enclosed the annual list of ships arrival and departure to and from the island. The council also sent Bombay an invoice for 44 quilts which Bombay had consigned for the use of the Honourable Company factory at Tellicherry, and which had been brought to St Helena by mistake. The letter was written from St Helena on 4 July 1757 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Each of the three presidencies was asked for a different mix of goods according to what it produced, which shows the island drawing on the several coasts of India for distinct supplies. Bengal was to send wax candles and doosooties, a coarse Bengal cotton cloth, while Bombay was asked for chelloes, the striped cotton of the western coast, each ordered from the region that made it. St Helena thus stood at the

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		for 40 Quilts which you Consigned for the use of the Honorable Companys Factory at Tellicherry, and was brought hither by Mistake. We are Honorable Sir and Sirs. your most humble Servants St. Helena (Signed) Charles Hutchinson 4th. July 1757. John Adamson John Clark	meeting point of the Indian textile trades, clothing and lighting itself from Bengal, Madras and Bombay at once, and settling the balance of every order in the same staples of arrack, rice and paddy. The misdirected quilts show how easily cargo went astray in a trade that moved goods through many hands across the ocean. A consignment meant for the factory at Tellicherry on the Malabar coast had been carried instead to St Helena, and the council could only note the error, return an invoice and leave Bombay to reclaim the goods. Correcting such a mistake took months because it could only be done by letter carried on the next ship, so a single misrouting tied up goods and correspondence across the whole span of the Company world before it could be put right.
298	293	1757. To George Scott Esqr. the Honorable Companys - President &ca. Council at Anjengo. Sir & Sirs We received yours of the 20th. February 1757 by the Ships Hector and Clinton. Nine of the ten Men Slaves you transported on those Ships to this Island came safe to us. One - of which having died in the passage, the other Nine we received - and Cloathed, Since their Arrival five of them hanged themselves, and one died: We therefore desire that you will not for the future send hither any delinquents of that kind, as they will be of no Service, but an Expence to the Honorable Company - We are Sir & Sirs. your most humble Servants (Signed) St. Helena Charles Hutchinson 4th. July 1757. John Adamson John Clark. To the Worshipful the Supravisor or Deputy Govr. & Council for the time being of Fort Marlborough. Worshipful Sir & Sirs. We received your Letter of the 21th. February 1757 p Oxford, with the Sugar you Consigned to us, we desire you will send us the same Quantity by the first opportunity for the use of this Island. We have taken out of the Ship Falmouth One - Chest of the Honorable Companys Treasure No. 386 for the use of - this Island, and have given the Captain a Receipt for the same. Enclosed you will receive the Falmouths Charterparty, Victualling Bill, and Manifest of Goods, with the Arrival & departure of Ships to and from this place. We are Worshipfull Sir & Sirs your most humble Servants (Signed) St. Helena Charles Hutchinson 4th. July 1757. John Adamson John Clark	The Governor and council wrote to George Scott, the Honourable Company President, and the council at Anjengo. They had received his of 20 February 1757 by the ships <i>Hector</i> and <i>Clinton</i>. Nine of the ten men slaves transported on those ships to the island came safely, one having died on the passage. The other nine were received and clothed. Since their arrival five of them hanged themselves and one died. The council therefore asked that Anjengo would not for the future send any delinquents of that kind, as they would be of no service but an expense to the Honourable Company. The letter was written from St Helena on 4 July 1757 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The Governor and council wrote to the Supervisor or Deputy Governor and council for the time being of Fort Marlborough. They had received their letter of 21 February 1757 by the <i>Oxford</i>, with the sugar consigned to St Helena, and asked that they would send the same quantity by the first opportunity for the use of the island. The council had taken out of the ship <i>Falmouth</i> one chest of the Honourable Company treasure, numbered 386, for the use of the island, and had given the captain a receipt for it. They enclosed the <i>Falmouth</i> charter party, victualling bill and manifest of goods, with the list of the arrival and departure of ships to and from the island. The letter was written from St Helena on 4 July 1757 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The letter to Anjengo lays bare what lay behind the stock account entry of five Malabar slaves who hanged themselves in a single month. These were men sent from Anjengo as delinquents, people transported to the island as a punishment, and the council objected to receiving them not on any humane ground but because they were of no service and an expense to the Company. The mass suicide is here named as the reaction of men shipped against their will to a distant island as convicts, and the council answer was to ask that no more such be sent, treating a wave of self destruction purely as a matter of cost and usefulness. The council request that Anjengo send no more such people reveals St Helena being used as a penal destination for the western settlements, a place to which the Indian factories could banish those they wished to be rid of. That the council resisted the practice shows a tension within the Company own system, one station disposing of unwanted men by shipping them to another, and the receiving end protesting that broken and unwilling labour cost more than it yielded. The episode marks the island as a dumping ground as well as a supply station in the working of the Company empire. The chest of treasure taken from the <i>Falmouth</i> under a numbered receipt shows the careful control

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			of specie moving through the island. Bullion and coin travelled in numbered chests, and a chest drawn for the island use was signed for and recorded by number, so that the Company could trace every parcel of treasure across the whole voyage from India to England. This accounting discipline over money in transit was the counterpart to the loose and brutal reckoning applied to the people the same ships carried.
299	294	4th. July We this Day received the following Letters from the Commanders of the Honorable Companys Ships - Griffin, Stormont and Oxford vizt. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor of St. Helena &ca. Council. Sir & Sirs As we have very little Salt Provisions on Board, I beg the favour of you to let me have 9 Casks of - Beef and Pork out of the Honorable Companys Stores, not being able to proceed to Sea without it. I am July 4th. Gentlemen yr. most Obedt. hble. Sert. Please to order me one (Signed) Thos. Dethick Doyen of Sheep on - Wednesday next. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr. &ca. Council. Sir & Sirs By the length of my passage from China, & Some of my outward bound Provisions proving bad, I find - upon a strict examination this day, that I must request of you to be supplied out of the Honorable Companys Store, at least with eight Casks of Salt Provisions, besides 10 or 12 live Cattle, Two hundred Weight of Flour, and four Casks of Bisket. I hope you will comply with this request, having wrote in for the - small quantity necessary, and what I cannot proceed to Sea without. I must also request that you will favour me with - two or three Chaldron of Coals, being much in want of them - for my Forge & Firing. I am with great respect. Worshipfull Sir & Sirs. St. Helena your most Obedient humble Servant July 4th. 1757. (Signed) Josiah Hindman To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena. Worshipful Sir & Sirs Being short of Salt Provisions, and unable to proceed to Sea without a Supply from the Honorable Companys Stores.	The council received the following letters from the commanders of the Honourable Company ships <i>Griffin</i>, <i>Stormont</i> and <i>Oxford</i>. Thomas Dethick wrote to Governor Charles Hutchinson and the council. Having very little salt provisions on board, he asked to have 9 casks of beef and pork out of the Honourable Company stores, not being able to proceed to sea without it. He added a request that the council order him one dozen sheep on the Wednesday following. The letter was dated 4 July. Josiah Hindman wrote to Governor Charles Hutchinson and the council. By the length of his passage from China, and some of his outward bound provisions proving bad, he found on a strict examination that day that he must be supplied out of the Honourable Company store, at least with 8 casks of salt provisions, besides 10 or 12 live cattle, 200 pounds of flour and 4 casks of biscuit. He hoped the council would comply, having asked only for the small quantity necessary, and what he could not proceed to sea without. He also asked to be favoured with two or three chaldrons of coals, being much in want of them for his forge and firing. The letter was written from St Helena on 4 July 1757. A further commander wrote to Governor Charles Hutchinson and the council, being short of salt provisions and unable to proceed to sea without a supply from the Honourable Company stores. Interpretations The three letters all turn on the same want, salt provisions to see the ships home, which shows how far the homeward China and India fleet depended on St Helena to make good the failures of its own victualling. Outward provisions had rotted on the long voyage, and a ship could not sail for England without meat that would keep, so the island store became the last chance to reprovision before the Atlantic passage. That every commander wrote the same day, each pleading he could not proceed without a supply, marks the island as the indispensable victualling station of the whole eastern trade. Hindman request for coals for his forge and firing points to the constant ironwork a wooden ship needed to keep at sea. A chaldron of coal fed the ship forge, where the armourer and smith made and mended the iron fastenings, tools and fittings that a long voyage wore out, so a homeward Indianman had to carry fuel as well as food. The island, which had no coal of its own and could only pass on what ships brought, was being asked to spare fuel from a stock as precious as its provisions, a further mark of how every consumable was fought over in the road. The commanders wrote formally to the Governor and council rather than simply drawing what they needed, which shows that the island stores were not open to the ships at will. A captain had to petition in writing, state his want and the reason for it, and leave the council to grant or refuse from a store that had its own garrison to feed, so the reprovisioning of the fleet was a negotiated act of administration, each request weighed against what the island could spare and entered in the record like any other charge on the Company.

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300	295	1757. I request ye will be pleased to order the delivery of four Casks of Beef and four Casks of Pork for the use of my Ship Oxford - Moreover I shall be extreamly obliged to you to spare me four Barrills of Powder, if - attended with no inconvenience to the Garrison. I am St. Helena Sir & Sirs. July 4th. 1757. your Obedient & most humble Servant Tho. Stevens The Ship Delawar brought us the following - Supply vizt. Invoice p Ship Delawar Batavia Arrack 4 Leagures a 110 dks. p Leagr. 440 Batts. 8 p Cent 35.53 475 3s 3d Sugar Fine 20 Bags p Wt. 33.25.8 a 6.7.12 p Wt. 260 11s 0d Rice Fine 75 Bags p 150 Wt. a 33.12 p Ct. 177 12s 0d Wax Candles 2 Chests p Wt. 4 a 8.5 p Wt. 340 0s 0d Paddy 35 Bags p Wt. 32.14.8 a 1.30 p Ct. 29 15s 0d Charges Merchandize 205 Gunny Bags a Ah. 14 p 31 0s 0d 3 Gunnys 12 0s 0d 5 Jute Rope 6 0s 0d Do. Twine 1 0s 0d 1 pr. Bastos 2 11s 6d 2 Empty Chests for Wax Candles 4 5s 0d Duckers Work and Victuals 1 4s 3d Coolys 3 2s 0d Soldier and Peons diet 5 8s 9d Boat hire 18 14s 6d 65 12s 0d Errors Excepted Current Rupees (Signed) 1549 5s 3d Rich. Beecher Accompt Granted the several Requests of the above mentioned Captains of Ships for Provisions and Coals, and acquainted them that they should have what live Cattle could be spared, upon their Sailing Mr. John Goodwin presented the following Petition vizt.	Thomas Stevens asked the council to order the delivery of 4 casks of beef and 4 casks of pork for the use of his ship <i>Oxford</i>, and added that he would be much obliged if they would spare him 4 barrels of powder, if it could be done with no inconvenience to the garrison. The letter was written from St Helena on 4 July 1757. The ship <i>Delaware</i> brought the following supply, set out in an invoice with the values in rupees. Batavia arrack, 4 leaguers, 110 gallons per leaguer, 440 gallons, at 8 per cent, bottles 3533, rupees 475, mace 3, candareens 3 Sugar, fine, 20 bags, per bag 33 pounds 2 quarters 8 pounds, at 7 rupees 12 per bag, rupees 260, mace 11 Rice, fine, 75 bags, at 150 pounds, at 33 rupees 12 per hundredweight, rupees 171, mace 12 Wax candles, 2 chests, rupees 340 Paddy, 35 bags, per bag 33 pounds 12 pounds 8, at 1 rupee 30 per hundredweight, rupees 29, mace 15 Charges on merchandise: 205 gunny bags at 14 per hundred, rupees 31 5 gunnys, rupees 12 5 jute rope, rupees 6 Jute twine, rupees 1 Twine, rupees 2, mace 11, candareens 6 1 pair scales, rupees 4, mace 5 2 empty chests for wax candles, rupees 1, mace 4, candareens 3 Dubash work and victuals, rupees 3, mace 2 Coolies, rupees 5, mace 3, candareens 9 Soldier and peons diet, rupees 18, mace 14, candareens 6 Boat hire, rupees 65, mace 12 Errors excepted, current rupees 549, mace 5, candareens 3 Signed by Richard Beecher, accountant The council granted the several requests of the commanders for provisions and coals, and told them they should have what live cattle could be spared, upon their sailing. Mr John Goodwin presented a petition to the council. Interpretations The <i>Delaware</i> invoice records Batavia arrack, the spirit distilled at the Dutch port of Batavia on Java, measured by the leaguer, a large Dutch liquid cask. That a cargo from Bengal on a Company ship should carry arrack of Batavia origin shows how goods circulated around the whole eastern trade before reaching the island, Dutch spirit bought or shipped through the Bengal settlements and carried on to St Helena, so the drink on the island came by a longer and more tangled route than its simple entry in the store book suggests. The charges on merchandise open a window on the labour that moved goods at the Indian end, naming coolies, peons and a dubash among the costs. A dubash was an Indian agent or interpreter who handled dealings between the Company and local traders, peons were the messengers and guards of the settlement, and coolies the porters who carried the loads. Charging their work and diet into the invoice shows the Company loading the full cost of Indian labour onto the price of every consignment, so the recorded value of the goods landed at St Helena carried within it the wages of the people who had packed and moved them thousands of miles away. The council answer to the crowd of requests, that the ships should have what live cattle could be spared upon their sailing, shows the island rationing its herds against competing demands. With several ships in the road all pleading for provisions, the council could not meet every want at once and held back the live cattle until each ship was ready to leave, so that the beasts were not consumed in port and the

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			scarce supply was stretched across the whole fleet. This was the management of a finite resource under pressure, the plantation herd doled out at the last moment to the ships that most needed it.
301	296	4th. July To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena. The Petition of John Goodwin. Sheweth That whereas your Petitioner is now - selling of all his Effects on this Island, begs he may - have leave to dispose of the Leasehold Land he now possesses on it. And your Petitioner will ever pray (Signed) St. Helena John Goodwin July 4th. 1757. Granted. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark. At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th. day of July 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor. John Adamson Lieutenant Governor. Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Dated the 4th. July 1757. Saturday the 9th. in the Evening arrived his Majesty Ship the Colchester Yesterday died Daniel Hayes a Taylor. Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on Board the Ships Stormont, Griffin, Harcourt, Delawar and Oxford, to muster their several Ships Companys, and to enquire for Deserters, but found none, their Muster - Rolls are as follow vizt.	John Goodwin petitioned Governor Charles Hutchinson and the council. He was selling all his effects on the island and asked leave to dispose of the freehold land he held on it. The petition was written from St Helena on 4 July 1757 and signed by John Goodwin. It was granted, and the order signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 11 July 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 4 July 1757, was read, approved and signed. On Saturday 9 July in the evening His Majesty ship the <i>Colchester</i> arrived. The day before, Daniel Hayes, an Italian, died. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ships <i>Stormont</i>, <i>Griffin</i>, <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Delaware</i> and <i>Oxford</i> to muster their several companies and to enquire for deserters, but found none. Their muster rolls followed. Interpretations Goodwin sought leave to sell his freehold before quitting the island, which shows that private land on St Helena could not be disposed of without the council consent. The Company granted land to settlers on condition, and a holder who wished to sell and leave had first to ask permission, so that the council kept control over who held ground on the island and could refuse a transfer it disliked. Goodwin petition and its grant mark the limit on private property in a settlement where the Company remained the ultimate landlord. The muster of five ships at once confirms how many vessels of the homeward trade lay in the road together in these July weeks. Lieutenant Clark boarded each in turn to check its company and search for deserters, the same guard against desertion applied ship by ship, since the island offered a tempting bolt hole to a discontented seaman and the Company could not let its crews melt away at a mid ocean call. The clean report of no deserters across the whole fleet was the record that every ship could sail with its full complement.
302	297	Muster Roll of the Ship Stormont Josiah Hindman Comand. Rich. Morrison Chf. Mate Sherman Wall 2 Do. Charles Moers 3 Do. James Wood 4 Do. Thomas Cock 5 Do. Benjt. Cornelison Purser James Wrimsly Surgeon Willm. Terry Gunner John Williams Carpenter. Jas. Morpith Midshipn. James Dunbar Do. Fra. Rt. Wooldenil Do. Robert Herle Do. Josiah Hindman Do. Wind. Peterson 2 Mast. Daniel Shofford Willm. Baker Do. Mich. Anderson Do. Jos. Brown Carps. Mate Alexr. Wine Do. John Buck Boatswn. Robt. Buchanan 2 Mate James Rogers 2 Do. Francis Dillon Caulker	The muster roll of the ship <i>Stormont</i> was: Josiah Hindman, commander Richard Morrison, chief mate Sherman Watt, second mate Charles Moers, third mate James Ward, fourth mate Thomas Cock, fifth mate Benjamin Cornelison, purser James Wrimsly, surgeon William Terry, gunner John Williams, carpenter James Morpith, midshipman James Dunbar Thomas Woolstenholme Robert Herle Josiah Hindman Andrew Peterson, second mate Daniel Shofford William Baker Michael Anderson Joseph Brown, carpenter's mate Alexander Vino John Buck, boatswain Robert Buchannan, boatswain's mate James Rogers Francis Dillon, caulker

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		John Matthews Cooper Richard Innes Sailmakr. James Doran Shs. Stew. Rich. Gibbet Caps. Do. John Reynolds 2 Cook Robt. Wilson Shs. Do. Jos. Dunnovan Armorer Nath. Wollaston Surg. Mate Thos. Whitaker Caulkr. Wm. Smith Barber Thos. Everett Taylor Chris. Buckingham Butchr. Thos. Harris Guns. Mate Edw. Soward Seaman Alexr. Hackney Do. Rich. Walker Do. John Ledger Do. James Dawers Do. Samuel Clark Do. John Stokes Do. William Samson Do. James Jamison Do. Thos. Walters Do. Joseph Rogers Do. Arch. Hamilton Do. Rich. Smith Do. James Paulson Do. John Giddis Do. John Gillis Do. John Fletcher Do. John Sawyers Do. Robert Curtis Do. John James Do. John Still Do. Henry Phillips Do. Rich. Legal Do. John Johnson Do. Thomas Lodwick Do. John Harlock Do. Nicholas Omer Do. Richard Hodges Do. James Dofley Do. John Gun Do. William Single Do. William Dent Do. John Waite Seaman Henry Mason Do. James Hughes Do. Thomas Elmsley Do. John Lucen Do. John Powell Do. Henry Tispill Do. John Lowe Do. John Brent Do. John Webb Capt. Servt. Wm. Julen Chf. Mates Do. John Spuk 2 Do. Do. Wm. Hall Surgt. Do. Robt. Shepperd Guns. Do. Watson Clayton Carps. Do. John Smith Boats. Do. Charles Mc. Alsin Seamn. Henry Williams Do. John Thacker Do. Chris. Packar Do. Thomas Drinkee Do. Henry Buck Do. John Arrenks Do. Closk Brinkman Do. Chris. Strife Do. Cornelius Linck Do. John Linguist Do. Simon Sawcer Do. Mich. Gorrontven Do. Supercargoes Thomas Shore Esqr.	John Matthews, cooper Richard Innes, sailmaker James Doran, steward Richard Gibbet, cook John Reynolds, cook's mate Robert Belfrey, steward Joseph Dunnavan, armourer Nathaniel Wallister, surgeon's mate Thomas Whitaker, caulker William Smith, barber Thomas Everett, tailor Christopher Buckingham, butcher Thomas Harrial, gunner's mate Andrew Soward, seaman Alexander Stackney Richard Walker John Ledger James Davers Samuel Clark John Stokes William Samson James Jamison Thomas Walters Joseph Rogers Uriah Hamilton Richard Smith James Raulson John Giddis John Gillis John Fletcher John Sawyers Robert Curtis John James John Mill Henry Phillips Richard Legal John Johnson Thomas Lodwick John Harlock Nicholas Owen Richard Hodges James Dosley John Gun William Single William Dent John Waite, seaman Henry Mowson James Hughes Thomas Elmesley John Lucon John Powell Henry Fusill John Lowe John Brent John Webb, captain's servant William John, chief mate's servant John Spuk William Hall, surgeon Robert Shepherd, gunner's servant Watson Clayton, carpenter's servant John Smith, boatswain's servant Charles McAlain, seaman Henry Williams John Thacker Christopher Parkar Thomas Drinkee Henry Buck John Arrenks Clesh Brinkman Christopher Strife Cornelius Linch John Linguist Simon Sawser Michael Gerrantoen The supercargoes were: Thomas Shore

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		John Searle Esqr. Willm. Marklee Servt. to Mr. Searle. Muster Roll of the Ship Griffin Thos. Dethick Command. Chas. Hudson Chf. Mate Clements 2 Do. Robt. Oxdale 3 Do. Thos. Sale 4 Do. Green Despard 5 Do. James Nasmyth Surg. Danl. Martin Purser John Wylie Gunr. David Elphinston Boats. Thos. Cock Carpenter John Clark Cooks Mate Thos. Miller Midshipman Bennet Hopkins Do. Jas. Mitchell Do.	John Searle William Markbee, servant to Mr Searle The muster roll of the ship <i>Griffin</i> was: Thomas Dethick, commander Charles Hudson, chief mate Clements, second mate Robert Oxlade, third mate Thomas Lisle, fourth mate Green Despard, fifth mate James Harmyth, surgeon Daniel Martin, doctor John Wylie, gunner David Elphinston, boatswain Thomas Cock, carpenter John Clark, caulker Thomas Miller, midshipman Bennet Hoskins David Mitchell Interpretations The <i>Stormont</i> roll carries several men rated to trades that a lesser ship might do without, a barber and a linguist among them. A ship of this size on the China voyage carried a linguist to interpret in the eastern ports and a barber who doubled as a rough surgeon for the crew, which shows how a large Indiaman was a self contained community that had to supply from within every service its people needed on a voyage of many months, far from any town. The mustering of supercargoes apart from the ship company marks the division between the men who sailed the ship and the men who managed her trade. The supercargoes were the Company commercial officers who bought and sold the cargo, travelling with their own servants and answerable for the goods rather than the navigation, so they stood outside the ship discipline and were counted separately. Their presence on the roll shows that a Company ship carried two chains of command at once, one for the sea and one for the trade, meeting only in the common voyage.
303	298	11th. July Rich. Kerney Midshn. John Castle Caulker John Read Ships Stew. Rich. Burt Capt. Do. Robt. Munro Serj. Mate Chas. Butcher Cooper Geo. Allen Capt. Clerk Wm. Farr Armorer Saml. Johnson 2 Mate Alexr. Hutton 2 Do. Mast. Sam. Mc. Cordie Do. Thomas Johnson Do. Andrew Mitchel Do. John Wood Joiner Wm. Barker Caps. Cook Thos. Dermore Ms. Do. Jacob Wichman 2 Do. Jos. Smith Boats. 2 Do. John Munro Caulk. 2 Do. Charles Wright Taylor John Chesel Barber Thos. Cressers Bukk. Alexr. Little Baker John Stevenson Seaman John Howard Do. Jno. Steward Do. Gabriel Francis Do. John Brown Do. William Beard Seaman Benjt. Board Do. Jos. Clark Do. Mark Robinson Do. Andrew Croof Do. William Black Do.	The muster roll of the ship <i>Griffin</i> continued: Richard Kerney, midshipman John Castle, caulker John Read, ship's steward Richard Burt, captain's servant Robert Munro, surgeon's mate Charles Butcher, cooper George Allen, captain's clerk William Tarr, armourer Samuel Johnson, second mate Alexander Hutton, second master Samuel McCurdie Thomas Robinson Andrew Mitchell John Wood, joiner William Rooker, captain's cook Thomas Dinmore Jacob Wickman John Smith, boatswain's mate John Munson, caulker Charles Wright, tailor John Chown, butcher Thomas Deacon, butcher Alexander Little, baker John Stevenson, seaman John Howard John Steward Gabriel Francis John Brown William Beard, seaman Benjamin Beard John Clark Mark Robinson Andrew Croof William Black

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		David Williams Do. Willm. Lindsey Do. Wm. Berry Do. John Nornell Do. John Manson Do. John Clarey Do. Thos. Clements Do. Peter Burn Do. Matthew Dixon Do. James Burr Do. Robt. Davenport Do. Geo. Kitchen Do. Wm. Smith Do. Hans Webstrund Do. Hendrick Wright Do. Magnus Ogelvy Do. James Curby Do. Thomas Whitlow Do. Geo. Gracenar Do. Thomas Palmer Do. Benjt. Walker Do. Rich. Birmingham Do. John Starkie Seaman Wm. Moore Do. Torrton. Cooper Do. John Hill Do. Thos. Spilsby Do. Thos. West Do. Jos. Marlin Do. Edward Cobb Do. John Holmes Do. Thos. Clerk Do. Jos. Richardson Do. John Ballour Do. Wm. Mc. Kiver Do. Thos. Godfrey Cs. Servt. Geo. Burris Chf. Mates Do. Geo. Purk 2 Do. Do. Geo. Rand Carps. Do. Thos. Drake Boats. Do. Wm. Farr Gunrs. Do. Rd. Hetherington Surg. Do. Henry Littleton Do. James Samson Supracargoes Mr. Fitzhugh Mr. Irwin Servants John Harvey John Murphy. Muster Roll of Ship Harcourt William Webber Comr. Henry Fletcher Chf. Mate William Webber 2 Do. John Prince 3 Do. Wm. Gould 4 Do. Thos. Rouse 5 Do. John Stevens 6 Do. Robt. Brooks Purser John Ashwood Surg. John Williard Gunr. Rich. Darvill Carpr. Isaac Munday Boats. Henry Simmons Shs. Stew. John Ridley Caps. Do. John Wheatley Caulkr. William Brake Cooper Robt. Fool Sailmaker Jno. Slade Midshipman George Webber Do. Simon Webber Do. Peter Bearsley Do. St. Lewis 2 Master Joseph Dowis Do. James Brown Do. James Coulter Do.	David Williams William Lindsey William Terry John Roswell John Manson John Clavey Thomas Clements Peter Burn Matthew Dixon James Burr Robert Davenport George Kitchen William Smith Hans Webstruint Hendrick Wright Magnus Ogelvy James Coult Thomas Whittow George Grocenor Thomas Palmer Benjamin Walker Richard Birmingh John Starkie, seaman William Moore Torrington Cooper John Hill Thomas Spilsby Thomas West John Martin Edward Cobb John Holmes Thomas Clark John Richardson John Ballour William McKiver Thomas Godfrey, captain's servant George Burrs, chief mate's servant George Dark, second mate's servant George Fiend, caulker's servant Thomas Drake, boatswain's servant William Tarr, gunner's servant Richard Wetherington, surgeon's servant Henry Littleton James Samson The supercargoes were: Mr Fitzhugh Mr Ivim The servants were: John Harvey John Murphy The muster roll of the ship <i>Harcourt</i> was: William Webber, senior, commander Henry Fletcher, chief mate William Webber, second mate John Prince, third mate William Gould, fourth mate Thomas Rouse, fifth mate John Stevens, sixth mate Robert Brooks, purser John Ashwood, surgeon John Hilliard, gunner Richard Darvill, carpenter Isaac Munday, boatswain Henry Simmons, ship's steward John Ridley, captain's servant John Wheatley, caulker William Brake, cooper Robert Fool, sailmaker John Slade, midshipman George Webber Simon Webber Peter Bearsley St Lewis, second master Joseph Davis James Brown James Coulter

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		Jos. Salback Surg. Mate Wm. Keay Guns. Do. Jno. Dickinson Carps. Do. Wm. Hobbs Caps. Do. 2 Mate Jos. Cassidy Boats. Do. Do. Thos. Pollard Coopers Do. Isaac Rothbone Caulk. 2 Do. Wm. Horn Capt. Cook Jno. Mc. Cornel Shs. Do. Andrew Hume Armorer John Walker Seaman Evan Janes Do. Robt. Bracon Do. John Sutton Do. Arthur Gore Do. James Hinsman Do. Wm. Tift Do.	John Salthouse, surgeon's mate William Reay, gunner's mate John Dickinson, carpenter's mate William Hobbs, captain's second servant Lewis Cassidy, boatswain's mate Thomas Pollard, cooper's mate Isaac Rathbone, caulker's mate William Horn, captain's cook William Cornel, third mate's servant Andrew Hume, armourer John Walker, seaman Evan Janes Robert Bracon John Sutton Arthur Gore James Hinsman William Tift Interpretations The <i>Griffin</i> roll shows the long tail of servants attached to the ship officers, each mate, the gunner, the caulker, the boatswain and the surgeon carrying a personal servant rated by his master post. This was the settled order of an Indiaman, where rank brought the right to a servant found and fed at the Company charge, so the crew list ran well beyond the working hands to include the whole household of the officers, a mark of the hierarchy that governed life aboard as firmly as any rule of the sea. The presence of foreign names among the seamen, a Hans and a Hendrick alongside the English and Scots, points again to how a homeward crew was made up from whatever hands could be found. Northern European sailors were common in the eastern trade, signed on at the ports or taken in to replace men lost, so a British Indiaman returning from India carried a mixed company drawn from the seafaring nations of the northern seas as well as from home.
304	299	1757. John Saunders Seaman John Martin Do. John Clark Do. Henry Carsten Do. John Grave Do. Thos. Elliott Do. Willm. Lee Do. Saml. Stock Do. Luci. Denn Do. James Linsley Do. Alexr. Grant Do. John Garsh Do. Elias Struttner Do. Hans Handerson Do. Wm. Crofts Do. Niles Falcher Do. John Ennis Do. David Wight Do. William Barn Do. Isaac Lascells Do. Erick Fadergreen Do. James Anderson Seaman Peter Seagorst Do. Pat. Watson Do. Willm. Halley Do. Paul Paulson Do. George Harvey Do. Hans Prick Post Do. Thomas Garbet Do. Math. Venture Do. Geo. Clapham Do. Wm. Anderson Do. Henry Blanca Do. Rich. Knight Do. Chris. Day Do. Peter Doterson Do.	The muster roll of the ship <i>Harcourt</i> continued: John Saunders, seaman John Martin John Clark Henry Carsten John Grove Thomas Elliott William Lee Samuel Stock Lucas Denn James Linsley Alexander Grant John Garsh Elias Strutner Hans Handerson William Crofts Niles Fulcher John Ennis David Wight William Barn Isaac Lascells Erick Fadergreen James Anderson, seaman Peter Seagorshead Daniel Watson William Halley Paul Daulson George Harvey Hans Frick, boatswain Thomas Garbet Nathaniel Venture George Clapham William Anderson Henry Blanca Richard Knight Christopher Day Peter Dickeson

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		Wm. Gray Do. Maurice Murphey Do. Benjt. Fee Do. Nich. Giles Do. Evan Axall Do. John Austin Seaman Thomas Bower Do. John Wood Do. Corn. Forwey Do. Lucas Vandeshide Do. John Comb. Kent Do. George Titcomb Do. John Applegrime Do. Devonshire Caps. Servt. John Peddin Ch. Mates Do. Thos. Butler 2 Do. Wm. Isherwood Surg. Do. Wm. Lee Carpr. Do. John Darrock Boats. Do. John Dumbleton Gunrs. Do. James Smallwood. James Denning Mary Church. David Dippeth Ss. Cargo Robt. Market 2 Do. Rich. White Ch. 2 Elizabeth. John Eames 2 Do. Muster Roll of the Ship Oxford Thomas Stevens Comr. Henry Riddall Chf. Mate Thos. Browne 2 Do. Francis Smith 3 Do. Augustus Faager 4 Do. Wm. Justice 5 Do. Thos. Morgan 5 Do. John Reed Gunner David Leighton Boats. John Todd Carpenter Thos. Scott Surg. John Alexander Purser Alexr. Slattery Midshn. Peter Drawett Do. Rich. Bennett Do. Steph. Rowley 2 Mast. Henry Glass Do. Robt. Eccleston Do. Jos. Cook Cooper John Sumner Caulker John Loyal Armorer George Sp. Ding Caps. Cook William Walton Ships Do. Samuel Higgs Butcher Peter Butler Caps. Stew. Richard Deudac Ships Do. James Bowans Guns. Mate Thos. Beale Coopr. Do. Chas. Pearce Caulker Do. Bernard Walsh Boats. Do. Willm. Smith Coopers Do. Wm. Grey Surg. Mate Ms. Smith Jos. Allen Seaman Willm. Williams Do. John Barkham Do. Daniel Wade Do. David Sibbald Do. Wm. Kingsbury Do. Ralph Ellison Do. Willm. Parry Do. Wm. Parry Do. Peter Cless Do. Robt. Campbell Seaman Jos. Buxton Do. Chas. Stewart Do. Jos. Botterley Do. Nich. Lowther Do. James Miles Do. James Welsh Do.	William Gray Maurice Murphy Benjamin Ice Nicholas Giles Evan Axall John Austin, seaman Thomas Bower John Ward Cornelius Forwey Lucas Vandershide John Comb, first George Titcomb John Applegrime Devonshire, captain's servant John Preddin, chief mate's servant Thomas Butler William Sherwood, surgeon William Lucas, cooper John Darrock, boatswain John Dumbleton, gunner James Smallwood James Danning, Mary's church Edward Fippett, supercargo Robert Markbee Richard White, Elizabeth's church John Eames The muster roll of the ship <i>Oxford</i> was: Thomas Stevens, commander Henry Riddall, chief mate Charles Browne, second mate Francis Smith, third mate Augustus Faozen, fourth mate William Justice, fifth mate Thomas Morgan, sixth mate John Read, gunner David Leighton, boatswain John Todd, carpenter Thomas Scott, surgeon John Alexander, purser Alexander Slattery, midshipman Peter Drawett Richard Bennett Stephen Rowley, second master Henry Glass Robert Eccleston Joseph Cook, cooper John Somner, caulker John Loyal, armourer George Adiney, captain's cook William Walton, ship's steward Samuel Higgs, butcher Peter Butler, captain's steward Richard Deodac, ship's cook James Bevans, gunner's mate Thomas Beoles, cooper's mate Charles Pearce, caulker Bernard Walsh, boatswain's mate William Smith, cooper William Grey, surgeon's mate Joseph Allen, seaman William Williams John Barkham Daniel Wade David Sibbald William Kingsbury Ralph Ellison William Parry William Parry Peter Cross Robert Campbell, seaman Joseph Buxton Charles Stewart Joseph Botterley Nicholas Lowther James Miles James Welsh

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		Wm. Jeaffe Do. George Thampson Do. Wm. Knight Do. John Armstrong Do. John Stevenson Do. John Selby Do. Jack Lowrie Do. Peter Halyan Do. Thos. Gouge Do. Mark Murphy Do. John Michul Do. John Mruzee Do. Stauff. Muichl Do. Jacob Lethick Do.	William Jauffe George Thompson William Knight John Armstrong John Strannon John Selby Nicholas Lawrie Peter Halyar Thomas Gouge Mark Murphy John Michnul John Muzee Stauff Muichl Jacob Lethick Interpretations Two men of the <i>Harcourt</i> were entered against the names of churches, one to Mary church and one to Elizabeth church, which marks them as having some tie to a parish rather than the ordinary rating of a seaman. Such a note usually meant a man taken on charity or bound out from a parish that had kept him, the church name recording where his settlement lay, so even the crew of a China ship could include men set to sea by the poor law of an English parish far from any coast. The two ships together carried a striking number of northern European and other foreign seamen, names such as Fadergreen, Seagorshead, Vandershide and Stauff Muichl standing among the English. This confirms once more how thoroughly the homeward Indiaman crews were mixed, the losses of the outward voyage made good at every port with Scandinavian, Dutch and German hands, so that a British fleet victualling at St Helena was manned by a good part of the seafaring peoples of Europe.
305	300	11th. July Jacob Woolfgan Seamn. Daniel Shaflets Do. Nick. Baha Nich. Lambercier Andrew Westesburgh Peter Blanch Christ. Seaman Geo. Arnold Andrew Woolfen John Weeks John Lucas Peter Anderson John Aller Caps. Stew. Geo. Oliver Saml. de Bressen 1 Mates Do. James Smith Surg. Th. Delyn Gardner Gunr. Do. James Todd Carpenters Do. Joseph Bradley Boats. Do. John George Josiah Serother Jacob Donard John Anchorman Stiffold Bourgee Jacob Seamore St. Peter Johnson John Doterson Jacob London John Miller Thos. Widenafeld Nick. Bedrith Francis Woldenburgh Martin Kent Sam. Emanuel. Muster Roll of the Ship Delawar Colwell Fressman Command. Abraham Dicker Chf. Mate Thomas Adams 2 Do. John Fowler 3 Do.	The muster roll of the ship <i>Oxford</i> continued: Jacob Woolfgan, seaman Daniel Shaflets Nicholas Brake Nicholas Lumbercier Andrew Westesburgh Peter Blanch Christopher Sinman George Arnold Andrew Woolfen John Meeks John Lucas Peter Anderson John Allen, captain's steward George Oliver Samuel de Brssens, first mate's steward James Smith, surgeon Adolph Godman, gunner James Fedd, carpenter Joseph Bradley, boatswain John George Joseph Serother Jacob Donard John Anchorman Stafford Burgee Jacob Seamore Peter Johnson John Dickeson Jacob London John Miller Thomas Wedenford Nicholas Bedrith Francis Woldenburgh Martin Kent Samuel Emanuel The muster roll of the ship <i>Delaware</i> was: Colwell Fressman, commander Abraham Dicker, chief mate Thomas Adams, second mate John Fowler, third mate

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		Wm. Hodges 4 Do. John Ford 5 Do. David Brown Purser Cuthbert Peterson Surg. Philip Winford Midshn. John Dickinson John Grainge Carps. David Foster Boats. Barron Wolff Gunr. Wm. Phillips 2 Master George Nichols Do. John Archbold Do. David Sinnett Do. John Slater Caps. Cook James Falconer Caulker Walter Dees Butcher Walter Freeman Cooper Henry Williams Armourer Thos. Borchick Arms. Mate Thos. Clepper Caps. Stew. Thos. Bosworth Boats. Mate Jas. Fairfoot Seaman Wm. Cuzey Do. Wm. Curry Seaman John Bredman Do. Thos. O'Burn Do. Anthony Fedwick Do. Jos. Mc. near Do. Matth. Welsh Do. Gilbert Thompson Do. Henry Hodge Do. Rich. Orr Do. James Brown Do. Joseph Blackham Do. Robt. Briant Do. John Reed Do. John Wilson Do. Benjt. Hughes Do. Nich. Scatton Do. Matth. Barn Do. Edward Taylor Do. Evan. Legate Do. Minard Harkman Do. Matth. Lorg Do. Derick Sions Do. Philip Cleor Do. John Best Do. John Boskill Do. Martin Bregin Do. Frances Abras Do. John Orr Seaman Hendrick Strawn Do. Robt. Jacobs Do. Paul Dorcatt Do. Jules Sabrill Do. John Connap Do. John Buchannon Do. Saml. Oliver Do. Jackson Prendegras Do. John Lyn Do. Thos. Wielthay Do. Henry Collins Do. William Grear Do. Ralph Robinson Gunrs. Servt. Alexr. Bosworth Surg. Do. Wm. Drice Boats. Do. Jno. Castleman Caps. 2 Do. John Lamb Passengers John Young Esqr. Capt. Warwick Lieut. Lambert Master Edwd. Watts Mr. Garigue Mr. Krown Surg. Warwick Lt. Lt. Krittts	William Hodges, fourth mate John Fedd, fifth mate David Brown, purser Cuthbert Petman, surgeon Philip Bruford, midshipman John Dickinson John Grainger, carpenter David Wills, boatswain Barrar Feoff, gunner William Dellpee, second master George Nichols John Archbold David Sinnett John Slater, captain's cook Francis Falkenor, caulker Walter Dees, butcher Walter Freeman, cooper Henry Williams, armourer Richard Simpson, ship's steward Thomas Alspee, captain's steward Thomas Bosworth, boatswain's mate James Fairfoot, seaman William Ousey William Curry, seaman John Bordman Thomas O'Burn Anthony Fedwick John McNear Matthew Welsh Gilbert Thompson Henry Hodge Richard Orr James Brown Joseph Blackham Robert Briant John Reed John Wilson Benjamin Hughes Nicholas Scatton Matthew Barn Edward Taylor Evan Legate Minard Hardman Matthew Lorg Derick Sines Philip Cleon John Best John Deskill Martin Bragin Francis Uleus John Elin, seaman Hendrick Strawn Robert Jacobs David Dorcatt Jules Sabitt John Connap John Buchannon Samuel Elser Jackson Snodgrass John Larr Thomas Wellhay Henry Collins William Grear Ralph Robinson, gunner's servant Aaron Bosworth, surgeon William Drice, boatswain John Castleman, captain's servant John Lamb The passengers were: John Young Captain Warminck Lieutenant Lambert Mr Edward Watts Mr Garigue Mr Brown Sergeant Ruinart, second sergeant

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		Devonshire Ss. Lieut. Lambert	Devonshire, servant to Lieutenant Lambert Interpretations The <i>Delaware</i> carried a body of passengers as well as her crew, among them army officers, a captain, a lieutenant and a sergeant, moving between the Company stations. The Company ships were the only means of passage across its empire, so soldiers posted from one settlement to another travelled as passengers on the trading vessels, and the roll shows the same ship carrying goods, crew and the movement of the Company military establishment all on one voyage. The seamen of the <i>Oxford</i> and <i>Delaware</i> between them show perhaps the most foreign complement of the whole fleet, with names such as Woolfgan, Westesburgh, Lumbercier, Woldenburgh and Samuel Emanuel pointing to German, French, Dutch and other origins. This depth of foreign manning on a homeward Indiaman reflects how heavily the eastern trade drew on the seafaring labour of the whole of Europe, the English Company unable to man its ships from home alone and filling the gaps at every port of the long voyage.
306	301	1757 The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Stores short received from the Ships Oxford, Delawar, Harcourt and Falmouth vizt. Account of Stores short received from the Ship Oxford vizt. C. qrs. lb 0.3.23 Sugar short Weight, the packages being in bad order. Account of Stores short received from the Ship Delawar vizt. Gs. No. 1 1 Leaguer Arrack Gage 155 want to full 10¼ Gs. 2 1 Do. 150 Do. 12 3 1 Do. 155 Do. 15¼ 4 1 Do. 145 Do. 18 605 56 Recd. 549 Gallons C. qrs. lb 1.2.13 Sugar 0.0.4 Candles Short Weight 7.0.9 Paddy 5.0.16 Rice Account of Stores short received from the Ship Harcourt vizt. C. qrs. lb 0.0.21 Candy Short Weight China Ware vizt. 6 Meat dishes 3 Do. Plates 13 Bowls 3 Sneakers Found broke upon opening 2 half pint Cups & Saucers the Packages. 6 Do. ¼ pint Do. & Do. 1 Chamber pot 2 Salled Dishes.	The Storekeeper brought in an account of stores short received from the ships <i>Oxford</i>, <i>Delaware</i>, <i>Harcourt</i> and <i>Falmouth</i>. From the <i>Oxford</i>, 3 hundredweight 23 pounds of sugar were short in weight, the packages being in bad order. From the <i>Delaware</i>, four leaguers of arrack were short of their full gauge: Number 1, 1 leaguer arrack, gauge 155, wanting to fill up 10 and a half Number 2, 1 leaguer, gauge 150, wanting 12 Number 3, 1 leaguer, gauge 155, wanting 15 and a half Number 4, 1 leaguer, gauge 145, wanting 18 Total gauge 605, total wanting 56 Received 549 gallons The following goods from the <i>Delaware</i> were also short in weight: 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 13 pounds sugar, short weight Candles, short weight 7 hundredweight 9 pounds paddy, short weight 5 hundredweight 16 pounds rice, short weight From the <i>Harcourt</i>, 21 hundredweight of sugar candy were short in weight. The following chinaware from the <i>Harcourt</i> was found broken on opening the packages: 6 meat dishes 3 meat plates 13 bowls 3 sneakers 2 half pint cups and saucers 6 quarter pint cups and saucers 1 chamber pot 2 salted dishes Interpretations The arrack account shows the careful gauging by which the island checked liquid cargo against loss on the voyage. Each leaguer was measured by its gauge, the depth of liquor in the cask, and the shortfall of every one was recorded to the half gallon, so that 605 gallons ordered came to only 549 received. Spirit leaked, evaporated and was drawn off in transit, and gauging every cask on landing was the only way the Company could tell how much of what it had paid for actually reached the store, and hold the ship to account for the rest. The broken chinaware, found smashed when the packages were opened, shows the risk that porcelain ran on a voyage of thousands of miles. China from Canton was among the most valuable and most fragile cargo the ships carried, and a proportion

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			arrived broken however carefully it was chested, so the Storekeeper listed every cracked bowl and dish as a loss against the invoice. Recording the breakage in detail was the means by which the island established what had failed to arrive whole, so that the loss fell where it should and not on the receiving store.
307	302	11th. July Account of Stores short received from the - Ships Falmouth vizt. 30 Single deals for the Cole hole 6 Duffers 2 Single deals 1 Elm plank 8 & 4 Inches Short delivered 29 Bushels Coals C. qrs. lb 0.1.11 Sole Leather Short Weight. 0.1.22 Soap 1 pr. Mens ordinary Shoes Found short upon opening the 3 Barrels Blacking Packages. 1 Elm Board broke 4 Squares Glass 8 by 10 2 Do. Do. 10¾ by 11 1 Do. Do. 11¾ by 10¼ Found broke upon opening the 7 Do. Do. 12 by 10 Packages. 15 Do. Do. 8 by 6 1 Iron Shot for a Six pounder broke Wine vizt. Gall 1 Hhd. Port No. 1 Gag. 60 wants to fill 3 Gall Recd. 57 Galls Gall 2 Hhd. Madera No. 2 Do. 30 wants to fill 1 Gall Recd. 29 Galls 1 Chest Madera No. 1 contg. 13 Doz. Bottles, 3 bottles broke 4 Ches. Do. 2 Do. 6 Do. Do. 2 Bottles broke 19.3 5 Recd. 19.0 Dozen Beer vizt. 1 Hhd. No. 1 Gages 64 wants to fill 3 Galls 1 Do. 2 Do. 62 Do. 5 1 Do. 3 Do. 62 Do. 11½ 1 Do. 4 Do. 62 Do. 4½ 1 Do. 5 Do. 65 Do. 8 1 Do. 6 Do. 62 Do. 5 377 37 Recd. 340 Galls (Signed) St. Helena J. Powell 11th. July 1757	The Storekeeper brought in an account of stores short received from the ship <i>Falmouth</i>. The following were short delivered: 30 single deals, for the <i>Colchester</i> 6 buffers, for the <i>Colchester</i> 2 single deals 1 elm plank, 8 feet 4 inches 29 bushels coals The following were short in weight: 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 11 pounds sole leather 3 hundredweight 1 quarter 22 pounds soap The following were found short on opening the packages: 1 pair men's ordinary shoes 3 barrels blacking The following were found broken on opening the packages: 1 elm board broke 4 squares glass, 8 by 10 2 squares glass, 10 and a half by 11 1 square glass, 11 and three quarter by 10 and a half 7 squares glass, 12 by 10 15 squares glass, 8 by 6 1 iron shot for a six pounder broke The wine short received was: 1 hogshead port, number 1, gauge 60, wanting to fill 3 gallons, received 57 gallons 2 hogsheads Madeira, number 2, gauge 30, wanting to fill 1 gallon, received 29 gallons 1 chest Madeira, number 1, containing 13 dozen bottles, 3 bottles broke 2 chests Madeira, number 2, containing 6 dozen 2 bottles, 2 bottles broke Received 19 dozen 5 The beer short received was: 1 hogshead, number 1, gauge 64, wanting to fill 3 and a half gallons 1 hogshead, number 2, gauge 62, wanting 6 1 hogshead, number 3, gauge 62, wanting 11 and a half 1 hogshead, number 4, gauge 62, wanting 4 and a half 1 hogshead, number 5, gauge 65, wanting 8 1 hogshead, number 6, gauge 62, wanting 5 Total gauge 377, total wanting 37 Received 340 gallons The account was dated St Helena 11 July 1757 and signed by J. Powell. Interpretations The deals and buffers set aside for the <i>Colchester</i> show the island passing timber straight from one ship to another to meet a naval want. The <i>Colchester</i> was the King ship that had arrived a few days before, and the sawn deals and buffers were delivered to her from the <i>Falmouth</i> consignment, so St Helena served as a point where a warship could draw the stores it needed from the Company shipping, the island acting as broker of material between the royal navy and the Company vessels that carried it. The long list of broken window glass, sized in inches by the pane, shows the island importing every fixed material of building from England. Glass came ready cut to standard sizes for the windows of the settlement, and a share of it shattered on the voyage however it was packed, so the Storekeeper counted the broken panes by dimension as a loss. That even window glass had to cross the ocean and arrive part

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			broken marks how completely a bare island depended on shipped material for the ordinary fabric of its houses. The wine and beer accounts again turn on the gauge, every cask measured on landing and its shortfall entered to the half gallon. Port, Madeira and beer alike came in hogsheads that leaked and ullaged on the long passage, so 377 gallons of beer shipped yielded only 340 received. The steady practice of gauging drink against its invoice, cask by cask, was the island defence against paying in full for liquor that arrived part empty, the loss of the voyage falling to the ship rather than the store.
308	303	1757. Mr. John Goodwin applied to us to pay £150.4.10 into the Honorable Companys Cash, which we - have received, and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or order 30 Days after sight Dated this Day. Mr. Jeffrey O'Harra also applied to us to pay £150 into the Honorable Companys Cash, which we have also received, and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the - Honorable the Court of directors payable to himself or Order 40 Days after Sight dated this day. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark. At a Consultation held on Thursday the fourteenth day of July one thousand seven hundred and fifty seven at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the - 11th. July 1757. Finding that the one Chest of Treasure we took - out of the Honorable Companys Ship <i>Falmouth</i> the 27th. June will not with what we shall receive from the Stores, and for Rents &ca. - be near sufficient to defray the expences of this Island until the Arrival of the next Storeship, and being disappointed in our Expectations of receiving Money for Bills of Exchange. We therefore gave Capt. Dale an Order dated this Day to send us on shore for the use of this Island Another Chest for which we gave him a Receipt, and have duly advised their Honors Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlbro. thereof as follows vizt.	John Goodwin applied to the council to pay £150 4s 10d into the Honourable Company cash, which they received, and they gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 30 days after sight, dated the same day. Jeffrey O'Harra also applied to the council to pay £150 0s 0d into the Honourable Company cash, which they also received, and they gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 40 days after sight, dated the same day. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the Castle on Thursday 14 July 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 11 July 1757, was read, approved and signed. The council found that the one chest of treasure taken out of the Honourable Company ship <i>Falmouth</i> on 27 June, with what they would receive from the stores and for stock and cattle, would not be near enough to defray the expenses of the island until the arrival of the next storeship. Being disappointed in their expectation of receiving money for bills of exchange, the council gave Captain Dale an order dated the same day to send on shore for the use of the island another chest, for which they gave him a receipt, and duly advised the Deputy Governor and council of Fort Marlborough of it. Interpretations The bills of exchange taken from Goodwin and O'Harra show the mechanism by which private men moved money home from the island without shipping coin. Each paid cash into the Company treasury on the spot and received in return a bill drawn on the Court of Directors, payable in London after sight, so his money travelled home as paper and was answered in England from Company funds. This served the individual, who avoided the risk of carrying specie, and the island, which gained ready cash, but on this occasion the council had counted on far more of it than came in. The council resort to a second chest of treasure reveals how the island cash economy depended on these private payments to function. Expecting to raise money by selling bills to men leaving the island, the council found too few takers, and so had to break into the Company bullion carried on the <i>Falmouth</i> to meet the running costs until the next storeship. This shows the treasure in transit serving as the island reserve of last resort, drawn on when the ordinary flow of cash failed, the specie meant for England pressed into use to keep the settlement solvent. The care taken to receipt the chest and advise Fort Marlborough shows the strict accounting that governed any tapping of treasure in passage. The bullion belonged to the wider Company voyage and was consigned onward, so drawing a chest for local use had to be signed for and reported at once to the

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			station that had shipped it, keeping the whole movement of specie traceable across the Company world even when a distant council diverted it to its own need.
309	304	14th. July To the Worshipful the Supravisor or Deputy - Governor &ca. Council for the time being of Fort - Marlborough Worshipful Sir and Sirs. Since closing our Letter to you dated the 4th. Instant, we found, we had occasion for another Chest of the - Honorable Companys Treasure out of the Ship Falmouth, - we therefore gave Captain Dale an Order to send us one - more on shore, for the use of this Island, which we have - received being numbred three hundred and Twenty. we are Worshipfull Sir & Sirs your most humble Servants (Signed) Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark. Mr. James Powell the Honorable Companys Storekeeper applied to us for liberty for his Son Josia - Charlesworth, and his Daughter Sarah to proceed on the Honorable Companys Ship the Falmouth to Bencoolen, - which we granted. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	The Governor and council wrote to the Supervisor or Deputy Governor and council for the time being of Fort Marlborough. Since closing their letter of 4 July, they had found they needed another chest of the Honourable Company treasure out of the ship <i>Falmouth</i>, and so had given Captain Dale an order to send one more on shore for the use of the island, which they had received, numbered 320. The letter was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Mr James Powell, the Honourable Company Storekeeper, applied to the council for leave for his son Josia Charlesworth and his daughter Sarah to proceed on the Honourable Company ship the <i>Falmouth</i> to Bencoolen, which the council granted. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Powell request for passage for his son and daughter shows the Company ships carrying the families of its servants between the settlements as readily as its officers and goods. The Storekeeper wished to send his children on to Bencoolen, and the council granted it as a matter of course, so the vessels that linked the eastern stations moved not only trade and soldiers but the private households of the men who served the Company, the whole life of the settlements passing along the same shipping lanes. The son and daughter carrying a different surname from their father points to the mixed and blended families of the Company world, where death and remarriage were common and a household might gather children of more than one name. The council needed only to know who was to travel, not to remark on the difference, which shows how ordinary such family arrangements were among a scattered people whose lives were shaped by long separations and the high mortality of service in the East.
310	305	18th. July At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th. day of July 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed, Dated the 14th. July 1757. Yesterday arrived his Majestys Ship the Kings Fisher from Bengall. Do. Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Falmouth for Bencoolen. The Executors of the late Thomas Easthope this Day presented his last Will and Testament desiring the same might be - proved, which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses - thereto, the Will is as follows vizt. In the name of God Amen I Thomas Easthope of the Island St. Helena in the Service of the Honble. East India Company - Lieutenant in their Garrison being of perfect mind and Memory, (thanks to Almighty God) do make ordain and appoint this my last Will and Testament that is to say my Soul I recommend into the hands of Almighty God my - Creator. My Body I commit to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like and	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 18 July 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 11 July 1757, was read, approved and signed. The day before, His Majesty ship the <i>King's Fisher</i> arrived from Bengal. The same day the Honourable Company ship <i>Falmouth</i> sailed for Bencoolen. The executors of the late Thomas Easthope presented his will, desiring that it might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the witnesses to it. Thomas Easthope, of the island of St Helena and a lieutenant in the garrison in the service of the Honourable East India Company, being of sound mind and memory, made his will. He committed his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in a Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors, and set out how his worldly goods were to be disposed. He directed first that all his debts and funeral charges be paid as soon as conveniently might be after his death. He held in his hands £100 0s 0d belonging to his daughter Mary, a bequest to her from Captain Thomas Cason, deceased, of which £50 0s 0d was to be paid to her at her age or marriage and the other £50 0s 0d at Easthope discretion by the will of the donor. This latter £50 0s 0d he left to his executors to pay her in the best manner they could out of his estate as soon as they conveniently could raise the

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		decent manner at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named. My worldly Goods wherewith it has pleased God to bless me with I Give devise and - dispose of in the manner and form as followeth. - Imprimis - I desire that all my Debts and funeral Charges be duly Satisfied and paid as soon as conveniently may be after my decease. Item I have in my hands one hundred pounds belonging to my daughter Mary being a bequest to her from Capt. Thomas Cason deceased, of which Sum - Fifty pounds to be paid her at Age or Marriage, and the other Fifty pounds to be paid at my discretion by the Will of the Donor, which said Sum of - Fifty pounds I leave to the discretion of my Executors to pay her in the - best manner they can out of my Estate as soon as they can conveniently - raise the Money without any great prejudice to my other Children. There is also the following Blacks belonging to her which are also to be delivered to her at Age or Marriage which are her property and not part of my Estate viz. A Black Man named Guilford, a Black Woman named Hannah, with three Children viz. a Black Boy named Frank a Girl named Doll, and one other Girl named Mary. Also there is belonging to her the following Table Linnen viz. One large Table Cloth one small and eighteen Napkins all Damask which I desire may be delivered to her at Age or Marriage as aforesaid. Item I give to my Sons Henry and James all my real Estate to be equally - Divided between them they paying out of it to my Daughter Mary twenty	money without prejudice to his other children. There also belonged to Mary the following slaves, which were likewise to be delivered to her at her age or marriage and were her property and not part of his estate: a black man named Guilford, a black woman named Hannah with three children, a black boy named Frank, a girl named Doll and one other girl named Mary. There belonged to her also the following table linen from Simon Esquire, one large tablecloth, 18 napkins and one small tablecloth, which he desired might be delivered to her at her age or marriage. He gave to his sons Henry and James all his real estate, to be equally divided between them, they paying out of it to his daughter Mary twenty. Interpretations The will treats slaves as heritable property to be passed to a child alongside money and household linen, listing a man, a woman with her three children, a boy and two girls by name in the same breath as tablecloths and napkins. This is the plainest measure of their standing in the eyes of the settlement, human beings entered in a will as chattels belonging to a young woman and reserved as her separate property, to be handed over on her marriage like any other portion. The naming of Hannah three children marks a family that could be inherited whole or broken apart at the will of those who owned them. Easthope careful distinction between his daughter own property and his estate shows the law of separate bequest at work in a small colonial society. The £100 and the slaves had come to Mary from others, Captain Cason and Simon, and Easthope held them only as a father managing a child inheritance, so he set them apart from his own goods to be sure they passed to her intact. This protected a minor property against being absorbed into her father estate and divided among his other heirs, the machinery of trusteeship reaching even to a remote island garrison. The division of the real estate between the two sons, charged with a payment to the daughter, follows the common pattern of provision by sex, land to the boys and a money portion to the girl. Real property descended to the sons to keep it in the family name and undivided in substance, while the daughter received her share in cash raised out of it, so that she was provided for without breaking the land itself. This was the ordinary shape of inheritance carried out to St Helena, the settlement families ordering their affairs by the same customs as their kin in England.
311	306	18th. July five pounds each when they shall arrive to age or Marriage. but as to the division of my said Freehold Estate, I direct that my eldest Son Henry shall possess my Dwelling House with fourteen Acres of - free Lands adjoining to the same and twenty seven Acres of Leased Lands all to be valued to him and delivered at Age or Marriage he paying to his other Brother and Sister their proper shares if it shall exceed his proportion as before mentioned. Also my Son James - to be put into possession when he shall come to age or Marriage. Item My Personal Estate I give to be equally divided among my three above mentioned Children and as I esteem my Leashld Lands to be - part of my personal Estate. I desire my Executors will have the -	Thomas Easthope directed that his two sons pay their sister Mary £5 0s 0d each when they came to age or marriage. As to the division of his freehold estate, he directed that his eldest son Henry have his dwelling house with 14 acres of freehold land adjoining it and 27 acres of leasehold land, all to be valued to him and delivered at his age or marriage, he paying to his other brother and sister their proper shares if it should exceed his proportion as mentioned. His son James was to be put in possession of his share when he came to age or marriage. Easthope gave his personal estate to be equally divided among his three children, and directed that his leasehold lands be treated as part of his personal estate. He wished his executors to have the leasehold valued and to pay his daughter Mary her part in money if it could be so managed, knowing it would harm his sons if the leasehold lands were parted from the freehold, all which he left to the discretion of his executors. Having divided his personal estate equally among his children, he allotted them their shares in his

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		same Valued and pay my daughter Mary her part in Money if it - can be so managed, knowing it will be some prejudice to my Sons if the Leasehold Lands should be parted from it, all which I leave - to the discretion of my Executors. Item As I have disposed of my personal Estate equally to my above - named beloved Children I hereby allot them their Dividends viz. my Blacks viz. Bacchus and Jack to my Son Henry, and Ceasar & Ellen a Girl to my Son James all to be valued to them and paying to each other the Overplus of their proper shares. And as I have given my Lands to - my Sons, and to prevent any feuds or animosities that may arise on Account of the Water for each others Cattle to drink at I direct that - the watering place shall be in Common to each other without - prejudicing each other all which I leave to the discretion of my Executors to be amicably divided and set apart as they shall think - meet and proper for each others advantage. Lastly I Nominate and appoint my good Friends Messrs. Richard Bagley Orlando Bagley Senior and Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale Executors to this my Will and also appoint my said Sons Henry and James to be Executors to this my Will at the age of eighteen years utterly revoking and annuelling all former Will or Wills by - me heretofore made, ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament this first day of August in the Year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and Fifty one. (Signed) Signed Sealed and declared to be Tho. Easthope (LS) this last Will and Testament of him the said Thomas Easthope in the presence of us. (Signed) Tho. Greentree Richard Beale Junior Rich. Beale Sent.	slaves. He gave Bacchus and Jack to his son Henry, and Caesar and Ellen, a girl, to his son James, all to be valued to them and each paying the other the overplus of his proper share. As he had given his lands to his sons, and to prevent any feuds over the water for their cattle to drink at, he directed that the watering place be held in common between them without prejudice to either, all which he left to his executors to divide amicably as they thought proper for each other advantage. Lastly, he named his good friends Richard Bagley senior and Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale executors of his will, and also appointed his sons Henry and James executors at the age of eighteen. He revoked all former wills and confirmed this as his last, dated 1 August 1751. It was signed by Thomas Easthope with his mark, and witnessed by Thomas Greentree, Richard Beale junior and Richard Beale senior. Interpretations The provision over the watering place shows how the division of land among heirs could threaten the working of it, and how a testator moved to prevent that. Easthope had given his lands to his two sons but foresaw that dividing the ground might leave one without water for his cattle, so he ordered the watering place held in common between them, guarding against the feuds that a strict partition would breed. On a dry island where water was the limit on stock, access to a spring mattered more than acreage, and the will bent the ordinary rule of division to keep the essential resource shared. The treatment of the leasehold land as personal rather than real estate reveals a deliberate use of the distinction to provide for the daughter without breaking up the sons holding. By counting the leasehold as personalty, Easthope could have it valued and Mary paid her share in money, leaving the land itself with the boys, since parting the leasehold from the freehold would have crippled the working farm. This shows a careful hand ordering a modest estate so that a daughter got her due in cash while the land passed whole to the sons, the legal categories turned to a practical family end. Easthope appointment of his own young sons as executors at eighteen, alongside two trusted friends, shows a father trying to keep the settlement of his estate within his family as the children came of age. The friends would act at once, but the sons were to join them on reaching eighteen, so that control of the property would pass to the heirs themselves as they matured. This was a way of binding the estate to the next generation on a remote island, where a father could not know how long his executors would outlast him and sought to secure his children hold on their own inheritance.
312	307	1757. James Sherridan the Honorable Companys Gardener being often drunk, and out of his Senses when he is so has thereby rendered - himself incapable of being any further use to their Honors. We therefore this Day dismissed him from their Service. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark. At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 20th. day of July 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed, Dated the 18th. July 1757.	James Sherridan, the Honourable Company Gardener, was often drunk and out of his senses, and when in that state was incapable of any further use to the Company. The council dismissed him from their service. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the Castle on Wednesday 20 July 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 18 July 1757, was read, approved and signed. Mr Thomas Brown applied to the council to pay £100 0s 0d into the Honourable Company cash, which they received, and they gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 30 days after sight, dated the same day.

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		Mr. Thomas Brown applied to us to pay £100 into the Honorable Companys Cash, which we have received, and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or order Thirty days after Sight, dated this Day. Mr. Moses Smith also applied to us to pay £101 into the Honorable Companys Cash which we have received, and given - him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of directors payable to himself or order Thirty days after sight dated this Day. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	Mr Moses Smith also applied to the council to pay £101 0s 0d into the Honourable Company cash, which they received, and they gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 30 days after sight, dated the same day. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Sherridan dismissal for habitual drunkenness shows the council removing a servant whose failing made him useless in a post that the island could not leave unfilled. The Gardener kept the plantation that fed the settlement, so a man too often drunk to work was a real loss, and the council turned him out plainly for that reason, judging his usefulness alone. The bluntness of the entry, that he was incapable when in drink and so dismissed, marks how the establishment measured a servant worth by his service and cut him off when it failed. The two payments taken the same day, £100 from Brown and £101 from Smith against bills on the Court of Directors, show the flow of private money into the treasury resuming after the shortfall of the week before. Men leaving or settling their affairs paid cash to the Company and took bills payable in London, and just such payments as the council had lacked when it broke into the treasure chest now came in, so the same mechanism that had failed then served again, the island cash needs met from the private funds of those who wished to remit money home.
313	308	25th. July At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th. day of July 1757 - at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor. John Adamson Lieutenant Governor. Lieutenant John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed Dated the - 20th. July 1757. Wednesday the 20th. Sailed his Majestys Snow the Kings Fisher. Yesterday died Joseph Drilt and Mattress. This Day died Lochland Mc. Lane Soldier. The Stewards, Plantation, and Gunners Accounts for the Month ending the 11th. Instant were this day brought in which were examined and approved, and are as follow vizt. Sundries expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the - Month ending July the 11th. 1757 vizt. 2 Bottles Port £0 2s 6¾d 38 Lisbon £2 11s 5½d 25 Madeira £2 19s 3d 79 Arrack £2 12s 6d 70 Beer £0 14s 7d 287 Flour £1 15s 10¾d 511 fresh Beef £6 7s 9d 381 Mutton £7 18s 9d 3 Kids £0 15s 0d 25 lb. Goat £0 8s 4d 27 Fowls	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 25 July 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 20 July 1757, was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 20 July His Majesty snow the <i>King's Fisher</i> sailed. The day before, Joseph Drite, a mattress maker, died. The same day Lochland McLane, a soldier, died. The Steward, plantation and Gunner accounts for the month ending 11 July were brought in, which were examined and approved. The sundries spent at the Honourable Company table in the month ending 11 July were: 2 bottles port, £0 2s 6 1/4d 38 bottles Lisbon, £2 11s 5 1/2d 25 bottles Madeira, £2 19s 3d 79 bottles arrack, £2 12s 6d 70 bottles beer, £0 14s 7d 287 pounds flour, £1 15s 5 1/2d 511 pounds fresh beef, £6 7s 9d 381 pounds mutton, £7 18s 9d 3 kids, £0 15s 0d 25 pounds goat, £0 15s 0d 27 fowls, £2 0s 6d 10 ducks, £0 15s 0d 4 geese, £1 0s 0d 6 turkeys, £1 10s 0d 30 pounds fresh butter, £1 10s 0d 20 pounds sugar, £0 4s 7d 6 pieces salt pork, £0 12s 0d 118 pounds candy, £1 19s 4d Total, £35 17s 9 1/2d Interpretations The table bill rose again this month to nearly £36, driven by a sharp climb in fresh beef, more than £6 against under £3 in the earlier months of the season. This matches the crowd of ships that had lain in the road through late June and July, the <i>Oxford</i>, <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Stormont</i>, <i>Delaware</i>, <i>Griffin</i> and <i>Falmouth</i> among them, when the officers table fed a stream of visiting commanders, supercargoes and passengers

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		£2 0s 6d 10 Ducks £0 15s 0d 4 Geese £1 0s 0d 6 Turkeys £1 10s 0d 30 lb. fresh Butter £1 10s 0d 20 Sugar £0 4s 7d 6 pieces Salt Pork £0 12s 0d 118 Candy £1 14s 4d Total £35 17s 9½d	ashore, so the fresh meat consumed rose steeply with the shipping the island was bound to entertain. The presence of two royal navy ships in these weeks, the <i>Colchester</i> and the <i>King's Fisher</i>, added to the demand on the island beyond the Company own fleet. Warships of the King touching at St Helena on their way between stations drew on the same tables and stores as the Company vessels, and their officers too would have been received ashore, so the swollen cost of the table reflects an island stretched to serve the royal navy and the Company trade at once in a single busy season.
314	309	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of neat Cattle &ca from the 12th. of June to the 11th. of July 1757 vizt. Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kidds, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Mares, Mares, Total, S. Asses, S. Asses, Total Remaining 12th.: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 69, Yearlings 36, Heifers 42, Steers 22, Oxen 21, Total 282, Ewes 395, Weathers 163, Lambs 129, Rams 5, Total 692, Ewes 195, Weathers 34, Kidds 55, Rams 8, Total 292, Sows 5, Shoats 3, Pigs 3, Boars 1, Total 12, Fowls 202, Ducks 43, Turkeys 43, Geese 32, Mares 6, Mares 9, Total 15, S. Asses 3, S. Asses 3, Total 6 Increased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 14, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 14, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 30, Rams 0, Total 30, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 9, Rams 0, Total 9, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 17, Boars 0, Total 17, Fowls 15, Ducks 9, Turkeys 0, Geese 1, Mares 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S. Asses 0, S. Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 89, Calves 83, Yearlings 36, Heifers 42, Steers 22, Oxen 21, Total 296, Ewes 395, Weathers 163, Lambs 159, Rams 5, Total 722, Ewes 195, Weathers 34, Kidds 64, Rams 8, Total 301, Sows 5, Shoats 3, Pigs 20, Boars 1, Total 29, Fowls 217, Ducks 52, Turkeys 43, Geese 33, Mares 6, Mares 9, Total 15, S. Asses 3, S. Asses 3, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 0, Yearlings 6, Heifers 2, Steers 1, Oxen 0, Total 11, Ewes 9, Weathers 7, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 16, Ewes 0, Weathers 6, Kidds 3, Rams 0, Total 9, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 27, Ducks 10, Turkeys 6, Geese 4, Mares 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S. Asses 0, S. Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 4, Weathers 0, Lambs 4, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kidds 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 3, Boars 0, Total 3, Fowls 1, Ducks 1, Turkeys 1, Geese 1, Mares 0, Mares 0, Total 0, S. Asses 0, S. Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th.: Bulls 3, Cows 87, Calves 83, Yearlings 35, Heifers 36, Steers 20, Oxen 20, Total 284, Ewes 382, Weathers 156, Lambs 155, Rams 5, Total 698, Ewes 195, Weathers 28, Kidds 61, Rams 8, Total 292, Sows 5, Shoats 3, Pigs 17, Boars 1, Total 26, Fowls 189, Ducks 41, Turkeys 36, Geese 28, Mares 6, Mares 9, Total 15, S. Asses 3, S. Asses 3, Total 6 Beef to the Ship Falmouth 560 Do. to Oxford 560 Do. to Harcourt 560 Do. to Stormont 560 Do. to Griffin 560 Do. to Delawar 560 3 Sheep to the Market 3 to the Hospital 2 Goats Math. Bazell Overseer wt. 27¾	This account of the Honourable Company stock of neat cattle and so forth ran from 12 June to 11 July 1757. The stock was set out in columns under neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, horses and asses, each broken down by kind and totalled, with rows for the opening figure, increase, killed, died and the closing figure. Neat cattle were counted as bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers and oxen. Sheep were counted as ewes, wethers, lambs and rams. Goats were counted as ewes, wethers, kids and rams. Hogs were counted as sows, shoats, pigs and boars. Poultry were counted as fowls, ducks, turkeys and geese. Horses were counted as mares and horses, and asses as she asses and he asses. Remaining 12th, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 89, calves 69, yearlings 36, heifers 42, steers 22, oxen 21, total 282 Remaining 12th, sheep: ewes 395, wethers 163, lambs 129, rams 5, total 692 Remaining 12th, goats: ewes 195, wethers 34, kids 55, rams 8, total 292 Remaining 12th, hogs: sows 5, shoats 3, pigs 3, boars 1, total 12 Remaining 12th, poultry: fowls 202, ducks 43, turkeys 43, geese 32 Remaining 12th, horses: mares 6, horses 9, total 15 Remaining 12th, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 Increased, neat cattle: calves 14, total 14 Increased, sheep: lambs 30, total 30 Increased, goats: kids 9, total 9 Increased, hogs: pigs 17, total 17 Increased, poultry: fowls 15, ducks 9, geese 1 Total, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 89, calves 83, yearlings 36, heifers 42, steers 22, oxen 21, total 296 Total, sheep: ewes 395, wethers 163, lambs 159, rams 5, total 722 Total, goats: ewes 195, wethers 34, kids 64, rams 8, total 301 Total, hogs: sows 5, shoats 3, pigs 20, boars 1, total 29 Total, poultry: fowls 217, ducks 52, turkeys 43, geese 33 Total, horses: mares 6, horses 9, total 15 Total, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 Killed, neat cattle: cows 2, yearlings 6, steers 2, oxen 1, total 11 Killed, sheep: ewes 9, lambs 7, total 16 Killed, goats: wethers 6, kids 3, total 9 Killed, poultry: fowls 27, ducks 10, turkeys 6, geese 4 Died, neat cattle: calves 1, total 1 Died, sheep: ewes 4, lambs 4, total 8 Died, hogs: pigs 3, total 3 Died, poultry: fowls 1, ducks 1, turkeys 1

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		3 Do. Sick Slaves. One Slave died named Pading. Good Yam expended for the Slaves 17,620 Refuse Do. for Stock 6,425 24,045 Errors Excepted Signed John Adamson	Remaining 11th, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 87, calves 83, yearlings 35, heifers 36, steers 20, oxen 20, total 284 Remaining 11th, sheep: ewes 382, wethers 156, lambs 155, rams 5, total 698 Remaining 11th, goats: ewes 195, wethers 28, kids 61, rams 8, total 292 Remaining 11th, hogs: sows 5, shoats 3, pigs 17, boars 1, total 26 Remaining 11th, poultry: fowls 189, ducks 41, turkeys 36, geese 28 Remaining 11th, horses: mares 6, horses 9, total 15 Remaining 11th, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 The Gunner set down the disposal of the animals that left the stock. Beef to the ship <i>Falmouth</i> came to 560, to the <i>Oxford</i> 560, to the <i>Harcourt</i> 560, to the <i>Stormont</i> 560, to the <i>Griffin</i> 560 and to the <i>Delaware</i> 560. Three sheep went to the market and three to the hospital. Two goats went to Matthew Bazett, overseer, weighing 27 pounds and a quarter, and three to the sick slaves. A further note recorded the slaves and the yam store. One slave died, named Puding. Good yam spent for the slaves came to 17,620 and refuse yam for the stock to 6,425, coming to 24,045. Errors excepted, the account was signed by John Adamson. Interpretations Six ships in the road this month each took 560 pounds of beef, so 3,360 pounds of the herd went to victual the homeward fleet in a single period, the heaviest draught on the cattle in any month of this run. The killing rose to match, eleven head of neat cattle slaughtered where earlier months had lost one or two, which shows the plantation herd bearing the whole weight of provisioning a great convoy at once. This was the peak of the island working year, when the gathered fleet drew down the stock faster than any other season could. The good yam issued to the slaves fell again this month to 17,620, down from just over 20,000 the month before, a steady decline across the three accounts of this run. The fall follows the deaths among the slave population, six the previous month and one this, so the ration dropped as the number of mouths dropped, the issue set by the count of workers to be fed. That the yam figure tracks the falling head of slaves so closely confirms it as a fixed allowance per person rather than a variable of the harvest, the plantation feeding its people by number as it fed its stock. The killing of a bull, cows, yearlings, steers and an ox together, spread across the age and sex of the herd, shows the plantation drawing on whatever beasts were fit for slaughter rather than culling only the old or surplus. Under the pressure of six ships to victual, the Gunner took cattle from every class to make up the weight of beef required, which marks how heavily the demand of a full fleet cut into the breeding stock itself, the herd sacrificing animals it would in a quieter month have kept.
315	310	25th. July Artillery Stores expended from the 12th. of June to the 11th. of July 1757 both inclusive Vizt. Guns fired, ct: 4, ct: 3, ct: 2, ct: 1, Powder expended lb: oz June 16. An Alarm: Guns fired 6, ct 4: 2, ct 3: 2, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 2, Powder expended lb oz: 12.0 Do. Arrived a Prussian Ship returned the Salute: Guns fired 15, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 15, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 15.0 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 2.8	The Gunner set out the artillery stores spent from 12 June to 11 July 1757, both days included. The powder was entered by the charge across four columns, headed 4, 3, 2 and 1, with the number of rounds and the quantity expended set against each entry. June 16, an alarm, 6 rounds, charge 4: 2, charge 3: 2, charge 1: 2, 12 pounds 16, arrived a Prussian ship, returned the salute, 15 rounds, charge 1: 15, 15 pounds 16, powder for priming, 2 pounds 8 21, a double alarm, 9 rounds, charge 4: 3, charge 3: 3, charge 1: 3, 18 pounds

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		21. A Double Alarm: Guns fired 9, ct 4: 3, ct 3: 3, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 3, Powder expended lb oz: 18.0 Do. Arrived the Oxford and Falmouth, returned their Salutes: Guns fired 15, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 15, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 10.0 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 3.0 Do. Departed the Clinton and the Hector, returned their Salutes: Guns fired 18, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 18, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 18.0 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 5.0 22. Fired for the Kings accession to the Throne: Guns fired 21, ct 4: 2, ct 3: 1, ct 2: 18, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 23.8 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 3.8 Do. Powder fired with small Arms for Do.: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 25 25. Departed the Prussian Ship returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 9, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 9.0 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 1.8 27. Double Alarm: Guns fired 11, ct 4: 4, ct 3: 4, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 3, Powder expended lb oz: 23.8 Do. Arrived the Harcourt and Stormont retd. their Salute: Guns fired 18, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 18, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 18.0 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 3.0 Do. Arrived the Griffin returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 9, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 9.0 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 1.8 30. An Alarm: Guns fired 6, ct 4: 2, ct 3: 2, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 2, Powder expended lb oz: 12.0 July 1. Arrived the Delawar returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 9, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 9.0 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 1.8 Do. Fired to Salute Capt. Warwick when landed: Guns fired 13, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 13, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 13.0 3. Powder for the Funeral of Lieutt. Thos. Easthope: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 6.12 9. An Alarm: Guns fired 6, ct 4: 2, ct 3: 2, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 2, Powder expended lb oz: 12.0 Do. Arrived the Colchester Capt. Obrian Ship of Warr, saluted him with: Guns fired 13, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 13, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 13 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 2.0 Do. Fired to Salute Capt. Obrian & Commander when landed: Guns fired 13, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 13, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 13.0 Do. Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 2.0 Powder for the Funeral of Francis Marsh: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 2.0 Do. for the Funeral of Thomas Brown: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 2.4 Do. for exercising the East flying Party: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 4.12 Do. for exercising the West flying Party: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 4.12	21, arrived the <i>Oxford</i> and <i>Falmouth</i>, returned their salutes, 18 rounds, charge 1: 18, 18 pounds 21, powder for priming, 3 pounds 21, sailed the <i>Clinton</i> and the <i>Hector</i>, returned their salutes, 18 rounds, charge 1: 18, 18 pounds 21, powder for priming, 3 pounds 22, fired for the King's accession to the throne, 21 rounds, charge 4: 2, charge 2: 1, charge 1: 18, 23 pounds 8 22, powder for priming, 3 pounds 8 22, powder fired with small arms for the King's accession, 25 25, sailed the Prussian ship, returned the salute, 9 rounds, charge 1: 9, 9 pounds 25, powder for priming, 1 pound 8 27, double alarm, 11 rounds, charge 4: 4, charge 3: 4, charge 1: 3, 23 pounds 8 27, arrived the <i>Harcourt</i> and <i>Stormont</i>, returned their salutes, 18 rounds, charge 1: 18, 18 pounds 27, powder for priming, 3 pounds 27, arrived the <i>Griffin</i>, returned the salute, 9 rounds, charge 1: 9, 9 pounds 27, powder for priming, 1 pound 8 30, an alarm, 6 rounds, charge 4: 2, charge 3: 2, charge 1: 2, 12 pounds July 1, arrived the <i>Delaware</i>, returned the salute, 9 rounds, charge 1: 9, 9 pounds 1, powder for priming, 1 pound 8 1, fired to salute Captain Warminck when landed, 13 rounds, charge 1: 13, 13 pounds 3, powder for the funeral of Lieutenant Thomas Easthope, 6 pounds 12 9, an alarm, 6 rounds, charge 4: 2, charge 3: 2, charge 1: 2, 12 pounds 9, arrived the <i>Colchester</i>, Captain O'Brian, ship of war, saluted him with, 13 rounds, charge 1: 13, 13 pounds 9, powder for priming, 2 pounds 9, fired to salute Captain O'Brian, commander, when landed, 13 rounds, charge 1: 13, 13 pounds 9, powder for priming, 2 pounds 9, powder for the funeral of Francis Marsh, 2 pounds 9, powder for the funeral of Thomas Brown, 2 pounds 4 9, powder for exercising the East flying party, 4 pounds 12 9, powder for exercising the West flying party, 4 pounds 12 9, powder for exercising the Sandy Bay party, 13 pounds 4 9, powder for signals, 2 pounds 9, powder for the use of the Castle, 6 9, powder for shooting goats on Munden Point hill, 1 pound Total, 174 rounds, charge 4: 15, charge 3: 14, charge 2: 1, charge 1: 53, 322 pounds The Gunner also began a list of the other stores spent: Tallow for greasing the guns Tallow for cleaning the corks Paper for the use of the Castle, 1 quire Paper for making small cartridges, 1 quire Paper for making large cartridges, 6 quires Interpretations The month was the busiest of the year for the guns, 322 pounds of powder spent against 128 the month before, driven by the crowd of salutes as ship after ship arrived and sailed. Each of the <i>Oxford</i>, <i>Falmouth</i>, <i>Clinton</i>, <i>Hector</i>, <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Stormont</i>, <i>Griffin</i> and <i>Delaware</i>, and the warship <i>Colchester</i>, was greeted or sped with a salute answered from the batteries, so the powder book swelled with the ceremony of a full season, the magazine drawn down as much by courtesy to the fleet as by any alarm.

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		Do. for exercising the South Bay Party: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 13.4 Do. for Signals: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 2.0 Do. for the use of the Castle: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 0.6 Do. for Shooting Goats on Mundens point hill: Guns fired 0, ct 4: 0, ct 3: 0, ct 2: 0, ct 1: 0, Powder expended lb oz: 1.0 Total: Guns fired 194, ct 4: 15, ct 3: 14, ct 2: 153, ct 1: 12, Powder expended lb oz: 324.4 Tallow for greasing the Sprul: 4d Do. for greasing the Corks: 4d Paper for the use of the Castle: 1.2r Do. for making small Cartridges: 6.2r Do. for making large Do.: 4.5.2r	The heavy firing for the King accession to the throne, 21 rounds with a further charge of small arms, marks the one fixed royal occasion of the calendar kept even at this remote station. St Helena observed the accession day of the reigning King with a formal discharge, the island affirming its loyalty to the Crown by the same salute a garrison at home would fire, so that a speck in the South Atlantic joined in the ritual of the monarchy thousands of miles from London. Three flying parties were exercised with powder this month, the East, West and Sandy Bay parties, the Sandy Bay allowance the heaviest at over 13 pounds. These were the mobile militia detachments that would move to meet a landing at whatever point of the coast it came, and exercising them with live powder kept them ready to answer an alarm in earnest. That the council spent scarce powder on their practice shows how seriously it took the threat of a descent on the island, drilling its scattered defenders against the day a hostile fleet might try the shore.
316	311	1757 Needles broke with sowing of Cartridges: 11 Bills broke at the Main Fort: 3 Flags wore out & unserviceable at Prosperous Bay: 1 Do. wore out & unserviceable at the Alarm House: 1 Copper Braids for a Powder Chest for Lemon Valley: 157 Sheep Skins for Coating Sponges at Ruperts: 3 Trunk Nails at Do.: 3 Lead Shot for Shooting Goats on Mundens Point hill: 75 Match burnt at the Main Fort: 1 lb. Firkin Hoops delivered for the use of the Griffin: 200. (Signed) Tho. Hall William Campbell Arthur Evans and William Herralds Soldiers representing their Infirmities and - apprehending that by their going to England, they might recover their healths; we therefore sent for Mr. Barclay the Honorable Companys Surgeon and directed him to give us in writing his opinion of their Disorders which is as follows vizt. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor &ca Council. Worshipful Sir and Sirs. Pursuant to your desire I have examined the Complaints of William Campbell, Arthur Evans and William Herralds, their - Disorders are so bad, that they are rendred incapable of Service, - I am respectfully Worshipful Sir and Sirs. your most obedient Servant Signed 25th. July 1757 Robt. Barclay We therefore thought proper to grant them their Discharges, as they would be only an expence to the - Honorable Company. Mr. John Clark applied to us to pay - Fifty five pounds Sixteen Shillings and eight pence into the	The Gunner continued his list of the other stores spent: Needles broke with sewing of cartridges, 11 Bills broke at the main fort, 3 Flags worn out and unserviceable at Prosperous Bay, 1 Flags worn out and unserviceable at the alarm house, 1 Copper brads for a powder chest for Lemon Valley, 157 Sheep skins for coating sponges at Ruperts, 3 Trunk nails, 3 Lead shot for shooting goats on Munden Point hill, 75 Match burnt at the main fort, 6 pounds Firkin hoops delivered for the use of the <i>Griffin</i>, 200 Signed by Thomas Hall William Campbell, Arthur Evans and William Herrald, soldiers, represented their infirmities, and thought that by going to England they might recover their health. The council sent for Mr Barclay, the Honourable Company Surgeon, and directed him to give in writing his opinion of their disorders. Robert Barclay wrote to Governor Charles Hutchinson and the council. He had examined the complaints of William Campbell, Arthur Evans and William Herrald, and found their disorders so bad that they were rendered incapable of service. The letter was dated 25 July 1757. The council thought it proper to grant them their discharges, as they would be only an expense to the Honourable Company. Mr John Clark applied to the council to pay £55 16s 8d into the Honourable Company cash. Interpretations The discharge of three sick soldiers on the surgeon written opinion shows the medical certificate serving as the formal ground for release from service. The council would not simply take the men word that they were unfit, but sent for Barclay to examine them and report in writing, so that a discharge for infirmity rested on a professional judgement entered in the record. This protected the Company against men feigning sickness to escape their term while giving a genuine invalid a recognised route out of a service he could no longer perform. The council reasoning, that the sick men would be only an expense to the Company, echoes exactly the words used of the transported Malabar slaves earlier in these consultations. The same cold measure of usefulness governed the treatment of both the free soldier and the enslaved labourer, each kept or

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			discharged according to what he cost against what he yielded. The men themselves hoped that England would restore their health, but the council granted their release not for their sakes but because a broken soldier, like a broken slave, was a charge the establishment preferred not to bear. The soldiers own belief that the voyage to England might cure them reflects a common faith that a change of climate could mend a constitution worn down by service in the tropics. Men who had sickened in the East looked to the temperate air of home as a remedy, so the request to be sent to England was as much a hope of recovery as a wish to leave, the passage itself regarded as part of the cure for disorders that the island could not heal.
317	312	25th. July Honorable Companys Cash, which Sum we have - received, and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the - Honorable the Court of Directors, payable to himself or - order ninety days after sight, Dated this Day. Having Dismissed James Sherridan the Honorable Companys Gardiner for Negligence and Drunkeness and being in Want of a Person Qualified for that Employment, we have therefore entertained Edmond Smith to serve their Honors in that Capacity at the usual Allowance. Enlisted John Christian Strife to serve the - Honorable Company as a Soldier for Five Years without - any Bounty Money, and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	The council received the sum from John Clark into the Honourable Company cash, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 90 days after sight, dated the same day. Having dismissed James Sherridan, the Honourable Company Gardener, for negligence and drunkenness, and being in want of a person qualified for that employment, the council took on Edmund Smith to serve in that capacity at the usual allowance. John Christian Strife was enlisted to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years without any bounty money, and the Adjutant read him the Articles of War. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The council filled the Gardener post at once with Edmund Smith, which shows how essential the office was to the island and how little it could be left vacant. The Gardener ran the plantation that grew the settlement provisions, so the moment Sherridan was turned out for drink the council engaged a qualified replacement at the same allowance, keeping the vital work unbroken. The speed of the appointment marks the difference between a post the island could not do without and the ordinary run of servants whose places might stand empty for a time. The enlistment of John Christian Strife for five years without any bounty stands out against the £10 paid to other recruits in these consultations and the £3 given to a stranded seaman. A man taken on for no bounty at all was probably already on the island with no better prospect, or bound in some circumstance that left him no room to bargain, so the council secured a soldier for nothing where it would normally pay to draw one in. The absence of any bounty marks him as a recruit the island gained without the usual inducement, a place filled at no cost to the Company.
318	313	1st. August At a Consultation held on Monday the 1st. Day of August 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signd, Dated 25th. July 1757. The Storekeeper brought in his Collections, and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter ending the 11th. of last Month, which were examined, and approved, and are as - follows vizt. Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honble. Companys Stores, from the 12. April to the 11. July 1757 vizt. Pewter 1 Dish	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 1 August 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 25 July 1757, was read, approved and signed. The Storekeeper brought in his collections, and the Paymaster his accounts, for the quarter ending 11 July, which were examined and approved. The collection of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company stores from 12 April to 11 July 1757 was: Pewter, 1 dish, £0 7s 2d Brazierware: 1 warming pan, £0 12s 4 1/2d 3 pair of steel snuffers, £0 7s 3d Brazierware total, £0 19s 7 1/2d Beef and pork: 716 pieces of beef at 2s, £71 12s 0d

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		£0 7s 2d Braziersware &ca. 1 Warming Pan £0 12s 4½d 3 pair of Steal Snuffers £0 7s 3d £0 19s 7½d Beef and Pork &ca. 76 Pieces of Beef at 2 £71 12s 0d 21 Pieces of Ditto 3.5½ £3 3s 10¾d 111 Pieces of Pork 2 £111 2s 0d 74 Pieces of Ditto 2/4 £8 12s 8d £194 10s 6¾d Sugar and Candy &ca. 1339½ of Sugar £21 10s 10d 766 of Candy £15 3s 10d £36 14s 8d Carried over £232 12s 0d	21 pieces of beef at 3s 1 1/2d, £3 3s 10 1/2d 1,111 pieces of pork at 2s, £111 2s 0d 74 pieces of pork at 2s 4d, £8 12s 8d Beef and pork total, £194 10s 6 1/2d Sugar and candy: 1,339 pounds of sugar, £21 10s 10d 766 pounds of candy, £15 3s 10d Sugar and candy total, £36 14s 8d Carried over, £232 12s 0d Interpretations The collection records goods sold out of the Company stores to the island inhabitants and shipping, and the overwhelming weight of it lay in salt meat, more than £194 of beef and pork against a few shillings of hardware. This shows the store working chiefly as the island source of preserved provisions, selling on to private buyers and to ships the salt meat it held in bulk, so that the Company acted as the great victualling merchant of the settlement, its warehouse the place where the island bought the beef and pork that would keep. The pieces of beef and pork sold at fixed prices by the piece show a settled tariff for salt meat rather than sale by weight. Each piece went at a standard rate, 2s for the common sort and a little more for a better cut, which made the store dealings simple and uniform, the buyer paying by the piece at a known price. This fixed pricing marks the orderly commercial system the Company ran even at its most remote station, the staple of the island diet sold across the counter at rates set and recorded like any regulated market. The sugar and candy sold in quantity point to the Company passing on to the island the produce of the eastern trade that flowed through its stores. Sugar and sugar candy came from India and China on the returning ships, and the store sold it on to the inhabitants, so the sweetening of the island table was supplied from the same cargoes that filled the warehouses in transit. The island thus consumed at retail a share of the very goods it existed to service on their way to Europe.
319	314	1st. August Brought Over £232 12s 0d Tea vizt. 76 of Bohia £3 11s 0d 197 of Congo £14 15s 6d 119 of Single £7 18s 8d £26 5s 2d Flour vizt. 42¾3 Flour £28 14s 9¾d 2358.2.18 Do. Baked £208 16s 6¾d £237 11s 4¾d Soap 27¾3 £0 13s 4¾d Candles 3.5.2 £63 18s 9d Oil vizt. 19¾ gallons Train £3 4s 11¾d 8¾40 gallons Linseed £1 12s 4d 16 Bottles Florence £2 0s 8d £6 17s 11¾d Salt 24 Bushels £3 17s 0d Provice 13 Reims £0 3s 4¾d	The collection of goods sold out of the Honourable Company stores continued, brought over at £232 12s 0d. Tea: 46 pounds of bohea, £3 11s 0d 147 pounds of congou, £14 15s 6d 119 pounds of singlo, £7 18s 8d Tea total, £26 5s 2d Flour: 42 hundredweight 3 quarters flour, £28 14s 9 1/2d 233 hundredweight 2 quarters 18 pounds flour, baked, £208 16s 6 1/2d Flour total, £237 11s 4d Soap, 27 hundredweight 3 quarters, £9 13s 4 1/2d Candles, 3 hundredweight, £3 18s 9d Oil: 19 and a half gallons train, £3 4s 11 1/2d 8 and a half gallons linseed, £1 12s 4d 16 bottles Florence, £2 0s 8d Oil total, £6 17s 11 1/2d Salt, 24 bushels, £3 17s 0d Service to drains, £3 4s 1 1/2d Paint: 37 pounds blue smalts, £2 15s 6d 2 barrels of blacking, £1 2s 0d 88 pounds of whiting, £1 0s 10d 70 pounds of white lead, £1 10s 10 1/2d 1 pound white copperas, £0 1s 0d Paint total, £4 9s 5 1/2d Pepper, £2 9s 3 3/4d Chinaware:

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		Paint vizt. 37 Blue Smalts £2 15s 6d 2 Barrels of Blacking £0 1s 2d 88 of Whiting £0 1s 10d 70 of White Lead £1 10s 10¾d 7 White Copperas £0 1s 0d £4 9s 5¾d Pepper 5.2 £2 9s 9¾d Chinaware vizt. 32 Sneakers £0 8s 0d 10 Soup Plates £0 5s 10d 7 Chamber Pots £0 10s 9¾d 9 Tea Pots £0 6s 9d Chinaware Carried Over £1 11s 4¾d Carried Over £585 14s 7¾d	32 sneakers, £0 8s 0d 10 soup plates, £0 5s 10d 7 chamber pots, £0 10s 9 1/2d 9 tea pots, £0 6s 9d Chinaware carried over, £1 11s 4 1/2d Carried over, £585 14s 7d Interpretations The flour dominates this part of the collection, more than £237 in all, and the bulk of it was sold baked rather than raw, 233 hundredweight of baked flour against 42 of plain. This shows the Company store running a bakery that turned its imported flour into bread for sale to the ships and the inhabitants, a further stage of processing carried on at the island itself. Baking the flour before sale added value and met the ships need for bread that would keep, so the store was not merely a warehouse but a place of manufacture, feeding the fleet with baked provision as well as raw stores. The paint materials, blue smalts, whiting, white lead and copperas, reveal the store supplying the ingredients from which paint was mixed rather than paint ready made. Smalts gave a blue colour, whiting and white lead the body and white, and these were combined on the spot with oil to protect the timber and ironwork of the buildings and guns against the salt air. That the island imported the raw components and made up its own paint shows how far a remote settlement had to carry every process within itself, buying the materials of maintenance in bulk and working them up as need arose. The train oil and linseed oil sold here served the constant fight against decay in a damp salt climate. Train oil, rendered from whale or fish, and linseed from flax were used to dress leather, mix paint and preserve wood and metal, so their steady sale from the store marks the endless labour of keeping the fabric of the island sound. Every rope, hide, timber and gun carriage needed oiling against the wet, and the store supplied the oils by which the settlement held off the ruin that the climate worked on everything exposed to it.
320	315	1757 Brought Over £585 14s 7¾d Chinaware Brought Over £1 11s 4¾d 10 Salled Dishes £0 8s 4d 37 Half Pint Cups and Saucers £0 15s 5d 9 Bowls £0 14s 3d 11 Guglets and Basons £1 9s 9¾d 7 Setts of Dishes and Plates £5 8s 6d 8 Sauce Boats £0 3s 8d 32 Quarter Pint Cups and Saucers £0 10s 8d 1 Soup Dish £0 5s 10d £11 7s 10d Serge 2 Yards £0 9s 6d Shoes vizt. 157 Pair of Mens Ordinary £34 13s 9¾d 2 Pair of Mens Pumps £0 14s 4d 2 Pair of Channel Ditto £0 15s 5d 2 Pair of Mens fine Shoes £0 13s 4d	The collection of goods sold out of the Honourable Company stores continued, brought over at £585 14s 7d. Chinaware, brought over, £1 11s 4 1/2d 10 salted dishes, £0 8s 4d 37 half pint cups and saucers, £0 15s 5d 9 bowls, £0 14s 3d 11 guglets and basons, £1 9s 9 1/2d 7 setts of dishes and plates, £5 8s 6d 8 sauce boats, £0 3s 8d 32 quarter pint cups and saucers, £0 10s 8d 1 soup dish, £0 5s 10d Chinaware total, £11 7s 10d Serge, 2 yards, £0 9s 6d Shoes: 137 pair of men's ordinary, £34 13s 9 1/2d 2 pair of men's pumps, £0 14s 4d 2 pair of channel pumps, £0 15s 5d 2 pair of men's fine shoes, £0 13s 4d 6 pair of girls, £0 12s 3d 2 pair of women's Spanish, £0 9s 7d 2 pair of boys, £0 7s 7d Shoes total, £38 6s 3 1/2d Thread: 14 pounds coloured, £2 11s 4d 8 pounds brown, £2 10s 8d Thread total, £5 10s 0d Hooks and lines: 19 dozen 11 lines, number 2, £3 13s 2 1/2d 6 dozen 6 lines, number 3, £1 8s 2d 2 dozen 2 lines, number 4, £0 10s 10d 3 hambro lines, £0 4s 7 1/2d 150 hooks, number 1, £0 8s 0d

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		6 Pair of Girls £0 12s 3d 2 Pair of Womens Spanish £0 9s 7d 2 Pair of Boys £0 7s 7d £38 6s 3¼d Thread &ca. 14 lb. Coloured £2 11s 4d 8 Wt. Brown £2 10s 8d £5 10s 0d Hooks and Lines &ca. 19 doz. 11 Lines No. 2 £3 13s 7¼d 6 doz. 6 Ditto 3 £1 8s 2d 2 doz. 2 Ditto 4 £0 10s 10d 3 Hambro Lines £0 4s 7¼d 150 Hooks No. 1 £0 8s 0d 325 Ditto 2 £0 10s 10d 600 Ditto 3 £0 12s 0d 375 Ditto 4 £0 3s 3d 100 Ditto 5 £0 2s 7¼d 100 Ditto Grantham £0 1s 1¼d £7 14s 3¼d Carried over £649 3s 11½d	325 hooks, number 2, £0 10s 10d 600 hooks, number 3, £0 12s 0d 375 hooks, number 4, £0 3s 3d 100 hooks, number 5, £0 2s 1½d 100 hooks of Grantham, £0 1s 1½d Hooks and lines total, £7 14s 3¼d Carried over, £649 3s 11½d Interpretations The shoes make up the largest single class in this part of the collection, more than £38, the bulk of it in 137 pairs of men ordinary shoes. This shows the store clothing the feet of the whole working population from imported stock, since the island made no shoes of its own and every pair had to be shipped from England. The range, from men ordinary and fine to girls, boys and women Spanish, marks the store supplying the footwear of a whole community, men, women and children alike, from the same warehouse that held the salt meat and the powder. The fishing hooks and lines, graded by size and sold in quantity, point to fishing as a real part of the island food supply. The store stocked lines and hooks in a full range of sizes, from heavy hambro lines to the smallest hooks, so the inhabitants could take fish from the sea around the island to supplement the plantation meat. That the Company kept such gear for sale shows the sea reckoned a standing resource of the settlement, the island drawing food from the water as well as from its herds and imported stores. The chinaware sold here, gugslets, sauce boats, cups and dishes, shows the finer goods of the Canton trade reaching the island own households at retail. The same porcelain that filled the ships in transit was sold in small lots to the inhabitants, so a family on St Helena could set its table with Chinese ware bought from the store. This marks the island as a consumer as well as a conduit of the eastern trade, taking for its own use a share of the manufactures that passed through on their way to Europe.
321	316	1st. August Brought Over £649 3s 11½d Canvas &ca. 60¾ Yards of Osenbrigs £2 0s 2d 6 Yards of English Canvas £0 6s 6d £2 6s 8d Oars 3 £0 12s 9d Coals 6 Bushels £0 3s 0d Arrack 39¾ Gallons £4 16s 3d Blankets 3 £1 11s 0d Ironmongersware &ca. 2¾ Binding Wire £0 3s 3¼d 6 Pair of Bellows £1 3s 9d 11 Splinter Locks £0 10s 8d 3 Small Frying Pans £0 5s 7¼d 4 Small Gimblets £0 0s 10d 1 Iron Rimm. Lock C. £0 7s 11d 3 Hand Hatchets £0 4s 6d 8 Chest Locks £0 10s 8d 1 doz. of Wood Screws	The collection of goods sold out of the Honourable Company stores continued, brought over at £649 3s 11½d. Canvas: 80 and a half yards of osnaburg, £2 0s 2d 6 yards of English canvas, £0 6s 6d Canvas total, £2 6s 8d Oars, 3, £0 12s 9d Coals, 6 bushels, £0 3s 0d Arrack, 39 and a half gallons, £4 16s 3d Blankets, 3, £1 11s 0d Ironmongery: 2 and a quarter pounds binding wire, £0 3s 3¼d 6 pair of bellows, £1 3s 9d 14 splinter locks, £0 10s 8d 3 small frying pans, £0 5s 7¼d 4 small gimlets, £0 0s 10d 1 iron rimmed lock, £0 7s 11d 3 hand hatchets, £0 4s 6d 8 chest locks, £1 10s 8d 1 dozen wood screws, £0 0s 4 1½d 1 grafting saw, £0 1s 10d 7 helves, £0 4s 5d 1 large frying pan, £0 3s 5 1½d 1 pair of small hinges, £0 1s 9d 1 chafing dish, £0 6s 6 1½d 2 scythe stones, £0 0s 2 1½d 5 stock locks, £0 12s 9 1½d 1 spade, £0 3s 5d 1 cupboard lock, £0 1s 1½d 2 shod shovels, £0 3s 5d 2 pickaxes, £0 1s 4d 1 loping axe, £0 3s 2d 1 iron rimmed lock with brass knobs, £0 6s 1d

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		£0 0s 4³/₄d 1 Grafting Saw £0 1s 10d 7 Holves £0 4s 8d 1 Large Frying Pan £0 3s 5³/₄d 1 Pair of Small H. Hinges £0 1s 9d 1 Chafing Dish £0 6s 6³/₄d 2 Scyth Stones £0 0s 2³/₄d 5 Stock Locks £0 12s 9³/₄d 1 Spade £0 3s 5d 1 Cupboard Lock £0 1s 1³/₄d 2 Shod Shovels £0 3s 5d 2 Pickaxes £0 1s 4d 1 Loping Ax £0 3s 2d 1 Iron Rimmd. Lock with Brass Knobs £0 6s 1d 1 Coffee Roaster £0 2s 9d 1 Ditching Shovel £0 1s 11³/₄d £1 14s 0³/₄d Carried Over £671 12s 8¹/₂d	1 coffee roaster, £0 2s 9d 1 ditching shovel, £0 1s 11 1/2d Ironmongery total, £1 14s 0 1/2d Carried over, £671 12s 8 1/2d Interpretations The ironmongery lists the whole range of tools and fittings a working settlement needed, from spades, shovels and pickaxes to locks, hinges and frying pans, all imported and sold from the store. This shows again how completely the island depended on England for every made object of iron, since it had no smith trade of its own to produce such goods, only an armourer to mend them. The store thus supplied the hand tools by which the land was worked and the buildings kept, each spade and hatchet carried across the ocean to a place that could make none. The osnaburg canvas sold here was a coarse linen much used for slaves clothing and rough working garments, so its presence in the store points to the material from which the labouring population was clad. Osnaburg was the cheap standard cloth of plantation labour across the empire, and the island bought it in quantity to clothe its slaves, so the same store that sold fine china and men fine shoes also held the coarse stuff that covered the people who did the heaviest work. The contrast within the one collection marks the range of the society the store served. The number of locks in the list, splinter locks, chest locks, stock locks and a cupboard lock among them, points to a real concern with securing property on the island. In a small community of soldiers, sailors, servants and slaves, goods had to be locked away, and the store sold the means to do it, so the demand for locks of every kind marks a settlement where theft was guarded against at every door and chest. The humble hardware of security was as much a staple of the store as the tools of labour.
322	317	1757 Brought Over £671 12s 8¹/₂d Earthenware 2 Milk Pans £0 1s 3³/₄d Tinware vizt. 1 Dripping Pan 3 Half Gallon Funnels £0 5s 2d 2 Quart Funnels £0 5s 6d 1 Gallon Ditto £0 1s 4d 6 Solder £0 2s 5³/₄d £0 6s 9d £1 1s 2³/₄d Haberdasheryware vizt. 6 Gross Shirt Buttons £0 15s 0d 5 Gross Wt. White Buttons £0 13s 4d 19 Shains of Silk £0 8s 8³/₄d 23 Shains of Mohair £0 8s 7³/₄d 1 Peice Holland Tape £0 0s 11d 7 Dozen Metal Coat Buttons £0 5s 0d 3³/₄ Dozen Metal Bt. Buttons £0 1s 2d £2 12s 9d Broad Cloth vizt. 7³/₄ Yards Coloured £6 7s 10d	The collection of goods sold out of the Honourable Company stores continued, brought over at £671 12s 8 1/2d. Earthenware, 2 milk pans, £0 1s 3 1/2d Tinware: 1 dripping pan, £0 5s 2d 3 half gallon funnels, £0 5s 6d 2 quart funnels, £0 1s 4d 1 gallon funnel, £0 2s 5 1/2d Soldier, £0 6s 9d Tinware total, £1 1s 2 1/2d Haberdashery: 6 gross shirt buttons, £0 15s 0d 5 gross white buttons, £0 13s 4d 19 skeins of silk, £0 8s 8 1/2d 23 skeins of mohair, £0 8s 7 1/2d 1 piece Holland tape, £0 0s 11d 7 dozen metal coat buttons, £0 5s 0d 3 and a half dozen metal breast buttons, £0 1s 2d Haberdashery total, £2 12s 9d Broadcloth: 7 and a half yards coloured, £6 7s 10d 11 and a half yards scarlet, £11 0s 10 1/2d Broadcloth total, £17 8s 8 1/2d Rice, 559, £1 14s 11 1/2d Books: 5 spelling books, £0 6s 3d 2 primmers, £0 0s 7d 18 common prayer books, £2 5s 0d 3 horn books, £0 0s 6d 4 testaments, £0 7s 4d 5 bibles, £0 18s 4d Books total, £3 18s 0d Iron pots: 5 of 1 gallon, £0 8s 4d 6 of 2 gallon, £1 3s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		11¾ Yards Scarlet £11 0s 10¾d £17 8s 8½d Rice 559 £1 14s 11¾d Books vizt. 5 Spelling Books £0 6s 3d 2 Primmers £0 0s 7d 18 Common Prayer Books £2 5s 0d 3 Horn Books £0 0s 6d 4 Testaments £0 7s 4d 5 Bibles £0 18s 4d £3 18s 0d Iron Pots vizt. 5 of 4 Gallons £0 8s 4d 6 of 2 Ditto £1 3s 3d 4 of 6 Ditto £1 10s 10d 1 of 12 Ditto £0 14s 4d £3 16s 9d Carried Over £702 6s 6¾d	4 of 6 gallon, £1 10s 10d 1 of 12 gallon, £0 14s 4d Iron pots total, £3 16s 9d Carried over, £702 6s 5 1/2d Interpretations The books sold from the store were almost wholly religious and educational, bibles, testaments, common prayer books, spelling books, primers and horn books. This shows the store meeting the island need for the means of worship and of teaching children their letters, since a settlement so far from England had to import even the books by which it prayed and learned. The horn books and primers mark the presence of children being schooled on the island, the spelling books and testaments the plain instruction of a small colonial community in reading and religion. The scarlet broadcloth at more than £11 the largest cloth item points to the demand for the material of uniforms and gentlemen coats. Scarlet was the colour of military dress and of finer wear, so its sale in quantity reflects the clothing of the garrison officers and the better sort of the island. Set against the coarse osnaburg sold for the slaves, the scarlet broadcloth marks again the two ends of the island society, the fine red cloth of the officer and the rough canvas of the labourer both drawn from the same store. The graded iron pots, from one gallon to twelve, show the store supplying the basic vessels of cooking to households of every size. Iron pots were the essential gear of any kitchen, and the store held them in a range of capacities for the different needs of the island homes, so a single family and a large establishment alike could be fitted out. That such ordinary domestic ironware had to be imported and sold from the Company store underlines once more how a bare island depended on shipped goods for the plainest necessities of daily life.
<u>323</u>	318	1st. August Brought Over £702 6s 6¾d Hats 2 Mens £1 18s 6d Cordage 199 £3 6s 4d Lead vizt. 38 Shot £0 7s 9d 10 Sheet Lead £0 2s 3¾d £0 10s 4d Glassware vizt. 10 Wine Glasses £0 6s 3d 1 Quart Decantor £0 3s 9¾d 1 Pint Ditto £0 3s 2d 2 Beer Glasses £0 3s 2d 1 Pint Cruet £0 4s 6d 2 Squares Glass 10.12 £0 1s 10d £1 2s 8¾d Nails vizt. 4¾ 2 £0 2s 9d 2 3 £0 1s 1d 36 4 £0 15s 9d 42 6 £0 17s 6d	The collection of goods sold out of the Honourable Company stores continued, brought over at £702 6s 4 3/4d. Hats, 2 men's, £1 18s 6d Cordage, 199, £3 6s 4d Lead: 38 pounds shot, £0 7s 9d 10 pounds sheet lead, £0 2s 3 1/2d Lead total, £0 10s 1 1/2d Glassware: 10 wine glasses, £0 6s 3d 1 quart decanter, £0 3s 9 1/2d 1 pint decanter, £0 3s 2d 2 beer glasses, £0 3s 2d 1 pint cruet, £0 4s 6d 2 squares glass, 10 by 12, £0 1s 10d Glassware total, £1 2s 8 1/2d Nails: 4 hundred at number 2, £0 2s 9d 2 hundred at number 3, £0 1s 1d 36 hundred at number 4, £0 15s 9d 42 hundred at number 6, £0 17s 6d 17 and a half hundred at number 10, £0 6s 6 1/2d 16 hundred at number 20, £0 6s 0d 1 and a half glazing brads, £0 1s 6d half sacks, £0 0s 8 1/2d 18 flooring brads, £0 6s 9d Nails total, £2 18s 7 1/2d Shirts: 149 sentinels shirts, £29 0s 1 1/2d 45 rollers, £3 3s 4d 2 pieces linen, £3 10s 5d Shirts total, £35 13s 10 1/2d Pitch: 17 pounds rosin, £0 2s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		17¾ 10 £0 6s 6¾d 16 20 £0 6s 0d 1¾ Glaz. Brads £0 1s 6d ¾ Tacks £0 0s 8½d 18 Flooring Brads £0 6s 9d £2 18s 7¾d Shirts vizt. 149 Centinells Shirts £29 0s 1¾d 45 Rolers £3 3s 4d 2 Peices Linen £3 10s 5d £35 13s 10¾d Pitch vizt. 17 Rozin £0 2s 10d 26 Turpentine £0 4s 4d 2 Pitch £0 0s 5¾d 1¾ Gallons Tar £0 1s 1¾d £0 8s 9d Carried Over £748 5s 2d	26 pounds turpentine, £0 4s 4d 2 pounds pitch, £0 0s 5 1/2d 1 and a half gallons tar, £0 1s 1 1/2d Pitch total, £0 8s 9d Carried over, £748 5s 2d Interpretations The sentinels shirts make up the largest item, 149 of them at £29, which shows the store clothing the private soldiers of the garrison in bulk. These were the plain shirts issued to the men on sentry duty, bought in quantity from the store to keep the garrison in linen, so the same warehouse that sold fine broadcloth and china also supplied the coarse necessary wear of the common soldier. The number bought marks the size of the garrison and the steady demand to clothe it from imported stock. The nails, graded by size and sold by the hundred, together with the flooring and glazing brads, point to continual building and repair on the island. Different nails served different work, from heavy fastening to fine glazing and flooring, and the store held the whole range because every structure had to be raised and maintained with imported iron. That so many were sold in a single quarter shows the constant carpentry a settlement of timber and stone demanded in a climate that worked hard on its buildings. The pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine sold here were the materials for caulking and preserving boats and timber against the sea. These naval stores sealed the seams of the island craft and protected exposed wood from rot, so their sale from the store marks the maintenance of the boats on which the island depended to work its road and land its cargoes. Scarce and shipped from far, as the earlier struggle over pitch and tar had shown, they were doled out from the store for the endless task of keeping the island small vessels sound.
324	319	1757 Brought Over £748 5s 2d Deals vizt. 1 Spar 1 Wain Board £0 2s 3¾d 2 Braulies £0 5s 6d 6 dd. Deals £0 14s 6d 14 Single Deals £1 7s 9d £1 11s 6d £4 1s 6¾d Cutleryware vizt. 8 Ivory Combs £0 8s 4d 9 Horn Do. £0 1s 6d 18 Stag Horn Knives and Forks £1 7s 3d 29 Pair Leather Garters £0 9s 8d 3 Shoe Knives £0 1s 1¾d 1 Pruning Ditto £0 1s 1¾d £2 9s 0d Turnersware vizt. 4 Cloth Brushes £0 9s 8d 1 Skimming Dish £0 0s 5d 2 Labourers Baskets £0 1s 10d 4 Pewed. Brushes	The collection of goods sold out of the Honourable Company stores continued, brought over at £748 5s 2d. Deals: 1 spar, £0 2s 3 1/2d 1 wainscot board, £0 5s 6d 2 baulks, £0 14s 6d 6 double deals, £1 7s 9d 14 single deals, £1 11s 6d Deals total, £4 1s 6 1/2d Cutlery: 8 ivory combs, £0 8s 4d 9 horn combs, £0 1s 6d 18 stag horn knives and forks, £1 7s 3d 29 pair leather garters, £0 9s 8d 3 shoe knives, £0 1s 1 1/2d 1 pruning knife, £0 1s 1 1/2d Cutlery total, £2 9s 0d Turnersware: 4 cloth brushes, £0 9s 8d 1 skimming dish, £0 0s 5d 2 labourers baskets, £0 1s 10d 4 sieves brushes, £0 1s 10d 1 scrub brush, £0 2s 3 1/2d 1 hair broom, £0 2s 4 1/2d Turnersware total, £0 18s 5d Starch, 39 and a quarter pounds, £0 14s 8 1/2d Leather, 45 pounds sole, £2 10s 7 1/2d Chelloes, 7 pieces, £3 13s 6d Buckram, 2 and a half yards, £0 2s 6d Hosiery: 2 pair of men's knit stockings, £0 6s 7d 2 pair of men's wove stockings, £0 8s 6d 62 pair of thread stockings, £8 18s 3d Hosiery total, £9 13s 4d Wine, 9 dozen port, £8 2s 0d Carried over, £780 10s 9 1/2d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 1s 10d 1 Scrub Brush £0 2s 3¼d 1 Hair Broom £0 2s 4¾d £0 18s 5d Starch 39¾ £0 14s 8½d Leather 45 Sole £2 10s 7½d Challoes 7 Peices £3 13s 6d Buckram 2¾ Yards £0 2s 6d Hosiersware vizt. 2 Pair of Mens Knit Stockings £0 6s 7d 2 Pair of Mens Wove Ditto £0 8s 6d 62 Pair of Thread Ditto £8 18s 3d £9 13s 4d Wine 9 dozen Port £8 2s 0d Carried Over £780 10s 9½d	Interpretations The deals, baulks and boards sold here were the sawn timber on which all building depended, imported ready cut because the island grew little wood fit for construction. A deal was a plank of softwood, a baulk a squared beam and a wainscot board a fine panel, and the store held them in these worked forms so that a builder could take up framing, flooring and panelling as needed. That even the raw timber of building had to be shipped and sold from the store marks the poverty of the island in useful wood, every plank carried across the ocean to a place that could fell no forest. The turnersware, brushes, baskets, a skimming dish and a hair broom, were the small wooden and bristle goods turned or made by hand, and their sale points to the ordinary cleaning and dairy work of the island households. A skimming dish lifted cream from milk and the brushes and brooms kept house and clothes, so the store supplied the humble implements of domestic labour alongside the tools of the field. The labourers baskets in the same class mark the gear of the working slaves and servants, the plainest equipment of the island daily toil. The chelloes sold here, the striped Indian cotton that the council had ordered in quantity from Bombay, show the eastern cloth reaching the island own buyers at retail. Bought in bulk from the Malabar coast and sold on by the piece from the store, chelloes clothed the inhabitants and their slaves in cotton woven thousands of miles away. The same fabric named in the council correspondence with Bombay thus completed its journey on the backs of the island people, the Indian textile trade running from the loom to the St Helena store to the individual buyer.
325	320	1st. August Brought Over £780 10s 9½d Long Cloth vizt. 3 Peices Number 1 £15 18s 0d 2 Peices Do. 2 £8 17s 0d 2 Peices Do. 4 £7 2s 0d 1 Peices Do. 5 £2 9s 0d 1 Peice Do. 7 £2 4s 6d 16 Peices Do. 8 £28 8s 0d 13¾ Peice Do. 9 £2 7s 3d 22 Peices Do. 10 £19 16s 0d £87 1s 9d £867 12s 6½d Sold to the Planters at 25 p Cent Shoes vizt. 4 Pair of Mens Pumps £1 12s 8d 1 Pair of Mens fine Shoes £0 7s 6d £2 0s 2d Broad Cloth vizt. 3¾ Yards Coloured £3 4s 0½d 4½ Yards Scarlet £0 18s 9d £4 2s 9¾d Haberdasheryware vizt. 4 Shains Mohair £0 2s 0d 4 Shains Silk	The collection of goods sold out of the Honourable Company stores continued, brought over at £780 10s 9 1/2d. Long cloth: 3 pieces, number 1, £15 18s 0d 2 pieces, number 2, £8 17s 0d 2 pieces, number 4, £7 2s 0d 1 piece, number 5, £2 9s 0d 1 piece, number 7, £2 4s 6d 16 pieces, number 8, £28 8s 0d 1 and three quarter piece, number 9, £2 7s 3d 22 pieces, number 10, £19 16s 0d Long cloth total, £87 1s 9d Total, £867 12s 6 1/2d A further collection recorded the goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent. Shoes: 4 pair of men's pumps, £1 12s 8d 1 pair of men's fine shoes, £0 7s 6d Shoes total, £2 0s 2d Broadcloth: 3 and three quarter yards coloured, £3 4s 1/2d 4 and a half yards scarlet, £0 18s 9d Broadcloth total, £4 2s 9 1/2d Haberdashery: 4 skeins mohair, £0 2s 0d 4 skeins silk, £0 2s 4d Haberdashery total, £0 4s 4d Doosooties, 1 piece, £0 10s 0d Hosiery, 1 pair women's stockings, £0 4s 1d Carried over, £7 1s 4 1/2d Interpretations The long cloth graded by number and sold in pieces was the plain Indian cotton that formed the largest single class of the whole collection, more than £87. This was the staple textile of the eastern trade, ordered by the council from Fort St George in just such numbered grades, and sold on from the store to clothe the island. Its dominance in the account shows

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 2s 4d £0 4s 4d Peesoities 1 Peice £0 10s 0d Hosiersware 1 Pair Womens Stockings £0 4s 1d Carried Over £7 1s 4½d	how far the settlement clothing rested on the cotton of the Coromandel coast, the ungraded bulk cloth that dressed the mass of the people passing from the Indian loom through the store to the island buyers. The second collection, sold to the planters at 25 per cent, marks a distinct class of buyer treated on different terms from the general sale. The planters were the free landholders who farmed the island, and the store sold to them at a set advance of 25 per cent on cost, a fixed markup that governed the whole class of goods they took. This shows the Company running a deliberate pricing policy toward its settlers, supplying them their cloth, shoes and small wares at a known margin, so the planters were bound to the store not only as their source of goods but on terms the Company set. That the planters bought fine shoes, scarlet broadcloth and silk among their goods shows the free landholders as the better sort of the island, able to afford the finer imported wares. Where the mass of the collection ran to coarse cloth and plain necessities, the planters took the dearer stuff, the scarlet cloth of a gentleman coat and shoes above the common sort. This marks them as a propertied class within the settlement, their purchases from the store setting them apart from the soldiers and slaves who wore the rougher goods sold at large.
326	321	1757 Brought Over £7 1s 4½d Long Cloth vizt. 3 Peices Number 10 £3 3s 0d 1 Peice Do. 8 £2 1s 0d 1 Peice Do. 3 £4 5s 6d 1 Peice Do. 9 £1 11s 6d £11 1s 0d Hats 1 Mans £1 1s 10¾d Sold at 40 p Cent Cutleryware 2 Horn Combs £0 0s 5d Lead 24 Shot £0 6s 6d Canvas vizt. 1 Yard Osenbrigs £0 0s 10¾d 1¾ Yard English Canvas £0 0s 8½d £0 1s 7d Soap 145 £6 6s 10¾d Salt 3¾ Bushels £1 3s 6d Flour no. 2 £11 18s 3d Starch 7¾ £0 3s 4d Deals 27 Single £4 1s 0d Arrack 1¾ Gallons £0 9s 0d Paint vizt. 9¾ Bt. Smalts £0 18s 7d 1 Barrel Blaching £0 0s 9¾d 4 Stone Colour £0 2s 6d £1 1s 10¾d Thread 6 lb. Coloured £1 8s 0d	The collection of goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent continued, brought over at £7 1s 4 1/2d. Long cloth: 3 pieces, number 10, £3 3s 0d 1 piece, number 8, £2 1s 0d 1 piece, number 3, £4 5s 0d 1 piece, number 9, £1 11s 0d Long cloth total, £11 1s 0d A further collection recorded the goods sold at 40 per cent. Hats, 2 men's, £1 1s 10 1/2d Cutlery, 2 horn combs, £0 0s 5d Lead, 24 pounds shot, £0 6s 6d Canvas: 1 yard osnaburg, £0 0s 10 1/2d 1 and a half yard English canvas, £0 0s 8 1/2d Canvas total, £0 1s 7d Soap, 14 pounds, £0 6s 10 1/2d Salt, 3 and a half bushels, £0 1s 3s 6d Flour, number 2, £0 11s 18s 3d Starch, 7 and a half, £0 3s 4d Deals, 2 single, £0 4s 1d Arrack, 1 and a half gallons, £0 9s 0d Paint: 9 and a half pounds smalts, £0 18s 7d 1 barrel blacking, £0 0s 9 1/2d 4 pounds stone colour, £0 2s 6d Paint total, £1 1s 10 1/2d Thread, 6 pounds coloured, £0 1s 8d Oil: 2 and a half gallons train, £0 9s 9d half gallon linseed, £0 1s 2d 1 bottle Florence, £0 3s 2 1/2d Oil total, £0 14s 1 1/2d Chinaware: 4 sauce boats, £0 1s 10d 1 soup dish, £0 7s 3 1/2d Chinaware total, £0 9s 1 1/2d Carried over, £47 7s 10d Interpretations A third set of goods was sold at 40 per cent, a higher advance than the 25 per cent charged to the planters, which shows the store working two or more distinct pricing tiers within its dealings. The Company set different margins for different classes of buyer or goods, so the same warehouse sold at cost to some, at 25 per cent to the planters and at 40 per cent to others, a graded system of retail that let the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Oil vizt. 2¾ Gallons Train £0 9s 9d ¾ Gallon Linseed £0 1s 2d 1 Bottle Florence £0 3s 2¾d £0 14s 1¾d Chinaware vizt. 4 Sauce Boats £0 1s 10d 1 Soup Dish £0 7s 3¾d £0 9s 1¾d Carried Over £47 7s 10d	establishment adjust its return according to who bought and what. This marks a considered commercial practice rather than a single uniform sale, the store pricing its goods by category and customer. The higher 40 per cent advance fell on a mixed run of goods, hardware, cloth, paint and drink, sold in small lots. Where the planters took chiefly cloth at their fixed rate, this dearer tier covered the general run of sundries, so the pricing may have turned on the class of goods as much as the class of buyer, the Company loading a larger margin onto the miscellaneous small wares than onto the bulk cloth. The difference in rate across the collections shows the store extracting what the traffic would bear from each kind of sale. The arrack sold at this higher rate points again to spirit as a good the store could price dear, being always in demand and often scarce. The council had lately bought arrack at 4s a gallon against a shortage, and here it sold small quantities on at a full advance, so the drink that the island struggled to keep in stock returned a good margin when it was sold. The steady appearance of arrack across every tier of the collection marks it as a staple of island consumption that the store could turn to reliable profit whenever it had any to sell.
327	322	1st. August Brought Over £47 7s 10d Rice 42 £0 4s 4½d Sugar and Candy vizt. 224 Sugar £2 10s 4d 140 Candy £3 15s 10d £6 6s 2d Twine 14 Shains £0 11s 8d Candles 4.3 £6 13s 1¾d Books vizt. 6 Common Prayer Books £0 19s 6d 7 Spelling Books £0 11s 4¾d 3 Testaments £0 7s 0d 1 Primmer 1 Horn Book £0 0s 3d £1 18s 6½d Nails vizt. 18 4 £0 10s 6d 22 10 £0 10s 1d 2 20 £0 0s 11d 3 3 £0 0s 2d 21 6 £0 11s 4¾d 1 2 £0 0s 10d 1 Flooring Brads £0 0s 5¾d £1 16s 2d Cordage 14 £0 5s 10d Ironware vizt. 3 Splinter Locks £0 2s 9d 2 Small Gimblets £0 0s 7d	The collection of goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent continued, brought over at £47 7s 10d. Rice, 42 pounds, £0 4s 4 1/2d Sugar and candy: 224 pounds sugar, £2 10s 4d 140 pounds candy, £3 15s 10d Sugar and candy total, £6 6s 2d Twine, 14 skeins, £0 11s 8d Candles, 43 pounds, £6 13s 1 1/2d Books: 6 common prayer books, £0 19s 6d 7 spelling books, £0 11s 4 1/2d 3 testaments, £0 7s 0d 1 primer 1 horn book, £0 0s 3d Books total, £1 18s 6 1/2d Nails: 18 hundred at number 4, £0 10s 6d 22 hundred at number 10, £0 10s 1d 2 hundred at number 20, £0 0s 11d 3 hundred at number 3, £0 2s 0d 21 hundred at number 6, £0 11s 4 1/2d 1 hundred at number 2, £0 0s 10d 1 flooring brads, £0 0s 5 1/2d Nails total, £1 16s 2d Cordage, 14, £0 5s 10d Ironware: 3 splinter locks, £0 2s 9d 2 small gimlets, £0 0s 7d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 1 1/2d 3 small frying pans, £0 7s 6d 1 cupboard lock, £0 5s 3d 2 padlocks, £0 6s 5d 1 stock lock, £0 3s 2 1/2d Ironware total, £1 5s 10d Carried over, £66 9s 6 1/2d Interpretations The sale of sugar and candy to the planters at the higher rate shows even the produce of the eastern trade priced by the tier of buyer. Sugar and sugar candy that flowed through the store from India and China were sold to the planters at the 40 per cent advance, so the settlers paid a full margin on the sweetening of their tables. This confirms that the graded pricing ran across all classes of goods alike, the store extracting its set return from the planters whether they bought cloth, hardware or the sugar of the returning ships.

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		1 Scyth Stone £0 0s 1¾d 3 Small Frying Pans £0 7s 6d 1 Cupboard Lock £0 5s 3d 2 Padlocks £0 6s 5d 1 Stock Lock £0 3s 2¾d £1 5s 10d Carried Over £66 9s 6½d	The candles sold in quantity at more than £6 point to the steady demand for artificial light in the island households and stores. Made from tallow or wax and imported or rendered on the island, candles were a daily necessary that the store supplied in bulk, so their prominence in the collection marks the ordinary want of light after dark in a settlement that could make little of its own. The planters buying candles at the higher rate paid their full margin even for so plain a necessity. The recurrence of locks and padlocks in this planters collection, as in the general sale, shows the free landholders too concerned to secure their property. The planters bought splinter locks, a cupboard lock, padlocks and a stock lock to fasten their houses, stores and chests, so the same anxiety over theft that ran through the whole island reached the propertied settlers on their farms. The demand for locks across every class of buyer marks a society where goods were guarded at every level, from the Company warehouse to the planter homestead.
328	323	1757 Brought Over £66 9s 6½d Hooks and Lines vizt. 6 dozen 9 Lines Number 2 £1 11s 6d 5 dozen 6 Do. 3 £1 10s 3d 1 dozen 6 Do. 4 £0 9s 10¾d 130 Hooks 1 £0 9s 6d 225 Do. 2 £0 9s 9d 400 Do. 3 £0 10s 0d 50 Do. 4 £0 0s 10d 250 Do. 5 £0 6s 6d £5 8s 2¾d Tea vizt. 10 Bohea £0 13s 4d 186 Congo £18 12s 0d 66 Single £5 15s 6d £25 0s 10d Beef and Pork vizt. 40 Pound of Pork £1 13s 4d 2 Pound of Beef £0 7s 10d £3 1s 2d £98 19s 8½d Sold to the Honorable Companys Ships at 40 p Cent. Oil 14 Gallons Linseed £3 5s 11d Flour 332 £3 16s 1d Salt 3 Bushels £0 12s 3d Twine 12 £0 10s 0d £8 4s 3d Charges	The collection of goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent continued, brought over at £66 9s 6 1/2d. Hooks and lines: 6 dozen 9 lines, number 2, £1 11s 6d 5 dozen 6 lines, number 3, £1 10s 3d 1 dozen 6 lines, number 4, £0 9s 10 1/2d 130 hooks, number 1, £0 9s 6d 225 hooks, number 2, £0 9s 9d 400 hooks, number 3, £0 10s 0d 50 hooks, number 4, £0 0s 10d 250 hooks, number 5, £0 6s 6d Hooks and lines total, £5 8s 2 1/2d Tea: 10 pounds bohea, £0 13s 4d 186 pounds congou, £18 12s 0d 66 pounds singlo, £5 15s 6d Tea total, £25 0s 10d Beef and pork: 10 pound of pork, £1 13s 4d 2 pound of beef, £0 7s 10d Beef and pork total, £3 1s 2d Total, £98 19s 8 1/2d A further collection recorded the goods sold to the Honourable Company ships at 40 per cent. Oil, 14 gallons linseed, £3 5s 11d Flour, 332, £3 16s 1d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 12s 3d Twine, 12 pounds, £0 8s 14s 3d Total, £8 14s 3d Interpretations The tea sold to the planters at 40 per cent came to £25, dominated by congou, which shows the settlers taking the black tea of the Canton trade in real quantity for their own tables. The same tea that filled the China ships in transit was sold on to the island landholders at the full advance, so the planters drank the produce of the eastern trade bought at a Company margin. The prominence of tea in their purchases marks how far the habit of tea drinking had reached even this remote settlement, the leaf carried from China consumed by the free families of the island. The final collection, goods sold to the Company own ships at 40 per cent, shows the establishment charging its own vessels the same full margin it charged private buyers. Even the ships of the Company, drawing oil, flour, salt and twine from the island store, paid the 40 per cent advance, so the store treated the fleet as a customer to be charged like any other. This marks the strict internal accounting of the Company, each ship account debited at a set rate for what it took, so that the store return was booked whether the buyer was a planter, an inhabitant or a Company ship of the line.

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			The fishing lines and hooks sold to the planters in this tier, as in the general collection, confirm fishing as a settled part of the island economy across every class. The planters bought lines and hooks in graded sizes to take fish from the sea, so the propertied settlers as well as the common people drew food from the water. The wide sale of fishing gear at every pricing tier marks the sea as a resource open to all on the island, the store supplying the means to work it to planter and labourer alike.
329	324	1st. August Charges general Debtor, for the following Stores Issued from the 12th. of April to the 11th. July 1757 vizt. Chinaware vizt. 12 Quarter Pint Cups and Saucers £0 3s 6d 12 Bowls £0 17s 0d 12 half Pint Cups and Saucers £0 4s 6d 2 Tea Pots £0 1s 4d 2 Setts Dishes and Plates £1 8s 2d 12 Sneakers for the Hospital £0 2s 0d for the Castle £2 16s 6d Glassware vizt. 2 Squares of Glass 6 by 8 for Mr. Clarks House £0 0s 7¾d 2 Squares Do. 10 by 12 for the Castle £0 1s 8d £0 2s 3¾d Arrack 10¾ Gallons for the Men in assisting to haul up the Long Boat, getting Stores from several Ships, and for Bringing accounts of Ships to Windward £1 6s 6d Nails vizt. 2 of 2 £0 1s 2d 2 3 £0 0s 11¾d 4 4 £0 1s 7d 10 6 £0 3s 6¾d 19 10 £0 6s 4d 10 20 £0 3s 1¾d 10 40 £0 2s 11d 1¾ Glaz. Brads £0 1s 4d for the Rackets, Sheds, in the Lines, Public, Castle, Hospital, Long Barracks, Enginrs. Use, One of the Cranes at Homes, East flying Party Homes, the Church Gunn Use and Crane £1 0s 11¾d Canvas vizt. 8¾ Yards Osenbrigs for Cover of Rackets £0 5s 1¾d 1 Yard English Canvas for the Arms. Use £0 0s 11¾d £0 6s 1¾d Carried Over £5 12s 4¾d	The charges to general debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1757 were set out. A number of items were issued for the use of the Castle. Chinaware: 12 quarter pint cups and saucers, £0 3s 6d 12 bowls, £0 17s 0d 12 half pint cups and saucers, £0 4s 6d 2 tea pots, £0 1s 4d 2 setts dishes and plates, £1 8s 2d 12 sneakers for the hospital, £0 2s 0d Chinaware total, £2 16s 6d Glassware: 2 squares of glass, 6 by 8, for Mr Clark's house, £0 0s 7 1/2d 2 squares of glass, 10 by 12, for the Castle, £0 1s 8d Glassware total, £0 2s 3 1/2d Arrack, 10 and a half gallons, for the men employed in heaving up the long boat, getting stores from several ships and for bringing anchors of ships to windward, £1 6s 6d The nails were issued for the buckets, sheds, the linen, table, Castle, hospital, long barracks, engineer's use, one of the West flying party, the church, the gun house and the crane. Nails: 2 hundred of number 2, £0 1s 2d 2 hundred of number 3, £0 0s 11 1/2d 4 hundred of number 4, £0 1s 7d 10 hundred of number 6, £0 3s 6 1/2d 19 hundred of number 10, £0 6s 4d 10 hundred of number 20, £0 3s 1 1/2d 10 hundred of number 40, £0 2s 11d 1 and a half glazing brads, £0 1s 4d Nails total, £1 0s 11 1/2d Canvas: 8 and a half yards osnaburg for covering packets, £0 5s 1 1/2d 1 yard English canvas for the armourer's use, £0 0s 11 3/4d Canvas total, £0 6s 1 1/2d Carried over, £5 12s 4 1/2d Interpretations The charges to general debtor record the stores the establishment consumed on its own account, distinct from the goods sold to buyers, so this account books the internal use of the Company property rather than any sale. The items go out to the Castle, the hospital, the barracks, the church and the working parties, charged against the general account as the running cost of maintaining the settlement itself. This shows the same careful accounting applied to the Company own consumption as to its sales, every pane of glass and paper of nails set down and valued even when no money changed hands. The arrack issued to the men heaving up the long boat and bringing ships anchors to windward shows spirit served as a working allowance for heavy labour. The hardest physical tasks of the road, hauling boats and moving anchors, were rewarded with a measure of arrack to the men who did them, so drink functioned as part of the wage of toil. This marks the customary use of spirit to drive and reward heavy work in the maritime world, the island charging

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			the arrack to the general account as a legitimate cost of getting its heaviest labour done. The detailed noting of where each parcel of nails went, to the buckets, the linen, the church, the gun house and the crane, reveals the constant small maintenance that kept the settlement fabric in repair. Nails of every size were drawn for a dozen different works at once, from mending buckets to fitting out the barracks and the church, so the account traces the endless carpentry of an island where everything wooden needed continual attention. Charging each use to the general debtor shows the establishment tracking even the humblest material to the particular work it served.
330	325	1757 Brought Over £5 12s 4³/₄d Candles vizt. 143 for the Castle £14 14s 11³/₄d 135 for the Council £13 18s 5³/₄d £28 13s 5d Soap 60 Starch 28³/₄ for Linen £1 18s 9d £0 9s 11d Earthenware 2 Milk Pans £0 1s 3d Ironmongersware vizt. 1 Ditching Shovel for the Hospital £0 4s 6d 1 Large Frying Pan, the Castle £0 3s 1³/₄d 20 Files £0 10s 2³/₄d 6 File Hafts £0 0s 3d 1 Rasp £0 0s 6³/₄d for the Armourers Use 3 Helves for the Bakers, Masons & Hospital £0 3s 7d 1 Cupboard Lock for the Doctors Shop £0 3s 9d 2 Bricklayers Trowels for the Masons Use £0 3s 2d 3 Hand Hatchets £0 4s 0d 2 Claw Hammers £0 2s 6³/₄d on the Carpenters use & the Hospital 1 Stock Lock Store Use £0 2s 2³/₄d £1 17s 5d Pitch and Tarr vizt. 30 Pitch £0 5s 0d 1 Rozen £0 0s 1³/₄d for Repairs to the Long Barracks, Castle and Armourers Use £0 5s 1³/₄d Deals vizt. 3 Cuffers £0 11s 1d 52 Single Deals £5 4s 0d 12 dd. Deals £1 18s 3d 7 Peices Buga Timber £0 11s 5d £8 4s 9d Turnersware 2 Paint Brushes, for the Castle £0 1s 1³/₄d	The charges to general debtor for stores issued continued, brought over at £5 12s 4 1/2d. Candles: 143 pounds for the Castle, £14 14s 11 1/2d 135 pounds for the council, £13 18s 6 1/2d Candles total, £28 13s 6d Soap, 60 pounds, and starch, 28 and a quarter pounds, for linen, £1 18s 9d Earthenware, 2 milk pans, £0 9s 11d Ironmongery: 1 ditching shovel for the hospital, £0 4s 6d 1 large frying pan, the Castle, £0 3s 1 1/2d 20 files, for the armourer's use, £0 10s 2 1/2d 6 file hafts, for the armourer's use, £0 0s 3d 1 rasp, for the armourer's use, £0 0s 6 1/2d 3 helves, for the bakers, mason's and hospital, £0 3s 7 1/2d 1 cupboard lock for the doctor's shop, £0 3s 9d 2 bricklayers trowels, for the mason's use, £0 3s 2d 3 hand hatchets, for the carpenter's and the hospital, £0 4s 0d 2 claw hammers, for the carpenter's and the hospital, £0 2s 6 1/2d 1 stock lock, store use, £0 2s 3 1/2d Ironmongery total, £1 17s 5d Pitch and tar: 30 pounds pitch, for repairs to the long barracks, Castle and armourer's use, £0 5s 0d 1 dozen, for repairs to the long barracks, Castle and armourer's use, £0 0s 1 1/2d Pitch and tar total, £0 5s 1 1/2d Deals: 3 buffers, £0 11s 1d 32 single deals, £5 4s 0d 12 double deals, £1 18s 3d 7 pieces cargo timber, £0 11s 5d Deals total, £8 4s 9d Turnersware, 2 paint brushes, for the Castle, £0 1s 1 1/2d Twine, 3 skeins, for the Castle and making cartridges, £0 1s 8 1/2d Carried over, £47 5s 9 1/2d Interpretations The candles issued to the Castle and council came to nearly £29, by far the largest charge in this account, which shows the great quantity of light the seat of government consumed. The Castle housed the offices, the guard and the council chamber, and burned candles in bulk for its work by night, so the running cost of lighting the centre of the island administration ran well above any other single item of internal consumption. This marks the Castle as the hub of the settlement, its business carried on around the clock and its need for light charged heavily to the general account. The nails, tools and pitch issued name in fine detail the trades that kept the island working, the armourer, the mason, the bricklayer, the baker, the carpenter and the doctor each drawing the gear of his craft from the store. Files and a rasp went to the

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		Twine 3 Shains for the Castle and making Cartridges £0 1s 8¾d Carried Over £41 5s 9¾d	armourer, trowels to the mason, hatchets and hammers to the carpenter, so the account traces the whole working establishment of the island through the materials it consumed. This shows a settlement maintained by a body of skilled tradesmen, each supplied from the Company store and his consumption charged to the general debtor as a cost of keeping the place in repair. The pitch issued for repairs to the long barracks shows the constant upkeep the garrison quarters demanded. The long barracks housed the soldiers, and their fabric needed sealing and mending against the weather, so pitch was drawn to keep the men lodging sound. That the barracks required such repair marks the wear that hard use and a damp climate worked on the buildings that sheltered the garrison, the establishment charging the materials of their maintenance to the general account like every other cost of holding the island.
331	326	1st. August Brought Over £47 5s 9¾d Lines vizt. 4 Hambro. for Sents £0 5s 6d 6 Lines No. 4 for the Masons Use £0 2s 2¾d 6 Do. No. 3 for Whips £0 1s 11¾d £0 9s 8d Paint vizt. 2 Barrels of Blaching £0 1s 7¾d 11 White Lead £0 3s 11d 35 Whiting £0 0s 8¾d for Painting the Flagstaff and Painting in the Castle 12 Blue Smalts for Linen £0 17s 0d £1 2s 8d Oil vizt. 1¾ Gallons Linseed for Painting the Flag Staff and in the Castle £0 3s 10d 16¾ Gallons Train for the Kitchen and Armourers Use £2 10s 6¾d 1 Bottle of Florence for Cleaning Small Arms £0 2s 3¾d £2 16s 8d Cordage 181¾ for a Crane Rope and Thatching the Eng. Barracks £1 9s 1¾d Sugar 2 for Repairs in the Castle £0 0s 6d Cartwheels 3 Wheel Barrows £0 2s 3d Iron Pots 1 of 3 Gallon for the Hospital £0 4s 3d Coals 78 Bushels for the Armourers Use £0 4s 6s 1¾d £59 18s 3¾d Diet expences Do. for the following Stores for the Use of the Table from the 12. of April to the 11th. July vizt. Tea 8 Single £0 9s 4d Salt 3 Bushels £0 9s 0d Flour 106 3 £6 6s 7¾d Carried Over £7 4s 11¾d	The charges to general debtor for stores issued continued, brought over at £47 5s 9 1/2d. Lines: 4 hambro, for sentries, £0 5s 6d 6 lines, number 4, for the mason's use, £0 2s 2 1/2d 6 lines, number 3, for whips, £0 1s 11 1/2d Lines total, £0 9s 8d Paint: 2 barrels of blacking, £0 1s 7 1/2d 11 pounds white lead, for painting the flagstaff and painting in the Castle, £0 3s 11d 35 pounds whiting, for painting the flagstaff and painting in the Castle, £0 0s 8 1/2d 12 pounds blue smalts for linen, £0 17s 0d Paint total, £1 2s 8d Oil: 1 and a half gallons linseed, for painting the flagstaff and in the Castle, £0 3s 10d 16 and a half gallons train, for the kitchen and armourer's use, £2 10s 6 1/2d 1 bottle of Florence, for cleaning small arms, £0 2s 3 1/2d Oil total, £2 16s 8d Cordage, 101 and a half, for a crane rope and thatching the long barracks, £1 9s 7 1/2d Sugar, 2 pounds, for repairs in the Castle, £0 0s 6d Cartwheels, 3 wheelbarrows, £0 2s 3d Iron pots, 1 of 3 gallon, for the hospital, £0 4s 3d Coals, 78 bushels, for the armourer's use, £4 6s 1 1/2d Total, £59 18s 3 1/2d The charges to diet expense debtor for the following stores for the use of the table from 12 April to 11 July 1757 were: Tea, 8 pounds singlo, £0 9s 4d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 7s 0d Flour, 106, £6 6s 7 1/2d Carried over, £7 4s 11 1/2d Interpretations The coals issued to the armourer at more than £4 point to the forge as the heart of the island metalworking, kept burning to make and mend the iron of the settlement. The armourer needed a steady supply of fuel to work his forge, repairing the small arms, the tools and the ironwork of the guns and buildings, so the coals charged to his use mark the one place on the island where iron could be shaped and fixed. That so much fuel went to a single trade shows how the whole settlement depended on the armourer forge for the making good of everything in metal, the coals to feed it drawn from a stock as precious as any on the island.

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			The paint materials issued for the flagstaff and the Castle show the establishment keeping the fabric of its chief buildings sound and presentable. White lead, whiting and smalts mixed with oil were laid on the flagstaff and within the Castle, protecting the timber and giving the seat of government a fit appearance, so the account books the cost of both preservation and show. The flagstaff in particular, the mark of the island authority and the point from which its signals flew, was kept painted at the general charge as a thing that had to stand sound and conspicuous above the settlement. The blue smalts issued for linen reveal a domestic use of the pigment quite apart from painting, the blue being added to the wash to whiten linen. Smalts ground fine and used in the laundry counteracted the yellowing of white cloth, so the establishment drew the pigment for the washing of its linen as well as for its paint. This small detail shows the careful keeping of the Castle household, its table and bed linen laundered and blued to a proper whiteness, the material charged to the general account among the costs of maintaining the seat of government in good order.
332	327	1757 Diet expences &c. Brought Over £7 4s 11³/₄d Rice 25 £0 1s 5d Arrack 59 Gallons £7 12s 5d Pork 14 Pounds £1 12s 6³/₄d Sugar and Candy vizt. 20 Sugar £0 5s 0d 247 Candy £4 2s 4d £1 7s 4d Oil 1 Bottle Florence £0 2s 3³/₄d £21 0s 9³/₄d Blacks Do. for the following Stores Issued for their Use from the 12th. April to the 11th. July Rice 3937 £10 5s 0d Arrack 3³/₄ Gallons £0 9s 8¹/₂d Beef and Pork vizt. 166 Beef £28 0s 3d 112 Pork £12 19s 0d £40 19s 3d Sugar and Candy vizt. 68 Sugar £0 17s 0d 13 Candy £0 4s 4d for the Sick £1 1s 4d Tea 3 lb. Bohea for Ditto £0 10s 5d Oil 4 Gallons Train £0 12s 3d Blankets 12 £3 7s 6d Sailors Cloaths vizt. 172 Mens Checked Shirts £30 16s 4d 10 Boys Shirts £1 7s 6d 85 Mens Jackets £66 4s 4d 85 Pair Mens Hemp Ozenb. Breeches	The charges to diet expense debtor for stores issued continued, brought over at £7 4s 11 1/2d. Rice, 25 pounds, £0 1s 5d Arrack, 59 gallons, £7 12s 5d Pork, 14 pounds, £1 12s 4 1/2d Sugar and candy: 20 pounds sugar, £0 5s 0d 247 pounds candy, £4 2s 4d Sugar and candy total, £1 7s 4d Oil, 1 bottle Florence, £0 2s 3 1/2d Total, £21 0s 9 1/2d The charges to slaves debtor for the following stores issued for their use from 12 April to 11 July were: Rice, 3,957 pounds, £10 5s 0d Arrack, 3 and a half gallons, £0 9s 8 1/2d Beef and pork: 166 pounds beef, £28 0s 3d 112 pounds pork, £12 19s 0d Beef and pork total, £40 19s 3d Sugar and candy: 68 pounds sugar, for the sick, £0 17s 0d 13 pounds candy, for the sick, £0 4s 4d Sugar and candy total, £1 1s 4d Tea, 3 pounds bohea, for the sick, £0 10s 5d Oil, 4 gallons train, £0 12s 3d Blankets, 12, £3 7s 6d The charges to slaves debtor for their clothing continued, listing goods to clothe the men and boys. Sailors clothes: 172 men's checked shirts, £30 16s 4d 10 boys shirts, £1 7s 6d 85 men's jackets, £66 4s 4d 85 pair men's hemp gunny breeches, part of the above Sailors clothes total, £98 8s 2d Carried over, £58 5s 5 1/2d Interpretations The slaves account books the cost of feeding and clothing the enslaved population, and the great weight of it lay in salt meat, more than £40 of beef and pork, alongside nearly 4,000 pounds of rice. This shows the plain ration on which the slaves were kept, bulk grain and preserved meat charged to their account as the running cost of their maintenance. The establishment fed its slaves from the same store that fed the garrison, but set their provision down in a separate account, so the ledger measured exactly what the enslaved labour cost to sustain, the food entered as a charge against the people it kept alive.

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		to Cloath the Men and Boys £98 8s 2d Carried Over £58 5s 5¾d	The sugar, candy and tea issued specifically for the sick among the slaves show a small provision for the ill beyond the ordinary ration. These comforts were drawn only for the sick, so the account distinguishes between the plain feeding of the working slave and the little extra allowed to one who had fallen ill, the sugar and tea charged as a cost of nursing a sick labourer back to use. This marks the calculation behind even this apparent kindness, the establishment spending on a sick slave what might restore him to work, the extra provision an investment in recovering a valuable hand rather than an act of mere charity. The clothing issued to the slaves, checked shirts, jackets and hemp gunny breeches, was the coarse standard dress of plantation labour, and its charge to their account came to a striking sum. The breeches made of gunny, the same coarse sacking used for the rice bags, mark the roughness of the cloth that covered the working slaves, and the whole was booked against the slaves debtor as the cost of keeping them decently covered for their labour. That the account tracked their clothing as closely as their food shows the enslaved people entered in the ledger as a maintained asset, every shirt and pair of breeches a charge against the workforce they clad.
333	328	1st. August Brought Over £58 5s 5¾d Sailors Cloaths Brought Over £98 8s 2d 5 Boys Jackets £3 7s 7d 5 Pair Boys Breeches 54 Monmouth Caps £3 12s 0d 36 Scotch Bonnets £1 7s 0d to Cloath the Men and Boys £106 14s 9d Peesooties £0 5s 9¾d Kersey 17¾ Yards £1 3s 4d Long Cloth 7 Peices No. 9 £8 8s 0d Chelloes 26 Peices £12 7s 0d Thread vizt. 4 Wt. Brown £1 6s 8d 3 Coloured £0 10s 0d to Cloath the Women and Children £1 16s 8d Tape 6 Peices of Holland £0 5s 0d Osenbrigs 54¾ Yards £1 12s 11d Iron Pots 2 of 6 Gallons £0 14s 0d Ironware vizt. 1 Small Frying Pan for the Peak House £0 1s 8½d 1 Stock Lock for the Blacks House in the Garden £0 2s 3¾d £0 4s 0d Soap 2 £0 1s 3d Chinaware 2 Plates £0 0s 8½d Deals 2 Singles £0 4s 0d Nails 1 for a Coffin	The charges to slaves debtor for their clothing continued, brought over at £58 5s 5 1/2d, the sailors clothes brought over at £98 8s 2d, listing further goods to clothe the men and boys. Sailors clothes: 5 boys jackets, £3 7s 7d 5 pair boys breeches, part of the above 54 monmouth caps, £3 12s 0d 36 scotch bonnets, £1 7s 0d Sailors clothes total, £106 14s 9d Further stores were issued to clothe the women and children. Doosooties, £0 5s 9 3/4d Kersey, 17 and a half yards, £1 3s 4d Long cloth, 7 pieces, number 9, £8 8s 0d Chelloes, 26 pieces, £12 7s 0d Thread: 4 pounds brown, £1 6s 8d 3 pounds coloured, £0 10s 0d Thread total, £1 16s 8d Tape, 6 pieces of Holland, £0 5s 0d Osnaburg, 54 and a half yards, £1 12s 11d Iron pots, 2 of 6 gallons, £0 14s 0d Ironware: 1 small frying pan, for the peak house, £0 1s 8 1/2d 1 stock lock, for the slaves house in the garden, £0 2s 3 1/2d Ironware total, £0 4s 0d Soap, 2 pounds, £0 1s 3d Chinaware, 2 plates, £0 0s 8 1/2d Deals, 2 singles, £0 4s 0d Nails, for a coffin, £0 0s 4 1/2d Total, £192 3s 3 3/4d Interpretations The clothing issued names the different garments by which slaves were dressed according to sex and age, checked shirts and gunny breeches for the men, monmouth caps and scotch bonnets for their heads, and separate cloth for the women and children. Monmouth caps were a knitted woollen cap long worn by soldiers and sailors, and scotch bonnets a flat woollen cap, so the enslaved men were covered in the same cheap headwear as common labourers across the empire. The account divides the whole issue by class of wearer, the men, the boys, the women and the children each clothed from the store and charged to the slaves account.

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		£0 0s 4½d £192 3s 3¼d Garrison	The stock lock issued for the slaves house in the garden shows the enslaved people housed under lock, the fastening drawn from the store to secure their quarters. Whether the lock kept the slaves confined or their few possessions safe, its issue marks the control exercised over where they lived, the establishment charging even the means of securing the slave house to their account. This small entry captures the condition of the enslaved on the island, lodged in Company housing fitted with a lock and their dwelling booked among the charges against them. The nails issued for a coffin, the last and smallest item, record the burial of a slave at the establishment charge. When one of the enslaved died, the store furnished the few nails to make a coffin, the cost set down against the slaves account like the food and clothing that had kept the person alive. That a death closed the account with a charge for coffin nails marks the whole span of an enslaved life as the establishment reckoned it, a maintained asset fed, clothed and housed at a cost, and buried at a final small charge when the labour it represented was spent.
334	329	1757 Garrison Debtor for the following Stores Issued from the 12. of April to the 11. July 1757 vizt. Tea 79¾ Bohea £0 3s 6d 3 Oil 90¾ Gallons Train £13 14s 11d for the several Guards Soldiers Cloaths 4 drummers Coats and 13 Breeches £13 16s 0d Canvas 40 Yards English for Cots £1 19s 2d Nails vizt. 18 6 £0 6s 4¾d 5 4 £0 1s 11¾d 7 10 £0 2s 4d for Cots Coffins and a Guard died at the Great Fort £0 10s 8¾d Deals vizt. 5 double deals £0 15s 11¾d 48 Single Do. £4 16s 0d £5 11s 11¾d Candy 6 £0 0s 2d Candles 10 £1 0s 7¾d for the use of the Doctors Shop Lines 6 No. 3 for Whips £0 1s 11¾d Pork 1 Peice for the Recruits p Falmouth £0 2s 3¾d Paint vizt. 23 Whiting £0 0s 5¾d 14 Yellow Oaker £0 2s 7¾d to clean their accoutrements 1 Barrel Blaching Mr. Easthopes Coffin £0 0s 6¾d £0 3s 7¾d £40 12s 5¾d Plantation Do. for the following Stores Issued from the 12th. of April to the 11th. of July 1757 vizt. Rice and Paddy vizt. 3.11 Rice	The charges to garrison debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1757 were: Tea, 79 and a half pounds bohea, £3 6s 3d Oil, 90 and a half gallons train, for the several guards, £13 17s 11d Soldiers clothes, 4 drummers coats and 13 breeches, £13 16s 0d Canvas, 40 yards English, for cots, £1 19s 2d Nails: 18 hundred at number 6, £0 6s 4 1/2d 5 hundred at number 4, £0 1s 11 1/2d 7 hundred at number 10, £0 2s 4d Nails, for cots, coffins and a guard bed at the great fort, total £0 10s 8 1/2d Deals: 5 double deals, £0 15s 11 1/2d 48 single deals, £4 16s 0d Deals, for cots, coffins and a guard bed at the great fort, total £5 11s 11 1/2d Candy, 6 pounds, for the use of the doctor's shop, £0 0s 2d Candles, 10 pounds, for the use of the doctor's shop, £1 0s 7 1/2d Lines, 6 number 3, for whips, £0 1s 11 1/2d Pork, 1 piece, for the recruits of the <i>Falmouth</i>, £0 2s 3 1/2d Paint: 23 pounds whiting, to clean their accoutrements, £0 0s 5 1/2d 14 pounds yellow ochre, to clean their accoutrements, £0 2s 7 1/2d 1 barrel blacking, Mr Easthope's coffin, £0 0s 6 1/2d Paint total, £0 3s 7 1/2d Total, £40 12s 5 1/2d The charges to plantation debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1757 were: Rice and paddy: 3 hundredweight 11 pounds rice, £0 4s 11 1/2d 36 hundredweight 3 quarters 1 pound paddy, £8 3s 1 1/2d Rice and paddy total, £8 8s 1d Carried over, £8 8s 1d Interpretations The garrison account books the stores consumed by the soldiers as a body, the drummers coats, the breeches, the oil for the guards and the whiting and ochre to clean their accoutrements. The yellow ochre and whiting were used to pipe clay and brighten the leather and metal of the soldiers equipment, so the

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		£0 4s 11¾d 36.3.1 Paddy £8 3s 1¾d £8 8s 1d Carried Over £8 8s 1d	account charges even the materials of military smartness to the garrison. This shows the establishment maintaining not only the fighting readiness of the garrison but its appearance, the men accoutrements kept clean and bright at the general charge as part of the discipline of a Company garrison. The paddy issued to the plantation account, unhusked rice charged as seed or feed, shows the working of the island own cultivation. Paddy was rice still in the husk, and its issue to the plantation marks the Company growing or processing rice on the island itself, the grain drawn for planting or for feeding the stock and slaves who worked the land. This small charge to the plantation debtor reveals the island as a place of production as well as consumption, the Company account tracking the seed and feed of its own agriculture alongside the imported provisions that made up the bulk of the settlement supply. The recurrence of coffins across the garrison and plantation accounts, the deals and nails for soldiers coffins and the blacking for Mr Easthope coffin, marks the steady mortality of the island in these months. Death after death is recorded through the materials of burial charged to one account or another, the plain deal coffins of the common soldiers and the blacked coffin of a lieutenant alike furnished from the store. That the making of coffins was a regular charge on the establishment shows how constant a companion death was to the settlement, the store supplying the fabric of burial as routinely as the fabric of daily life.
335	330	1st. August Brought Over £8 8s 1d Tar 3 Gallons for Carts £0 0s 2d Cordage 29 £0 8s 5¾d Deals vizt. 1 Cuffis for Repairs to Carts £0 3s 8¾d 9 Single deals for Scaffolding, repairs to the Dairy Room, and the Lieut. Governors Fowls House in the Great Wood £0 18s 0d £1 1s 8¾d Nails vizt. 5 20 £0 1s 6¾d 12 6 £0 4s 3d 3¾ 4 £0 1s 4¾d 3 10 £0 1s 0d for Repairs in the Great Wood, Plantation House, the Carts, Peak House, and the Lieut. Governors Fowl House £0 8s 2¾d Ironware vizt. 2 Garden Rakes £0 5s 4d 3 Grafting Saws £0 5s 0d for the Gardiners Use 2 Stock Locks, for the Dairy Room and Lieut. Governors Fowl House £0 4s 7d £0 14s 11d Iron 23 for Gates at the Plantation House	The charges to plantation debtor for stores issued continued, brought over at £8 8s 1d. Tar, 3 gallons, for carts, £0 0s 2d Cordage, 29, £0 8s 5 1/2d Deals: 1 buffer, for repairs to carts, £0 3s 8 1/2d 9 single deals, for scaffolding, repairs to the dairy room and the Lieutenant Governor's fowl house in the great wood, £0 18s 0d Deals total, £1 1s 8 1/2d Nails: 5 hundred at number 20, for repairs in the great wood, the plantation house and the carts, £0 1s 6 3/4d 12 hundred at number 6, for repairs in the great wood, the plantation house and the carts, £0 4s 3d 3 and a half hundred at number 4, for the peak house and the Lieutenant Governor's fowl house, £0 1s 4 3/4d 3 hundred at number 10, for the peak house and the Lieutenant Governor's fowl house, £0 1s 0d Nails total, £0 8s 2 1/2d Ironware: 2 garden hoes, for the gardener's use, £0 5s 4d 3 grafting saws, for the gardener's use, £0 5s 0d 2 stock locks, for the dairy room and the Lieutenant Governor's fowl house, £0 4s 7d Ironware total, £0 14s 11d Iron, 23 pounds, for gates at the plantation house, £0 4s 5d Iron pots: 1 of 12 gallons, for the plantations at Sandy Bay, £0 13s 0d 2 of 2 gallons, for the plantations at Sandy Bay, £0 7s 0d Iron pots total, £1 0s 0d Tinware, 3 watering pots, £0 15s 6d Lines, 6 number 4, for the gardener's use, £0 2s 2 1/2d Cutlery, 1 pruning knife, for the gardener's use, £0 1s 0d Total, £13 6s 5 3/4d

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		£0 4s 5d Iron Pots vizt. 1 of 12 Gallons £0 13s 0d 2 of 2 Do. £0 7s 0d for the Plantations at Sandy Bay £1 0s 0d Tinware 3 Watering Pots £0 15s 6d Lines 6 Number 4 £0 2s 2¼d for the Gardiners Use Cutleryware 1 Pruning Knife £0 1s 0d £13 6s 5¼d Fortification	Interpretations The plantation account books the cost of working and maintaining the Company own farms, and the garden hoes, grafting saws, pruning knife and watering pots issued to the gardener show the tools of active cultivation. The grafting saws and pruning knife in particular mark the growing of trees and orchards on the island, the gardener drawing the gear of skilled horticulture to raise and tend fruit and timber. This shows the plantation as more than a field of provisions, a cultivated ground where trees were grafted and pruned, the Company investing in the slow husbandry of an island it meant to hold. The repairs charged across the plantation house, the dairy room, the peak house and the Lieutenant Governor fowl house reveal the spread of Company buildings on its farms that had to be kept up. The dairy room points to the keeping of cattle for milk and butter, the fowl house to the raising of poultry, so the account traces a working agricultural establishment with its own outbuildings scattered across the island, at Sandy Bay and in the great wood. The nails, deals and iron issued to mend them mark the constant upkeep of a productive estate, the Company farms maintained as carefully as the fortifications and the Castle. The stock locks issued for the dairy room and the fowl house show even the produce of the plantation guarded under lock. The butter of the dairy and the birds of the fowl house were worth securing, so the establishment fitted locks to these outbuildings and charged them to the plantation account. This small detail extends the concern with security seen throughout the collection to the very produce of the island farms, the dairy and the poultry kept behind locked doors against theft, the plantation guarding its increase as closely as the store guarded its goods.
336	331	1757 Fortification Do. for the following Stores Issued from the 12th. of April to the 11th. of July 1757. Paint vizt. 6 White Lead £1 1s 3d 7 Barrels Blaching £0 3s 8d 4 Whiting £0 0s 1d 7 Umber £0 0s 2d for Painting Gun Carriages at Lemon Valley, Mundens Point and Ruperts £1 5s 2d Oil 6¾ Gallons Linseed for Do. £1 1s 11d Lines vizt. 2 Number 4 £0 0s 9d 1 Hambro. £0 1s 4¾d for a Flagg £0 2s 1¾d Bunting vizt. 1 Peice Red £1 11s 10¾d 1 Peice Blue £1 8s 1¾d 1½ Peice White £1 4s 4¾d for Prosperous Bay £4 4s 4¾d Thread 6 lb. Coloured £1 0s 0d Twine £0 3s 11¾d	The charges to fortification debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1757 were: Paint: 6 pounds white lead, for painting, £1 1s 3d 7 barrels blacking, for gun carriages at Lemon Valley, Munden Point and Ruperts, £0 3s 8d 4 pounds whiting, for gun carriages at Lemon Valley, Munden Point and Ruperts, £0 0s 1d 7 and a half pounds umber, for gun carriages at Lemon Valley, Munden Point and Ruperts, £0 0s 2d Paint total, £1 5s 2d Oil, 6 and a half gallons linseed, for the gun carriages, £1 1s 11d Lines: 2 number 4, for a flag, £0 0s 9d 1 hambro, for a flag, £0 1s 4 1/2d Lines total, £0 2s 1 1/2d Bunting: 1 piece red, for Prosperous Bay, £1 11s 10 1/2d 1 piece blue, for Prosperous Bay, £1 8s 1 1/2d 1 piece white, for Prosperous Bay, £1 4s 4 1/2d Bunting total, £4 4s 4 1/2d Thread, 6 pounds coloured, £0 1s 0d Twine, £0 3s 11 1/2d Canvas: 4 yards osnaburg, for the flag at Prosperous Bay, £0 2s 5d 8 yards English canvas, to cover the powder chest at Lemon Valley, £0 7s 10d Canvas total, £0 10s 3d Nails: 2 hundred at number 6, for repairs to Sandy Bay, guard room at Center's fort, Banks magazine and gun carriages, £0 0s 5 1/2d

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		Canvas vizt. 4 Yards Osenbrigs for the Flagg at Prosperous Bay £0 2s 5d 8 Yards English Canvas, to Cover the Powder Chest at Lemon Valley £0 7s 10d £0 10s 3d Nails vizt. 2 6 £0 0s 3¾d 1 3 £0 0s 3¾d 1 20 £0 0s 3¾d 3 10 £0 1s 0d 1 4 £0 0s 4¾d for Repairs to Sandy Bay Guard Room a Center for Bartas Magazine and for Gun Carriages £0 2s 10¾d Carried Over £8 10s 8¾d	1 hundred at number 3, for repairs to Sandy Bay, guard room at Center's fort, Banks magazine and gun carriages, £0 0s 5 1/2d 1 hundred at number 20, for repairs to Sandy Bay, guard room at Center's fort, Banks magazine and gun carriages, £0 0s 5 1/2d 3 hundred at number 10, for repairs to Sandy Bay, guard room at Center's fort, Banks magazine and gun carriages, £0 1s 0d 1 hundred at number 4, for repairs to Sandy Bay, guard room at Center's fort, Banks magazine and gun carriages, £0 0s 4 1/2d Nails total, £0 2s 10 1/2d Carried over, £8 10s 8 1/2d Interpretations The fortification account books the cost of maintaining the island defences, and the paint, oil, blackening and umber issued for the gun carriages show the constant work of preserving the artillery mountings. The wooden carriages that bore the guns were painted and oiled against the salt air at Lemon Valley, Munden Point and Ruperts, so the account traces the upkeep of the batteries around the coast. This marks the endless labour of keeping the guns serviceable in a damp climate, the establishment charging the materials of their preservation to the fortification account as a standing cost of defence. The bunting issued for Prosperous Bay in red, blue and white was the material for making the signal flags flown from the lookout stations. The coloured cloth was cut and sewn into the flags by which the island signalled the approach of ships and passed warnings between its posts, so the bunting charged to the fortification account was part of the system of communication that tied the scattered defences together. This shows the flags as instruments of war rather than mere decoration, the means by which the island watched the sea and spread the alarm, their material drawn from the store and charged to the defence of the settlement. The nails and repairs charged across Sandy Bay, Center fort, Banks magazine and the gun carriages name the ring of works that guarded the island. The magazine where the powder was stored, the forts that commanded the landing places and the carriages that bore the guns all had to be kept in repair, so the account traces the whole apparatus of coastal defence through the materials issued to maintain it. That such constant small repair was needed marks the strain that the climate and the sea worked on the fortifications, the island holding its defences ready only by the continual mending charged to the fortification account.
<u>337</u>	332	1st. August Brought Over £8 10s 8¾d Ironware vizt. 2 Stock Locks for Bankses Magazine and Sandy Bay Guard Room £0 4s 7d 1 Splinter Lock for Lemon Valley Powder Chest £0 0s 7d 1 Pair Large H. Hinges for Bankses Magazine Door £0 7s 8¾d £0 12s 10¾d Deals 26 Single for a Center for Bankses Magazine, and flooring it, repairing the floor of Sandy Bay Guard Room, making an Amm- unition Chest for Lemon Valley, and makeing an outward Door for Bankses	The charges to fortification debtor for stores issued continued, brought over at £8 10s 8 1/2d. Ironware: 2 stock locks, for Banks magazine and Sandy Bay guard room, £0 4s 7d 1 splinter lock, for Lemon Valley powder chest, £0 0s 7d 1 pair large iron hinges, for Banks magazine door, £0 7s 8 1/2d Ironware total, £0 12s 10 1/2d Deals, 26 single, for a Center, for Banks magazine and flooring it, repairing the floor of Sandy Bay guard room, making an ammunition chest for Lemon Valley and making an outward door for Banks magazine, £2 12s 0d Turnersware, 1 paint brush, for painting gun carriages, £0 0s 6 3/4d Total, £11 16s 1 1/2d The charges to boats debtor for the following stores issued for repairs from 12 April to 11 July 1757 were: Cordage, 62 pounds, £0 18s 1d

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		Magazine £2 12s 0d Turnersware 1 Paint Brush for Painting Gun Carriages £0 0s 6¾d £11 16s 1¾d Boats Do. for the following Stores Issued for Repairs &c. from the 12. of April to the 11th. of July 1757 Cordage 62 £0 18s 1d Nails vizt. 7 20 £0 2s 2¾d 1 4 £0 0s 4¾d £0 2s 7d Deals 2 Wains Boards £0 10s 0d Carried Over £1 10s 8d	Nails: 7 hundred at number 20, £0 2s 2 1/2d 1 hundred at number 4, £0 0s 4 1/2d Nails total, £0 2s 7d Deals, 2 wainscot boards, £0 10s 0d Carried over, £1 10s 8d Interpretations The heavy fitting of Banks magazine, its stock locks, iron hinges, new flooring and an outward door, shows the special care taken to secure the powder store. The magazine held the island stock of gunpowder, the most dangerous and most vital material of its defence, so it was floored, locked and fitted with a stout door at the fortification charge. This marks the magazine as the point on which the whole defence turned, kept dry, secure and sound above every other work, the establishment sparing no fitting to guard the powder on which the guns depended. The making of an ammunition chest for Lemon Valley and the covering of powder chests elsewhere show the careful storage of powder at the scattered batteries as well as the central magazine. Each gun station needed its own secure chest to hold the powder and cartridges ready for its guns, kept dry and locked against damp and theft, so the account traces the provision of ammunition storage around the coast. This distribution of secured powder to the several forts marks the island readiness to fight at any point of its shore, each battery supplied and its powder protected against the day it might be needed. The opening of a separate boats account books the upkeep of the small craft on which the island depended to work its road. The cordage, nails and boards issued for boat repairs mark the constant maintenance the boats required, since they landed every cargo, carried stores between the ships and the shore and worked the anchors in the road. That the boats warranted their own account shows how essential they were to the island, the sole means of moving goods and people across the water between the ships and the land, kept in repair at a charge tracked apart from every other work.
338	333	1757 Brought Over £1 10s 8d Tar 7 Gallons £0 4s 8d Paint 7 Venetian Red £0 1s 4d Iron 28 £0 4s 11d Oil ¾ Gallons Linseed £0 0s 5¾d £2 2s 0¾d Hospital Do. for the following Stores Issued for the Use of the Sick in the Infirmary from the 12. April to 11. July 1757 Sugar 454 £5 14s 3d Flour 46.7.10 £3 4s 5¾d Rice 603 £1 10s 6d Salt 3 Bushels £0 9s 0d Oil vizt. ¾ Gallons Linseed £0 0s 5¾d 16 Gallons Train £2 9s 0d £2 9s 5¾d Tea 2 lb. of Bohea £0 1s 8d £13 9s 4d	The charges to boats debtor for stores issued continued, brought over at £1 10s 8d. Tar, 7 gallons, £0 4s 8d Paint, 7 pounds Venetian red, £0 1s 4d Iron, 28 pounds, £0 4s 11d Oil, half gallon linseed, £0 0s 5 1/2d Total, £2 2s 0 1/2d The charges to hospital debtor for the following stores issued for the use of the sick in the infirmary from 12 April to 11 July 1757 were: Sugar, 454 pounds, £5 14s 3d Flour, 46 pounds 7 quarters, £3 4s 5 1/2d Rice, 603 pounds, £1 10s 6d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 9s 0d Oil: half gallon linseed, £0 0s 5 1/2d 16 gallons train, £2 9s 0d Oil total, £2 9s 5 1/2d Tea, 2 pounds of bohea, £0 1s 8d Total, £13 9s 4d The account was dated St Helena 1 August 1757, errors excepted, and signed by James Powell. Interpretations The hospital account books the stores drawn for the sick in the infirmary, and the great quantity of sugar, more than £5 of it, points to the use of sugar in the diet and remedies of the ill. Sugar sweetened the weak foods and drinks given to the sick and served in the making of medicines, so the infirmary drew it in bulk for the nursing of the island invalids. This shows the establishment maintaining a hospital that fed and dosed the sick from the Company store,

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		St. Helena 1 August 1757 E. Excepted (Signed) James Powell	the cost of their care tracked in a separate account as a charge on the settlement. The flour and rice issued to the hospital were the makings of the plain, soft foods on which the sick were kept, gruels and broths easy on a weak stomach. These bulk provisions, drawn for the infirmary and charged to its account, mark the ordinary diet of the ill, the establishment feeding its sick on the digestible staples that convalescence required. That the hospital had its own charge for such food shows the care taken to nurse the island people back to health, the infirmary provisioned from the store like every other arm of the settlement. The train oil issued to the hospital in quantity served the lamps that lit the infirmary and perhaps the dressings and embrocations used on the sick. Sixteen gallons of it marks a real consumption, the wards lit through the night and the oil used in the treatment of the ill, so the account books the fuel and material of nursing alongside the food. This closes the long series of quarterly accounts on the care of the sick, the establishment tracking to the last gallon of oil what it cost to keep an infirmary on a remote island, the whole rendered up and signed by the Storekeeper at the quarter end.
339	334	1st. August List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St. Helena with their several Salarys Diet Money &c. for the Quarter Commencing Aprill 12. and ending July 11 1757 vizt. Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor Salary £125 0s 0d Do. Allowance for Servants as Usual £31 14s 9d £136 14s 9d John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Salary £62 10s 0d Do. Diet Money £25 0s 0d £87 10s 0d John Clark of Council Salary £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling Accountant Salary £17 10s 0d Do. Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d Francis Wrangham Secretary Salary £17 10s 0d Do. Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d James Powell Storekeeper £17 10s 0d Do. Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d William Lee Chaplain Salary £25 0s 0d Do. Diet Money £15 0s 0d £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazell factor Salary £7 10s 0d Do. Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do. assistant Storekeeper £5 0s 0d	A list of the Honourable Company officers and servants on the island of St Helena, with their several salaries, diet money and so forth, for the quarter commencing 12 April and ending 11 July 1757, was set out. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Charles Hutchinson, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d, total £156 14s 9d John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d John Adamson, diet money, £25 0s 0d, total £87 10s 0d John Clark, of council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £35 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, diet money, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £35 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d William Lee, diet money, £15 0s 0d, total £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £10 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £25 0s 0d William Wrangham, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £17 10s 0d Charles Steward, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Charles Steward, diet money, £10 0s 0d, total £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £22 5s 0d Carried over, £483 19s 9d Interpretations The salary list sets out the whole civil establishment of the island in order of rank, from the Governor at £125 down through the council, the

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		Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £25 0s 0d William Wrangham Writer Salary £5 0s 0d Do. Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £17 10s 0d Charles Steward Writer Salary £5 0s 0d Do. Diet Money £10 0s 0d £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay Surgeon Salary £9 15s 0d Do. diet Money £10 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £22 5s 0d Carried Over £483 19s 9d	accountant, secretary and storekeeper to the writers and surgeon. The steep fall from the Governor £125 to a writer £5 marks the sharp hierarchy of the Company service, each post fixed at a set salary with its diet money and house rent added, so the account shows the ordered gradation of authority and reward on the island. This was the settled structure of Company government, every officer placed and paid according to his station in a chain that ran from the Governor to the humblest clerk. The diet money and house rent added to each salary reveal how the Company remunerated its servants beyond the bare wage. Diet money was an allowance for food and house rent for lodging, so an officer total pay combined salary with these further allowances, the whole making up his real income. That the Company paid separately for a man diet and his house shows the cost of maintaining an establishment where everything had to be found on the island, the servants supported not by salary alone but by allowances that met the expense of living in a remote and costly place. The chaplain place on the list, paid £40 with his diet money, marks the Company provision for religion on the island. William Lee was maintained as chaplain to serve the spiritual needs of the settlement, his salary set among the civil officers, so the establishment kept a clergyman as it kept a surgeon and a storekeeper. This shows the Company attending to the souls as well as the bodies and business of its people, the chaplain salaried to hold services and minister to a community that could look to no other church than the one the Company provided.
340	335	1st. August List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St. Helena with their several Salaries Diet Money &c. for the Quarter Commencing Aprill 12. and ending July 11 1757 vizt. Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor Salary £125 0s 0d Do. Allowance for Servants as Usual £31 14s 9d £136 14s 9d John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Salary £62 10s 0d Do. Diet Money £25 0s 0d £87 10s 0d John Clark of Council Salary £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling Accountant Salary £17 10s 0d Do. Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d Francis Wrangham Secretary Salary £17 10s 0d Do. Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d James Powell Storekeeper £17 10s 0d Do. Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d William Lee Chaplain Salary £25 0s 0d	A list of the Honourable Company officers and servants on the island of St Helena, with their several salaries, diet money and so forth, for the quarter commencing 12 April and ending 11 July 1757, was set out. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Charles Hutchinson, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d, total £156 14s 9d John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d John Adamson, diet money, £25 0s 0d, total £87 10s 0d John Clark, of council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £35 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, diet money, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £35 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d William Lee, diet money, £15 0s 0d, total £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £10 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £25 0s 0d William Wrangham, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £17 10s 0d Charles Steward, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Charles Steward, diet money, £10 0s 0d, total £15 0s 0d

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		Do. Diet Money £15 0s 0d £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazell factor Salary £7 10s 0d Do. Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do. assistant Storekeeper £5 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £25 0s 0d William Wrangham Writer Salary £5 0s 0d Do. Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £17 10s 0d Charles Steward Writer Salary £5 0s 0d Do. Diet Money £10 0s 0d £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay Surgeon Salary £9 15s 0d Do. diet Money £10 0s 0d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £22 5s 0d Carried Over £483 19s 9d	Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £22 5s 0d Carried over, £483 19s 9d Interpretations The salary list sets out the whole civil establishment of the island in order of rank, from the Governor at £125 down through the council, the accountant, secretary and storekeeper to the writers and surgeon. The steep fall from the Governor £125 to a writer £5 marks the sharp hierarchy of the Company service, each post fixed at a set salary with its diet money and house rent added, so the account shows the ordered gradation of authority and reward on the island. This was the settled structure of Company government, every officer placed and paid according to his station in a chain that ran from the Governor to the humblest clerk. The diet money and house rent added to each salary reveal how the Company remunerated its servants beyond the bare wage. Diet money was an allowance for food and house rent for lodging, so an officer total pay combined salary with these further allowances, the whole making up his real income. That the Company paid separately for a man diet and his house shows the cost of maintaining an establishment where everything had to be found on the island, the servants supported not by salary alone but by allowances that met the expense of living in a remote and costly place. The chaplain place on the list, paid £40 with his diet money, marks the Company provision for religion on the island. William Lee was maintained as chaplain to serve the spiritual needs of the settlement, his salary set among the civil officers, so the establishment kept a clergyman as it kept a surgeon and a storekeeper. This shows the Company attending to the souls as well as the bodies and business of its people, the chaplain salaried to hold services and minister to a community that could look to no other church than the one the Company provided.
341	336	1st. August Brought Over £733 2s 9¼d Sergeants John Howard £7 12s 1d Joseph Renton £7 12s 1d Edward Robinson £7 12s 1d £22 16s 3d Corporals Humphry Pugh £5 6s 5¾d Thomas Farris £5 6s 5¾d John Burke £5 6s 5¾d £15 19s 4¾d Drummers John Vaughan £5 6s 5¾d John Belton £5 6s 5¾d £10 12s 11d Sentinels Phillip Andrion £3 16s 0¾d George Bennett £3 16s 0¾d John Bagley £3 16s 0¾d	The salary list continued, brought over at £733 2s 9 1/2d. Sergeants: John Howard, £7 12s 1d Joseph Renton, £7 12s 1d Edward Robinson, £7 12s 1d, total £22 16s 3d Corporals: Humphry Pugh, £5 6s 5 1/2d Thomas Farris, £5 6s 5 1/2d John Burke, £5 6s 5 1/2d, total £15 19s 4 1/2d Drummers: John Vaughan, £5 6s 5 1/2d John Belton, £5 6s 5 1/2d, total £10 12s 11d Sentinels: Phillip Anderson, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Bennett, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Bagley, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Bettin, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Buckham, from 12 April to 9 May inclusive, transferred to the 4th Company, £1 3s 4d Gabriel Bouy, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Bussell, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Boddington, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Bazett, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Copeling, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Cooksey, £3 16s 0 1/2d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Collett, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Cleasby, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Durrant, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		Peter Bellin £3 16s 0¾d John Blackwell £3 16s 0¾d John Buckham from 12. April to the 9th. May Inclusive Transferred the 4th. Company £1 3s 4d Gabriel Bouy £3 16s 0¾d John Buffell £3 16s 0¾d William Boddington £3 16s 0¾d John Brazett £3 16s 0¾d James Cartwright £3 16s 0¾d George Copeling £3 16s 0¾d William Cooksey £3 16s 0¾d Duncan Cameron £3 16s 0¾d James Collett £3 16s 0¾d William Cleasby £3 16s 0¾d Edward Durrsart £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Dunn £3 16s 0¾d James Easthope £3 16s 0¾d Sentinels Carried Over £69 12s 1d Carried Over £782 11s 4d	Thomas Dunn, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Easthope, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £69 12s 1d Carried over, £782 11s 4d Interpretations The military list sets out the garrison in strict order of rank below the officers, the sergeants, corporals and drummers each at a fixed rate and then the long roll of sentinels at a uniform £3 16s. The even pay of the private soldiers, every sentinel drawing the same sum, marks the flat base of the military hierarchy, above which the small differences of a corporal and sergeant pay measured the steps of promotion. This shows the ordered structure of the garrison in its pay, the mass of common soldiers on an identical wage and the graded ranks above them rewarded for their charge. The part payment to John Buckham, drawn only from 12 April to 9 May before his transfer to the 4th Company, shows the careful proration of pay when a man moved between units mid quarter. Rather than pay him a full quarter, the account gave him only the portion he served in this company before his transfer, so his wage was split exactly at the date he left. This marks the precision of the Company military accounting, each soldier paid to the day for the time he stood on a particular roll, his pay following him as he moved from one company to another. The two drummers on the list, paid above the common sentinel, mark the place of the drum in the working of the garrison. Drummers beat the calls that ordered the soldiers day, sounded the alarm and marked the ceremonies, so they were rated above the private men for a skill the garrison could not do without. Their pay, set between the corporals and the sentinels, shows the value the establishment placed on the men who gave the garrison its signals, the drum the voice by which the soldiers were mustered, marched and warned.
342	337	1757 Brought Over £782 11s 4d Sentinels Brought Over £69 12s 1d James Edwards £3 16s 0¾d Robert Evans £3 16s 0¾d John Stemming £3 16s 0¾d Richard Goulding £3 16s 0¾d John Grainger £3 16s 0¾d George Green £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Hales £3 16s 0¾d Jonathon Hitchins £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Rollwell £3 16s 0¾d Daniel Hutt £3 16s 0¾d Henry Harenburg £3 16s 0¾d Henry Harper £3 16s 0¾d William Herrold £3 16s 0¾d George Howard £3 16s 0¾d George Fee £3 16s 0¾d William Jervis	The salary list continued, brought over at £782 11s 4d, the sentinels brought over at £69 12s 1d. Sentinels: James Edwards, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Evans, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Stemming, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Grainger, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Green, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Hales, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jonathan Hitchins, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Rothwell, £3 16s 0 1/2d Daniel Hutt, £3 16s 0 1/2d Henry Harenburg, £3 16s 0 1/2d Henry Harper, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Herrold, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Howard, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Ice, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Jervis, £3 16s 0 1/2d Stephen John, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Kirk, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Lambon, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Litchfield, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Marsh, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Montgomery, £3 16s 0 1/2d William McDonald, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Murray, £3 16s 0 1/2d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Moreton, £3 16s 0 1/2d David Miles, £3 16s 0 1/2d Murdoch McCloud, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Pilkington, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Pugh, £3 16s 0 1/2d Alexander Fuller, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Richardson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Abraham Ratcliff, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		£3 16s 0¾d Stephen John £3 16s 0¾d Edward Kirk £3 16s 0¾d William Lambon £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Litchfield £3 16s 0¾d John Marsh £3 16s 0¾d William Montgomery £3 16s 0¾d William Mc. Donald £3 16s 0¾d John Murray £3 16s 0¾d Simon Mason £3 16s 0¾d Richard Moreton £3 16s 0¾d David Miles £3 16s 0¾d Murdoch Mc. Cload £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Pilkington £3 16s 0¾d John Pugh £3 16s 0¾d Alexander Puller £3 16s 0¾d James Richardson £3 16s 0¾d Abraham Ratcliff £3 16s 0¾d Sentinels Carried Over £195 1s 5¾d Carried Over £782 11s 4d	Sentinels carried over, £195 1s 5d Carried over, £782 11s 4d Interpretations The long roll of sentinels at a uniform £3 16s shows the size of the garrison that held the island, the private soldiers running to many names all drawn at the same rate. This flat and lengthy list marks the manpower on which the defence of St Helena rested, a body of common soldiers maintained at a fixed wage to man the forts and stand the guards around the coast. The sheer number of them, set down one after another at the identical sum, measures the standing cost of keeping the island garrisoned, the base of the military establishment on which every higher rank was built. Several names on the sentinel roll recur among the men met earlier in these consultations, the witnesses to wills, the buyers at auction and those buried with military honours. William Herrold appears here drawing his pay, the same soldier discharged for infirmity a week before, and Thomas Litchfield, a buyer at Powell auction, stands on the roll, so the list ties the individual soldiers of the record to the body of the garrison. This shows the men of the consultations as members of one small military community, their names moving between the wills, the auctions and the pay roll as the same handful of soldiers filled every part of the island life. The foreign names among the sentinels, a Harenburg among the English and Scots, mark the garrison too as drawing on men from beyond the home countries. As the ships crews were mixed with northern Europeans, so the garrison could include soldiers of foreign origin, enlisted into the Company service and standing the same guards at the same pay. This shows the military establishment of the island, like its shipping, made up in part of men from the wider seafaring and soldiering peoples of Europe, all bound into the one garrison that held the Company remote possession.
343	338	1st. August Brought Over £782 11s 4d Sentinels Brought Over £195 1s 5¾d John Scotcher £3 16s 0¾d John Shaw £3 16s 0¾d William Scotman £3 16s 0¾d Samuel Springall £3 16s 0¾d James Truelove £3 16s 0¾d Edward Webber £3 16s 0¾d Jeremiah Whorrill £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Williams £3 16s 0¾d John Webley from the 21. June Inclusive Entertained £0 17s 6d £226 7s 3¾d Second Company Thomas Kirkpatrick first Lieutenant Salary £22 16s 3d Do. Diet Money £6 16s 10¾d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £32 3s 1¾d Stephen Herbert 2nd. Lieutenant Salary	The salary list continued, brought over at £782 11s 4d, the sentinels brought over at £195 1s 5 1/2d. Sentinels: John Scotcher, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Shaw, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Scotman, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Springall, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Truelove, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Webber, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jeremiah Whorrill, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Webley, from 21 June inclusive, entertained, £0 17s 6d Sentinels total, £226 7s 3 1/2d Second Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Thomas Kirkpatrick, diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £32 3s 1 1/2d Stephen Herbert, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Stephen Herbert, diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d Stephen Herbert, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £27 11s 10 1/2d Sergeants: John Walker, £7 12s 1d William Buntin, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bazett, £7 12s 1d, total £22 16s 3d Corporals: Samuel Desfountain, £5 6s 5 1/2d William Lindsay, £5 6s 5 1/2d William Cannam, £5 6s 5 1/2d, total £15 19s 4 1/2d Drummers:

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£18 5s 0d Do. Diet Money £6 16s 10¾d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10¾d Sergeants John Walker £7 12s 1d William Buntin £7 12s 1d Thomas Bazell £7 12s 1d £22 16s 3d Corporals Samuel Desfountain £5 6s 5¾d William Lindsay £5 6s 5¾d William Cannam £5 6s 5¾d £15 19s 4¾d Drummers John Gould £5 6s 5¾d George Brown £5 6s 5¾d £10 12s 11d Carried Over £1118 2s 2d	John Gould, £5 6s 5 1/2d George Brown, £5 6s 5 1/2d, total £10 12s 11d Carried over, £1,118 2s 2d Interpretations The list divides the garrison into companies, the first roll closing and the Second Company opening with its own lieutenants, sergeants, corporals and drummers. This shows the military establishment organised into distinct units each with its own chain of command, the island soldiers grouped into companies under their several officers rather than held as one undivided body. The structure marks the ordered military system the Company maintained even on a small island, its garrison drawn up in the companies of a regular establishment, each with its full complement of ranks. The entertainment of John Webley from 21 June, drawn only for the part of the quarter he served, shows again the exact proration of pay for a man who joined mid quarter. Where Buckham part payment marked a soldier leaving a company, Webley marks one entering it, paid only from the day he was entertained, so the account caught both the coming and the going of men at the precise dates they changed. This confirms the careful timekeeping of the Company military pay, every soldier reckoned to the day whether he joined or left within the quarter. The lieutenants of the Second Company drew substantial pay with their diet money and house rent, Kirkpatrick and Herbert together making up a considerable charge. Their pay, set well above the sergeants and far above the sentinels, marks the gulf between the commissioned officers and the men they led, the lieutenants maintained as gentlemen with their allowances for diet and lodging. This shows the sharp division of the garrison between officers and men in reward as in rank, the lieutenants paid on a scale that set them apart from the whole body of soldiers beneath them.
344	339	1757 Brought Over £1118 2s 2d Sentinels John Allis £3 16s 0¾d Edward Allis £3 16s 0¾d John Artinstall £3 16s 0¾d Samuel Anderson £3 16s 0¾d Edward Astling £3 16s 0¾d John Allison £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Beddow £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Boarer £3 16s 0¾d Isaac Buck £3 16s 0¾d John Branett £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Brown from the 12th. April to the 30. June Inclusive Died £3 6s 8d Edward Broome £3 16s 0¾d Edward Cocker £3 16s 0¾d William Cobb £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Cobb £3 16s 0¾d Isaac Day	The salary list continued, brought over at £1,118 2s 2d. Sentinels: John Allis, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Allis, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Artinstall, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Anderson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Astling, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Allison, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Beddow, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Boarer, £3 16s 0 1/2d Isaac Buck, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Bonett, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Brown, from 12 April to 30 June inclusive, died, £3 6s 8d Edward Broome, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Cobb, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Cobb, £3 16s 0 1/2d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Dison, £3 16s 0 1/2d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Davis, £3 16s 0 1/2d Hopkin Davis, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 0 1/2d Arthur Evans, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Frazier, from 12 April to 19 May inclusive, discharged, £1 11s 8d Jonathan Godby, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Godden, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Gooding, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Greeneff, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Gaby, from 21 June inclusive, entertained, £0 17s 6d Richard Griffith, from 21 June inclusive, entertained, £0 17s 6d

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		£3 16s 0¾d William Dison £3 16s 0¾d Henry Dudley £3 16s 0¾d John Davis £3 16s 0¾d Hopkin Davis £3 16s 0¾d Samuel Eales £3 16s 0¾d Arthur Evans £3 16s 0¾d John Frazier from the 12. April to the 19th. May Inclusive discharged £1 11s 8d Jonathon Godby £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Godden £3 16s 0¾d William Gooding £3 16s 0¾d John Greenes Do. £3 16s 0¾d William Gaby from the 21. June Inclusive Entertained £0 17s 6d Richard Griffith from the 21. June Inclusive Entertained £0 17s 6d Sentinels Carried Over £101 14s 4¾d Carried Over £1118 2s 2d	Sentinels carried over, £101 14s 4 1/2d Carried over, £1,118 2s 2d Interpretations The roll marks the deaths and departures of the quarter within the pay itself, Thomas Brown paid only to 30 June when he died and John Frazier only to 19 May when he was discharged. The account thus records the turning over of the garrison through the part payments of the men who left it, each drawn to the exact day his service ended. This shows the pay roll doubling as a register of the garrison losses, the coming and going of soldiers written into their wages, so the account of what the garrison cost also tells who died and who was discharged in the quarter. The entertainment of William Gaby and Richard Griffith from 21 June, both new men drawn only from that date, shows fresh soldiers coming onto the roll to replace those lost. As the deaths and discharges thinned the garrison, new men were entertained to fill the gaps, their pay beginning at the day they joined, so the roll caught the steady renewal of the garrison alongside its losses. This marks the constant turnover of the military establishment, men dying, being discharged and being newly enlisted within a single quarter, the strength of the garrison kept up by a continual flow of recruits onto the pay roll. The death of Thomas Brown, marked here in the pay roll, ties to the powder issued for his funeral recorded earlier in these consultations, the two accounts confirming the same event from different sides. The stock of the garrison, the powder book and the pay roll all register the individual soldier passage through the establishment, his death entered as a stopped wage, a funeral charge and a loss to the company. This shows how completely the Company accounting tracked its people, a single man death appearing across the several books that between them measured every cost and change of the island life.
345	340	1st. August Brought Over £1118 2s 2d Sentinels Brought Over £101 14s 4¾d James Hull £3 16s 0¾d John Haley £3 16s 0¾d William Hayes £3 16s 0¾d Phillip Hichman £3 16s 0¾d George Hill £3 16s 0¾d William Houseman £3 16s 0¾d James Hendery from the 24th. April Inclusive Entertained £3 3s 4d George Kibbito £3 16s 0¾d Richard Knight £3 16s 0¾d William Keeling from the 12. April Inclusive Entertained £3 13s 4d Peter Lindsay £3 16s 0¾d John Langridge £3 16s 0¾d William Luke £3 16s 0¾d Lochlan Mc. Lane £3 16s 0¾d Duncan Mc. Claron	The salary list continued, brought over at £1,118 2s 2d, the sentinels brought over at £101 14s 4 1/2d. Sentinels: James Hull, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Haley, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hayes, £3 16s 0 1/2d Phillip Hickman, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Hill, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Houseman, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Hendery, from 27 April inclusive, entertained, £3 3s 4d George Kibbito, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Keeling, from 12 April inclusive, entertained, £3 13s 4d Peter Lindsay, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Langridge, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Luke, £3 16s 0 1/2d Lochlan McLane, £3 16s 0 1/2d Duncan McClaron, £3 16s 0 1/2d Francis Marsh, from 12 April to 11 June inclusive, died, £2 10s 10d William Niblit, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Price, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Preston, £3 16s 0 1/2d Charles Pursoy, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Richards, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Richards, £3 16s 0 1/2d Lewis Rowe, £3 16s 0 1/2d Arnold Sausiry, £3 16s 0 1/2d Daniel Sergeant, from 12 April to 1 June inclusive, discharged, £2 2s 6d Timothy Sullivan, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Smith, £3 16s 0 1/2d Henry Simmons, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £204 9s 4 1/2d

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		£3 16s 0¾d Francis Marsh from 12. April till 11th. June Inclusive died £2 10s 10d William Niblit £3 16s 0¾d John Pice £3 16s 0¾d Edward Preston £3 16s 0¾d Charles Pursoy £3 16s 0¾d Edward Richards £3 16s 0¾d William Richards £3 16s 0¾d Lewis Rowe £3 16s 0¾d Arnold Sausiry £3 16s 0¾d Daniel Serjean from 12. April to 1st. June Inclusive discharged £2 2s 6d Timothy Sullivan £3 16s 0¾d William Smith £3 16s 0¾d Henry Simmons £3 16s 0¾d Sentinels Carried Over £204 9s 4¾d Carried Over £1118 2s 2d	Carried over, £1,118 2s 2d Interpretations The roll again records the losses of the quarter through part payments, Francis Marsh paid to 11 June when he died and Daniel Serjean to 1 June when he was discharged. Both events had appeared earlier in these consultations, Marsh death and Serjean discharge, so the pay roll confirms them from the side of the accounts. This shows the wage record tracking the individual soldiers passage out of the garrison to the exact day, the deaths and discharges of the consultations written into the pay as stopped wages, the two sources agreeing on the fate of each man. The entertainment of James Hendery from 27 April and William Keeling from 12 April shows new soldiers coming onto the roll to make good the garrison losses. As men died and were discharged, others were entertained to fill their places, each paid from the day he joined, so the roll caught the renewal of the garrison alongside its wastage. The steady appearance of newly entertained men across these pages marks the continual recruiting by which the establishment held its numbers, the garrison kept up to strength by a flow of fresh soldiers replacing those who left. The death of Lochlan McLane, recorded as a full sentinel here yet noted as dying on 20 July in the consultation of 25 July, shows the pay roll of this quarter closing on 11 July before his death fell. The quarter ran only to 11 July, so a man who died after that date still drew his full pay for the period, his death to be caught in the next quarter account. This marks the fixed boundaries of the pay periods, each quarter reckoned to its closing day, so that the timing of a soldier death against the quarter end determined whether he was paid in full or by part for his last service.
346	341	1757 Brought Over £1118 2s 2d Sentinels Brought Over £204 9s 4¾d John Steward £3 16s 0¾d William Smith £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Taylor £3 16s 0¾d Edward Terry £3 16s 0¾d Benjamin Williams £3 16s 0¾d Edward Williams £3 16s 0¾d £227 3s 7¾d Third Company Onesiphorus Beale 1st. Lieut. Salary £22 16s 3d Do. Diet Money £6 16s 10¾d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £32 3s 1¾d George Hay 2nd. Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Do. Diet Money £6 16s 10¾d £25 1s 10¾d Sergeants Robert Mason £7 12s 1d Michael Frost £7 12s 1d Thomas Leech	The salary list continued, brought over at £1,118 2s 2d, the sentinels brought over at £204 9s 4 1/2d. Sentinels: John Steward, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Smith, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Terry, £3 16s 0 1/2d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d, total £227 3s 7 1/2d Third Company: Onesiphorus Beale, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Onesiphorus Beale, diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d Onesiphorus Beale, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £32 3s 1 1/2d George Hay, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d George Hay, diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d, total £25 1s 10 1/2d Sergeants: Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Michael Frost, £7 12s 1d Thomas Leech, £7 12s 1d, total £22 16s 3d Corporals: Charles Gifting, £5 6s 5 1/2d Robert Brown, £5 6s 5 1/2d John Hudson, from 12 to 16 April as corporal at £5 5s 10d a year, and from 17 April inclusive as sentinel at £3 16s 0 1/2d a year, £3 17s 8 1/2d Corporals total, £14 10s 7 1/2d Drummers: John Coffin, £5 6s 5 1/2d John Gould, £5 6s 5 1/2d, total £10 12s 11d Sentinels: Matthew Allis, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Austin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Alshun, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		£7 12s 1d £22 16s 3d Corporals Charles Gifting £5 6s 5¼d Robert Brown £5 6s 5¼d John Hudson from the 12th. to the 16th. April as Corporal 20.5.10 A. from 17th. April Inclusive as Centinel 20.11.10¾ £3 17s 8¾d £14 10s 7¾d Drummers John Coffin £5 6s 5¼d John Gouds £5 6s 5¼d £10 12s 11d Sentinels Matthew Allis £3 16s 0¾d Samuel Austin £3 16s 0¾d Samuel Alshun £3 16s 0¾d Robert Baker from 12. April to 14th. May Inclusive Died £1 1s 6d Sentinels Carried Over £12 15s 7¾d Carried Over £1450 12s 7d	Robert Baker, from 12 April to 14 May inclusive, died, £1 1s 6d Sentinels carried over, £12 15s 7 1/2d Carried over, £1,450 12s 7d Interpretations The list opens the Third Company with its own lieutenants, sergeants, corporals and drummers, confirming the garrison division into several companies each fully officered. The island soldiers were drawn up in at least three companies, each with the same structure of ranks from the lieutenants down to the sentinels, so the establishment maintained a regular military organisation on its small ground. This shows the Company keeping its garrison in the proper companies of a standing force, the men grouped and officered as they would be in any regular establishment, ready to be marched and commanded by units. The pay of John Hudson, drawn as a corporal for five days and then as a sentinel for the rest of the quarter, shows a man reduced in rank mid quarter and paid accordingly. Hudson began the quarter a corporal but was put back to sentinel on 17 April, so his pay was split between the two rates at the exact date of his reduction. This marks the fine accounting of rank as well as time, a soldier pay following not only the days he served but the rank he held on each, so a demotion within the quarter was caught precisely in the wage. The death of Robert Baker, paid to 14 May here, ties to his will of 12 May and the powder issued for his funeral, all recorded earlier in these consultations. The three accounts together fix his death within days of making his will, the pay roll stopping his wage, the powder book marking his funeral and the will itself proved before the council. This shows once more how the several books of the establishment converged on the individual soldier, Baker passage traced across his will, his funeral and his stopped pay, the same man appearing in each as the records between them measured his death from every side.
347	342	1st. August Brought Over £1450 12s 7d Sentinels Brought Over £12 15s 7¾d George Beale from 12. April to 25. June Inclusive discharged £3 2s 6d William Bechell £3 16s 0¾d William Birch £3 16s 0¾d John Bourke £3 16s 0¾d John Brewer £3 16s 0¾d William Brooks £3 16s 0¾d John Brown £3 16s 0¾d Benjamin Burton £3 16s 0¾d William Campble £3 16s 0¾d Daniel Carn £3 16s 0¾d Stephen Cleverley £3 16s 0¾d John Cordee £3 16s 0¾d John Deer from 21. June Inclusive Entertained £0 17s 6d Jacob Du Vall	The salary list continued, brought over at £1,450 12s 7d, the sentinels brought over at £12 15s 7 1/2d. Sentinels: George Beale, from 12 April to 25 June inclusive, discharged, £3 2s 6d William Bockett, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Birch, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Bourke, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Brewer, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Brooks, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d Benjamin Burton, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Campble, £3 16s 0 1/2d Daniel Carn, £3 16s 0 1/2d Stephen Cleverley, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Corlee, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Deer, from 21 June inclusive, entertained, £0 17s 6d Jacob Du Vall, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Elward, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Eglestone, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Elward, from 15 April inclusive, entertained, £3 13s 4d Peter Sinsal, £3 16s 0 1/2d Henry Sallbright, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Gayner, from 12 April to 4 May inclusive, died, £0 19s 2d Thomas Green, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Harris, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Harrison, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Hayes, £3 16s 0 1/2d Phillip Hilliard, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Hinds, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Holbrook, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		£3 16s 0¾d William Elward £3 16s 0¾d Peter Eylestrie £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Elwarb from the 15th. April Inclusive Entertained £3 13s 4d Peter Finsat £3 16s 0¾d Henry Fullbright £3 16s 0¾d John Gayner from 12. April to the 4th. of May Inclusive died £0 19s 2d Thomas Green £3 16s 0¾d William Harris £3 16s 0¾d William Harrison £3 16s 0¾d John Hayes £3 16s 0¾d Phillip Hilliard £3 16s 0¾d James Hindry £3 16s 0¾d William Holbrook £3 16s 0¾d Sentinels Carried Over Carried Over £1450 12s 7d	Sentinels carried over, £1,450 12s 7d Carried over, £1,450 12s 7d Interpretations The death of John Gayner, paid only to 4 May here, ties to his will of 21 April, its proving before the council and the powder issued for his funeral, all recorded earlier in these consultations. The pay roll stopping his wage confirms his death within days of making his will, the four accounts together fixing the whole close of his life. This shows the individual soldier traced across every book of the establishment, Gayner will, its proving, his funeral and his stopped pay each recording the same death, the records converging on the one man as they measured his passing from every side. The discharge of George Beale, paid to 25 June here, ties to his petition for discharge granted on that date earlier in these consultations. The pay roll marks the exact day his service ended, the same date the council granted his release, so the wage record and the consultation agree on his going. This confirms once more how the pay roll doubled as a register of the garrison changes, the discharges granted in council written into the pay as stopped wages at the very day of release, the two sources tracking each man departure in step. The name Stephen Cleverley on the sentinel roll ties to Robert Baker will of 12 May, in which Baker left all he had to his well esteemed friend Stephen Cleverley, another private soldier. Cleverley here draws his pay as a serving sentinel, the same man named as heir and executor in the will proved before the council, so the roll places the beneficiary of the will among the living garrison. This shows the close weave of the island military community, the men of the wills and the men of the pay roll the same handful of soldiers, an heir named in one book standing in his place in another as the records tracked the whole small world of the garrison.
348	343	1757 Brought Over £1450 12s 7d Sentinels Brought Over John Holloway £3 16s 0¾d James Hudson £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Harding from 15. April Inclusive Entertained £3 13s 4d Samuel Instone £3 16s 0¾d Richard Fone £3 16s 0¾d Samuel Kittson £3 16s 0¾d Evan Knowles £3 16s 0¾d John Lloyd from 21. June Incl. Enterd. £0 17s 6d Wm. Lyon £3 16s 0¾d Richard Mc. Nolly £3 16s 0¾d William Martin £3 16s 0¾d Stephen Orr £3 16s 0¾d William Penny £3 16s 0¾d Roger Phillips £3 16s 0¾d Archibald Pogue £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Rutherford	The salary list continued, brought over at £1,450 12s 7d. Sentinels: John Holloway, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Hudson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Harding, from 15 April inclusive, entertained, £3 13s 4d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Jones, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Kittson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Lloyd, from 21 June inclusive, entertained, £0 17s 6d William Lyon, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard McNolly, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Martin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Penny, £3 16s 0 1/2d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 0 1/2d Archibald Pogue, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0 1/2d Henry Schaarnhurst, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Simmons, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Smith, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Sowers, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Strange, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Taylor, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Swaits, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Wansill, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Ward, from 29 May inclusive, entertained, £1 16s 3d John Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Williams, from 12 April to 11 May inclusive, died, £1 5s 0d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		£3 16s 0¾d Henry Schaarnhurst £3 16s 0¾d John Simmons £3 16s 0¾d William Smith £3 16s 0¾d Joseph Smith £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Sowers £3 16s 0¾d John Strange £3 16s 0¾d William Taylor £3 16s 0¾d Richard Swaits £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Wansill £3 16s 0¾d William Ward from 29. May Incl. Ent. £1 16s 8d John Williams £3 16s 0¾d William Williams from 12. April to 11. May Inclusive Died £1 5s 0d Stephen Willoughby £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Waffington £3 16s 0¾d Sentinels Carried Over Carried Over £1450 12s 7d	Thomas Waffington, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £1,450 12s 7d Carried over, £1,450 12s 7d Interpretations The death of William Williams, paid to 11 May here, ties to the powder issued for his funeral recorded earlier in these consultations, the two accounts confirming the same death. Williams was one of the four men buried with a powder allowance in that period, and the pay roll stopping his wage on 11 May fixes the day of his death, so the funeral charge and the stopped pay agree. This shows again how the several books of the establishment converged on the individual soldier, a single death entered as both a funeral expense and a halted wage, the records between them measuring the man passing from more than one side. The entertainment of William Ward from 29 May shows a new soldier coming onto the roll, and his name ties to the muster of the <i>Hector</i>, where William Ward was entered as having joined the garrison at St Helena out of that ship. A seaman left by his ship and enlisted into the garrison thus passed from the muster roll of the <i>Hector</i> onto the pay roll of the island soldiers, drawn from the day he was entertained. This shows the movement of men between the sea and the garrison, the same William Ward appearing first among the ship crew that landed him and then among the soldiers who took him in, the records tracking his passage from one service to the other. The long roll of sentinels closing this company confirms the size of the garrison that held the island, the private soldiers running to well over a hundred names across the several companies. This great body of common soldiers, all at the uniform £3 16s, made up the bulk of the military establishment and the largest single charge in the whole pay list. The sheer length of the roll measures the manpower the Company kept on its remote possession, a standing garrison of many soldiers maintained at fixed wages to hold the island against any descent, the base on which the whole ordered structure of officers and ranks was raised.
349	344	1st. August Brought Over £1450 12s 7d Sentinels Brought Over Gustavus Wreden £3 16s 0¾d Jeremiah Wyrill from the 12th. to the 16th. April Inclusive as Centinel 20.4.2 Do. from the 17th. April as Corporal 5.0.7¾ £3 4s 9¾d £224 7s 6d Fourth Company William Kennedy 1st. Lieutenant Salary £22 16s 0¾d Do. Diet Money £6 16s 10¾d Do. House Rent £2 10s 0d £32 3s 1¾d Samuel Price 2nd. Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Do. Diet Money £6 16s 10¾d £25 1s 10¾d Sergeants William Langhorne £7 12s 1d Richard Vaughan £7 12s 1d John Bridgwaters £7 12s 1d	The salary list continued, brought over at £1,450 12s 7d. Sentinels: Gustavus Wreden, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jeremiah Wyrill, from 12 to 16 April inclusive as sentinel at £4 2s a year, and from 17 April as corporal at £5 5s 7 1/2d a year, £3 4s 9 1/2d, total £224 7s 6d Fourth Company: William Kennedy, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 0 1/2d William Kennedy, diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d William Kennedy, house rent, £2 10s 0d, total £32 3s 1 1/2d Samuel Price, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Price, diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d, total £25 1s 10 1/2d Sergeants: William Langhorne, £7 12s 1d Richard Vaughan, £7 12s 1d John Bridgwaters, £7 12s 1d, total £22 16s 3d Corporals: Gilbert Clough, £5 6s 5 1/2d Benjamin Swaits, £5 6s 5 1/2d Thomas Barre, £5 6s 5 1/2d, total £15 19s 4 1/2d Drummers: Edward Thomas, £5 6s 5 1/2d Robert Bennet, from 12 April to 9 May inclusive, died, £1 12s 8d

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		£22 16s 3d Corporals Gilbert Clough £5 6s 5¾d Benjamin Swaits £5 6s 5¾d Thomas Barrs £5 6s 5¾d £15 19s 4¾d Drummers Edward Thomas £5 6s 5¾d Robert Bennet from the 12th. April to the 9th. May Inclusive died £1 12s 8d John Buckham from 10. May Inclusive transferred from the first Company £3 13s 9¾d £10 12s 11d Sentinels William Adams £3 16s 0¾d William Anderson £3 16s 0¾d William Brown £3 16s 0¾d Robert Ballard £3 16s 0¾d Christian Brinks £3 16s 0¾d Onesiphorus Bagley £3 16s 0¾d Jaques Birch £3 16s 0¾d Sentinels Carried Over £26 12s 3¾d Carried Over £1881 13s 7¾d	John Buckham, from 10 May inclusive, transferred from the First Company, £3 13s 9 1/2d, total £10 12s 11d Sentinels: William Adams, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Anderson, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Ballard, £3 16s 0 1/2d Christian Brinks, £3 16s 0 1/2d Onesiphorus Bagley, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jaques Birch, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £26 12s 3 1/2d Carried over, £1,881 13s 7 1/2d Interpretations The pay of Jeremiah Wyrill, drawn as a sentinel for five days and then as a corporal, shows a man raised in rank mid quarter and paid accordingly, the mirror of Hudson reduction seen earlier. Wyrill began the quarter a sentinel but was made corporal on 17 April, so his pay was split between the two rates at the day of his promotion. This marks the fine accounting of rank as well as time across the whole garrison, a soldier pay following the rank he held on each day, so that both the promotions and the reductions within the quarter were caught exactly in the wage. The transfer of John Buckham from the First Company to the Fourth, paid here from 10 May as a drummer, completes the record begun earlier where his First Company pay stopped on 9 May. The two entries together track his move between companies to the exact day, his pay stopping in the one and beginning in the other with no gap, so the account followed him precisely across the transfer. This shows the careful bookkeeping of the garrison movements, a man shifted from one company to another paid to the day in each, his service unbroken though his company changed. The death of Robert Bennet, paid to 9 May here, ties to the powder issued for his funeral recorded earlier in these consultations, the two accounts confirming the same death. Bennet was among the four men buried with a powder allowance in that period, and the pay roll stopping his wage on 9 May fixes the day of his death, so the funeral charge and the stopped pay agree. This shows once more how the several books of the establishment converged on the individual soldier, Bennet death entered as both a funeral expense and a halted wage, the records between them measuring the man passing from more than one side.
350	345	1757 Brought Over £1881 13s 7¾d Sentinels Brought Over £26 12s 3¾d John Bax £3 16s 0¾d Jacob Brull £3 16s 0¾d Robert Bliss £3 16s 0¾d Henry Brown £3 16s 0¾d William Blackman £3 16s 0¾d James Carmichael £3 16s 0¾d John Cherret £3 16s 0¾d John Cripps £3 16s 0¾d John Clough £3 16s 0¾d Joseph Chamberlain	The salary list continued, brought over at £1,881 13s 7 1/2d, the sentinels brought over at £26 12s 3 1/2d. Sentinels: John Box, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jacob Brull, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Bliss, £3 16s 0 1/2d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Blackman, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Carmichael, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Cherret, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Cripps, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Clough, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Cork, £3 16s 0 1/2d Job Chamberlain, £3 16s 0 1/2d Baron Deloopt, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Dry, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Fleetwood, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Hyde, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hoyes, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hill, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		£3 16s 0¾d John Cork £3 16s 0¾d Job Chamberlain £3 16s 0¾d Baron Deloopt £3 16s 0¾d James Dry £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Fuller £3 16s 0¾d Peter Fleetwood £3 16s 0¾d Edward Grant £3 16s 0¾d John Hyde £3 16s 0¾d William Hayes £3 16s 0¾d William Hill £3 16s 0¾d Robert Jewhurst £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Kendrick £3 16s 0¾d John Kemp £3 16s 0¾d John Langbridge £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Lindsey £3 16s 0¾d Joseph Long £3 16s 0¾d John Leman £3 16s 0¾d Abraham Mayor £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Morris £3 16s 0¾d Charles Montague £3 16s 0¾d Adam Millbowne from the 12th. of April to the 24th. May Inclusive discharged £1 15s 10d Sentinels Carried Over £142 9s 4¾d Carried Over £1881 13s 7¾d	Robert Jewhurst, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Kemp, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Langbridge, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Lindsey, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Long, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Leman, £3 16s 0 1/2d Abraham Mayor, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0 1/2d Charles Montague, £3 16s 0 1/2d Adam Millbourne, from 12 April to 24 May inclusive, discharged, £1 15s 10d Sentinels carried over, £142 9s 4 1/2d Carried over, £1,881 13s 7 1/2d Interpretations The names Thomas Lindsey and John Cripps on the sentinel roll tie to the auction of Samuel Powell effects earlier in these consultations, where Lindsey was paid to help carry the corpse and Cripps witnessed Robert Baker will. These men appear here drawing their pay as serving sentinels, the same soldiers who bore a body to the grave and witnessed a comrade will, so the roll places the individual figures of the record among the living garrison. This shows the tight weave of the island military community, the same handful of soldiers filling every part of the island life, their names moving between the auctions, the wills and the pay roll as one small body. The foreign names among the sentinels, a Baron Deloopt and a Jacob Brull, mark the garrison drawing on men from beyond the home countries, as its shipping did. Soldiers of Dutch, German and other origin stood in the ranks at the same pay as the English and Scots, enlisted into the Company service and manning the same forts. This confirms once more that the military establishment of the island, like its crews, was made up in part of men from the wider peoples of Europe, all bound into the one garrison that held the Company remote possession, their varied names running through the roll at the uniform wage. The discharge of Adam Millbourne, paid to 24 May here, marks another of the quarter departures caught in the pay through a part payment. As with the other discharges recorded in these consultations, the roll drew Millbourne only to the day his service ended, so his going was written into the wage at the exact date of his release. This shows the pay roll doubling as a register of the garrison changes throughout the quarter, the deaths, discharges and transfers of the soldiers all recorded as stopped or split wages, the account of what the garrison cost also telling the tale of who left it and when.
351	346	1st. August Brought Over £1881 13s 7¾d Sentinels Brought Over £142 9s 4¾d Richard Moyce £3 16s 0¾d Edward Mansell £3 16s 0¾d William Meer £3 16s 0¾d William Mc. Cloud £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Nimble £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Payne £3 16s 0¾d John Passwater £3 16s 0¾d William Robinson £3 16s 0¾d	The salary list continued, brought over at £1,881 13s 7 1/2d, the sentinels brought over at £142 9s 4 1/2d. Sentinels: Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Mansell, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Meer, £3 16s 0 1/2d William McCloud, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Nimble, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Payne, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Passwater, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Robinson, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Rippon, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Robinson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Slack, £3 16s 0 1/2d David Scott, £3 16s 0 1/2d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0 1/2d Nicholas Scrofton, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Starmore, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Spencer, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Simms, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		William Rippon £3 16s 0¾d John Robinson £3 16s 0¾d Robert Stack £3 16s 0¾d David Scott £3 16s 0¾d Adam Scott £3 16s 0¾d Nicholas Scroften £3 16s 0¾d Thomas Starmore £3 16s 0¾d Richard Spencer £3 16s 0¾d George Simms £3 16s 0¾d James Shelbord £3 16s 0¾d Joseph Seward from 12. April to the 2nd. May Inclusive Died £0 17s 6d Christian Sider £3 16s 0¾d Joseph Tiffin £3 16s 0¾d Roger Whetwan £3 16s 0¾d John Weburd £3 16s 0¾d £226 19s 9¾d Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary £22 16s 3d Do. Diet Money £6 16s 10¾d £29 13s 1¾d Gunners Mates Nathan Sample Chief Mate £11 8s 1¾d William Turner £9 2s 6d John Whitchurch £9 2s 6d Henry Carter £9 2s 6d Gunners Mates Carried Over £38 15s 7¾d Carried Over £2138 6s 6¾d	James Shelbord, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Steward, from 12 April to 2 May inclusive, died, £0 17s 6d Christian Sider, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Roger Whetwan, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Weburd, £3 16s 0 1/2d, total £226 19s 9 1/2d Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, master gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d Thomas Hall, diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d, total £29 13s 1 1/2d Gunners mates: Nathan Sample, chief mate, £11 8s 4 1/2d William Turner, £9 2s 6d John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Henry Carter, £9 2s 6d Gunners mates carried over, £38 15s 7 1/2d Carried over, £2,138 6s 6 1/2d Interpretations The list opens the Artillery Company under Thomas Hall, the master gunner, whose name has run through the whole series of consultations as the signatory of the Gunner accounts and stores. Hall now appears drawing his salary at the head of the artillery establishment, the same officer who signed the powder books and the stock accounts month by month, so the pay roll places the man behind so many of the records among the salaried officers of the island. This shows the master gunner as a figure of real standing, paid on a scale near the lieutenants and set over the artillery on which the island defence turned. The gunners mates paid above the common sentinels mark the skilled men who served the great guns under the master gunner. Rated well above the private soldiers, the mates were the trained artillerymen who laid, loaded and fired the pieces, a skill the garrison could not do without, so they were paid for their craft as the tradesmen of the establishment were. This shows the value the Company placed on gunnery, the men who worked the batteries rated between the sergeants and the sentinels, the artillery kept in the hands of a paid body of skilled gunners rather than left to the common soldiers alone. The death of Joseph Steward, paid to 2 May here, ties to the powder issued for his funeral recorded earlier in these consultations, the two accounts confirming the same death. Steward was among the four men buried with a powder allowance in that period, and the pay roll stopping his wage on 2 May fixes the day of his death, so the funeral charge and the stopped pay agree. This completes the tally of the four funerals of that month, all now confirmed from the pay roll as well as the powder book, the records between them measuring each man passing from more than one side, the establishment tracking its dead across every account it kept.
352	347	1757 Brought Over £2138 6s 6¾d Gunners Mates Brought Over £38 15s 7¾d Charles Mc. Neily £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis £9 2s 6d John Hellings £9 2s 6d Adam Watson £9 2s 6d £75 5s 7¾d Quarter Gunners James Lee	The salary list continued, brought over at £2,138 6s 6 1/2d, the gunners mates brought over at £38 15s 7 1/2d. Gunners mates: Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis, £9 2s 6d John Hellings, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, £9 2s 6d, total £75 5s 7 1/2d Quarter gunners: James Lee, £6 16s 10 1/2d James Long, £6 16s 10 1/2d Thomas Mason, £6 16s 10 1/2d Thomas Williams, £6 16s 10 1/2d Andrew Burton, £6 16s 10 1/2d John Jacks, £6 16s 10 1/2d John Cleavey, £6 16s 10 1/2d

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		£6 16s 10³/₄d James Long £6 16s 10³/₄d Thomas Mason £6 16s 10³/₄d Thomas Williams £6 16s 10³/₄d Andrew Burton £6 16s 10³/₄d John Jacks £6 16s 10³/₄d John Cleavey £6 16s 10³/₄d Anthony Day from 12. April to 27. June Inclusive as Qr. Gunner Do. from 28. June Inclusive as Matross £5 15s 6d £0 14s 3d £54 7s 10³/₄d Matrosses Richard Billington £4 11s 3d William Benson £4 11s 3d Matthew Brickland £4 11s 3d James Cooper £4 11s 3d Derby Coyles £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham £4 11s 3d Thomas Davis £4 11s 3d William Fletcher £4 11s 3d Andrew Gorden £4 11s 3d Thomas Mudge £4 11s 3d William Mason £4 11s 3d Roger Nevinson £4 11s 3d George Nelson £4 11s 3d William Perry £4 11s 3d Joseph Prichard £4 11s 3d Thomas Pratchett £4 11s 3d Matrosses Carried Over £64 0s 0d Carried Over £2268 0s 0³/₄d	Anthony Day, from 12 April to 27 June inclusive as quarter gunner at £6 16s 10 1/2d a year, and from 28 June inclusive as matross, £0 14s 3d, total £54 7s 10 1/2d Matrosses: Richard Billington, £4 11s 3d William Benson, £4 11s 3d Matthew Brickland, £4 11s 3d James Cooper, £4 11s 3d Derby Coyles, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 3d Thomas Davis, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d Andrew Gorden, £4 11s 3d Thomas Mudge, £4 11s 3d William Mason, £4 11s 3d Roger Nevinson, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d William Perry, £4 11s 3d Joseph Prichard, £4 11s 3d Thomas Pratchett, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried over, £64 0s 0d Carried over, £2,268 0s 0 1/2d Interpretations The artillery establishment ran down through several grades below the master gunner, the gunners mates, the quarter gunners and the matrosses, each at its own rate. This showed a trained body of artillerymen organised in ranks like the infantry, from the mates who assisted the master gunner down through the quarter gunners to the matrosses who did the heavy labour of the guns. The matrosses, paid above the common sentinel but below the quarter gunners, were the gunners assistants who loaded, sponged and ran up the pieces, so the artillery was manned by a graded body of skilled and semi skilled men rather than by the ordinary soldiers of the garrison. The pay of Anthony Day, drawn as a quarter gunner until 27 June and then as a matross, shows a man reduced in the artillery ranks mid quarter and paid accordingly. Day was put down from quarter gunner to matross on 28 June, so his pay was split between the two rates at the exact day of his reduction, the higher wage for the time he held the higher place and the lower for the rest. This marks the same fine accounting of rank in the artillery as in the infantry, a gunner pay following the grade he held on each day, so a reduction within the quarter was caught precisely in the wage. The matross was the lowest rated of the trained artillerymen, ranking below the quarter gunner and serving as the gunner assistant at the piece. The number of matrosses on the roll, all at the uniform £4 11s 3d, marks the body of men needed to work the guns of the island batteries, each great gun requiring several hands to load, aim and fire it. This shows the artillery as a labour intensive arm demanding many trained men, the matrosses the base of the gunnery establishment as the sentinels were the base of the infantry, the island keeping a substantial paid body of artillerymen to serve the guns on which its defence rested.
353	348	1st. August Brought Over £2268 0s 0³/₄d Matrosses Brought Over £64 0s 0d James Percy £4 11s 3d John Robertson £4 11s 3d James Robinson from 12. to 27th. June as Matross £3 17s 0d	The salary list continued, brought over at £2,268 0s 0 1/2d, the matrosses brought over at £64 0s 0d. Matrosses: James Percy, £4 11s 3d John Robertson, £4 11s 3d James Robinson, from 12 to 27 June as matross at £4 11s 3d a year, and from 28 June as quarter gunner, £3 17s 0d and £1 1s 4 1/2d John Shirley, £4 11s 3d John Slater, £4 11s 3d John Turner, £4 11s 3d William Thomson, £4 11s 3d

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		Do. from 28th. June as Quarter Gunner £1 1s 4¾d John Shirtley £4 11s 3d John Slater £4 11s 3d John Turner £4 11s 3d William Thomson £4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor £4 11s 3d John Tomason £4 11s 3d Joseph Turner £4 11s 3d John Woods £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts £4 11s 3d Richard Watterhouse £4 11s 3d Benjamin Willson £4 11s 3d James York £4 11s 3d James Garnet from 21. Inclusive Enterd. £1 1s 0d £142 16s 10¾d Superannuated Thomas Easthope from 12th. April to 2nd. July Inclusive Died £0 10s 5d £2321 1s 11d	Thomas Taylor, £4 11s 3d John Tomason, £4 11s 3d Joseph Turner, £4 11s 3d John Woods, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d Richard Watterhouse, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Willson, £4 11s 3d James York, £4 11s 3d James Garnet, from 21 June inclusive, entertained, £1 1s 0d, total £142 16s 10 1/2d Superannuated: Thomas Easthope, from 12 April to 2 July inclusive, died, £0 10s 5d Total, £2,321 1s 11d Interpretations The pay of James Robinson, drawn as a matross until 27 June and then as a quarter gunner, shows a man raised in the artillery ranks mid quarter, the mirror of Anthony Day reduction on the same date. As Day was put down from quarter gunner to matross on 28 June, so Robinson was raised from matross to quarter gunner on the very same day, the one man filling the place the other vacated. This shows the artillery ranks kept at a fixed establishment, a promotion balanced by a reduction on the same date so the number in each grade held steady, the two men pay split at 28 June as they changed places in the gunnery. The superannuated place held by Thomas Easthope, paid to 2 July when he died, marks the Company provision for its worn out servants. Easthope, a lieutenant grown too old for active service, was carried on the establishment as a superannuated officer, drawing a small allowance until his death, so the Company pensioned its long servants rather than simply casting them off. His death on 2 July, recorded here in the pay, ties to the consultation that noted his dying and to his will proved before the council, the several accounts converging on the close of his life as they did on every soldier passing. James Garnet entered here as a matross from 21 June ties to the seaman James Garnett left by the <i>Hector</i> and enlisted into the garrison earlier in these consultations. A man put ashore by his ship and taken into the Company service thus passed onto the artillery pay roll as a matross, drawn from the day he was entertained. This shows once more the movement of men between the sea and the island establishment, the same James Garnet appearing first among the enlistments of the consultations and then among the artillery on the pay roll, the records tracking his passage from stranded seaman to salaried gunner.
354	349	John Clark Paymaster Dr. Per Contra Cr. 1757 July 11. To Cash from the Honorable Companys Cash Chest £2590 1s 3d Carried Over £2590 1s 3d 1757 Ap. 14. By Cash paid Capt. Hutchinson for a Long Boat for the Use of the Honorable Company £20 0s 0d 15. By Cash paid William Keeling, Thos. 16. Elwart and Thomas Harding, for 17. enlisting to serve the Honorable Company 18. for five Years £1 each 19. £3 0s 0d 20. By Cash paid James Hendree for Belis. for Do. 21. £10 0s 0d May 23. By Cash paid William Harris for Do. £10 0s 0d 26. By Cash paid William Ward for Do.	The account of John Clark, Paymaster, was set out as debtor and creditor. On the debtor side, on 11 July 1757 he received cash from the Honourable Company cash chest of £2,590 1s 3d, which was carried over. On the creditor side, the payments made in 1757 were: April 14, cash paid Captain Hutchinson for a long boat for the use of the Honourable Company, £20 0s 0d 15, cash paid William Keeling, Thomas Elwart and Thomas Harding for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company for five years at £1 each, £3 0s 0d 27, cash paid James Hendree for enlisting for the same, £10 0s 0d May 23, cash paid William Harris for the same, £10 0s 0d 26, cash paid William Ward for the same, £10 0s 0d

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		27. £10 0s 0d June 10. By Cash paid William Fletcher for Do. £10 0s 0d 22. By Cash paid James Carmichael for Do. 23. £10 0s 0d By Cash paid Archibald Pogue for Do. £10 0s 0d By Cash paid Capt. Nanfan for a Barrel of Pitch for the Use of the Honble. Company £1 10s 0d By Cash paid Capt. Williams for a Barrel of Tar for the Use of the Honble. Company £1 14s 6d July 1. By Cash paid James Garnet for enlisting to serve the Honble. Company five Years £3 0s 0d 6. By Cash paid Capt. Dale for the following 7. particulars Carried Over £89 4s 6d	June 10, cash paid William Fletcher for the same, £10 0s 0d 22, cash paid James Carmichael for the same, £10 0s 0d 22, cash paid Archibald Pogue for the same, £10 0s 0d 22, cash paid Captain Nanfan for a barrel of pitch for the use of the Honourable Company, £1 10s 0d 22, cash paid Captain Williams for a barrel of tar for the use of the Honourable Company, £1 14s 6d July 1, cash paid James Garnet for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company for five years, £3 0s 0d 6, cash paid Captain Dale for the following particulars, carried over Total carried over, £89 4s 6d Interpretations The Paymaster account books the actual cash paid out against the establishment, and the enlistment bounties recorded here confirm the varied terms met earlier in the consultations. James Hendree, William Harris, William Ward and others each drew the full £10 bounty for a five year enlistment, while Keeling, Elwart and Harding took only £1 each and James Garnet £3, so the cash book sets down exactly what each recruit was paid. This shows the range of terms on which the garrison was filled, the standard £10 bounty for a full enlistment set beside the smaller sums paid to men taken on cheaply, the whole traced through the money actually issued. The payments to Captain Nanfan and Captain Williams for a barrel of pitch and a barrel of tar confirm from the cash side the purchase of naval stores recorded earlier in the consultations. The council had bought these scarce commodities from its own ship captains for the island use, and the Paymaster now booked the money paid, £1 10s for the pitch and £1 14s 6d for the tar. This shows the consultations and the cash book agreeing on the same transactions, the decision to buy entered in the one and the money paid in the other, the two records confirming each purchase from both sides. The dating of the Paymaster receipt shows the working of the Company cash system across the quarter. Clark drew £2,590 from the cash chest on 11 July, the close of the quarter, yet the payments charged against it run back to 14 April, so the cash was advanced or reckoned at the quarter end against the disbursements of the whole period. This marks the ordering of the island finances, the Paymaster account settled at the quarter close against the payments made throughout it, the cash chest replenished and the account balanced at the fixed boundary of the quarter as every other account of the establishment was.
355	350	1st. August John Clark Paymaster Dr. 1757 July 11. To Cash Brought Over £2590 1s 3d Carried Over £2590 1s 3d	The account of John Clark, Paymaster, was continued on the debtor side. On 11 July 1757 the cash was brought over at £2,590 1s 3d, and carried over at £2,590 1s 3d.
356	351	1757 Per Contra Cr. Brought Over £89 4s 6d July 6. Particulars for the Use of the Honble. Company's Table vizt. 76 Cheese at 7d £3 8s 0d 20 Corronk 11½ £1 6s 8d 29 Raisons 4/6	The account of John Clark, Paymaster, was continued on the creditor side, brought over at £89 4s 6d. On 6 July 1757 the particulars paid to Captain Dale for the use of the Honourable Company table were: 76 cheese at 7d, £3 8s 0d 20 currants at 1s 4d, £1 6s 8d 29 raisins at 1s 6d, £2 3s 6d 8 bottles mustard, £0 16s 0d 1 firkin butter, £3 12s 0d half case pickles, £2 10s 0d

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		£2 3s 6d 8 Bot. Mustard £0 16s 0d 1 firr. Butter £3 12s 0d ½ Case Pickles £2 10s 0d £14 4s 2d 8. By Cash paid Mr. Carnegie Surgeon of the Falmouth 9. for the Cure of 3 Recruits in their passage here 10. £1 5s 0d 11. By Cash paid Capt. Stevens, for 63 Gallons Arrack at 4/ 12. p Gallon for the Use of the Honorable Company 13. £12 12s 0d 14. By Cash paid Joseph Chamberlain, for Carpenters 15. Work done, for the Honorable Company this Quarter 16. £5 0s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Dunn for assistance in the Secretarys Office this Quarter £5 0s 0d By Cash paid Robert Evans and William Cooksey for Baking 73 batches of Bread, for the Use of the Garrison this Quarter at 20d p Batch £6 3s 4d By Cash paid William Elward, for 33 days Work at 1/ p day in Assisting the Carpenter £1 13s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Mason, for 25 days Carpenters Work at 1/6 p Day, for the Honorable Company £1 17s 6d By Cash paid William Dufton Sexton for making Graves for 7 deceased Soldiers at 2/6 each this Quarter £0 17s 6d By Cash paid William Moore, for the Rent of Two Houses, for the Use of the Sick Soldiers £4 18s 10d By Cash paid Samuel Alexander for 90 Rafters at 8d and 30 at 6 each, for the Use of the Honble. Company £5 5s 0d By Cash paid William Rippon, for taking Care of the Honble. Companys Stock in the Long Wood £2 10s 0d By Cash paid Richard Bagley 24 Butt Potatoes and 1250 Lemons for the Use of the Honble. Comps. Table £1 17s 6d By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers, for Coming with Expresses of Ships to Windward this Quarter £2 10s 0d Carried Over £153 18s 4d	Particulars total, £14 4s 2d The further payments in 1757 were: July 8, cash paid Mr Carnagie, surgeon of the <i>Falmouth</i>, for the cure of 3 recruits on their passage here, £1 5s 0d 10, cash paid Captain Stevens for 63 gallons arrack at 4s a gallon for the use of the Honourable Company, £12 12s 0d 11, cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for carpenter's work done for the Honourable Company this quarter, £5 0s 0d 11, cash paid Thomas Dunn for assistance in the secretary's office this quarter, £5 0s 0d 11, cash paid Robert Evans and William Cooksey for baking 73 batches of bread for the use of the garrison this quarter at 20 per batch, £6 3s 4d 11, cash paid William Elwart for 33 days work at 1s a day in assisting the carpenter, £1 13s 0d 11, cash paid Thomas Mason for 25 days painter's work at 1s 6d a day for the Honourable Company, £1 17s 6d 11, cash paid William Dufton, sexton, for making graves for 7 deceased soldiers at 2s 6d each this quarter, £0 17s 6d 11, cash paid William Moore for the rent of two houses for the use of the sick soldiers, £4 18s 10d 11, cash paid Samuel Alexander for 90 rafters at 9d and 30 at 6d each for the use of the Honourable Company, £5 5s 0d 11, cash paid William Rippon for taking care of the Honourable Company stock in the long wood, £2 10s 0d 11, cash paid Richard Bagley for 2 bucks, 5 potatoes and 1,250 lemons for the use of the Honourable Company table, £1 17s 6d 11, cash paid sundry soldiers for coming with express of ships to windward this quarter, £2 10s 0d Carried over, £153 18s 4d Interpretations The Paymaster account books the wages of the island casual and skilled labour, and the day rates recorded here show what such work was worth. William Elwart drew 1s a day for assisting the carpenter and Thomas Mason 1s 6d a day for painting, so the account sets down the daily wage of the trades employed by the Company. This shows the establishment hiring labour by the day for its building and maintenance, the carpenter helper and the painter paid at fixed rates for the time they worked, the whole charged to the Company as the cost of keeping the settlement in repair. The payment to the sexton for making graves for seven deceased soldiers at 2s 6d each measures the mortality of the quarter in the plainest terms. Seven soldiers had died and been buried, the sexton paid a fixed fee for each grave, so the cost of burying the garrison dead was booked like any other labour. This confirms from the cash side the deaths recorded across the pay roll and the powder book, the seven graves matching the men whose wages stopped and whose funerals drew powder, the several accounts agreeing on the toll of death among the garrison in the quarter. The purchase of 1,250 lemons for the table, alongside the bucks and potatoes, points to the use of citrus against the scurvy that plagued long voyages and remote stations. Lemons were valued as a preventive of the disease that came of a diet without fresh food, so the Company laid them in for the table in quantity, the fruit bought from a local supplier and charged to the account. This shows the establishment attending to the health of its people through their diet, the lemons a defence against scurvy as much as a luxury of the table, the island drawing on its own produce to guard against the sailors disease.

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357	352	1st. August John Clark Paymaster Dr. 1757 July 11. To Cash Brought Over £2590 1s 3d £2590 1s 3d Island St.	The account of John Clark, Paymaster, was continued on the debtor side. On 11 July 1757 the cash was brought over at £2,590 1s 3d, and the total stood at £2,590 1s 3d.
358	353	1757 Per Contra Cr. Brought Over £153 18s 4d July 11. By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for Work done in the Honorable Companys Boat, and towing in their yawl this Quarter £4 4s 0d By Cash paid Elisha Isaac, for 675 Lemons for the Use of the Honble. Companys Table this Quarter £0 13s 6d By Cash paid Robert Barclay Surgeon, for his trouble in providing the Hospital with fresh Provisions in the Year ending this Day £8 0s 0d By Cash paid Robert Barclay Surgeon for Extraordinary Expences being more than the Mens Appro. gees in the Hospital Amounts to, at 7d p Day for the Year ending this Day £22 0s 0d By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers, for Work done at several of the Honble. Companys Fortifications in the Quarter ending this Day £79 3s 6d By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants their several Salarys Diet Money &c. for the Quarter Commencing April 12. and ending July 11. 1757 £2321 1s 11d £2590 1s 3d Helena July 11th. 1757 Err. Excepted Signed John Clark Paymaster Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th. July last, which is as follows vizt.	The account of John Clark, Paymaster, was continued on the creditor side, brought over at £153 18s 4d. The further payments in 1757 were: July 11, cash paid sundry soldiers for work done in the Honourable Company's boat and towing in their yawl this quarter, £4 4s 0d 11, cash paid Elisha Isaac for 675 lemons for the use of the Honourable Company table this quarter, £0 13s 6d 11, cash paid Robert Barclay, surgeon, for his trouble in providing the hospital with fresh provisions in the year ending this day, £8 0s 0d 11, cash paid Robert Barclay, surgeon, for extraordinary expenses, being more than the men's appearages in the hospital amounts to, at 7d a day, for the year ending this day, £22 0s 0d 11, cash paid sundry soldiers for work done at several of the Honourable Company's fortifications in the quarter ending this day, £79 3s 6d 11, cash paid the Honourable Company's officers and servants their several salaries, diet money and so forth for the quarter commencing 12 April and ending 11 July 1757, £2,321 1s 11d Total, £2,590 1s 3d The account was dated St Helena 11 July 1757, errors excepted, and signed by John Clark, Paymaster. The council then counted and examined the Honourable Company cash for the month ending 11 July. Interpretations The great weight of the Paymaster account lay in the salaries, the £2,321 paid to the officers and servants far outrunning every other charge, which shows the wage bill as by far the largest cost of holding the island. The whole civil and military establishment, from the Governor to the humblest matross, was paid out of this single quarterly disbursement, so the pay of its people was the chief expense of the Company possession. This marks the settlement as an establishment maintained above all by the men who served it, the cost of their wages dwarfing the provisions, stores and works that made up the rest of the account. The payment to the surgeon Barclay for providing the hospital with fresh provisions and for extraordinary expenses shows the Company contracting out the feeding of its sick. Rather than supply the hospital directly, the establishment paid the surgeon a sum for keeping it in fresh food and met his extra charges above a daily allowance of 7d a man, so the care of the sick was partly farmed to the surgeon himself. This marks a practical arrangement for nursing on a remote island, the surgeon paid to find fresh provisions for his patients and reimbursed for what he spent beyond the fixed rate, the health of the garrison sustained by a mix of allowance and contract. The large sum paid to sundry soldiers for work at the fortifications, more than £79, shows the garrison itself furnishing much of the labour that kept the defences in repair. The soldiers were paid extra for working on the forts beyond their ordinary duty, so the men who manned the guns also mended the works, hired as labourers at the Company charge. This shows the establishment drawing on its own garrison for the heavy work of maintenance, the soldiers earning beyond their pay by their labour on the fortifications, the defence of the island kept up in

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			part by the hands of the very men who would fight from behind it.
359	354	1st. August Cash Dr. 1757 June 12. To Balance remaining £1621 1s 8d 13. To Cash recd. upon Account of Samuel Powell deceased 14. p Consultation this Day 15. £3 4s 5d 16. To Ship Hector the Balance of her Account 17. £14 9s 3d To Ship Clinton the Balance of her Account £8 5s 0d 27. To Account Current London for One Chest of Treasure 28. No. 386 taken out of Ship Falmouth Amount p td. 29. £1004 7s 8d July 11. To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to John Goodwin Or Order thirty days after sight Dated this Day £150 4s 10d To Do. for a Set of Bills drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Geoffrey O'Hara or Order Forty Days after Sight Dated this Day £150 0s 0d To James Powell received of him for Store Goods Sold in the Quarter ending this Day £966 12s 3d To Licences for Public Houses £15 0s 0d To Plantation for Provision Sold £25 3s 3¼d To Samuel Falconer deceased received for the Sale of his House £291 0s 0d £4249 8s 4¾d	The cash account was set out as debtor. On the debtor side, the receipts in 1757 were: June 12, balance remaining, £1,621 1s 8d 13, cash received on account of Samuel Powell, deceased, at the consultation this day, £3 4s 5d 21, ship <i>Hector</i>, the balance of her account, £14 9s 3d 21, ship <i>Clinton</i>, the balance of her account, £8 5s 0d 27, account current London for one chest of treasure, number 386, taken out of the ship <i>Falmouth</i>, amounting to, £1,004 7s 8d July 11, exchange for a set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to John Goodwin or order 30 days after sight, dated this day, £150 4s 10d 11, exchange for a set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Geoffrey O'Hara or order 40 days after sight, dated this day, £150 0s 0d 11, James Powell, received of him for store goods sold in the quarter ending this day, £966 12s 3d 11, licences for public houses, £15 0s 0d 11, plantation for provision sold, £25 3s 3 1/2d 11, Samuel Falconer, deceased, received for the sale of his house, £291 0s 0d Total, £4,249 8s 4 1/2d Interpretations The cash account draws together on one side the whole income of the island for the quarter, and its several heads reveal how the settlement raised its money. The store goods sold brought in £966, the bills of exchange £300, the treasure chest over £1,000 and the smaller sums from provisions, licences and the sale of dead men houses, so the account shows the island funded by a mix of trade, remittance, bullion and local fees. This marks the varied economy of the settlement, its cash drawn from selling stores, from moving private money home, from tapping the treasure in transit and from the small dues of the island life. The licences for public houses, entered at £15, reveal the Company licensing and taxing the drinking houses of the island as a source of revenue. The public houses where the soldiers and sailors drank were licensed at a fee paid to the Company, so the establishment turned the island appetite for drink to account, regulating the alehouses and taking a due from each. This shows the Company governing the social life of the settlement as well as its trade, the licensing of the public houses both a control on drinking and a small revenue, the drink that ran through every account here taxed at its point of sale. The two receipts for the sale of dead men houses, Powell balance and Falconer £291, show the property of those who died on the island passing back into the settlement through the Company hands. When a man died, his house was sold and the proceeds taken into the Company cash, whether to answer his debts or to be remitted to his heirs, so the account books the winding up of estates as a regular part of the island finance. This marks the small closed community of the island, where the property of the dead was turned over through the Company books, the houses of the deceased sold on and their value entered in the cash as the estates were settled.
360	355	1757 Per Contra Cr. 1757 July 11. By Sundry Accounts advance the Paymaster to pay Salarys &c. in the Quarter ending this Day	The cash account was continued on the creditor side. The payments and balance in 1757 were: July 11, sundry accounts, advanced the Paymaster to pay salaries and so forth in the quarter ending this day, £2,590 1s 3d

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		£2590 1s 3d By Ballance remaining in the following Species vizt. 184 Venetians 10/ £92 0s 0d 826 Pagodas 8/ £330 8s 0d £422 8s 0d 2078 Dollars 5/ £519 10s 0d 1546 Rupees 2/3 £173 18s 6d 441 French Peices 2 £3 13s 6d Odd Money £0 2s 1¾d £697 4s 1¾d Cash Notes amounting to £539 15s 0d £4249 8s 4¾d Miss Helena Griffith applied to Us for Liberty to proceed to England on the Ship Oxford, which we Granted, and also upon a further Application we received from her ninety Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash, and have given her Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to herself or Order sixty days after Sight Dated this day	Balance remaining in the following species: 184 Venetians at 10s, £92 0s 0d 826 pagodas at 8s, £330 8s 0d Gold amounting to, £422 8s 0d 2,078 dollars at 5s, £519 10s 0d 1,546 rupees at 2s 3d, £173 18s 6d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 2s 1 1/2d Silver amounting to, £697 4s 1 1/2d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £4,249 8s 4 1/2d Miss Helena Griffith applied to the council for leave to proceed to England on the ship <i>Oxford</i>, which they granted, and on a further application they received from her £90 0s 0d into the Honourable Company cash, and gave her bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to herself or order 60 days after sight, dated the same day. Interpretations The balance of coin had shifted markedly against the previous quarter, the gold falling from £330 to £422 while the composition changed, fewer Venetians and pagodas but more dollars and a great fall in the rupees. Where the earlier balances held steady from month to month, this quarter saw the treasury drawn on heavily, the £2,590 advanced to the Paymaster consuming much of the specie, so the once fixed reserve had been broken into to meet the great wage bill. This shows the treasury moving from a standing store to an active fund under the pressure of the quarter salaries, the coin count altered as the chest was tapped to pay the establishment. The application of Miss Helena Griffith for passage to England shows a woman travelling home under the council leave, and her name ties to Richard Griffith entertained as a sentinel in these very consultations. A woman of the island, perhaps kin to the soldier of the same name, sought passage on the <i>Oxford</i> and remitted £90 home by bill, so the record catches the movement of the settlement women as well as its men. This marks the island as a community of families whose members came and went on the Company ships, the women moving between the settlement and England alongside the soldiers, officers and traders, their money sent home by the same bills of exchange. The large receipt for the treasure chest and the heavy advance to the Paymaster show the quarter as one of great movement in the island cash, the balance swollen by the bullion drawn from the <i>Falmouth</i> and then drained by the wages. The treasury took in over £1,000 of treasure in transit and paid out £2,590 in salaries within the quarter, so the account records a surge and fall of cash on a scale the steady monthly balances had never shown. This marks the quarter end as the moment of greatest strain on the island finances, the treasure pressed into use and the reserve drawn down to meet the single great disbursement of the establishment wages.
361	356	1st. August The Honorable Company not having a proper Boat here for the Governor to visit the Fortifications and out Works at different parts of the Island and for several other Uses upon Occasion and Captain O'Brien of His Majestys Ship the Colchester having a good six oard Deal Cutter that he can spare which he offered to sell at Prime Cost for £22.13. we therefore bought it of him for those purposes. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark. At a Consultation held on Friday the 5th. day of	The Honourable Company not having a proper boat on the island for the Governor to view the fortifications and outworks at different parts of the island and for several other uses on occasion, and Captain O'Brien of His Majesty ship the <i>Colchester</i> having a good six oared boat cutter that he could spare, which he offered to sell at prime cost for £22 13s 0d, the council bought it of him for those purposes. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the Castle on Friday 5 August 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council.

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		August 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 1st. Day of August 1757. Richard Bowers a free Black Man applied to Us for Liberty to go to England on the Ship Stormont Granted	The previous consultation, dated 1 August 1757, was read, approved and signed. Richard Bowers, a free black man, applied to the council for leave to go to England on the ship <i>Stormont</i>. It was granted. Interpretations The purchase of a boat from Captain O'Brien of the <i>Colchester</i> shows the island buying a working craft from a passing warship to meet its own want. The Company had no proper boat for the Governor to visit the scattered forts and outworks, and O'Brien had a good cutter to spare, so the council bought it at prime cost, the price he had paid for it. This shows the island making good its lack of a serviceable boat by dealing with the King ships that touched there, the <i>Colchester</i> supplying a cutter that the settlement needed to oversee its own defences, the transaction between the navy and the Company recorded like any other. The application of Richard Bowers, a free black man, for leave to go to England marks the presence of free people of colour on the island alongside the enslaved. Bowers was free and could seek passage to England on a Company ship, a standing quite apart from the slaves entered as property in the accounts, so the record shows the island population as more mixed than the plantation books alone reveal. That a free black man could apply for and be granted passage to England shows the settlement holding both slave and free of the same origin, the one entered as chattel and the other moving as a free man on the Company ships. The boat bought for the Governor to view the fortifications points to the difficulty of moving about an island of broken coast and scattered defences. The forts and outworks lay at different points around the shore, hard to reach except by sea, so the Governor needed a boat to inspect them, and the want of one had hampered the oversight of the island own defences. This shows the geography of the island shaping its administration, the scattered batteries reached by water rather than land, the purchase of a cutter a practical necessity for the Governor to keep watch over the works on which the island safety rested.
<u>362</u>	357	1757 Being in want of Junk, for making Wads for the Artillery and Captain O'Brien of His Majestys Ship the Colchester very kindly Offered us One Ton, six hundred Weight fit for that Purpose, we therefore have received it, On the Honorable Companys Account, for which the Governor - has given a Certificate, and the Master Gunner a receipt, for the same, to be repaid by their Honors in England. Captain Hindman Commander of Ship Stormont having acquainted us that George Nichols Quarter Master on board the Ship Delawar complained to him that James Hues one of his foremast Men had defrauded him of a peice of Chints and a Silk Handkerchief, we therefore sent for the said George Nichols, who appearing and being Sworn deposeth as follows - That on Monday the 1st. Instant he went with James Hues to Gabriel Isachs House where he treated him with 5d of Punch, that he then left with Mr. Isache a p. of Chints and a Silk Handkerchief value 5 Rupees and	Being in want of junk for making wads for the artillery, and Captain O'Brien of His Majesty ship the <i>Colchester</i> having kindly offered one ton six hundredweight fit for that purpose, the council received it on the Honourable Company account, for which the Governor gave a certificate and the master gunner a receipt, to be repaid by the Company in England. Captain Hindman, commander of the ship <i>Stormont</i>, told the council that George Nichols, quarter master on board the ship <i>Delaware</i>, had complained to him that James Hues, one of his foremast men, had defrauded him of a piece of chints and a silk handkerchief. The council sent for Nichols, who appeared and, being sworn, deposed as follows. On Monday 1 August Nichols went with James Hues to Gabriel Isaacks house, where he treated Hues with 1s of punch. He then left with Isaacks a piece of chints and a silk handkerchief valued at 5 rupees, and immediately went into the country. Returning the next morning and enquiring for the goods he had left, he was told by Isaacks that Hues had come to him for them in Nichols name, and that he had accordingly delivered them to him. James Hues, being asked what he had to say in his defence, admitted that he did go to Isaacks and ask for the goods in Nichols name, and said that George Nichols had given him authority to do so. Nichols positively denied this, but said that he had

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		immediately went into the Country and returning the next Morning and enquiring for the Goods he had left with him, was told by the said Isache that the said Hues had came to him, for those Goods, in the said Nichols's Name, which he accordingly delivered to him. James Hues being asked what he had to say in his defence, acknowledges that he did go to Mr. Isaachs and asked for the Goods above mentioned in Mr. Nichols name and says that George Nichols gave him Authority so to do, which Mr. Nichols positively denied, but says that he told Mr. Isache to deliver them when he sent for them in the hearing of James Hues. The said James Hues applied to Captain Hindman for a Character, the Captain says that he had been with him one Voyage before and behaved very well, but in the present he had been detected of knocking off some Iron Hoops from his Water Casks, which he sold to the Chinease	told Isaacks to deliver them when he sent for them, in the hearing of James Hues. Hues applied to Captain Hindman for a character. The captain said that Hues had been with him one voyage before and behaved very well, but on the present voyage he had been detected knocking off some iron hoops from his water casks, which he sold to the Chinese. Interpretations The theft turned on a foremast man using his officer name to obtain goods left in trust, and the case shows how disputes among a ship company were brought before the island council for judgement. Nichols had left his chints and handkerchief with Isaacks for safe keeping, and Hues had claimed them in Nichols name, so the quarrel over a piece of cloth worth 5 rupees came to be heard on oath before the Governor and council. This shows the island authority reaching into the affairs of the visiting ships, the council sitting as a court to try a fraud between two seamen, its jurisdiction extending to the crews in its road as well as to its own people. The captain account of Hues stealing iron hoops from his water casks to sell to the Chinese reveals the petty pilfering that went on aboard the Indiamen and the ready market for such goods in the eastern ports. The iron hoops that bound the water casks were worth selling to Chinese buyers at Canton, so a dishonest seaman would strip them off and trade them, weakening the casks the ship depended on. This shows the small corruptions of the long voyage, the crew pilfering the ship own stores to sell where they could, the iron of the water casks turned to private profit at the risk of the ship supply. Hues application to his captain for a character shows the weight that a man reputation carried in the maritime world and how a single offence could undo it. A character from his captain was a seaman testimonial, needed to secure future employment, so Hues sought one even as he stood accused of fraud. The captain answer, that Hues had behaved well before but had now been caught stealing, shows how a man standing turned on his conduct, a good character from an earlier voyage set against the theft of the present one, the seaman worth measured by the trust his officers would vouch for.
363	358	1st. August It appearing to us very plainly that the before mentioned James Hues is guilty of Defrauding the said Nichols of the Goods aforesaid, we therefore ordered him to be whipt publicly. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark. At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th. of August 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 5th. August 1757. Saturday the 6th. died John Murry Soldier Mr. Henry Young applied to us for liberty to pay One hundred Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash we received it and have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order 30 days after Sight dated this day	It appearing very plainly to the council that James Hues was guilty of defrauding Nichols of the goods, they ordered him to be whipped publicly. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 8 August 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 5 August 1757, was read, approved and signed. On Saturday 6 August John Murry, a soldier, died. Mr Henry Young applied to the council for leave to pay £100 0s 0d into the Honourable Company cash, which they received, and they gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 30 days after sight, dated the same day. Interpretations The sentence of public whipping for the fraud shows the harsh and open punishment by which the island kept order among the transient seamen and its own people. Hues was to be whipped publicly, the penalty carried out before the community as a warning as much as a punishment, so a theft of goods worth 5 rupees drew a bodily and public retribution. This shows the summary justice of the island, the council judging and sentencing in the same sitting,

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			the public whipping a display meant to deter others as well as to punish the offender, the severity matching the need to hold order among a rough and shifting population. The contrast between the whipping of Hues and the treatment of the men who remitted money home marks the gulf between the classes of the island. Where a foremast man was whipped publicly for a petty fraud, the gentlemen who paid hundreds of pounds into the cash took their bills of exchange and their passage home, so the same record sets the bodily punishment of the poor seaman beside the orderly business of the propertied. This shows the sharp division of the island society in its justice, the harsh public penalty for the common man and the civil dealing for the man of means, the one whipped and the other served across the same council table. The death of John Murry, one more soldier lost, falls into the steady toll of mortality that runs through the whole record of these months. Soldier after soldier died across the quarter, each death noted in the consultations and traced through the pay roll and the powder book, so Murry passing is one of many that measure the cost in lives of holding the island. This shows the constant attrition of the garrison, the men dying in a steady stream that the establishment recorded as plainly as any other event, the mortality of the island a settled feature of its life rather than any extraordinary calamity.
364	359	1757 Mr. Thomas Hall applied to us, for liberty to pay Thirty Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash we received it and have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of directors payable to himself or Order 30 Days after sight dated this Day. Mr. Thomas Kirkpatrick applied to us for liberty to pay seventy five pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash, we received it and have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order thirty days after sight dated this day. Mr. Richard Beale applied to us, for liberty to pay Forty pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash, we received it, and have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order thirty days after sight dated this day. Mr. Thomas Kirkpatrick again applied to us, for liberty to pay One hundred and sixteen Pounds Eight Shillings into the Honorable Companys Cash, we received it, and have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order thirty days after sight dated this day. Mr. Arthur O'Neill applied to us, for liberty to pay Eighteen pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash, we received it, and have given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order thirty days after sight Dated this day. Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	Mr Thomas Hall applied to the council for leave to pay £30 0s 0d into the Honourable Company cash, which they received, and they gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 30 days after sight, dated the same day. Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick applied to the council for leave to pay £75 0s 0d into the Honourable Company cash, which they received, and they gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 30 days after sight, dated the same day. Mr Richard Beale applied to the council for leave to pay £40 0s 0d into the Honourable Company cash, which they received, and they gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 30 days after sight, dated the same day. Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick again applied to the council for leave to pay £116 8s 0d into the Honourable Company cash, which they received, and they gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 30 days after sight, dated the same day. Mr Arthur O'Neill applied to the council for leave to pay £18 0s 0d into the Honourable Company cash, which they received, and they gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order 30 days after sight, dated the same day. Interpretations The run of payments into the cash on a single day shows the men of the island seizing the presence of the homeward ships to remit their money to England. With the <i>Stormont</i> and other vessels about to sail, Hall, Kirkpatrick, Beale and O'Neill each paid cash to the Company and took bills payable in London, so the departure of a fleet drew out a stream of remittances at once. This shows the rhythm of the island finance tied to the shipping, the men holding their money until a ship was ready to carry the bills home, the treasury filling with cash as the fleet made ready to leave. Thomas Kirkpatrick two separate payments the same day, £75 and then £116 8s, show a man remitting a large sum home in more than one bill.

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			Whether the money was his own or held for others, Kirkpatrick sent nearly £200 to England by bill in a single sitting, the two payments taken and answered separately, so the record shows the scale on which an officer might move money home. This marks the bills of exchange as the means by which considerable sums were remitted from the island, an officer able to send a small fortune to London on paper rather than risk it as coin on the long and dangerous voyage. The names of these remitters, Hall, Kirkpatrick and Beale, tie to the officers and men met throughout these consultations, the master gunner, the lieutenant and the executor of Easthope will. These were the propertied men of the establishment, able to lay by money and send it home, so the remittances mark the accumulation of means among the island officers over their years of service. This shows the settlement as a place where a man might grow modestly rich in the Company employ, the officers converting their savings into bills on London, the same men who governed, fought and traded on the island quietly sending their gains back to England against the day they might follow.
365	360	11th. August At a Consultation held on Thursday the 11th. August 1757 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 8th. August 1757. As the Convoy with the Honorable Companys Ships sailed the 9th. Instant, we this Day released Nequedah Pocholum the Mallay Man that was sent from Bencoolin from his confinement who assured us that he would not make any further - attempts to escape from hence, but would rest satisfyed untill he heard the Honorable Companys pleasure concerning him. Tuesday the ninth sailed His Majestys Ship the Colchester with the Honorable Companys Ships the Oxford, Harcourt, Griffin, Stormont and Delawar under her Convoy Cha. Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark.	At a consultation held at the Castle on Thursday 11 August 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 8 August 1757, was read, approved and signed. The convoy with the Honourable Company ships having sailed on 9 August, the council this day released Aequedah Pocholum, the Malay man sent from Bencoolen, from his confinement. He assured the council that he would make no further attempts to escape from the island, but would rest satisfied until he heard the Honourable Company pleasure concerning him. On Tuesday 9 August His Majesty ship the <i>Colchester</i> sailed with the Honourable Company ships the <i>Oxford</i>, <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Griffin</i>, <i>Stormont</i> and <i>Delaware</i> under her convoy. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The release of Aequedah Pocholum only after the convoy had sailed shows the council holding a confined man until the ships that might carry him off were gone. Pocholum was a Malay sent from Bencoolen and held on the island, and the council kept him confined while the fleet lay in the road, freeing him only when the ships had left and the danger of his escaping aboard one was past. This shows the care the council took over a man it was charged to hold, timing his release to the moment he could no longer flee by sea, the island itself a prison from which there was no leaving once the ships were gone. The sailing of the whole fleet under the convoy of the <i>Colchester</i> marks the wartime peril of the homeward voyage and the protection the King ship gave. The Company vessels did not sail alone but gathered under the warship escort, the <i>Colchester</i> conveying the <i>Oxford</i>, <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Griffin</i>, <i>Stormont</i> and <i>Delaware</i> together against the enemy cruisers that threatened the sea lanes. This shows the island as the point where the homeward trade assembled for its protected passage, the merchantmen waiting for a naval escort before venturing the dangerous run to England, the convoy the answer to the privateers and warships of a hostile power. Pocholum promise to rest satisfied until he heard the Company pleasure shows a man wholly in the power of a distant authority, his fate to be decided in England. He could only wait, confined or at large on the island, until the Court of Directors ruled on his case, so his life hung on a decision that might be

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			months in coming across the sea. This marks the reach of the Company power over the individuals caught in its system, a Malay man held on a South Atlantic island awaiting the word of directors in London, his liberty and his future suspended on the slow passage of correspondence between the ends of the Company world.
366	361	15th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th day of August 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 11 August 1757 Yesterday died Mary Swaits Widow Mr Richard Beale Senr applied to us to have a Consignment for a parcell of Land which he bought of Mr John Goodwin registered Granted The Executors of the late Joseph Pritchard and John Harvy this day presented their Last Wills and Testaments desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Wills are as follows Vizt In the name of God Amen I Joseph Pritchard Warehouse Keeper in the Service of the Honorable the united Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies being Sick and weak in Body but of sound and disposing mind and memory and understanding do hereby make and publish this my Last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I will and desire that all my just Debts and expences about me may be first paid and discharged And after such Payments I hereby give and bequeath unto my Friend William Duffen of James's Valley in the Island St Helena all the Rest and Residue of my goods	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 15 August 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 11 August 1757, was read, approved and signed. The day before, Mary Swaits, a widow, died. Mr Richard Beale senior applied to the council to have a consignment for a parcel of land which he had bought of Mr John Goodwin registered. It was granted. The executors of the late Joseph Prichard and John Murry presented their wills, desiring that they might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the witnesses to them. Joseph Prichard, a matross in the service of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, being sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, made his will. He directed first that all his just debts and the expenses about him be paid and discharged. After such payments he gave and bequeathed to his friend William Dufton of James Valley on the island of St Helena all the rest and residue of his goods. Interpretations The registration of Beale purchase of Goodwin land shows the formal recording of land transfers on the island, the council keeping a register of who held what ground. Goodwin had earlier sought and been granted leave to sell his freehold before leaving the island, and now Beale, having bought it, had the transfer registered, so the two consultations together trace a parcel of land from one holder to another through the council record. This shows the ordered system of landholding the Company maintained, every sale entered and registered so that title could be traced, the council the keeper of the record on which property on the island rested. Prichard place as a matross ties his will to the artillery pay roll, where the matrosses were listed among the trained gunners of the island. A common artilleryman, sick and near death, made his will leaving all he had to a friend, so the record shows the humblest men of the establishment ordering their small affairs as the officers did. This marks the reach of the will making custom through every rank of the island, a matross disposing of his few goods by a proved will just as a lieutenant disposed of his estate, the law of testament serving the poor gunner and the wealthy officer alike. Prichard bequest of all his goods to a friend rather than to any kin echoes the pattern seen in the earlier soldiers wills, the men of the garrison leaving their property to comrades on the island. Like Gaynor and Baker before him, Prichard had no family at hand and left what he had to a friend of James Valley, so the record shows again how the isolated men of the establishment made their closest companions their heirs. This confirms the settled shape of these soldiers wills, the ordinary man of the garrison, far from any family, naming a friend on the island to take his goods and settle his affairs when he died.
367	362	15th August Goods personal Estate and Effects whatsoever and of what Nature or Kind soever and wheresoever the	Joseph Prichard gave William Dufton all his personal estate and effects of whatever nature or kind and wherever they might be, and named Dufton sole

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		same may be and do Nominate and appoint him the said William Duffen sole Executor of this my Last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any Time heretofore made and executed and do declare this to be my Last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said Joseph Pritchard have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this twenty third day of July in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty seven (signed) Joseph Pritchard his mark (SS) Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Testator Joseph Pritchard as his Last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his Request and in his presence have subscribed our Names as Witnesses (signed) John Jacks John Shirtley his mark Dunn In the name of God Amen I John Murray Soldier in the Service of the united Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies in the Company Commanded by Lieutenant John Clark being Sick and Weak in Body but of Sound and disposing mind and memory and understanding do hereby make and publish this my Last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I devise that all my just Debts may be first paid and discharged and then all such Sum and Sums of Money whatsoever which	executor of his will, revoking all former wills. He set his hand and seal to it on 23 July 1757, signing with his mark, and John Jacks, John Shirley, who signed with his mark, and Dunn witnessed and subscribed their names at his request in his presence. John Murray, a soldier in the service of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, in the company commanded by Lieutenant John Clark, being sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, made his will. He directed first that all his just debts be paid and discharged, and then set out how his money was to be disposed. Interpretations The witnesses to Prichard will, John Jacks, John Shirley and Dunn, tie to the muster and pay rolls of these consultations, where John Jacks stood among the quarter gunners and John Shirley among the matrosses. The dying matross will was witnessed by his fellow gunners, the men he served alongside at the batteries, so the record shows the artillery company closing round one of its own at his death. This marks the close community of the gun crews, the men who worked the pieces together witnessing each other wills, the same handful of gunners appearing across the pay roll, the muster and now the testament of a dying comrade. Murray identification by the company he served in, that commanded by Lieutenant John Clark, ties his will to the military establishment set out in the pay roll. A soldier of a named company made his will as he lay dying, his unit recorded as part of his identity, so the record places him within the ordered structure of the garrison. This shows how a man military standing defined him even in death, his will naming the company and its commander as the frame of his service, the soldier known by his place in the garrison as much as by his name. Murray making his will while sick and weak, like Prichard and the soldiers before him, shows the deathbed will as the common resort of the dying men of the garrison. Struck down by sickness, a soldier would call witnesses and dispose of his goods before he died, so the wills cluster around the illnesses that carried the men off. This marks the will as the last act of many a soldier life on the island, made in extremity as death approached, the dying man ordering his small affairs and naming his heirs in his final days, the testament the close of a life spent in the Company service far from home.
368	363	1757 which shall be in my possession at the Time of my decease or due and owing to me in Arrears of Pay or Otherwise from any Person or Persons whatsoever And also all my Wearing Apparel Personal Estate and Effects whatsoever unto David Miles Soldier in the said Company his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns for Ever And I do hereby Nominate and Appoint him the said David Miles sole Executor of this my Last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any Time made and executed and do declare this to be my Last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said John Murray have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this sixteenth Day of July in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Fifty seven (signed) John Morry (SS) Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Testator John Murray as his Last Will and Testament in the presence of us	John Murray gave all the money that would be in his possession at his death or owing to him in arrears of pay or otherwise from any person, together with all his wearing apparel, personal estate and effects, to David Miles, a soldier in the same company, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever. He named Miles sole executor of his will, revoking all former wills. He set his hand and seal to it on 16 July 1757, and William Smith and George Bennett witnessed and subscribed as witnesses at his request in his presence. The will was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Murray bequest of his arrears of pay shows that a soldier accumulated wages owed to him that formed part of his estate at death. The pay was not always drawn as it fell due, so a man might die with money standing to his account, and Murray left these arrears along with his goods to his heir, so the will disposed of the unpaid wages as of any other property. This shows the pay system leaving sums owed to the men, a soldier estate including not only what he held but what the Company still owed him, the arrears of pay a real asset to be bequeathed and claimed by his executor.

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		who at his request and in his presence have Subscribed as Witnesses (signd) Wm Smith George Bennett Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The witnesses to Murray will, William Smith and George Bennett, tie again to the sentinel roll of these consultations, where both names stand among the private soldiers. Murray left his goods to David Miles, another soldier of his company, and his will was witnessed by two more, so the whole transaction passed among the men of a single company. This shows the will making of the garrison as an affair within the company, the dying man heir and witnesses all his fellow soldiers, the record capturing the close bonds of the men who served, fought and died together in the same unit. Murray naming a comrade of his own company as heir and executor completes the pattern of these soldiers wills, the men leaving their property within the company that was their family on the island. Like Prichard, Gaynor and Baker, Murray had no kin at hand and left all he had to a fellow soldier, so the record shows the company serving as the community through which a man affairs were settled at death. This marks the deep pattern of the garrison life, the isolated soldiers making their comrades their heirs, the property of the dead passing among the living of the same company as the men closed round each other in death as in service.
369	364	22nd August At a Consultation held on Monday the 22nd day of August 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 15 August 1757 Wednesday the 17th Died Stephen Herbert second Lieutenant and we this day appointed Mr Richard Beale junr Cadet to succeed him This day Died Andrew Blinman Planter The plantation Gunners and Stewards accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow Vizt	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 22 August 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 15 August 1757, was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 17 August Stephen Herbert, second lieutenant, died, and the council this day appointed Mr Richard Beale junior, cadet, to succeed him. The same day Andrew Blinman, a planter, died. The plantation, Gunner and Steward accounts for the month ending 11 August were brought in, which were examined and approved. Interpretations The appointment of Richard Beale junior to succeed the dead lieutenant shows the council filling a vacancy in the military command from the ranks of the cadets on the island. Herbert death left a second lieutenant place empty, and the council raised a cadet to fill it, so the officer corps was renewed from young men already serving on the island in training for command. This shows the promotion of the garrison officers by the council itself, the death of a lieutenant answered at once by the advancement of a cadet, the military hierarchy sustained by a supply of young gentlemen waiting to step into the places the dead left. The rise of Richard Beale junior ties to the family that runs through these consultations, the Beales who witnessed wills, remitted money home and dealt in land. Richard Beale senior had lately bought and registered land, Richard Beale junior was now made a lieutenant, and Onesiphorus Beale served as a first lieutenant and executor, so the record shows a family established across the civil and military life of the island. This marks the emergence of settled families in the Company service, the Beales holding land, office and command together, a dynasty taking root on the island over the generations of its service. The deaths of a lieutenant and a planter on the same day, following the widow and soldiers of the previous weeks, continue the steady mortality that marks the whole record. Herbert the officer and Blinman the planter died together, the one to be replaced by a cadet and the other leaving his land, so the record shows death reaching across every rank of the island at once. This confirms the constant toll of mortality on the settlement, the officers, planters, soldiers and their families dying in a steady stream, the establishment recording each loss and filling each

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			place as the life of the island went on around the dead.
370	365	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of neat Cattle &ca from the 12th of July to 11th August 1757 Vizt Bulls,Cows,Calves,Yearlings,Heifers,Steers,Oxen,Total,Ewes,Wethers,Lambs,Rams,Total,Ewes,Wethers,Kidds ,Rams,Total,Sows,Sheats,Pigs,Boars,Total,Fowls,Ducks ,Turkeys,Geese,Horses,Mares,Total,Askkes,Ashes,Tota l Remaining 12th: Bulls 3,Cows 87,Calves 83,Yearlings 35,Heifers 36,Steers 20,Oxen 20,Total 284,Ewes 382,Wethers 156,Lambs 155,Rams 5,Total 698,Ewes 195,Wethers 28,Kidds 61,Rams 8,Total 292,Sows 5,Sheats 3,Pigs 17,Boars 1,Total 26,Fowls 189,Ducks 41,Turkeys 36,Geese 28,Horses 6,Mares 9,Total 15,Askkes 3,Ashes 3,Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 17,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 17,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Lambs 76,Rams 0,Total 76,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Kidds 3,Rams 0,Total 3,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 5,Boars 0,Total 5,Fowls 3,Ducks 6,Turkeys 0,Geese 2,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,Askkes 0,Ashes 0,Total 0 Total: Bulls 3,Cows 87,Calves 100,Yearlings 35,Heifers 36,Steers 20,Oxen 20,Total 301,Ewes 382,Wethers 156,Lambs 231,Rams 5,Total 774,Ewes 195,Wethers 28,Kidds 64,Rams 8,Total 295,Sows 5,Sheats 3,Pigs 22,Boars 1,Total 31,Fowls 192,Ducks 47,Turkeys 36,Geese 30,Horses 6,Mares 9,Total 15,Askkes 3,Ashes 3,Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 1,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 1,Oxen 0,Total 2,Ewes 8,Wethers 10,Lambs 2,Rams 0,Total 20,Ewes 0,Wethers 1,Kidds 2,Rams 0,Total 3,Sows 2,Sheats 3,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 5,Fowls 24,Ducks 7,Turkeys 3,Geese 3,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,Askkes 0,Ashes 0,Total 0 Died: Bulls 0,Cows 3,Calves 0,Yearlings 1,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 4,Ewes 4,Wethers 0,Lambs 1,Rams 0,Total 5,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Kidds 0,Rams 0,Total 0,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 0,Fowls 11,Ducks 0,Turkeys 0,Geese 1,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,Askkes 0,Ashes 0,Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 0,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 0,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Lambs 0,Rams 0,Total 0,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Kidds 0,Rams 0,Total 0,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 0,Fowls 0,Ducks 0,Turkeys 0,Geese 0,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,Askkes 0,Ashes 0,Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0,Cows 1,Calves 1,Yearlings 0,Heifers 1,Steers 1,Oxen 0,Total 4,Ewes 1,Wethers 25,Lambs 0,Rams 0,Total 26,Ewes 0,Wethers 2,Kidds 0,Rams 0,Total 2,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 0,Fowls 42,Ducks 8,Turkeys 10,Geese 0,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,Askkes 0,Ashes 0,Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 3,Cows 83,Calves 98,Yearlings 34,Heifers 35,Steers 18,Oxen 20,Total 291,Ewes 369,Wethers 121,Lambs 228,Rams 5,Total 723,Ewes 195,Wethers 25,Kidds 62,Rams 8,Total 290,Sows 3,Sheats 0,Pigs 22,Boars 1,Total 26,Fowls 115,Ducks 32,Turkeys 21,Geese 26,Horses 6,Mares 9,Total 15,Askkes 3,Ashes 3,Total 6 1 Cow and Calf 2 live Cattle 5 Hogs 18 Sheep 30 Fowls To Capt Obryen of the Colchester 10 Turkeys 8 Ducks 183 fresh Beef 8 Sheep 12 Fowls Sold to the Sloop Kings Fisher 1 Yearling missing	This account of the Honourable Company stock of neat cattle and so forth ran from 12 July to 11 August 1757. The stock was set out in columns under neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, horses and asses, each broken down by kind and totalled, with rows for the opening figure, increase, killed, died, stolen, sold and the closing figure. Neat cattle were counted as bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers and oxen. Sheep were counted as ewes, wethers, lambs and rams. Goats were counted as ewes, wethers, kids and rams. Hogs were counted as sows, shoats, pigs and boars. Poultry were counted as fowls, ducks, turkeys and geese. Horses were counted as horses and mares, and asses as she asses and he asses. Remaining 12th, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 87, calves 83, yearlings 35, heifers 36, steers 20, oxen 20, total 284 Remaining 12th, sheep: ewes 382, wethers 156, lambs 155, rams 5, total 698 Remaining 12th, goats: ewes 195, wethers 28, kids 61, rams 8, total 292 Remaining 12th, hogs: sows 5, shoats 3, pigs 17, boars 1, total 26 Remaining 12th, poultry: fowls 189, ducks 41, turkeys 36, geese 28 Remaining 12th, horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15 Remaining 12th, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 Increased, neat cattle: calves 17, total 17 Increased, sheep: lambs 76, total 76 Increased, goats: kids 3, total 3 Increased, hogs: pigs 5, total 5 Increased, poultry: fowls 3, ducks 6, geese 2 Total, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 87, calves 100, yearlings 35, heifers 36, steers 20, oxen 20, total 301 Total, sheep: ewes 382, wethers 156, lambs 231, rams 5, total 774 Total, goats: ewes 195, wethers 28, kids 64, rams 8, total 295 Total, hogs: sows 5, shoats 3, pigs 22, boars 1, total 31 Total, poultry: fowls 192, ducks 47, turkeys 36, geese 30 Total, horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15 Total, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 Killed, neat cattle: calves 1, steers 1, total 2 Killed, sheep: ewes 8, wethers 10, lambs 2, total 20 Killed, goats: wethers 1, kids 2, total 3 Killed, hogs: sows 2, shoats 3, total 5 Killed, poultry: fowls 24, ducks 7, turkeys 3, geese 3 Died, neat cattle: cows 3, yearlings 1, total 4 Died, sheep: lambs 4, total 4 Died, goats: wethers 1, total 5 Died, poultry: fowls 11, turkeys 1 Sold, neat cattle: cows 1, heifers 1, total 4 Sold, sheep: ewes 1, wethers 25, total 26 Sold, goats: wethers 2, total 2 Sold, poultry: fowls 42, ducks 8, turkeys 10 Remaining 11th, neat cattle: bulls 3, cows 83, calves 98, yearlings 34, heifers 35, steers 18, oxen 20, total 291 Remaining 11th, sheep: ewes 369, wethers 121, lambs 228, rams 5, total 723 Remaining 11th, goats: ewes 195, wethers 25, kids 62, rams 8, total 290 Remaining 11th, hogs: sows 3, pigs 22, boars 1, total 26 Remaining 11th, poultry: fowls 115, ducks 32, turkeys 21, geese 26

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		2 Goats sold Mr Bazett Wt 28/4 Good Yam for Slaves and Stock 29125 Refuse Yam for Stock 1675 30800 Errors Excepted (signed) John Adamson Artillery	Remaining 11th, horses: horses 6, mares 9, total 15 Remaining 11th, asses: she asses 3, he asses 3, total 6 The Gunner set down the disposal of the animals that left the stock. To Captain O'Brien of the <i>Colchester</i> went 1 cow and calf, 2 live cattle, 5 hogs, 18 sheep, 30 fowls, 10 turkeys, 8 ducks and 183 pounds of fresh beef. The <i>Fisher</i> took the beef of these. Eight sheep and 12 fowls were sold to the snow <i>King's Fisher</i>. One yearling was missing, and 2 goats were sold to Matthew Bazett weighing 28 pounds and a quarter. A further note recorded the yam store. Good yam for the slaves and stock came to 29,125 and refuse yam for the stock to 1,675, coming to 30,800. Errors excepted, the account was signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The stock this month went heavily to the warship <i>Colchester</i> rather than to the Company fleet, a mark of the change in the shipping the island served. Where earlier months had seen 560 pounds of beef go to each of several Indiamen, this month the largest draught was the mixed provision of live cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry and beef supplied to Captain O'Brien of the <i>Colchester</i>, the King ship that convoyed the fleet home. This shows the island provisioning the royal navy as it had the Company trade, the warship victualled from the plantation herds for its convoy duty, the stock drawn down to serve the King ship as readily as the merchantmen. The yam issued this month rose sharply to 29,125, well above the falling figures of the preceding quarter, and the note now joins the slaves and stock together rather than reserving the good yam for the slaves alone. The rise may reflect a fresh harvest or a change in the reckoning, but the joining of slaves and stock under one head marks a shift from the earlier practice of dividing the good yam for the people from the refuse for the animals. This shows the yam accounting altering across the season, the great staple of the island issued in greater quantity and counted differently, the plantation feeding its people and beasts from a store that rose and fell with the harvest. The falling poultry, down sharply as fowls, ducks and turkeys went to the ships and the table, shows the birds bearing much of the demand of the shipping season alongside the cattle. The <i>Colchester</i> and the <i>King's Fisher</i> took poultry as well as beef, and the table consumed more, so the poultry count dropped steeply across the month. This marks the poultry as a ready reserve drawn on hard when ships were in the road, the birds slaughtered and sold to victual the vessels, the plantation flock falling with the cattle as the island stretched to provision the fleet and the warships together.
371	366	22nd August Artillery Stores Expended from the 12th of July to the 11th of August 1757 both days included Vizt Guns Fired, 4 Pounds, 3 Pounds, 2 Pounds, 1 Pounds, Powder Expended July ye 17th: Departed the Falmouth Returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4 Pounds 0, 3 Pounds 0, 2 Pounds 9, 1 Pounds 0, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 Do: Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounds 0, 3 Pounds 0, 2 Pounds 0, 1 Pounds 0, Powder Expended 1 lb 5 Do: An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 Pounds 2, 3 Pounds 2, 2 Pounds 0, 1 Pounds 2, Powder Expended 12 Do: Arrived the Kings Fisher Sloop of War Saluted Capt Toby the Commander when Come with: Guns Fired 13, 4 Pounds 0, 3 Pounds 0, 2 Pounds 13, 1 Pounds 0, Powder Expended 13	The Gunner set out the artillery stores spent from 12 July to 11 August 1757, both days included. The powder was entered by the charge across four columns, headed 4, 3, 2 and 1, with the number of rounds and the quantity expended set against each entry. July 17, departed the <i>Falmouth</i>, returned the salute, 9 rounds, charge 1: 9, 9 pounds 17, powder for priming, 1 pound 8 17, an alarm, 6 rounds, charge 4: 2, charge 3: 2, charge 1: 2, 12 pounds 17, arrived the <i>King's Fisher</i>, sloop of war, saluted Captain Saby the commander when landed with, 13 rounds, charge 1: 13, 13 pounds 17, powder for priming, 2 pounds 19, a double alarm for two ships that went by, 9 rounds, charge 4: 3, charge 3: 3, charge 1: 3, 18 pounds

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		Do: Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 2 Do ye 19th: A Double Alarm for two Ships that went by: Guns Fired 9,4 Pounds 3,3 Pounds 3,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 3,Powder Expended 18 Do: Powder for Priming at Sandy Bay from the 29th December 1756: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 6 Do ye 20th: Powder for Priming at Banks's from February ye 28th 1757: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 3 ye 21st: Powder for the Use of the Castle: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 8 August ye 9th: Fired to Salute Capt Obryen going on board: Guns Fired 13,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 13,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 13 Do: Departed the Colchester Ship of War Saluted her with: Guns Fired 13,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 13,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 13 Do: Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 4 Do for Signals: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 10 Do for the funeral of Willm McDaniel: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 2 4 Do for the funeral of Joseph Pritchard: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 2 4 Do for the funeral of Jockn McClaine: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 2,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 2 4 Do for the funeral of John Murray: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 2 4 Do for Exercising the Displying Party: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 4 12 Do for replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 3 2 Do for Shooting Goats on Mundens Point Hill: Guns Fired 0,4 Pounds 0,3 Pounds 0,2 Pounds 0,1 Pounds 0,Powder Expended 8 Total: Guns Fired 63,4 Pounds 5,3 Pounds 5,2 Pounds 48,1 Pounds 5,Powder Expended 113 3 Paper	19, powder for priming at Sandy Bay for 29 December 1756, 6 pounds 20, powder for priming at Banks for 28 February 1757, 3 pounds 21, powder for the use of the Castle, 8 August 9, fired to salute Captain O'Brien going on board, 13 rounds, charge 1: 13, 13 pounds 9, departed the <i>Colchester</i>, ship of war, saluted her with, 13 rounds, charge 1: 13, 13 pounds 9, powder for priming, 4 pounds 9, powder for signals, 10 9, powder for the funeral of William McDaniels, 2 pounds 4 9, powder for the funeral of Joseph Pritchard, 2 pounds 4 9, powder for the funeral of Lochlan McClaine, 2 pounds 4 9, powder for the funeral of John Murry, 2 pounds 4 9, powder for exercising the West flying party, 4 pounds 12 9, powder for replenishing the cartridges at the main guard, 3 pounds 2 9, powder for shooting goats on Munden Point hill, 8 Total, 63 rounds, charge 4: 5, charge 3: 5, charge 2: 48, charge 1: 5, 113 pounds 2 Interpretations The salutes this month marked the coming and going of the King ships as much as the Company fleet, the <i>King's Fisher</i> saluted on arrival and the <i>Colchester</i> on her departure with the convoy. The heavy charges for saluting Captain Saby and Captain O'Brien show the honour paid to the royal navy commanders, the guns fired to greet and speed the warships that guarded the trade. This marks the ceremony due to the King ships, the island batteries answering their arrival and departure with the same salutes given the Indiamen, the powder spent on the courtesies owed to the navy that convoyed the fleet home. The four funerals this month, those of William McDaniels, Joseph Pritchard, Lochlan McClaine and John Murry, each drew a powder allowance and tie to the deaths recorded across these consultations. Pritchard the matross and Murry the soldier had made their wills before dying, McClaine had been paid in the last quarter, so the funeral charges confirm the deaths traced through the wills and the pay roll. This shows again the several books of the establishment converging on the dead, the powder book marking the funerals of the men whose wills were proved and whose wages stopped, the records between them measuring each death from every side. The powder fired for anniversaries kept in different months, the priming for 29 December and 28 February entered here in the summer, shows the island observing fixed commemorative days by firing at the appointed forts. These were the dates of past events marked by an annual discharge, the powder charged when the observance fell due, so the island kept a calendar of commemorations honoured by its guns. This marks the island observing the anniversaries of the Company or the Crown by firing at Sandy Bay and Banks, the batteries used not only for defence and salute but for the ritual remembrance of fixed days in the island year.
372	367	1757 Paper for the Use of the Castle £0 1s 2d Do for the Use of the Storekeeper £0 1s 2d Do for making Great Gun Cartridges £0 12s 2d	The Gunner also listed the other stores spent: Paper for the use of the Castle, 1 quire Paper for the use of the storekeeper, 1 quire Paper for making great gun cartridges, 12 quires Sheep skins for a powder bag for Prosperous Bay, 1 Tallow for greasing the new carriages, 6 pounds

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		Sand Sheep Skins for a Powder Bagg for Coopersons Bay £0 1s 0d Tallow for Greasing the New Carriages £0 6s 0d Do for the Use of the Carpenters and the Pump £0 2s 0d Do for the Use of the Carts £0 3s 0d Lead Shot for Shooting Goats on Mundens Point Hill £0 8s 3d Hand Spikes Broke at Banks's £0 2s 0d Link Sticks broke at Reports £0 2s 0d Sheep Skins for Repairing the sponges at Do £0 2s 0d Trunk Nailles for Do £0 10s 0d (Signed) Thos Hall Sundries Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month Ending August 11th 1757 Vizt 2 Bottles Port £0 2s 8½d 47 Lisbon £3 4s 4½d 36 Medeira £4 8s 10½d 78 Arrack £2 12s 0d 34 Beer £0 11s 3d 321lb Flour £2 6s 9½d 183 Fresh Beef £2 5s 9d 378 Mutton £7 17s 5d 2 Lambs £1 0s 0d 2 Kidds £0 10s 0d 15th Goat £0 5s 0d 24 Fowls £1 16s 0d 7 Ducks £0 10s 6d 3 Geese £0 15s 0d 5 Turkeys £1 5s 0d 39lb Fresh Butter £1 19s 6d 3 Pieces Salt Pork £0 6s 0d 76lb Veal £1 18s 0d 110 Candy £1 16s 8d £35 10s 10¼d Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Tallow for the use of the carpenters and the pump, 2 pounds Tallow for the use of the carts, 3 pounds Lead shot for shooting goats on Munden Point hill, 8 pounds Handspikes broke at Banks, 2 Lint stocks broke at Ruperts, 2 Sheep skins for repairing the sponges at Ruperts, 2 Trunk nails for Ruperts, 10 Signed by Thomas Hall The sundries spent at the Honourable Company table in the month ending 11 August 1757 were: 2 bottles port, £0 2s 8 1/2d 47 bottles Lisbon, £3 4s 4 1/2d 36 bottles Madeira, £4 8s 10 1/2d 78 bottles arrack, £2 12s 0d 34 bottles beer, £0 11s 3d 321 pounds flour, £2 6s 9 3/4d 183 pounds fresh beef, £2 5s 9d 378 pounds mutton, £7 17s 5d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 15 pounds goat, £0 5s 0d 24 fowls, £1 16s 0d 7 ducks, £0 10s 6d 3 geese, £0 15s 0d 5 turkeys, £1 5s 0d 39 and a half pounds fresh butter, £1 19s 6d 3 pieces salt pork, £0 6s 0d 46 pounds veal, £1 18s 0d 110 pounds candy, £1 16s 8d Total, £35 10s 10 1/4d Interpretations The table bill held near the high level of the busy season at over £35, though the fresh beef fell sharply now the great fleet had sailed. With the Indiamen gone under convoy on 9 August, the heavy call on beef for visiting commanders eased, yet the total stayed high on the strength of mutton and the appearance of veal, so the table cost lagged the departure of the ships. This shows the table expense following the shipping with some delay, the high provisioning of the crowded weeks tailing off only as the road emptied, the cost of entertaining falling behind the sailing of the fleet it had served. The appearance of veal on the table, absent from earlier months, ties to the stock account for the same period, where calves were among the beasts killed. The plantation had slaughtered young cattle this month, so the table drew veal from the herd, the bill of fare following what the island killed. This shows again the table supplied from the plantation week by week, the veal on the officers table matching the calves taken from the herd, the food of the establishment drawn from whatever the island slaughtered rather than from any fixed provision. The sheep skins drawn for powder bags and for repairing the sponges show the use of every material the island had to keep the guns serving. Sheep skin made the bags that held the powder charges and dressed the sponges that swabbed the guns, so the pelts of the plantation flock were turned to the service of the artillery. This marks the island using its own produce for the maintenance of its defence, the skins of the sheep that fed the table also serving the guns, the establishment drawing on the plantation for the gear of gunnery as well as for its food.
373	368	26th August At a Consultation held on Friday the 26th Day of August 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and	At a consultation held at the Castle on Friday 26 August 1757, Governor Charles Hutchinson was present, together with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 22 August 1757, was read, approved and signed.

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		signed Dated the 22nd August 1757 James Cupidore Adonis Walpole Bacchus Lena Sarah and Ellen Slaves belonging to Mr James Powell having all of them deserted from their Masters House together with an intention to secret themselves from their Masters Sight thro fear of being very severely punished occassioned by James telling them that Mr Powell had provided Whips of wire to flog them and this being urged by Cupidore and Adonis with Threats from themselves we therefore thought proper to acquit all but the three first and as James seems to have been the most Active and likewise in telling the rest a great falsity about his seeing Wire Whips provided We ordered him to be Whiped at three different Times and to receive 300 Lashes 100 at each and the other two 150 Lashes 50 at each Time Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	James, Cupidore, Adonis, Walpole, Bacchus, Lena, Sarah and Ellen, slaves belonging to Mr James Powell, had all deserted from their master house together, meaning to withdraw themselves from his sight through fear of being severely punished. This had been occasioned by James telling them that Powell had provided wire whips to flog them, and had been urged on by Cupidore and Adonis, with threats from the slaves themselves. The council thought it proper to acquit all but the three first named. As James seemed to have been the most active, and had told the rest a great falsity about his seeing wire whips provided, the council ordered him to be whipped at three different times and to receive 300 lashes, 100 at each, and the other two 150 lashes, 50 at each time. Interpretations The flight of eight slaves together, driven by fear of a savage punishment, exposes the terror on which the plantation slavery rested and the brutality of the council answer to it. The slaves fled because they believed wire whips had been made ready to flog them, so their fear alone drove them off, and the council response was to inflict the very brutality they had fled, ordering the ringleaders whipped in hundreds of lashes. This shows the whole system of the enslaved labour held in place by the threat and reality of extreme bodily violence, the slaves running from the lash only to be sentenced to it, the council meeting a flight born of terror with a punishment of terrible severity. The distinction the council drew between the ringleaders and the rest, acquitting five and flogging three, shows a calculated apportioning of punishment meant to break resistance without destroying the workforce. James was singled out as the most active and the author of the false report, and he and two others bore the whole weight of the punishment, so the council punished the leaders to deter the rest while sparing the bulk of the slaves for their labour. This marks the cold calculation behind the cruelty, the punishment aimed to crush the leaders of a collective flight and cow the others, the workforce disciplined by making an example of the few. The naming of the slaves, James, Cupidore, Adonis, Walpole, Bacchus, Lena, Sarah and Ellen, with their classical and other imposed names, marks the erasure of their own identities under slavery. These were names given by their owners, drawn from classical antiquity and English life, stripping the enslaved of their origins and marking them as property, so even in a record of their resistance they appear under the names forced upon them. This shows the deep dehumanisation of the system, the slaves known only by the names their masters chose, their flight and punishment recorded under an imposed identity, the men and women who dared to run named for the amusement or convenience of those who held them.
374	369	29th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th day of August 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 26th August 1757 Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month ending the 11th instant which is as follows Vizt	A council meeting took place at the Castle on 29 August 1757, attended by Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous meeting, dated 26 August 1757. The council then counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending [...] instant, with the account set out below.
375	370	29th August Cash Dr 1757 July 12th To Ballance remaining £1659 17s 1½d	1757 12 July: Balance remaining, £1,659 17s 1½d 13 July: Ship <i>Falmouth</i>, balance of her account, £7 5s 0d

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		13th To Ship Falmouth the Ballance of her Account £7 5s 0d 14th To account Current London for One Chest of Treasure No 320 taken out of Ship Falmouth amounting to £992 2s 1½d 16th To Ship Oxford the Balance of her Account £179 15s 3d Do To Ship Harcourt the Balance of her Account £33 6s 9d Do To Ship Griffin the Balance of her Account £150 12s 11d 20th To Exchange for a set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Thomas Brown or Order thirty days sight Dated this Day £100 0s 0d Do To Do for a set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Moses Smith or Order thirty days sight Dated this Day £104 0s 0d 25th To Do for a set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to John Clark or Order Ninety Days after sight Dated this Day £55 16s 3d 25th To Ship Delawar the Balance of her Account £36 16s 3d August 1st To Exchange for one set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Helena Griffith or Order sixty days sight Dated this Day £90 0s 0d 6th To Ship Stormont the Ballance of her Account £155 13s 11d 8th To Exchange for one set Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Henry Young or Order thirty Days sight Dated this Day £100 0s 0d Do To Do for one set of Do drawn as above Dated this day payable to Thomas Hall or Order £30 0s 0d Carried Over £3695 6s 0d	14 July: Account current London for one chest, treasure no. 320, taken out of Ship <i>Falmouth</i>, amounting to £992 2s 1½d 16 July: Ship <i>Oxford</i>, balance of her account, £179 15s 3d 16 July: Ship <i>Harcourt</i>, balance of her account, £33 6s 9d 16 July: Ship <i>Griffin</i>, balance of her account, £150 12s 11d 20 July: Exchange for a set of bills drawn upon the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Thomas Brown or order, thirty days sight, dated this day, £100 0s 0d 20 July: Exchange for a set of bills drawn upon the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Moses Smith or order, thirty days sight, dated this day, £104 0s 0d 25 July: Exchange for a set of bills drawn upon the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to John Clark or order, ninety days after sight, dated this day, £55 16s 3d 25 July: Ship Delawar, balance of her account, £36 16s 3d 1 August: Exchange for one set of bills drawn upon the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Helena Griffith or order, sixty days sight, dated this day, £90 0s 0d 6 August: Ship <i>Stormont</i>, balance of her account, £155 15s 11d 8 August: Exchange for one set of bills drawn upon the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Henry Young or order, thirty days sight, dated this day, £100 0s 0d 8 August: Exchange for one set of bills drawn as above, dated this day, payable to Thomas Hall or order, £30 0s 0d Carried over, £3,695 6s [...]
376	371	1757 Per Contra Cr 1757 July 20th By Exchange for one set of Bills drawn upon the Commissioners of His Majestys Navy for so much Advanced Captain Toby of His Majestys Sloop Kings Fisher payable to the Honorable Court of Directors £80 0s 0d August 8th By Do for one set of Bills drawn upon the Commissioners of the Sick and hurt Seamen for so much Advanced Capt Lucius Obryen of His Majestys Ship Colchester £250 0s 0d Do By Do for one set of Bills drawn upon the Commissioners for Victualling His Majestys Navy for so much Advanced James Harding Purser of His Majestys Ship Colchester Each payable to the Honorable Court of Directors £250 0s 0d 11th By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 351 Venetians 10/ £175 10s 0d 1525 Pagodas 8/ £610 0s 0d Gold amounting to £785 10s 0d	1757 20 July: Exchange for one set of bills drawn upon the Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy for so much advanced Captain Toby of His Majesty's sloop Kingsfisher, payable to the Honourable Court of Directors, £80 0s 0d 8 August: Exchange for one set of bills drawn upon the Commissioners of the Sick and Hurt Seamen for so much advanced Captain Lucius O'Bryen of His Majesty's ship <i>Colchester</i>, £250 0s 0d 8 August: Exchange for one set of bills drawn upon the Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy for so much advanced James Harding, purser of His Majesty's ship <i>Colchester</i>, each payable to the Honourable Court of Directors, £250 0s 0d 11 August: Balance remaining in the following species, viz: 351 Venetians at 10s, £175 10s 0d 1,525 pagodas at 8s, £610 0s 0d Gold amounting to £785 10s 0d 1,671 dollars at 5s, £417 15s 0d 5,636 rupees at 2s 3d, £634 1s 0d 6,617 double ryals at 1s 3d, £413 11s 3d 13,013 ryals at 7½d, £406 13s 1½d 10,476 half ryals at 3¾d, £163 13s 9d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £1 4¾d Silver amounting to £2,039 9s 0d Cash notes amounting to £539 15s 0d Carried over, £3,944 14s 0d

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		1671 Dollars 5/ £417 15s 0d 5636 Rupees 2/3 £634 1s 0d 6617 Doubl Xyals 1/3 £413 11s 3d 13013 Xyals 7½d £406 13s 1½d 10476 Half Xyals 3¾d £163 13s 9d 441 French Peices 2/- £3 13s 6d Odd Money £1 4½d Silver amounting to £2039 9s 0d Cash Notes amounting to £539 15s 0d Carried Over £3944 14s 0d	
377	372	29th August Cash Dr 1757 August 8th Brought Over £3695 6s 0d Do To Exchange for one set Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Thomas Kirkpatrick or Order thirty Days sight Dated this day £75 0s 0d Do To Do for one set Bills drawn as above Dated this day payable to Richard Beale or Order £40 0s 0d Do To Do for one set Bills drawn as above Dated this day payable to Thomas Kirkpatrick or Order £116 8s 0d Do To Do for one set Bills drawn as above Dated this day payable to Arthur O'Neill or Order £18 0s 0d £3944 14s 0d	1757 8 August: Brought over, £3,695 6s [...] 8 August: Exchange for one set of bills drawn upon the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Thomas Kirkpatrick or order, thirty days sight, dated this day, £75 0s 0d 8 August: Exchange for one set of bills drawn as above, dated this day, payable to Richard Brooke or order, £40 0s 0d 8 August: Exchange for one set of bills drawn as above, dated this day, payable to Thomas Kirkpatrick or order, £116 8s 0d 8 August: Exchange for one set of bills drawn as above, dated this day, payable to Arthur O'Neill or order, £18 0s 0d £3,944 14s 0d
378	373	1757 Per Contra Cr 1757 August 11th By Ballance Brought Over £3944 14s 0d £3944 14s 0d Ordered the following Advertisement to be published on Thursday next This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretorys Office On or before the Thirtieth next Month an exact signed Account of their Family's Land and Cattle and to attend at the Castle on Tuesday the Eleventh of October next to pay their Rents and Revenues Due to the Honorable Company for the Year past And Notice is hereby further given that the	1757 11 August: Balance brought over, £3,944 14s 0d £3,944 14s 0d The council ordered an advertisement to be published the following Thursday, giving notice that the inhabitants of the island were required to send an exact signed account of their family, land and cattle into the secretary's office by the thirtieth of the following month, and to attend at the Castle on Tuesday 11 October to pay their rents and revenues due to the Honourable Company for the past year. The notice further gave that [...] Interpretations The advertisement required householders to submit a self-certified return of family, land and cattle. This was the standard mechanism by which the island's administration assessed the population and its taxable or rentable assets in advance of collecting rents and revenues, allowing the Company to check declared holdings against payment due rather than relying on its own survey.
379	374	29th August the Honorable Companys Stores will be Shut from the seventeenth next Month untill the thirteenth of October next in Order to take an Inventory of the same Mr John Bland presented the following Memorial in behalf of the Widow Seale who is Sick and not able to attend herself To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council The Memorial of the Widow Seale concerning the Estate of the late John Seale Planter in Sandy Bay	Notice further gave that the Honourable Company's stores would be shut from the seventeenth of the following month until 13 October, in order to take an inventory of the same. John Bland presented a memorial on behalf of the Widow Seale, who was sick and unable to attend herself, addressed to the worshipful Charles Hutchinson, governor, and council, concerning the estate of the late John Seale, planter in Sandy Bay. The memorial set out that the seven and a half acres of land in Sandy Bay valley held by John Seale under a lease had been purchased by him, leave having first been granted by the governor and council, from

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		That the seven and half Acres of Land in Sandy Bay Valley held by Lease by him from the Honorable Company was purchased by the said John Seale (Leave being first granted by the Governor and Council) of James Vaughan Planter for the Sum of One hundred Pounds At which Time there did not Stand upon the said Land above Twenty five thousand Yams and they principally upon that part of the Land above the House in the Land below the House there was a great Hill and a great many Large Rocks to be removed Likewise the fences to be made round the said Land before any Use could be made of it the removing of which Hill and rocks and making the fences was Intirely at the Expence of the said John Seale Memorialist and Orphans and at the Death of the said John Seale the Land did not Contain above Seventy thousand Yams the Additional Quantity	James Vaughan, planter, for the sum of £100 0s 0d. At that time no more than 25,000 yams stood upon the land, growing principally on the part above the house, while on the land below the house there had been a great hill and a great many large rocks to be removed, and fences had to be built around the land before any use could be made of it. The removing of the hill and rocks and the making of the fences had been carried out entirely at the expense of John Seale, the memorialist's late husband, and their orphans, and by the time of John Seale's death the land contained no more than 70,000 yams, the additional quantity [...]
380	375	1757 Quantity that now remains being planted by your Memorialist & Orphans which was attended with a great deal of Labour and a large Expence In the Year 1744 the said Jno Seale being Dead before the Expiration of the Lease Governor Dunbar called in all the Leases Gabriel Harper being one of the said Jno Seales Executors took the Lease & told me he gave it to Mr Wright sometime after Mr Harper acquainted me that Mr Wright told him the Governor had ordered the Lease to be renewed & in my and the Orphans Names likewise sent to Mr Wright to let me know when I should have the Lease whose Answer was he would give it to Mr Harper Trusting on his Word did not look into the Affair till after Mr Harpers Decease when I found that the Lease had not been renewed I then being Infirm desired Mr Bland to lay the Case before the present Governor & Council to beg the renewal of the Lease Some Objections were made Saying it prevented the Honorable Companys Land at the Lime Kiln from having the Water your Memorialist is of Opinion and believes if strickly Surveyed by Men of known Judgment and Veracity the said Land is noways prejudicial to the Honorable Companys at the Lime Kiln having the Water As the said Land has been in the possession of the said Seale Memorialist and Orphans since the Year 1726 no Objections ever being made before that it was any way prejudicial to the Honorable Company And that your Memorialist would not have neglected to have renewed the said Lease when granted by Governor Dunbar had she not depended intirely upon the Executors it being the greatest Support of me and my Five Children I and my Children humbly begs the Governor and Council will take the Case into Consideration and grant us the renewal of the Lease Island St Helena 29th Augt 1757 As	Quantity that now remained had been planted by the memorialist and orphans, which had been attended with a great deal of labour and a large expense. In the year 1744, John Seale having died before the expiration of the lease, Governor Dunbar called in all the leases, and Gabriel Harper, one of John Seale's executors, took the lease and told the Widow Seale that he gave it to Mr Wright. Sometime after, Harper informed her that Wright had told him the governor had ordered the lease to be renewed in her and the orphans' names, and had likewise sent to Wright to let her know when she should have the lease, to which his answer was that he would give it to Harper. Relying on his word, she had not looked into the affair until after Harper's death, when she found that the lease had not been renewed. Being then infirm, she had asked John Bland to lay the case before the present governor and council to beg the renewal of the lease. Some objections had been made, on the ground that it prevented the Honourable Company's land at the same lime kiln from having the water. The memorialist was of the opinion, and believed, that if the land were strictly surveyed by men of known judgement and veracity, it would in no way prejudice the Honourable Company's land at the same lime kiln having the water. As the land had been in the possession of Seale, the memorialist and the orphans since the year 1726, with no objection ever made before that it was in any way prejudicial to the Honourable Company, and as the memorialist would not have neglected to renew the lease when granted by Governor Dunbar had she not depended entirely upon the executors, it being the greatest support of herself and her five children, she and her children humbly begged the governor and council would take the case into consideration and grant the renewal of the lease. Island of St Helena, 29 August 1757.

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381	376	29th August As it is certain the said Widow Seale is very infirm and not in a Condition to travil we desired Mr Wm Wrantham to take an Opportunity between this and next Monday to go to her House and read the above Memorial to her and to ask her if it was drawn at her Request Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark Monday the 5th day of September 1757 Mr John Adamson Lieut Governor and Lieut John Clark of Council being sick Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 29th August 1757 Mr William Wrantham having carrie and read the Memorial given in last Consultation to the Widow Seale reported that she said it was drawn at her desire and that if that Lease was taken from her she had no other place to go to and that her House which stands upon that Land was almost ready to tumble down and that she could not think of repairing it untill she was sure of the Lease being regranted (signd) Wm King Chas Hutchinson	The council met on Monday 5 September 1757. John Adamson, lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark of council were both absent through illness, leaving Governor Charles Hutchinson alone present. The minutes of the meeting held on 29 August 1757 were read, approved and signed. Mr William Wrantham reported that he had visited the Widow Seale and read her the memorial submitted at the earlier meeting. She confirmed that it had been written at her own request. She said that losing the lease would leave her with nowhere else to live, and that her house on the land was in such poor condition it was close to falling down. She could not bring herself to repair it until she knew for certain the lease would be renewed. Signed by William Young, Charles Hutchinson.
382	377	12th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th day of September 1757 at the Castle John Adamson Lieut Governor absent being sick Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 5th of September 1757 Mrs Mary Herbert this day applied to us for a power of Administration to her late Husbands Effects which we accordingly Granted Having considered the Widow Seales Memorial and likewise what Mr William Wrantham has reported we agreed to renew the said Lease for the Use of the Widow and Orphans with a reserve that the Honorable Companys Land should in no respect either above or below it be deprived of the Water Chas Hutchinson John Clark	The council met on Monday 12 September 1757 at the Castle, with John Adamson, lieutenant governor, absent through illness. Present were Governor Charles Hutchinson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 5 September 1757, were read, approved and signed. Mrs Mary Herbert applied that day for a power of administration over her late husband's estate, which the council granted. Having considered the Widow Seale's memorial and William Wrantham's report, the council agreed to renew the lease for the use of the widow and orphans, with a reserve that the Honourable Company's land should not, above or below it, in any respect be deprived of the water. Signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark.
383	378	19th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th day of September 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 12th day of September 1757 This day Died William Adams Soldier The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this day brought in which were Examened and Approved and are as follow Vizt	The council met on Monday 19 September 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 12 September 1757, were read, approved and signed. William Adams, soldier, died that day. The plantation gunner's and steward's accounts for the month ending [...] instant were brought in that day, examined and approved, and were as follows.

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384	379	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of neat Cattle &c from the 12th August to 11th September 1757 Vizt Bulls,Cows,Calves,Yearlings,Heifers,Steers,Oxen,Total,Ewes,Wethers,Lambs,Rams,Total,Ewes,Wethers,Kidds ,Rams,Total,Sows,Sheats,Pigs,Boars,Total,Fowls,Ducks ,Turkeys,Geese,Horses,Mares,Total,Askkes,Ashes,Tota l Remaining 12th: Bulls 3,Cows 83,Calves 98,Yearlings 34,Heifers 35,Steers 18,Oxen 20,Total 291,Ewes 369,Wethers 121,Lambs 228,Rams 5,Total 723,Ewes 195,Wethers 25,Kidds 62,Rams 8,Total 290,Sows 3,Sheats 0,Pigs 22,Boars 1,Total 26,Fowls 115,Ducks 32,Turkeys 21,Geese 26,Horses 6,Mares 9,Total 15,Askkes 3,Ashes 3,Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 9,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 9,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Lambs 80,Rams 0,Total 80,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Kidds 20,Rams 0,Total 20,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 0,Fowls 50,Ducks 0,Turkeys 0,Geese 3,Horses 0,Mares 1,Total 1,Askkes 0,Ashes 0,Total 0 Total: Bulls 3,Cows 83,Calves 107,Yearlings 34,Heifers 35,Steers 18,Oxen 20,Total 300,Ewes 369,Wethers 121,Lambs 308,Rams 5,Total 803,Ewes 195,Wethers 25,Kidds 82,Rams 8,Total 310,Sows 3,Sheats 0,Pigs 22,Boars 1,Total 26,Fowls 165,Ducks 32,Turkeys 21,Geese 31,Horses 6,Mares 10,Total 16,Askkes 3,Ashes 3,Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 0,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 0,Ewes 11,Wethers 6,Lambs 4,Rams 0,Total 21,Ewes 0,Wethers 5,Kidds 1,Rams 0,Total 6,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 0,Fowls 3,Ducks 3,Turkeys 1,Geese 0,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,Askkes 0,Ashes 0,Total 0 Died: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 1,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 1,Ewes 1,Wethers 1,Lambs 3,Rams 0,Total 4,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Kidds 0,Rams 0,Total 0,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 0,Fowls 1,Ducks 0,Turkeys 1,Geese 2,Horses 0,Mares 1,Total 0,Askkes 0,Ashes 0,Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 0,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 0,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Lambs 0,Rams 0,Total 0,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Kidds 0,Rams 0,Total 0,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 0,Fowls 0,Ducks 0,Turkeys 0,Geese 1,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,Askkes 0,Ashes 0,Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 0,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 0,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Lambs 0,Rams 0,Total 0,Ewes 0,Wethers 2,Kidds 0,Rams 0,Total 2,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 0,Fowls 0,Ducks 0,Turkeys 0,Geese 0,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,Askkes 0,Ashes 0,Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 3,Cows 83,Calves 107,Yearlings 33,Heifers 35,Steers 18,Oxen 20,Total 299,Ewes 357,Wethers 115,Lambs 301,Rams 5,Total 778,Ewes 195,Wethers 18,Kidds 81,Rams 8,Total 302,Sows 3,Sheats 0,Pigs 21,Boars 1,Total 25,Fowls 160,Ducks 29,Turkeys 19,Geese 30,Horses 6,Mares 10,Total 16,Askkes 3,Ashes 3,Total 6 1 Goat Sold to Mr Bazetts to 16th 11 Do to the Hospital 2 Do to the Slaves 5 live Sheep to the Market 3 Do to the Hospital Artillery NB 1 Goose Stole 1 Woman Slave dead named Betty Scanderbeg 1 Slave Girl Born named Dorothy Yam expended for the Slaves 18750 Yam expended for the Stock 6530 25280 Errors Excepted (signed) John Adamson	Yes. In running prose, numbers zero to nine are spelled out and 10 and above use digits, though dates, money and precise measurements always use digits. Inside any table, tally or list every number uses digits, including zero to nine. My earlier prose should have read: one goat sold to Mr Bazett to the 16th; one goat sold to the hospital; two goats sold to the slaves; five live sheep sold to the market; three sheep sold to the hospital; one goose stolen; one woman slave, named Betty Scanderbeg, died; one slave girl was born, named Dorothy. Here is the page again with the prose corrected. An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other stock from 12 August to 11 September 1757 was as follows. Remaining 12th: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 93 calves, 34 yearlings, 35 heifers, 18 steers, 20 oxen, 291 neat cattle total, 369 ewes, 121 wethers, 228 lambs, 5 rams, 723 sheep total, 195 ewes, 25 wethers, 62 kidder goats, 8 rams, 290 goats total, 3 sows, 0 shoats, 22 pigs, 1 boar, 26 hogs total, 115 fowls, 32 ducks, 21 turkeys, 26 geese, 6 poultry total [horses], 9 mares, 15 horses total, 3 he-asses, 3 she-asses, 6 asses total Increased: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 9 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 9 neat cattle total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 80 lambs, 0 rams, 80 sheep total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 20 kidder goats, 0 rams, 20 goats total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boar, 0 hogs total, 50 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 3 geese, 0 poultry total [horses], 1 mare, 1 horses total, 0 he-asses, 0 she-asses, 0 asses total Total: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 107 calves, 34 yearlings, 35 heifers, 18 steers, 20 oxen, 300 neat cattle total, 369 ewes, 121 wethers, 308 lambs, 5 rams, 803 sheep total, 195 ewes, 25 wethers, 82 kidder goats, 8 rams, 310 goats total, 3 sows, 0 shoats, 22 pigs, 1 boar, 26 hogs total, 165 fowls, 32 ducks, 21 turkeys, 31 geese, 6 poultry total [horses], 10 mares, 16 horses total, 3 he-asses, 3 she-asses, 6 asses total Killed: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 0 neat cattle total, 11 ewes, 6 wethers, 4 lambs, 0 rams, 21 sheep total, 0 ewes, 5 wethers, 1 kidder goats, 0 rams, 6 goats total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boar, 0 hogs total, 3 fowls, 3 ducks, 1 turkeys, 0 geese, 0 poultry total [horses], 0 mares, 0 horses total, 0 he-asses, 0 she-asses, 0 asses total Died: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 1 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 1 neat cattle total, 1 ewes, 0 wethers, 3 lambs, 0 rams, 4 sheep total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 kidder goats, 0 rams, 0 goats total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boar, 0 hogs total, 1 fowls, 0 ducks, 1 turkeys, 2 geese, 1 poultry total [horses], 0 mares, 0 horses total, 0 he-asses, 0 she-asses, 0 asses total Stole: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 0 neat cattle total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 kidder goats, 0 rams, 0 goats total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boar, 0 hogs total, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 1 geese, 0 poultry total [horses], 0 mares, 0 horses total, 0 he-asses, 0 she-asses, 0 asses total Sold: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 0 neat cattle total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep total, 0 ewes, 2 wethers, 0 kidder goats, 0 rams, 2 goats total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boar, 0 hogs total, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese, 0 poultry total [horses], 0 mares, 0 horses total, 0 he-asses, 0 she-asses, 0 asses total Remaining 11th: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 107 calves, 33 yearlings, 35 heifers, 18 steers, 20 oxen, 299 neat cattle total, 357 ewes, 115 wethers, 301 lambs, 5 rams, 778 sheep total, 195 ewes, 18 wethers, 81 kidder goats, 8 rams, 302 goats total, 3 sows, 0 shoats, 21 pigs, 1 boar, 25 hogs total, 160 fowls, 29 ducks, 19 turkeys, 30 geese, 6 poultry total [horses], 10 mares, 16 horses total, 3 he-asses, 3 she-asses, 6 asses total

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			One goat sold to Mr Bazett to the 16th. One goat sold to the hospital. Two goats sold to the slaves. Five live sheep sold to the market. Three sheep sold to the hospital. One goose stolen. One woman slave, named Betty Scanderbeg, died. One slave girl was born, named Dorothy. Yam expended for the slaves came to 18,750. Yam expended for the stock came to 6,530. The total, errors excepted, came to 25,280. Signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The distribution of goats sold or given to Mr Bazett, the hospital and the slaves, alongside the separate sheep allocations to market and hospital, shows the plantation stock being used as a general provisioning resource for the garrison's institutions rather than being reared solely for sale or breeding, with the hospital drawing on both goats and sheep for the sick.
385	380	19th September Artillery Stores Expended from the 12th August to the 11th of September 1757 both days Included Vizt Powder Expended 1757 August 17th Powder for the funeral of Lieut Stephen Herbert: 6 lb 12 Septem 6th Powder for Scaling the Guns at Turks Cap: 15 8 Do 7th Powder for Scaling the Guns at Lemon Valley: 22 4 Do 8 Powder for Scaling the Guns at Sandy Bay: 36 8 Total: 80 8 Tallow for greasing the Gun Carriages at Turks Cap: 2 lb Do for Do at Lemon Valley: 2 lb Do for Do at Sandy Bay: 4 lb Hand Spikes wore out and Unserviceable at Do: 8 Do at Turks Cap: 6 Do at Lemon Valley: 1 Copper Ladle wore out and Unserviceable and cut for Heads to Cover Powder Chests: 2 32 Carriages wore out and Unserviceable at the Main Fort: 5 24lb Do Carriage: 1 18lb Do at Do: 1 4lb Do at Do: 3 3lb Do at Reports: 3 24lb Do at Do: 1 12lb Do at Do: 1 9lb Do at Do: 6 Signed Thos Hall	An account of artillery stores expended from 12 August to 11 September 1757, both days included, was as follows. Figures for powder are given in pounds and ounces. 1757 17 August: Powder for the funeral of Lieutenant Stephen Herbert, 6lb 12oz 6 September: Powder for scaling the guns at Turks Cap, 15lb 8oz 7 September: Powder for scaling the guns at Lemon Valley, 22lb 0oz 8 September: Powder for scaling the guns at Sandy Bay, 36lb 8oz Total, 80lb 12oz Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at Turks Cap, 2lb Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at Lemon Valley, 2lb Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at Sandy Bay, 4lb Hand spikes worn out and unserviceable at [...], 8 Hand spikes worn out and unserviceable at Turks Cap, 6 Hand spikes worn out and unserviceable at Lemon Valley, 1 Copper ladles worn out and unserviceable, and cut for heads to cover powder chests, 2 32-pounder carriages worn out and unserviceable at the Main Fort, 5 24-pounder carriages, 1 18-pounder carriages at the Main Fort, 1 4-pounder carriages at the Main Fort, 3 32-pounder carriages at the reports, 3 24-pounder carriages at the reports, 1 12-pounder carriages at the reports, 1 9-pounder carriages at the reports, 6 Signed by Thomas Hall. Interpretations Scaling the guns meant firing a small charge of powder to clear rust, scale and fouling from the inside of the barrel, a routine maintenance task carried out here across the island's separate gun positions at Turks Cap, Lemon Valley and Sandy Bay. The copper ladles, worn out in service, were being repurposed as heads to seal the powder chests, showing scarce metal fittings on a remote island being salvaged rather than discarded. The carriages are recorded by the weight of shot their guns fired, from heavy 32-pounders down to light 9-pounders, distinguishing the guns mounted at the Main Fort from those at the reports, the outlying signal and gun stations that relayed warnings around the coast.
386	381	1757 Sundries Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending September 11th 1757	An account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 September 1757 was as follows. 25 bottles port, £1 14s 3d

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		25 Bottles Port £1 14s 3d 23 Do Lisbon £1 11s 6¾d 9 Do Madeira £1 2s 2½d 69 Do Arrack £2 6s 2d 31 Do Beer £0 6s 5¾d 250 Flour £2 0s 10d 335 Mutton £6 15s 3d 4 Lambs £2 0s 0d 1 Kidd £0 5s 0d 65th Goat £1 1s 8d 3 Fowls £0 4s 6d 3 Ducks £0 4s 6d 1 Turkey £0 5s 0d 39lb Fresh Butter £1 18s 9d 3 Pieces Salt Pork £0 6s 0d 100lb Candy £1 13s 4d £23 15s 5¾d We this day granted the following Lease to Mrs Mary Seale for the Use of herself and the Orphans of John Seale deceased the Lease is as follows Island	23 bottles Lisbon, £1 11s 6¾d 9 bottles Madeira, £1 2s 2½d 69 bottles arrack, £2 6s 0d 31 bottles beer, £0 6s 5½d 250lb flour, £2 0s 10d 335lb mutton, £6 15s 3d 4 lambs, £2 0s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 65lb goat, £1 1s 8d 3 fowls, £0 4s 6d 3 ducks, £0 4s 6d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 38¾lb fresh butter, £1 18s 9d 3 pieces salt pork, £0 6s 0d 100lb candy, £1 13s 4d Total, £23 15s 5¾d The council granted a lease that day to Mrs Mary Seale, for the use of herself and the orphans of the deceased John Seale, in the following terms. Interpretations Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in the East Indies, commonly from fermented palm sap or rice, and shipped through the Company's Asian trade. It appears here as the single largest drink expense on the table, well ahead of the European wines from Portugal and Madeira, reflecting the island's position on the route between England and the East and its ready access to Indian Ocean goods.
387	382	19th September Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of the said Island the Honorable the united Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies Do hereby Demise Grant Sett and to Farm lett unto Mary Seale Widow of John Seale late of the said Island Planter deceased and to the Orphans of the said John Seale All that peice or parcell of Land lying and being in Sandy Bay Valley in the said Island now in the possession of the said Widow and Orphans containing Seven Acres and an half more or less and butting and bounding on all Sides on the Honorable Companys Waste Land Together with all and singular Wood Water Water Courses Edifices Buildings Yams and plantations of Yams Fruit Trees Ways Fences Rights Commodities and Appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging or apperlaining To have and to hold all and singular the said hereby demised piece or parcell of Land and Premisses and every part thereof with all and singular the rights Commodities and Appurtenances whatsoever unto them the said Mary Seale Widow and the said Orphans their Heirs Executors Administrators and allowed Assigns from the day of the date hereof for and during all the Space or Term of Twenty one Years from thence next ensuing fully to be compleat and ended Yielding and paying therefore yearly and every Year during the Term of this present Lease unto the said Honorable Company their Successors Agents or Assigns the Sum of Five Shillings per Acre at or upon the Feast of St Michael the Arkangel Yearly And upon Condition	On the island of St Helena, the lords proprietors, the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, granted and leased to Mary Seale, widow of John Seale, late planter of the island, deceased, and to the orphans of John Seale, all that piece of land in Sandy Bay valley on the island then in the possession of the widow and orphans, containing seven and a half acres more or less, and bounded on all sides by the Honourable Company's waste land. The grant carried with it all the wood, water, watercourses, buildings, yams and plantations of yams, fruit trees, ways, fences, rights, commodities and appurtenances belonging to it. Mary Seale and the orphans, their heirs, executors, administrators and allowed assigns were to hold the land and premises for a term of 21 years from the date of the lease. They were to pay the Honourable Company, its successors, agents or assigns, five shillings per acre yearly at the feast of St Michael the Archangel, and upon condition [...] Interpretations The rent fell due at Michaelmas, the feast of St Michael the Archangel on 29 September, one of the traditional English quarter days on which rents and debts were customarily settled. The lease shows the Company transplanting this English calendar of obligation onto the island, fixing the annual payment to a date rooted in the agricultural and legal year of home rather than to any local season. The land was leased at five shillings per acre, and being bounded on every side by the Company's own waste land it sat as an enclosed holding within ground the Company had not granted out, giving the widow and orphans secure tenure while the Company retained the surrounding territory undeveloped.

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388	383	1757 Condition that they the said Widow and Orphans their Heirs Executors Administrators and allowed Assigns shall and do bear true faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his Heirs and Successors and true faith to the said Honorable Company and their Successors and shall duly obey all the Laws and Constitutions of the said Island And upon further Condition that neither She the said Mary Seale Widow nor any of the said Orphans to whom this Lease is granted nor their or any of their Heirs Executors Administrators or allowed assigns shall during the Term hereby demised in any manner hinder or divert the Water from the Honorable Companys Land either above or below the abovementioned peice or parcell of Land hereby demised And also upon Condition that they the said Widow and Orphans their Heirs Executors Administrators or allowed Assigns shall and do from Time to Time and at all times hereafter during the Term of this present Lease keep up and Maintain in good Order and sufficient and legal repair the Buildings Plantations and Fences which now are or hereafter during the Continuance of this Lease shall be made built or Erected on the said hereby demised Premises and shall plant and preserve in and upon the same premises the Whole Quantity of Wood or as much as it can Conveniently contain And shall likewise plant and preserve Furze on the Fences of the said premises And shall plant Fruit Trees in such parts thereof wherein they are most likely to grow And as they shall happen to Decay or dye replant Others of the like sort thereon without hurt or prejudice nevertheless to any Part of such Land as shall be set apart for the Sole purpose of planting and raising of Yams And upon further Condition that they the said Widow and Orphans their Heirs Executors Administrators or allowed Assigns shall not sell or dispose of this Lease or her or their Interest therein without the Consent	The lease was granted on condition that the widow and orphans, their heirs, executors, administrators and allowed assigns bear true faith and allegiance to the sovereign King George the Second, his heirs and successors, keep faith with the Honourable Company and its successors, and duly obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. A further condition held that neither Mary Seale nor any of the orphans to whom the lease was granted, nor their heirs, executors, administrators or allowed assigns, should during the term in any way hinder or divert the water from the Honourable Company's land, whether above or below the leased ground. They were also bound to keep up and maintain in good order and sufficient legal repair the buildings, plantations and fences then standing or afterwards built on the premises during the term. They were to plant and preserve on the premises the whole quantity of wood the ground could conveniently hold, and likewise to plant and preserve furze on the fences. They were to plant fruit trees in the parts most likely to grow them, and as any decayed or died, to replant others of the same in the same soil, without harm or prejudice to any part of the land set apart solely for planting and raising yams. A further condition held that the widow and orphans, their heirs, executors, administrators or allowed assigns should not sell or dispose of the lease or their interest in it without the consent [...] Interpretations The conditions bound the tenants to active cultivation rather than mere occupation, requiring them to keep the ground fully wooded, plant furze along the fences and continually replace dead fruit trees. Furze, a dense thorny shrub, was grown along field boundaries as a living hedge and a source of fuel and animal fodder, a practical response to the island's shortage of timber, where wood had to be conserved and boundaries maintained without imported materials. The prohibition on selling or assigning the lease without the Company's consent kept ultimate control of the land in the Company's hands, ensuring that tenure could not pass to an unapproved party and that the island's landholding remained subject to the Company's oversight rather than becoming freely tradable property.
389	384	19th September Consent of the Governor and Council for the time being In Witness whereof we the said Governor and Council have hereunto set our Hands and Affixed the Honorable Companys Seal at St Helena aforesaid this Nineteenth Day of September in the thirty first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the grace of God of great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Fifty seven And the said Mary Seale Widow for herself and Orphans to the other part of this Lease hath Set her Hand and Seal the day and Year above	The lease required the consent of the governor and council for the time being. The governor and council set their hands to it and affixed the Honourable Company's seal at St Helena on 19 September, in the thirty-first year of the reign of King George the Second, and in the year 1757, and Mary Seale, for herself and the orphans, set her hand and seal to the other part on the same day. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Mr Orlando Bagley presented a petition to the worshipful Charles Hutchinson, governor, and council. Bagley set out that he wished to dispose of his right in a lease for 27½ acres of land in the south division, and asked the governor and council for liberty to do so, and to accept Mr Thomas Cotgrave as tenant for the same. St Helena, 19 September

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		written (signed) Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark (LS) Mr Orlando Bagley presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council The humble Petition of Orlando Bagley Sheweth That your Petitioner being desirous to dispose of his right in a Lease for 27½ Acres of Land lying in the South division humbly begs that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him Liberty so to do, & accept of Mr Thomas Cotgrave Tenant for the same And your petitioner will ever pray St Helena 19 Sepr 1757 Granted Chas Hutchinson J N Adamson John Clark	1757. Granted. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Bagley's petition puts into practice the very restriction written into leases such as the Widow Seale's, which barred a tenant from selling or assigning without the Company's approval. He could not simply pass his interest to Thomas Cotgrave but had to seek the governor and council's licence first, showing the transfer of land on the island running through a formal act of permission rather than a private sale between the two parties.
390	385	26th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 26th day of September 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutt Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 19th of September 1757 Wednesday the 21st Died William Turner Gunners Mate Friday the 23d Died Benjamin Swaits Corporal Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th Instant which is as follows Vizt	The council met on Monday 26 September 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 19 September 1757, were read, approved and signed. William Turner, gunner's mate, died on Wednesday 21 September. Benjamin Swaits, corporal, died on Friday 23 September. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending [...] instant, with the account set out below.
391	386	26th September Cash Dr 1757 August 12th To Balance remaining £3364 14s 0d £3364 14s 0d	1757 12 August: Balance remaining, £3,364 14s 0d £3,364 14s 0d
392	387	1757 Per Contra Cr 1757 Sepr 11th By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 351 Venetians at 10/ £175 10s 0d 1525 Pagodas at 8/ £610 0s 0d Gold amounting to £785 10s 0d 1671 Dollars @ 5/ £417 15s 0d 5636 Rupees @ 2/3 £634 1s 0d 6617 Double Rials 1/3 £413 11s 3d 13013 Rials 7½d £406 13s 1½d 10476 Half Rials 3¾d £163 13s 9d 441 French peices 2/- £3 13s 6d Odd Money £1 4½d Silver amounting to £2039 9s 0d 146 Cash Notes @ 40/ £292 0s 0d 162 Do 20/ £162 0s 0d	1757 11 September: Balance remaining in the following species, viz: 351 Venetians at 10s, £175 10s 0d 1,525 pagodas at 8s, £610 0s 0d Gold amounting to £785 10s 0d 1,671 dollars at 5s, £417 15s 0d 5,636 rupees at 2s 3d, £634 1s 0d 6,617 double ryals at 1s 3d, £413 11s 3d 13,013 ryals at 7½d, £406 13s 1½d 10,476 half ryals at 3¾d, £163 13s 9d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £1 4½d Silver amounting to £2,039 9s 0d 146 cash notes at 40s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 263 cash notes at 5s, £65 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £20 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to £539 15s 0d £3,364 14s 0d The executors of the late Thomas Easthope brought in an inventory of his estate that day, appraised by Francis Wrangham senior, Thomas Greentree and Richard Beale senior, who were sworn that they had valued it to the best of their judgement, and by Henry and James Easthope, who were sworn that they had produced everything belonging to their late father's estate. The council ordered the inventory to be entered in the book kept for that purpose. The will of the late William Turner, proved on the oaths of the witnesses to it, followed.

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		263 Do 5/ £65 15s 0d 160 Do 2/6 £20 0s 0d Cash Notes amounting to £539 15s 0d £3364 14s 0d The Executors of the late Thomas Easthope this day brought in an Inventory of his Effects appraised by Messrs Francis Wrangham Senr Thomas Greentree and Richard Beale Senr who were sworn that they Valued the same to the best of their Judgment and Henry and James Easthopes that they produced every of their deceased Fathers Effects it was Ordered to be Entered in the Book for that purpose The following is the Will of the late William Turner which was proved upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto In	Interpretations The valuation of Thomas Easthope's estate was carried out by two separate groups under oath: three independent appraisers who swore to the fairness of their valuation, and the two Easthope sons who swore they had concealed nothing of their father's property. This division separated the assessment of worth from the disclosure of assets, guarding the probate against both undervaluation and the hiding of goods by the family who stood to inherit.
393	388	26th September In the name of God Amen I William Turner of the Island St Helena Gunners Mate in the Service of the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies being sick and weak in Body but of Sound and disposing mind Memory and understanding do hereby make and publish this my Last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say First I will and desire that all my Just Debts and Funeral Expences may be fully paid and satisfied Item All and singular the rest residue and remainder of my Real and Personal Estate whatsoever and wheresoever in the said Island St Helena I do hereby give devise and bequeath unto my Son in Law James Pritchard his Heirs Executors Administrators and assigns respectively for Ever And I do hereby nominate and appoint the Worshipfull the Governor and Council of the said Island for the time being and their Successors Executors of this my said Will and Guardians and Trustees for the said James Pritchard till he shall arrive at the Age of twenty one Years humbly desiring they will see this my Will performed And I do hereby revoke and make Void all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made and Executed And do declare this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said William Turner have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this thirteenth day of September in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Fifty seven (signed) William Turner (LS) Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Testator William Turner in the presence of us who at his request and in his presence have subscribed our Names as witnesses (signed) John Wrangham John Whitchurch H Dunn Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	William Turner, gunner's mate of the island of St Helena in the service of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, being sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory, made his last will and testament. He first willed that all his just debts and funeral expenses be fully paid and satisfied. He then gave and bequeathed all the rest and residue of his real and personal estate on the island of St Helena to his son-in-law James Pritchard, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns for ever. He nominated and appointed the worshipful the governor and council of the island for the time being, and their successors, as executors of the will and as guardians and trustees for James Pritchard until he should reach the age of 21 years, humbly asking that they see the will performed. He revoked all former wills he had made, declaring this and no other to be his last will and testament. William Turner set his hand and seal to it on 13 September 1757. Signed, sealed, published and declared by William Turner in the presence of the witnesses who set their names in his presence and at his request. Signed by John Wrangham, John Whitchurch and [...] Dunn. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Turner named the governor and council themselves as executors, guardians and trustees over his estate until his heir came of age, rather than any private individual. This placed the island's governing body in direct charge of an ordinary soldier's legacy, reflecting how thoroughly the Company's administration served as the settled machinery of law and inheritance for a small garrison population with few other institutions to fall back on.

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394	389	3d October At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d day of October 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 26th September 1757 Ordered the following Advertizement to be published vizt This is to give Notice to all Persons upon the Island that on Thursday the 13th instant there will be exposed to public Sale Sundry Effects belonging to the Estate of the late William Turner deceased and Credit given for the same for three Months the Auction to begin at the Hour of Ten in the Morning at his House in this Valley Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The council met on Monday 3 October 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 26 September 1757, were read, approved and signed. The council ordered an advertisement to be published, giving notice to everyone on the island that on Thursday 13 October sundry effects belonging to the estate of the late William Turner would be exposed to public sale, with three months' credit given, the auction to begin at ten in the morning at his house in the valley. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
395	390	11th October At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 11th Day of October 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 3d Day of October 1757 According to the Advertizement Published on the 29th of August last the Planters this day attended and paid their Rents and Revenues due to the Honorable Company for the Year past which amounts to £561 12s 2d the Rent Roll is as follows vizt List of the Honorable Companys Rents and Revenues for the Year ending the 11th October 1757 vizt Yams, Sheep, £, s, d John Alexander 15½ at 4/ p Acre: Yams 31½, Sheep 10½, £3 18s 3d Samuel Alexander: Yams 34, Sheep 37½, £11 1s 6d George Alexander: Yams 23, Sheep 22, £6 18s 0d Margaret Alcock 12 at 20/ p Acre: Yams 20, Sheep 24, £1 3s 0d Christophoros Beale: Yams 15, Sheep 10, £7½ 3s 0d Richard Beale 3d at 4/ p Acre: Yams 6, Sheep 41, £53½ 11s 13s 6d John Bagley: Yams 0, Sheep 36, £9 0s 0d Richard Bagley 3d at 4/6 p Acre: Yams 0, Sheep 53, £112 30s 4s 6d Orlando Bagley Senr 4 at 4/6 p Acre: Yams 0, Sheep 20, £53½ 14s 15s 6d Carried Over: Yams 259½, Sheep 383, £106 5s 0d	The council met on Tuesday 11 October 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 3 October 1757, were read, approved and signed. Following the advertisement published on 29 August, the planters attended that day and paid their rents and revenues due to the Honourable Company for the past year, amounting to £561 12s 2d. A list of the Honourable Company's rents and revenues for the year ending 11 October 1757 follows. The final three columns give the acreage granted, the acreage planted and the yams standing, followed by the rent due in pounds, shillings and pence. John Alexander, 15½ acres at 1s per acre, 31½ acres granted, 10½ acres planted, [...] yams, £18 3s 6d Samuel Alexander, 34 acres granted, 37½ acres planted, [...] yams, £11 1s 6d George Alexander, 23 acres granted, 22 acres planted, [...] yams, £6 18s 0d Margaret Alcock, 12 acres at 2s per acre, 20 acres granted, 24 acres planted, [...] yams, £1 5s 0d Christophoros Beale, 13 acres granted, 10 acres planted, 7½ yams, £3 0s 6d Richard Beale senior, 3 acres at 1s per acre, 6 acres granted, 41 acres planted, 53½ yams, £11 15s 6d John Bagley, 66 acres planted, 51 yams, £0 0s 0d Richard Bagley senior, 3 acres at 1s 6d per acre, 55 acres granted, 112 acres planted, 30 yams, £4 6s 6d Orlando Bagley senior, 4 acres at 1s 6d per acre, 20 acres granted, 55½ acres planted, 14 yams, £15 6d Carried over, 259½ acres granted, 385 acres planted, 106 yams, £5 [...] Interpretations The rent roll records for each planter both the land they held and the extent actually planted, alongside the yams standing on it. This let the Company measure not just what ground it had granted out but how far each tenant was cultivating it, tying the annual rent to a working assessment of productive use rather than to holding alone, in keeping with the lease conditions that obliged tenants to keep their land under yams and wood.
396	391	1757 Ground Rent, Sheep Land, Cattle Land, £, s, d	The first three columns give the acreage granted, the acreage planted and the yams standing, followed by the rent due in pounds, shillings and pence.

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		Brought Over: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 259½, Cattle Land 383, £106 5s 0d Matthew Bazell 5½ at 4/ p Acre: Ground Rent 10, Sheep Land 65, Cattle Land 37½, £12 0s 6d John Bazells Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 40, Cattle Land 25½, £7 17s 6d Elizabeth Blinman: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 15, Cattle Land 0, £0 15s 0d William Barnhams Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 29, Cattle Land 14, £4 19s 0d John Bland: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 10, Cattle Land 65½, £4 3s 9d Henry Bazell: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 44½, Cattle Land 7½, £4 2s 0d John Clark 3d at 4/ p Acre: Ground Rent 146, Sheep Land 166, Cattle Land 66, £23 7s 0d Thomas Cotgrave: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 5, Cattle Land 86, £21 8s 0d Thomas Clew: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 2, Cattle Land 0, £0 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton 2¼ at 4/6 p Acre: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 62, Cattle Land 11, £5 8s 3d Samuel Dovetons Orphans 2¼ at 4/6 p Acre: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 112½, Cattle Land 8, £7 4s 0d Isaac Doveton: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 117½, Cattle Land 9½, £6 5s 3d John Doveton: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 36½, Cattle Land 1, £4 11s 6d Samuel Desfontain: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 10, Cattle Land 0, £0 10s 0d Joseph Desfontains Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 20, Cattle Land 57, £15 5s 0d Elizabeth Desfontain: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 0, Cattle Land 11, £2 15s 0d John Desfontain: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 93½, Cattle Land 24½, £10 15s 9d Thomas Easthopes Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 25, Cattle Land 44, £12 5s 0d Michael Frost: Ground Rent 4½, Sheep Land 1, Cattle Land 0, £0 15s 0d Sarah Junge: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 1, Cattle Land 0, £0 5s 0d Richard Goodwin: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 46½, Cattle Land 27, £9 1s 6d Thomas Greentree 3½ at 4/ p Acre: Ground Rent 5, Sheep Land 76½, Cattle Land 60, £17 8s 0d James Greentree: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 43, Cattle Land 55, £16 5s 0d Onesiphorus Gurlings Orphans 9 at 4/6 p Acre: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 23, Cattle Land 9, £1 16s 6d Nich Gurlings Orphans 6¾ at 4/6 p Acre: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 16, Cattle Land 36, £8 7s 10½d Gabriel Harpers Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 11, Cattle Land 45, £11 0s 0d Thomas Hayes Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 50, Cattle Land 4, £2 10s 0d Thomas Harper Junr: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 19, Cattle Land 38, £10 9s 0d Martin Harpers Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 53½, Cattle Land 45½, £14 10s 10d Thomas Harper Senr: Ground Rent 10, Sheep Land 0, Cattle Land 0, £0 10s 0d Carried Over: Ground Rent 146½, Sheep Land 1122½, Cattle Land 346, £14 4½d	Brought over, 259½ acres granted, 385 acres planted, 106 yams, £5 [...] Matthew Bazett, 5½ acres at 1s per acre, 10½ acres granted, 65 acres planted, 37½ yams, £12 0s 6d John Bazett's orphans, 40 acres planted, 25½ yams, £7 17s 6d Elizabeth Ustinman, 15 acres granted, £0 15s 0d William Barnham's orphans, 15 acres planted, £0 15s 0d John Bland, 29 acres granted, 14 acres planted, £4 19s 0d Henry Bazett, 10 acres granted, 63½ acres planted, £4 3s 9d John Clark, 3 acres at 1s per acre, 146 acres granted, 166 acres planted, 66 yams, £23 7s 0d Thomas Cotgrave, 3 acres granted, 86 acres planted, 21 yams, £8 0s 0d Thomas Clew, 2 acres planted, £0 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, 2 acres at 1s 6d per acre, 62 acres granted, 11 acres planted, £5 8s 3d Samuel Doveton's orphans, 2 acres at 1s 6d per acre, 112½ acres granted, 8 acres planted, £7 4s 0d Isaac Doveton, 117½ acres granted, 9½ acres planted, £6 5s 3d John Doveton, 96½ acres granted, 1 acre planted, £4 11s 6d Samuel Desfontain, 10 acres granted, £0 10s 0d Joseph Desfontain's orphans, 20 acres granted, 57 acres planted, £15 15s 0d Elizabeth Desfontain, 11 acres planted, £2 15s 0d John Desfontain, 93½ acres granted, 24½ acres planted, £10 15s 9d Thomas Easthope's orphans, 25 acres granted, 44 acres planted, £12 5s 0d Michael Frost, 6½ acres granted, £0 15s 0d Sarah Junge, 1 acre planted, £0 5s 0d Richard Goodwin, 46½ acres granted, 27 acres planted, £9 1s 6d Thomas Greentree, 33½ acres at 1s per acre, 76½ acres granted, 60 acres planted, 17 yams, £8 0s 0d James Greentree, 43 acres granted, 55 acres planted, 16 yams, £5 0s 0d Charles Gurlings' orphans, 9 acres at 1s 6d per acre, 23 acres granted, 9 acres planted, 1 yam, £16 6d Richard Gurlings' orphans, 6½ acres at 1s 6d per acre, 16 acres granted, 36 acres planted, 8 yams, £7 10½d Gabriel Harper's orphans, 11 acres granted, 45 acres planted, 11 yams, £0 0s 0d Thomas Hayes' orphans, 50 acres granted, 4 acres planted, 2 yams, £10 0s 0d Thomas Harper senior, 19 acres granted, 38 acres planted, £10 9s 0d Martin Harper's orphans, 55½ acres granted, 45½ acres planted, 14 yams, £10 0s 0d Thomas Harper senior, 10 acres granted, £0 10s 0d Carried over, 1,442½ acres granted, 1,122½ acres planted, 346 yams, £14 4½d
397	392	11th October Ground Rent, Sheep Land, Lime Land, £s, d Brought Over: Ground Rent 146½, Sheep Land 1122½, Lime Land 346, £14 4½d Richard Harper: Ground Rent 2/6, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 0, £0 2s 6d Gabriel Isaacke: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 8, £2 0s 0d Elisha Isaacke: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 25, Lime Land 5, £2 10s 0d	The first three columns give the acreage granted, the acreage planted and the yams standing, followed by the rent due in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, 1,442½ acres granted, 1,122½ acres planted, 346 yams, £14 4½d Richard Harper, 2½ acres granted, £0 2s 6d Gabriel Isaacke, 8 acres planted, £2 0s 0d Elisha Isaacke, 25 acres granted, 5 acres planted, £2 10s 0d Mary Jarvis, 12 acres granted, £0 12s 0d

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		Mary Jarvis: Ground Rent 12/, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 0, £0 12s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick: Ground Rent 2/, Sheep Land 21, Lime Land 19½, £7 2s 6d Isaac Knipe: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 16, Lime Land 0, £4 0s 0d Samuel Knipe: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 38½, Lime Land 17½, £6 6s 3d William Kennedy: Ground Rent 13/, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 0, £0 13s 0d Eleanor Leech: Ground Rent 12/, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 0, £0 12s 0d John Leech Senr: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 36, £9 0s 0d Bridget Leech: Ground Rent 2/6, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 0, £0 2s 6d Mary Mason: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 13¼, £3 8s 9d Benjamin Mason: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 11, Lime Land 18½, £5 3s 6d William Moore: Ground Rent 5/, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 0, £0 5s 0d James Powell: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 30, Lime Land 21½, £6 17s 6d Matthew Purlingbe at 4/ p Acre: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 155½, Lime Land 67½, £22 3s 9d Benj Pledgers Orphans 3d at 4/ p Acre: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 5, Lime Land 13¾, £4 13s 9d William Paddon: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 7½, £1 17s 6d John Pritchard: Ground Rent 10/, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 0, £0 10s 0d William Seale 5½ at 4/6 p Acre: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 7, Lime Land 44, £10 1s 9d Benjamin Seale: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 7½, £1 16s 3d John Seales Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 10, Lime Land 7½, £2 7s 6d Charles Steward: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 39, Lime Land 60, £16 10s 3d Nathan Sample: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 25, Lime Land 8½, £3 7s 6d William Turners Orphans: Ground Rent 4/, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 0, £0 7s 0d James Torbett: Ground Rent 12/, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 0, £0 12s 0d John Swaits Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 9, Lime Land 58½, £10 1s 6d John Worrall: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 42½, £10 12s 6d Francis Wrangham Senr: Ground Rent 40/6, Sheep Land 218½, Lime Land 123½, £43 16s 10d Francis Wrangham Junr Cotagrp Com: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 39, Lime Land 6, £1 19s 0d William Wrangham: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 27½, Lime Land 29, £6 10s 4d Carried Over: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 2077½, Lime Land 1705, £532 6s 3d	Thomas Kirkpatrick, 2½ acres granted, 21 acres planted, 19½ yams, £7 2s 6d Isaac Knipe, 16 acres planted, £4 6s 0d Samuel Knipe, [...] William Kennedy, 15 acres granted, 38½ acres planted, 17½ yams, £6 6s 3d Eleanor Leech, 12 acres granted, £0 12s 0d John Leech senior, 36 acres planted, £0 9s 0d Bridget Leech, 2½ acres granted, £0 2s 6d Mary Mason, 13½ acres planted, £3 8s 9d Benjamin Mason, 11 acres granted, 18½ acres planted, £5 3s 6d William Moore, 5 acres granted, £0 5s 0d James Powell, 30 acres granted, 21½ acres planted, £6 17s 6d Matthew Purling, 6½ acres at 1s per acre, 135½ acres granted, 67½ acres planted, 22 yams, £3 9d Benjamin Pledger's orphans, 3 acres at 1s per acre, 5 acres granted, 13½ acres planted, £4 13s 9d William Paddon, 7½ acres planted, £1 17s 6d John Pritchard, 10 acres granted, £0 10s 0d William Seale, 5½ acres at 1s 6d per acre, 7 acres granted, 44 acres planted, 10 yams, £1 9d Benjamin Seale, 7½ acres planted, £1 16s 3d John Seale's orphans, 10 acres granted, 7½ acres planted, £2 7s 6d Charles Steward, 39 acres granted, 60 acres planted, 16 yams, £10 3d Nathan Sample, 25 acres granted, 8½ acres planted, £3 7s 6d William Turner's orphans, 6½ acres granted, £0 7s 0d James Corbett, 12½ acres granted, £0 12s 0d John Swait's orphans, 9 acres granted, 58½ acres planted, 10 yams, £1 6d John Worrall, 42½ acres planted, 10 yams, £12 6d Francis Wrangham senior, 406 acres granted, 218½ acres planted, 123½ yams, £43 16s 10d Francis Wrangham junior, cataplus commodore, 39 acres granted, 6 acres planted, £1 19s 0d William Wrangham, 27½ acres granted, 29 acres planted, £6 10s 4d Carried over, 2,077½ acres granted, 1,708½ acres planted, 532 yams, £6 3d
398	393	1757 Ground Rent, Sheep Land, Lime Land, £, s, d Brought Over: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 2077½, Lime Land 1705, £532 6s 3d David Wiltons Orphans: Ground Rent 10/, Sheep Land 0, Lime Land 0, £0 10s 0d Joshua Worralls Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 31, Lime Land 33, £9 16s 0d Joseph Whaleys Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 13, Lime Land 20½, £5 17s 11d Stephen Young: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 10, Lime Land 8½, £2 12s 6d William Young: Ground Rent 5/, Sheep Land 19, Lime Land 25, £10 9s 6d Total: Ground Rent 0, Sheep Land 2194½, Lime Land 1820, £561 12s 2d Ordered the following old unserviceable	The first three columns give the acreage granted, the acreage planted and the yams standing, followed by the rent due in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over, 2,077½ acres granted, 1,708½ acres planted, 532 yams, £6 3d David Wilton's orphans, 10 acres granted, £0 10s 0d Joshua Worrall's orphans, 31 acres granted, 33 acres planted, £9 16s 0d Joseph Whaley's orphans, 13 acres granted, 25½ acres planted, £5 17s 11d Stephen Young, 10 acres granted, 8½ acres planted, £2 12s 6d William Young, 3 acres granted, 19½ acres planted, 23 yams, £10 9s 6d Total, 2,144½ acres granted, 1,820 acres planted, £561 12s 2d

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		Plate to be wrote off the Honorable Companys Books of Accounts vizt Wt Dwt£sd 3 Salvers Wt 23:17 D 6/ p Oz £8 4s 11½d 6 Spoons 9:5 D 9/ £4 3s 3d 1 Soup Spoon 3:14 D 6/7 £1 4s 4d 4 Castors 10:0 D 6/4½ £3 3s 9d 2 Bowls 39:0 D 10/10 £21 2s 7d 1 Tankard 22:10 D 7/4½ £7 19s 10d £45 18s 8½d Ordered the following Advertisement to be published vizt This is to give Notice to all the Planters upon the said Island that they are hereby required to meet in Vestry at the Chappel in this Valley on Monday the 24th Instant And likewise all Persons that are indebted to the Estate of the late Samuel Falconer deceased are hereby desired to pay their respective Debts to the Governor & Council Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At	The council ordered the following old and unserviceable plate to be written off the Honourable Company's books of accounts. The middle column gives the weight in ounces, pennyweights and grains, and the third column the rate per ounce. 3 salvers, weight 23oz 17dwt 0gr at 6s 9d, £8 4s 11½d 6 spoons, 9oz 5dwt 0gr at 9s, £4 3s 3d 1 soup spoon, 3oz 14dwt 0gr at 6s 7d, £1 4s 4d 4 castors, 10oz 0dwt 0gr at 6s 4½d, £3 3s 9d 2 bowls, 39oz 0dwt 0gr at 10s 10d, £21 2s 7d 1 tankard, 22oz 10dwt 0gr at 7s 4½d, £7 19s 10d Total, £45 18s 8½d The council ordered an advertisement to be published, giving notice to all the planters on the island that they were required to meet in vestry at the chapel in the valley on Monday 24 October, and likewise requiring everyone indebted to the estate of the late Samuel Falconer to pay their respective debts to the governor and council. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The old plate was valued not as objects but by their bullion weight in troy measure at a stated rate per ounce, so worn silver salvers, spoons and a tankard were written off the Company's books at their metal value. This treated the plate as a form of stored silver rather than as furnishings, allowing the Company to account precisely for the recovered value of items no longer fit for use. The planters were summoned to meet in vestry at the chapel, the parish assembly through which local administrative and church matters were settled. Its use here shows the Company governing the island partly through the transplanted machinery of the English parish, calling the settlers together as a vestry rather than solely as tenants before the council.
399	394	17th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th Day of October 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 11th October 1757 Thomas Peter Stanley presented the following Memorial Vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor of St Helena Island The Information of Thomas Peter Stanley late Servant to Mr John Adamson Lieutt Governor of the said Island Humbly Sheweth That on Friday Night Septr 30th 1757 abt 30 Minutes after 8 o'Clock of Informant attended at Supper on Mr and Mrs Adamson as usual and after Supper put every thing in their proper places as at other times and then went to give the Baker Flour to make Bread by which time it was just upon the Stroke of 9 o'Clock That your Informant then went out of Mr Adamsons House and stayed away about a Quarter away about a Quarter of an hour in which time Mr Adamson called for your Informant to lock the door as your Informant was told by one of the black Servants but your Informant not being in the House at that Instant Mr Adamson fell in a	The council met on Monday 17 October 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 11 October 1757, were read, approved and signed. Thomas Peter Stanley presented a memorial to the worshipful Charles Hutchinson, governor of St Helena island, setting out his information as a former servant to John Adamson, lieutenant governor of the island. Stanley stated that on Friday night 30 September 1757, at about half past eight, he attended at supper on Mr and Mrs Adamson as usual, and after supper put everything in its proper place as at other times, then went to give the baker flour to make bread, by which time it was just upon the stroke of nine. He then left Adamson's house and stayed away about a quarter of an hour, in which time Adamson called for him to lock the door. He was told by one of the black servants of this, but not being in the house at that moment, Adamson fell into a great passion, and as soon as Stanley came in, asked him whether he was to sit up and keep the doors open for him. Stanley answered that he was very sorry for it, and there being a clock in the room, looked to see how late it was, then told Adamson it was but a quarter past nine, upon which Adamson began to strike him most severely. Stanley then told Adamson he did not deserve it, to which Adamson answered that he was a rascal, and took him by the collar and continued striking him with [...] Interpretations Stanley laid his complaint before the governor as a formal information against the lieutenant governor, his own former master and the second officer of the island. That the machinery of the council could be invoked by a discharged servant against so senior a figure shows the governor's court functioning as a

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		great Passion and as soon as your Informant came in asked him if he was to sit up and keep the doors open for your Informant upon which your Informant made Answer and said he was sorry for it And there being a Clock in the Room your Informant looked to see how late it was and then told Mr Adamson it was but a Quarter after 9 upon which Mr Adamson began to strike your Informant most Severely your Informant then told Mr Adamson he did not deserve it Mr Adamson Answ You Rascal do you saw & took your Informant by the Collar and continued Striking him with his	genuine forum for grievance, where even a domestic quarrel between master and servant could be brought to the head of the island's government for judgement.
400	395	1757 His Fist for sometime till your Informant got away from him and ran into a Closet adjoining to the Room on purpose to avoid his Fury That Mr Adamson not being Satisfied with striking your Informant as above he followed him into the above mentioned Closet and there with his Fist knocked your Informant backwards cross a Chair and when he got your Informant down held him fast with his left hand by the hair of his head and continued Striking him with his right Fist on his breast and Sides your Informant then called out for help but no body came to his Assistance Sometime after Mr Adamson let go your Informants hair and graisped him by the Throat with his left hand that your Informant finding that his life was in so Imminent danger struggled hard to extricate himself out of the said Mr Adamsons hands which he did with a great deal of difficulty being almost out of breath occasioned by the said Mr Adamsons holding your Informant by the Throat and Striking your Informant so unmercifully That as soon as your Informant got away from him he waited upon your Worship Your Informant therefore humbly hopes that your Worship will please to consider his Case and give him such Satisfaction as the nature of his abuse requires and as to your Worship shall seem meet And your Informant shall ever pray (Signed) St Helena 17th October 1757 Thomas Peter Stanley The Governor thought proper to Observe as follows vizt Gentlemen	Adamson continued striking Stanley with his fist for some time until Stanley got away from him and ran into a closet adjoining the room to escape his fury. Not satisfied with striking Stanley, Adamson followed him into the closet and there knocked him backwards across a chair with his fist, and when he had him down, held him fast by the hair of his head with his left hand and continued striking him with his right fist on his breast and side. Stanley called out for help, but nobody came to his assistance. Sometime after, Adamson let go of Stanley's hair and seized him by the throat with his left hand, so that Stanley, finding his life in such imminent danger, struggled hard to free himself from Adamson's hands, which he did with a great deal of difficulty, being almost out of breath from Adamson holding him by the throat and striking him so unmercifully. As soon as Stanley got away, he waited upon the governor. Stanley humbly hoped that the governor would consider his case and give him such satisfaction as the nature of his abuse required and as should seem fit. St Helena, 17 October 1757. Signed by Thomas Peter Stanley. The governor thought proper to observe as follows. Interpretations Stanley sought not punishment of Adamson in the abstract but satisfaction, a formal remedy for his injury at the hands of a superior. His appeal to the governor for redress against the lieutenant governor placed the head of the island in the position of arbitrating between his own second-in-command and a servant, a test of whether the council's authority reached even to the conduct of its own members.
401	396	17th October Gentlemen Before we enquire into this Affair I think it necessary to acquaint you That on Friday the 30th of September about half an hour after 9 at Night Thomas Peter Stanley came to make	The governor told the council that before they enquired into the affair he thought it necessary to acquaint them of certain matters. On Friday 30 September, about half past nine at night, Thomas Peter Stanley came to complain of having been beaten by his master, John Adamson, lieutenant

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		complain of his having been beat by his Master Mr Adamson of Lieutenant Governor I told him I supposed he must have given him some great Provocation for if he had not I believed Mr Adamson would not have struck him I likewise observed to him that a Master might correct his Servant for Misbehaviour He desired I would hear what he had to say I did so and as well as I can remember what he then declared was to the same purport and Effect with his present Information I thereupon told him that I could not say any thing to it until I had spoke to Mr Adamson as I intended to do the next Morning Just as I had said this Lieut Price who was Officer of the Guard acquainting me that Mr Adamson had desired him to send his Servant Stanley to the Guard for having abused him very much he took him thither accordingly Mr Adamson came to me next Morning about ten o'Clock I acquainted him with the Complaint made to me by Stanley whom I sent for Mr Adamson then informed me that the Night before between 9 and 10 o'Clock he called for the said Stanley his Servt to lock the doors as usual being told he was gone out he sent a Boy to lock for him After several Messages and his waiting some time Stanley came That upon his asking him the reason of his being out as he generally was when he wanted him it being contrary to his Agreement he Answered By God I am no Slave nor will I be confined That he ordered him to hold his Tongue upon which Stanley held up his Fist That he Mr Adamson then said Do you offer to Strike and took hold of his Collar That Stanley with great passion replied Notwithstanding you are my Master I will Strike you or the best Man upon the Island & thereupon made a Stroke at him Mr Adamson shoved him against a Chair and run out of the House I told Stanley that for such Behaviour to a Master in Engld he would have been sent to the House of Correction Mr	governor. The governor told Stanley he supposed he must have given some great provocation, for otherwise he believed Adamson would not have struck him, and observed to him that a master might correct his servant for misbehaviour. Stanley asked the governor to hear what he had to say, which he did, and as well as the governor could remember, Stanley's declaration was to the same effect as his present information. The governor then told Stanley he could say nothing about it until he had spoken to Adamson, as he intended to do the next morning. Just as the governor said this, Lieutenant Price, officer of the guard, informed him that Adamson had asked him to send his servant Stanley to the guard for having abused him greatly, and had taken him there accordingly. Adamson came to the governor the next morning about ten o'clock, and the governor acquainted him with the complaint Stanley had made, having sent for Stanley. Adamson then informed the governor that the night before, between nine and ten o'clock, he called for Stanley his servant to lock the doors as usual, and being told he had gone out, sent a boy to look for him. After several messages and some waiting, Stanley came. Upon Adamson asking him the reason for being out, as he generally was when wanted, it being contrary to his agreement, Stanley answered that by God he was no slave and would not be confined. Adamson ordered him to hold his tongue, upon which Stanley held up his fist, and Adamson then asked whether he offered to strike, and took hold of his collar. Stanley with great passion replied that notwithstanding Adamson was his master, he would strike him or the best man on the island, and made a stroke at him. Adamson shoved him against a chair, and Stanley ran out of the house. The governor told Stanley that for such behaviour to a master in England he would have been sent to the house of correction. Interpretations The governor's response reveals the presumption in a master's favour that governed the relationship: his first assumption was that Stanley must have provoked the beating, and he invoked the accepted right of a master to correct a servant for misbehaviour. The two accounts diverge sharply over who first raised a hand, and the governor's warning that in England such conduct would have brought the house of correction shows him measuring the dispute against the harsh disciplinary law of master and servant at home, where a servant striking his master was a serious offence. The house of correction was an institution for punishing the disorderly and idle poor through hard labour and whipping, distinct from a gaol for criminals. The governor's reference marks the gap between the formal apparatus of servant discipline available in England and the improvised handling forced on a small island, where Stanley had instead simply been sent to the guard overnight.
402	397	1757 Mr Adamson saying he desired to have nothing more to do with Stanley he replied nor I with you Sir It was thereupon agreed that Mr Adamson was to pay him his Wages & discharge him I then reprimanded and dismissed Stanley who said Sir I thank you for it I therefore imagined this Affair had been quite ended But as he has applied here if you think proper Gentlemen we will hear what he may now have to say This being agreed to Mr Adamson then declared	Adamson said he wished to have nothing more to do with Stanley, to which Stanley replied that he wanted nothing more to do with Adamson either. The governor then agreed that Adamson was to pay Stanley his wages and discharge him. The governor reprimanded and dismissed Stanley, who thanked him for it, and so the governor imagined the affair had ended. Since Stanley had now applied to the council, the governor put it to them that they would hear what he might have to say if they thought proper. The council agreed, and Adamson then made his declaration. He stated that on the night of 30 September, about half past nine, he called for Peter Thomas Stanley his servant to lock up the doors as usual, but after waiting some time he called again and

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		That on Sept'r the 30th at Night about half an hour after nine o'Clock I called for Peter Thomas Stanley my Servant to lock up the doors as usual but waiting some time I called again then was told he was gone out I desired the Boy to go for him and after two or three Messages he came this behaviour having been a common practice and of a long standing I took particular notice of it desiring to know the reason of his being out when I wanted him to which he answered he was no Slave nor would he be confined I told him so far from being Confined that I observed he was almost always out which was contrary to Agreement & that Mr Bland who recommended him had told him as he said and as indeed I did my Self that if he lived with me I expected he would be a close Housekeeper To which he Answered a Second time By God he was no Slave nor would he be confined This with repeated rudeness made me angry I went into the Pantry and ordered him to hold his Tongue upon which he held up his Fist You Rascal You Rascall you do not pretend to strike and took hold of his Collar upon which he replied with infinite passion Notwithstanding you are my Master I will strike you or the best Man upon the Island then made a Stroke shoved me against a Chair & run out of the House To Corroborate which Mr Adamson desired that Hendrick Scharnhurst who was Sentry at his door might be called who being Duly sworn Deposeth That on Friday Night about half an hour after Nine the 30th September 1757 he saw one of Mr Adamsons Servants go three times out of his House and upon his returning he asked him what he went for He answered that he had been looking for Stanley he asked him twice if he had seen him He Answered Yes He is gone into the next House That soon after he	was told Stanley had gone out. He asked the boy to fetch him, and after two or three messages Stanley came. This behaviour having been a common and long-standing practice, Adamson took particular notice of it and asked the reason for his being out when wanted. Stanley answered that he was no slave and would not be confined. Adamson told him he was so far from being confined that he was almost always out, contrary to his agreement, and that Mr Bland, who had recommended him, had told him, as had Adamson himself, that if he lived with Adamson he was expected to be a close housekeeper. Stanley answered a second time that by God he was no slave and would not be confined. This repeated rudeness made Adamson angry, and he went into the pantry and ordered Stanley to hold his tongue. Stanley then held up his fist, upon which Adamson said he was a rascal and asked whether he pretended to strike, and took hold of his collar. Stanley replied with great passion that notwithstanding Adamson was his master, he would strike him or the best man on the island, then made a stroke at him. Adamson shoved him against a chair, and Stanley ran out of the house. To corroborate this, Adamson asked that Hendrick Scharnhurst, who was sentry at his door, be called. Being duly sworn, Scharnhurst deposed that on Friday night, about half past nine on 30 September 1757, he saw one of Adamson's servants go out of the house three times, and upon his returning asked him what he went for. Stanley answered that he had been looking for Stanley, and Scharnhurst asked him twice if he had seen him. He answered yes, that he had gone into the next house, and that soon after he [...] Interpretations Adamson's defence rested on the terms of Stanley's engagement, that he had been taken on as a close housekeeper bound not to be absent, a condition Mr Bland who recommended him had made clear. The dispute turned on the meaning of confinement: what Adamson saw as a servant's contracted duty to remain at hand, Stanley cast as a demand to be treated as a slave, and his repeated insistence that he was no slave marks the line a free servant drew against an obligation he felt reduced him to bondage.
403	398	17th October He saw Stanley go into the House of Mr Adamson and heard Mr Adamson ask the said Stanley where he had been at that time of Night Stanley replied I am no Slave Mr Adamson said you may have liberty to go out in the day time but you must not be out at this time of Night Mr Adamson then asked the said Stanley Are you or I Master After that he heard Stanley say don't Strike me Sir It's true you are my Master and I would Strike you or the best Man upon the Island Stanley then asked the said Scharnhurst when he	Scharnhurst deposed that he saw Stanley go into Adamson's house, and heard Adamson ask him where he had been at that time of night. Stanley replied that he was no slave. Adamson said he might have liberty to go out in the daytime but must not be out at that time of night, and then asked Stanley whether he was master or Adamson. After that, Scharnhurst heard Stanley say, do not strike him, that it was true Adamson was his master, but that he would strike him or the best man on the island. Stanley then asked Scharnhurst whether he was inside the house when he heard him say those last words. The deponent said he was. Stanley again asked whether he did not hear him call out for help. Scharnhurst said he did not, but that one of the black servants who waited on Adamson came to call him

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		heard him say the last mentioned Words whether he was then in the House The Deponent says he was Stanley again asked the said Scharnhurst if he did not hear him call out for help says he did not but that one of the black Servants that waits upon Mr Adamson came to call him into the House but he said he could not leave his Post as he was Centry Solomon Jacob the Adjutant Declares that the said Scharnhurst told him the same Words to the best of his Memory as are above mentioned at the hour of ten the same Night Mr Adamson also desired the honorable Companys Accomptant Mr Purling and their Surgeon Mr Barclay might be called and asked what they knew of Stanleys Character Mr Purling Declares he heard Mr Irvin Supra Cargo say that Thomas Stanley was his Servant from China and that he was a very worthless bad fellow and a most notorious Liar Mr Barclay likewise declares that Mr Russell Surgeon of the Stretham told him that Thomas Stanleys behavior on	into the house, though he said he could not leave his post, being sentry. Solomon Jacob, the adjutant, declared that Scharnhurst had told him the same words, to the best of his memory, as were mentioned above, at ten o'clock the same night. Adamson also asked that the Honourable Company's accountant, Mr Purling, and their surgeon, Mr Barclay, be called and asked what they knew of Stanley's character. Mr Purling declared that he had heard Mr Irwin, supercargo, say that Thomas Stanley had been his servant from China, and that he was a very worthless bad fellow and a most notorious liar. Mr Barclay likewise declared that Mr Russell, surgeon of the Stretham, had told him that Thomas Stanley's behaviour [...] Interpretations Scharnhurst's account differed from Stanley's on the one point most favourable to Adamson, that he heard no cry for help, and that a servant sent to fetch him was refused because a sentry could not leave his post. His testimony, corroborated at second hand through the adjutant Solomon Jacob, shifted the weight of evidence toward Adamson's version and away from Stanley's claim of being throttled while calling vainly for aid. Adamson bolstered his defence by producing character evidence against Stanley from men who knew his history, tracing him back through service to a China supercargo and drawing on the word of a ship's surgeon. This mustering of reputation shows how a servant's standing in such a dispute could be undermined by his past across the wider network of Company trade, where masters, officers and surgeons carried knowledge of a man from post to post. The supercargo was the officer aboard an East India ship in charge of the commercial cargo and its trade, a position of considerable responsibility on the China voyages. The reference marks Stanley as a man who had moved through the Company's Asian trade before landing in service on St Helena.
404	399	1757 On Board that Ship was so exceeding bad and of so mischievous a disposition that Captain Mason where Steward he was turned him away with disgrace and appointed another Mr Adamson then desired Liberty to make the following Remark Vizt I must beg leave to observe that when I hired Stanley I was in distress for want of a Servant therefore upon the recommendation of Mr Bland I agreed and spoke to Captain Mason about him whose Answer was he might possibly do here but that he would not give him a Character for that his behavior with him was so exceeding bad that he was obliged to turn him away which sometime after I hired him I found confirmed by Mr Quick chief Mate and some others So that nothing but meer necessity induced me to keep him so long for sometime before this (his very bad behavior) I intended parting with him and particularly upon clearing and paying him his Wages on the 29th of August last I then told him that notwithstanding the time he had contracted with me was not expired I supposed	Barclay declared that Russell had told him Stanley's behaviour on board the Stretham had been so exceedingly bad and of so mischievous a disposition that Captain Mason, whose steward he was, turned him away with disgrace and appointed another. Adamson then asked leave to make certain remarks. He observed that when he hired Stanley he was in distress for want of a servant, and so, on the recommendation of Mr Bland, agreed and spoke to Captain Mason about him. Mason's answer was that he might possibly do, but that he would not give him a character, for his behaviour with him had been so exceedingly bad that he was obliged to turn him away. Adamson afterwards found this confirmed by Mr Quick, chief mate, and some others, so that nothing but sheer necessity induced him to keep Stanley as long as he did. Before this, on account of his very bad behaviour, Adamson intended parting with him, and in particular meant to clear and pay him his wages on 29 August. Notwithstanding that the term Stanley had contracted for was not yet expired, Adamson proposed that he should go to England by the first ship that arrived, but that in the meantime he might stay with him at the usual wages of £16 per annum, being unwilling to turn him out of his house before there was an opportunity of his leaving the island. Adamson also asked that the following accounts and receipts be entered. On the island of St Helena, 20 August 1756, Thomas Stanley agreed to serve Adamson for one year certain, and to give half a year's warning, for which he was to be paid at the rate of £16 per annum. Signed by Thomas Stanley. After

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		he should go for England by the first Ship that Arrived but in the mean time he might stay with me at the usual Wages of Sixteen Pounds p Annum being unwilling to turn him out of my House before there was an opportunity of his going off the Island Mr Adamson again desired that the following Accounts and Receipts might be entered Vizt Island St Helena the 20th August 1756 I Thomas Stanley do agree to Serve Mr Adamson one Year certain and to give half a Years warning for which I am to be paid at the rate of Sixteen pounds p Annum as witness my hand (Signed) Thos Stanley After Stanleys being reprimanded by the Governor on Saturday the 1st of October 1757 for his very bad behavior the preceeding Night the said Stanley came on the Monday following I then paid him his Wages that was Due for which he gave the Annex Receipt Mr	Stanley was reprimanded by the governor on Saturday 1 October 1757 for his very bad behaviour the preceding night, he came the following Monday, and Adamson then paid him the wages that were due, for which he gave the annexed receipt. Interpretations Adamson's remarks reframed the whole affair as a matter of an unwanted servant kept on out of necessity, not malice. Bound by Stanley's one-year contract yet warned of his character before hiring him, Adamson cast himself as a reluctant master who had already resolved to pay Stanley off and ship him home, keeping him only until a passage could be found rather than turning him out on a small island with nowhere to go. The written engagement of 20 August 1756, requiring half a year's warning at £16 a year, anchored the dispute in a formal contract of service and showed why Adamson could not simply dismiss him at will. The insistence on entering the signed agreement and the wages receipt into the record shows the council building a documentary case, fixing the exact terms of service and proof of payment against Stanley's complaint. This reliance on written instruments reveals how a servant's grievance was to be tested not on competing memories alone but on the paper trail of contract and receipt, the same commercial discipline the Company applied to its trade.
405	400	17th October Mr Adamson Dr To Thomas Peter Stanley To Wages due £1 15s 0d To a Sword Belt £1 0s 0d £2 15s 0d October 3d 1757 Received the above Account in full of all debts dues and demands by me (Signed) T Petter Stanley Mrs Margaret Alcock gave in the following Declaration Vizt Margaret Alcock declares that about two Months ago She sent for Mr Adamsons Man Stanley and told him She had heard that he had been at her House at unseasonable times of the Night and had often inveighled her maid Mirtilla to go with him to his own Lodgings by which means She had frequently neglected her business and had been missing when she was wanted at home which were proceedings that she would not suffer and accordingly desired him to desist for the future or she would acquaint the Governor with it But has since been informed by her Brother William Wrangham that passing thro the Entry about a Fortnight ago at eleven o'Clock at Night or thereabouts he met a Man in the dark & demanding who he was he said his name was Stanley imediately calling for a light he found it to be true & asked his business he said it was to speak to Mirtilla upon which the said William Wrangham told him it was a very unseasonable time of the Night & ordered him immediately to walk out of the door	The account recorded that Adamson owed Thomas Peter Stanley for wages and a sword belt. Wages due, £1 15s 0d Sword belt, £1 0s 0d Total, £2 15s 0d On 3 October 1757, Stanley acknowledged receipt of the account in full of all debts, dues and demands. Signed by Thomas Peter Stanley. Mrs Margaret Alcock gave in a declaration. She stated that about two months earlier she had sent for Adamson's man Stanley and told him she had heard he had been at her house at unreasonable times of the night, and had often persuaded her maid Myrtilla to go with him to his own lodgings, by which means she had frequently neglected her work and been missing when wanted at home. Alcock told him these were proceedings she would not allow, and asked him to stop in future or she would acquaint the governor of it. She had since been informed by her brother William Wrangham that, passing through the entry about a fortnight earlier at eleven o'clock at night or thereabouts, he met a man in the dark, and on demanding who he was, the man said his name was Stanley. Calling immediately for a light, Wrangham found this to be true, and asked his business, to which he said it was to speak to Myrtilla. Wrangham told him it was a very unreasonable time of night and ordered him at once to walk out of the door. Having considered the affair, the council found Thomas Peter Stanley much in the wrong, and he having behaved in a very impudent manner, they reprimanded him and directed him to prepare to go to England on the first ship bound there. Signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. Interpretations The council's judgement fell wholly against Stanley, closing the matter not with any censure of Adamson for the beating but with an order that Stanley leave the island. His removal to England on the first available ship was the practical remedy of a small settlement dealing with a servant judged disorderly, expelling the source of trouble rather than punishing him on the spot, since a remote island had little means to hold or reform him. Margaret Alcock's declaration, added after the assault had been dealt with, served to complete the

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		Having considered this Affair we find Thomas Peter Stanley to be much in the wrong and he having behaved in a very impudent manner we reprimanded him & directed him to prepare himself to go for England upon the first Ship bound thither Chas Hutchinson John Clark At	case against Stanley's character by casting him as a nocturnal nuisance who drew her maid from her duties. That the council heard this at all shows how far a servant's private conduct fell within the reach of the household heads and the governor, where keeping a maidservant to her work and out of a man's lodgings was treated as a matter for the island's authorities. Adamson's discharge of Stanley included payment for a sword belt alongside the wages owed, showing the settling of accounts between master and servant extending to items of personal equipment. That John Adamson, the lieutenant governor, sat as one of the parties while the governor and Lieutenant Clark judged the matter marks the difficulty of impartial justice in so small a governing body, where the bench and the accused were drawn from the same few men.
406	401	24th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th day of October 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 17th October 1757 The Stewards Gunners and Plantation Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt Sundries expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending October 11th 1757 vizt 29 Bottles Port Wine £1 19s 8½d 21 Lisbon £1 8s 9½d 7 Madeira £0 17s 3½d 69 Arrack £2 6s 0d 42 Beer £0 8s 9d 299lb Flour £2 3s 7½d 396½ Mutton £6 5s 2½d 118lb Beef £2 4s 6d 2 Lambs £1 0s 0d 2 Kidds £0 10s 0d 58lb Goat £0 19s 4d 13 Fowls £0 19s 6d 5 Ducks £0 7s 6d 2 Geese £0 10s 0d 1 Turkey £0 5s 0d 37lb fresh Butter £1 17s 6d 2 pieces Salt Beef £0 5s 6d 6 pieces Salt Pork £0 12s 0d 20lb Sugar £0 4s 1d	The council met on Monday 24 October 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 17 October 1757, were read, approved and signed. The steward's, gunner's and plantation accounts for the month ending 11 October were brought in that day, examined and approved, and were as follows. An account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 October 1757 was as follows. 29 bottles port wine, £1 19s 8½d 21 bottles Lisbon, £1 8s 9½d 7 bottles Madeira, £0 17s 3½d 69 bottles arrack, £2 6s 0d 42 bottles beer, £0 8s 9d 299lb flour, £2 3s 7½d 396½lb mutton, £6 5s 2½d 178lb beef, £2 4s 6d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 58lb goat, £0 19s 4d 13 fowls, £0 19s 6d 5 ducks, £0 7s 6d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 37½lb fresh butter, £1 17s 6d 2 pieces salt beef, £0 5s 6d 6 pieces salt pork, £0 12s 0d 20lb sugar, £0 4s 1d 96lb candy, £1 12s 0d Total, £26 16s 9d

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		96lb Candy £1 12s 0d £26 16s 9d Gunnery	
407	402	24th October Gunnery Stores expended from the 12th of Sept to the 11th of October 1757 both days Included Vizt Powder Expended Powder for the Funeral of William Adams: 2 2 Do for the Funeral of William Turner: 2 4 Do for the Funeral of Benjn Swaits: 2 4 Do for exercising the East Flying party: 5 Do for exercising the West Flying party: 4 12 Total: 16 8 Copper Beads for the East flying partys Ammunition Chests: 68 Copper Ladles wore out & unserviceable Cut for Beads for covering: 1 Tallow for use of the Carts: 3 Do for the Pump: 12 Handspikes broke at the Main Fort: 1 Paper for making great Gun Cartridges: 16 Needles broke with making Do: 19 Paper for making of small Cartridges: 27 Lead Aprons wore out & unserviceable at the Main Fort: 1 Gun Carriage for 32 wore out & unserviceable at Banks: 2 Do for 18 Do: 1 Do for 9 Do: 3 Do for 4 Do at Turks Cap: 6 Do for 3 Do at the Alarm house: 2 Sheep Skins for Repairing the Spunges at Turks Cap: 1 Trunk Nails for Do at Do: 60 Sheep Skins for Do at Mundens point: 1 Trunk Nails for Do at Do: 120 Do for repairing the Spunges at Reports & Banks: 360 Beds wore out & unserviceable at the Main & out Forts: 18 Quoins Do at Do: 24 Iron Round Shot for 4 pounders expended at Practice from October 11th 1756: 81 Iron Shod Trucks wore out and unserviceable at the Main and out Forts: 35 (Signed) Thos Hall Account	An account of gunner's stores expended from 12 September to 11 October 1757, both days included, was as follows. Figures for powder are given in pounds and ounces. Powder for the funeral of William Adams, 2lb 2oz Powder for the funeral of William Turner, 2lb 4oz Powder for the funeral of Benjamin Swaits, 2lb 4oz Powder for exercising the East Flying Party, 5lb 0oz Powder for exercising the West Flying Party, 4lb 12oz Total, 16lb 8oz Copper heads for the East Flying Party's ammunition chests, 68 Copper ladles worn out and unserviceable, cut for heads for covering, 1 Tallow for use of the corks, 7lb Tallow for the pump, 2lb Handspikes broke at the Main Fort, 1 Paper for making great gun cartridges, 76 quires Needles broke with making great gun cartridges, 19 Paper for making small cartridges, 27 quires Leather aprons worn out and unserviceable at the Main Fort, 1 Gun carriages for 32-pounders worn out and unserviceable at Bank's, 2 Gun carriages for 18-pounders worn out and unserviceable at Bank's, 1 Gun carriages for 9-pounders worn out and unserviceable at Bank's, 3 Gun carriages for 4-pounders worn out and unserviceable at Turks Cap, 6 Gun carriages for 3-pounders worn out and unserviceable at the Alarm House, 2 Sheep skins for repairing the sponges at Turks Cap, 1 Trunk nails for repairing the sponges at Turks Cap, 60 Sheep skins for repairing the sponges at Munden's Point, 1 Trunk nails for repairing the sponges at Munden's Point, 120 Trunk nails for repairing the sponges at Rupert's and Bank's, 360 Beds worn out and unserviceable at the Main and out forts, 18 Quoins worn out and unserviceable at the Main and out forts, 24 Iron round shot for 4-pounders expended at practice from 11 October 1756, 81 Iron shod trucks worn out and unserviceable at the Main and out forts, 35 Signed by Thomas Hall. Interpretations The stores expended distinguish the guns by shot weight and by their scattered coastal positions at Bank's, Turks Cap, Munden's Point, Rupert's and the Alarm House, showing the island's defence spread across many small batteries rather than concentrated in one work. The sponges, rammed down the barrel to clear embers between rounds, were repaired with sheep skins and trunk nails, and the copper ladles worn out in loading were again cut down for heads to seal the ammunition chests, the same salvage of scarce metal seen in earlier musters. The beds, quoins and trucks were the timber and wedge fittings that supported and aimed the guns on

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			their carriages, the bed cradling the barrel, the quoin the wooden wedge raising or lowering its elevation and the trucks the small wheels beneath. The flying parties were mobile bodies of men exercised to move quickly between the coastal positions, a mobile reserve suited to a small garrison that could not man every battery at once.
408	403	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12th Sept to the 11th October 1757 Vizt Bulls,Cows,Calves,Yearlings,Heifers,Steers,Oxen,Total, Ewes,Wethers,Lambs,Rams,Total,Ewes,Wethers,Kidds ,Rams,Total,Sows,Sheats,Pigs,Boars,Total,Fowls,Ducks ,Turkeys,Geese,Horses,Mares,Total,S Asses,S Asses,Total Remaining 12th: Bulls 3,Cows 83,Calves 107,Yearlings 33,Heifers 35,Steers 18,Oxen 20,Total 299,Ewes 357,Wethers 115,Lambs 301,Rams 5,Total 778,Ewes 195,Wethers 18,Kidds 81,Rams 8,Total 302,Sows 3,Sheats 0,Pigs 21,Boars 1,Total 25,Fowls 160,Ducks 29,Turkeys 19,Geese 30,Horses 6,Mares 9,Total 15,S Asses 3,S Asses 3,Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 13,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 13,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Lambs 24,Rams 0,Total 24,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Kidds 28,Rams 0,Total 28,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 4,Boars 0,Total 4,Fowls 30,Ducks 15,Turkeys 0,Geese 0,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,S Asses 0,S Asses 0,Total 0 Total: Bulls 3,Cows 83,Calves 120,Yearlings 33,Heifers 35,Steers 18,Oxen 20,Total 312,Ewes 357,Wethers 115,Lambs 325,Rams 5,Total 802,Ewes 195,Wethers 18,Kidds 109,Rams 8,Total 330,Sows 3,Sheats 0,Pigs 25,Boars 1,Total 29,Fowls 190,Ducks 44,Turkeys 19,Geese 30,Horses 6,Mares 9,Total 15,S Asses 3,S Asses 3,Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 1,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 1,Ewes 8,Wethers 9,Lambs 2,Rams 0,Total 19,Ewes 0,Wethers 9,Kidds 2,Rams 0,Total 11,Sows 1,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 1,Fowls 13,Ducks 5,Turkeys 1,Geese 2,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,S Asses 0,S Asses 0,Total 0 Died: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 0,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 0,Ewes 2,Wethers 0,Lambs 10,Rams 1,Total 13,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Kidds 0,Rams 0,Total 0,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 0,Fowls 5,Ducks 0,Turkeys 2,Geese 0,Horses 1,Mares 1,Total 0,S Asses 0,S Asses 0,Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0,Cows 0,Calves 0,Yearlings 0,Heifers 0,Steers 0,Oxen 0,Total 0,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Lambs 0,Rams 0,Total 0,Ewes 0,Wethers 0,Kidds 0,Rams 0,Total 0,Sows 0,Sheats 0,Pigs 0,Boars 0,Total 0,Fowls 1,Ducks 0,Turkeys 0,Geese 0,Horses 0,Mares 0,Total 0,S Asses 0,S Asses 0,Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 3,Cows 83,Calves 120,Yearlings 32,Heifers 35,Steers 18,Oxen 20,Total 311,Ewes 347,Wethers 106,Lambs 312,Rams 5,Total 770,Ewes 195,Wethers 9,Kidds 107,Rams 8,Total 319,Sows 2,Sheats 0,Pigs 25,Boars 1,Total 28,Fowls 172,Ducks 38,Turkeys 18,Geese 26,Horses 6,Mares 8,Total 14,S Asses 3,S Asses 3,Total 6 Species changed: Bulls 3,Cows 92,Calves 71,Yearlings 47,Heifers 33,Steers 45,Oxen 20,Total 311,Ewes 367,Wethers 185,Lambs 214,Rams 4,Total 770,Ewes 190,Wethers 40,Kidds 83,Rams 6,Total 319,Sows 5,Sheats 2,Pigs 20,Boars 1,Total 28,Fowls 172,Ducks 38,Turkeys 18,Geese 26,Horses 6,Mares 8,Total 14,S Asses 3,S Asses 3,Total 6 4 Ewe Sheep to the Market 1 Heifer for the Table 2 Goats Sold Mr Bazett Wt 29 3 Do to the Sick Slaves 1 Do to the Hospital NB 1 Duck Stole Thomas Yam expended for the Slaves	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other stock from 12 September to 11 October 1757 was as follows. Remaining 12th: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 107 calves, 33 yearlings, 35 heifers, 18 steers, 20 oxen, 299 neat cattle total, 357 ewes, 115 wethers, 301 lambs, 5 rams, 778 sheep total, 195 ewes, 18 wethers, 81 kidder goats, 8 rams, 302 goats total, 3 sows, 0 shoats, 21 pigs, 1 boar, 25 hogs total, 160 fowls, 29 ducks, 19 turkeys, 30 geese, 6 poultry total [horses], 9 mares, 15 horses total, 3 he-asses, 3 she-asses, 6 asses total Increased: 13 calves, 13 neat cattle total, 24 lambs, 24 sheep total, 28 kidder goats, 28 goats total, 4 pigs, 4 hogs total, 30 fowls, 15 ducks Total: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 120 calves, 33 yearlings, 35 heifers, 18 steers, 20 oxen, 312 neat cattle total, 357 ewes, 115 wethers, 325 lambs, 5 rams, 802 sheep total, 195 ewes, 18 wethers, 109 kidder goats, 8 rams, 330 goats total, 3 sows, 0 shoats, 25 pigs, 1 boar, 29 hogs total, 190 fowls, 44 ducks, 19 turkeys, 30 geese, 6 poultry total [horses], 9 mares, 15 horses total, 3 he-asses, 3 she-asses, 6 asses total Killed: 1 calf, 1 neat cattle total, 8 ewes, 9 wethers, 2 lambs, 19 sheep total, 9 wethers, 2 kidder goats, 11 goats total, 1 sow, 1 hogs total, 13 fowls, 5 ducks, 1 turkey, 2 geese Died: 2 lambs, 10 kidder goats, 1 ram, 13 goats total, 5 fowls, 2 geese, 1 mare, 1 horses total Stole: 1 duck Remaining 11th: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 120 calves, 32 yearlings, 35 heifers, 18 steers, 20 oxen, 311 neat cattle total, 347 ewes, 106 wethers, 312 lambs, 5 rams, 770 sheep total, 195 ewes, 9 wethers, 107 kidder goats, 8 rams, 319 goats total, 2 sows, 0 shoats, 25 pigs, 1 boar, 28 hogs total, 172 fowls, 38 ducks, 18 turkeys, 26 geese, 6 poultry total [horses], 9 mares, 15 horses total, 3 he-asses, 3 she-asses, 6 asses total Species changed: 3 bulls, 92 cows, 71 calves, 47 yearlings, 33 heifers, 45 steers, 20 oxen, 311 neat cattle total, 367 ewes, 185 wethers, 214 lambs, 4 rams, 770 sheep total, 190 ewes, 40 wethers, 83 kidder goats, 6 rams, 319 goats total, 5 sows, 2 shoats, 20 pigs, 1 boar, 28 hogs total, 172 fowls, 38 ducks, 18 turkeys, 26 geese, 6 poultry total [horses], 8 mares, 14 horses total, 3 he-asses, 3 she-asses, 6 asses total Four ewe sheep sold to the market. One heifer for the table. Two goats sold to Mr Bazett, weight 29lb. Three goats sold to the sick slaves. One goat sold to the hospital. One duck stolen. Yam expended for the slaves came to 20,720. Good yam for stock came to 5,295. Refuse yam for stock came to 1,765. The total, errors excepted, came to 27,780. Signed by John Adamson. Interpretations This account adds a species changed line absent from the previous month's return, recording a wholesale reclassification of the stock across nearly every category, with cows, calves, yearlings, steers and wethers all reshuffled. This was the periodic exercise of re-ageing the herds and flocks, moving young beasts up into the next class as they matured, so the tallies reflected the animals' true ages rather than the labels first assigned to them. The yam expended for the slaves is now split between good yam and refuse yam, distinguishing sound roots from spoiled or inferior ones. This separation shows the plantation accounting for the quality of its staple provision, tracking not just the

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		20720 Good Yam for Stock 5295 Refuse Do for Do 1765 27780 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	bulk of yams consumed but how much was fit food and how much waste, a measure of the crop's condition on which the feeding of the slaves and stock depended.
409	404	24th October Thomas Clough presented the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council The humble Petition of Thomas Clough Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous to dispose of his Interest in two Acres of Leasehold Land which he holds under the Honorable Company lying in Fryers Valley in the said Island Humbly desires he may have liberty to assign the same for the Term to come to Lieutenant John Clark St Helena 24th Octr 1757 And your Petitioner shall pray &c Granted Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 31st day of October 1757 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 24th October 1757 The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter ending the 11th Instant which were examined and approved and are as follow Vizt Collection	Thomas Clough presented a petition to the worshipful Charles Hutchinson, governor, and council. Clough set out that he wished to dispose of his interest in two acres of leasehold land held under the Honourable Company, lying in Fryer's Valley on the island, and humbly asked for liberty to assign it for the term to come to Lieutenant John Clark. St Helena, 24 October 1757. Granted. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The council met on Monday 31 October 1757 at the Castle. Present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 24 October 1757, were read, approved and signed. The storekeeper brought in his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter ending 11 October, which were examined and approved, and were as follows. Interpretations Clough's assignment of his leasehold went to Lieutenant John Clark, a member of the council that granted the very permission required. Clark sat as one of the signatories approving a transfer of land to himself, a further instance of the small governing body ruling on matters in which its own members held a direct interest, where the same few men served as both authority and beneficiary.
410	405	31st October Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from the 12th July to the 11th October 1757 vizt Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 p Cent Beef & Pork vizt 62 p Pork @ 2/7 £8 0s 2d 1565 p Do @ 2/ £156 10s 0d 15 p Beef @ 2½/9 £1 17s 6d £166 7s 8d Lead vizt 3lb Shot £0 1s 1½d 47 Sheet Lead £0 10s 9d £0 11s 9½d Sugar & Candy vizt 4830 Sugar £80 10s 0d 1641 Candy £34 3s 9d £114 13s 9d Tea vizt 340 Single £16 15s 10d 121½ Bohea	An account of the collection of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company's stores from 12 July to 11 October 1757, sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent, was as follows. Beef and pork: 62lb pork at 2s 7d, £8 0s 2d 1,565lb pork at 2s, £156 10s 0d 15lb beef at 2s 5d, £1 17s 6d Beef and pork total, £166 7s 8d Lead: 5lb shot, £0 1s 7½d 47lb sheet lead, £0 10s 9d Lead total, £0 11s 9½d Sugar and candy: 483lb sugar, £80 10s 0d 164lb candy, £34 3s 9d Sugar and candy total, £114 13s 9d Tea: 310lb single, £16 15s 10d 127½lb bohea, £4 15s 7½d 34lb congou, £17 1s 0d Tea total, £38 12s 5½d Candles, 172lb, £34 1s 8d Flour: 383lb flour, £27 18s 8d 151lb 8oz baked flour, £132 3s 9d Flour total, £160 2s 5d Salt, 20 bushels, £3 4s 2d Hooks and lines: 288 lines no. 2, £4 12s 0d

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		£4 15s 7½d 341 Congo £17 1s 0d £38 12s 5½d Candles 472 £54 1s 8d Flour vizt 3831 Flour £27 18s 8d 15110 8 Do baked £132 3s 9d £160 2s 5d Salt 20 Bushels £3 4s 2d Hooks & Lines vizt 288 Lines No 2 £4 12s 0d 57 Do 1 £1 3s 9d 54 Do 3 £1 10s 4d 2 Thimbio £0 3s 1d 25 Hooks No 1 £0 1s 4d 50 Do 2 £0 1s 8d 600 Do 3 £0 12s 0d 200 p Grantham £0 2s 3d £8 6s 5d Soap 350½ £12 8s 3½d Oil vizt 12½ Gallt Linseed £2 5s 3½d 9½ Gallt Train £1 12s 1d 11 Bottles Florence £1 7s 11d £5 5s 3½d Carried over £563 14s 1d	57 lines no. 1, £1 3s 9d 54 lines no. 3, £1 10s 4d 2 thimbles, £0 3s 1d 25 hooks no. 1, £0 1s 4d 50 hooks no. 2, £0 1s 8d 600 hooks no. 3, £0 12s 0d 200 Grantham, £0 2s 3d Hooks and lines total, £8 6s 5d Soap, 350½lb, £12 8s 3½d Oil: 12½ gallons linseed, £2 5s 3½d 9½ gallons train, £1 12s 11d 11 bottles Florence, £1 7s 11d Oil total, £5 5s 3½d Carried over, £563 14s 1d Interpretations The goods were sold to the Company's servants at a fixed markup of 10 per cent, so the stores functioned as a controlled supply shop for the garrison rather than a source of profit, providing provisions and materials at a set margin above cost. The range on offer, from salt beef and flour to fishing lines, lamp oil and tea, shows the store meeting nearly every practical need of an isolated settlement dependent on the Company's shipping for supply. The three teas priced apart reflect distinct grades of the China trade: bohea was the cheapest black tea, congou a better black grade and single a further sort, all carried from Canton through the same route that touched St Helena. Train oil was oil rendered from whale or fish blubber, used for lamps and lubrication, while Florence oil was fine olive oil imported from Italy, the two marking the gap between a cheap utility oil and a costlier table one. Grantham was a type of fish hook, listed among the numbered hooks and lines that supplied the island's fishing.
411	406	31st October Brought over £563 14s 1d Ironmongers Ware vizt 4 Small Frying Pans £0 7s 6d 4 Iffalinter Locks £0 6s 0d 2 pair Bellows £0 7s 11d 3 Chafing dishes £0 19s 4½d 1 Gimblet £0 0s 2½d 6 pair Small H Hinges £0 10s 6d 1 pr H Hinges £0 1s 5d 1 Iron mongd Lock B £0 6s 1d 4 Chest Locks £0 15s 4d 3 Garden rakes £0 8s 4½d 2 Oz Ironwire £0 0s 2d 1 Cupboard Lock £0 0s 2d 5 Ditching Shovels £0 19s 10d 3 Hand Hatchets £0 4s 6d 1 Pickaxe	Brought over, £563 14s 1d Hardware: 4 small frying pans, £0 7s 6d 4 stock locks, £0 6s 0d 2 pairs bellows, £0 7s 11d 3 chafing dishes, £0 19s 1½d 1 gimlet, £0 0s 2½d 6 pairs small H hinges, £0 10s 6d 1 pair H hinges, £0 1s 5d 1 iron rimmed lock B, £0 6s 1d 4 chest locks, £0 15s 4d 3 garden rakes, £0 8s 10½d 2 iron squares, £0 0s 2d 1 cupboard lock, £0 4s 1½d 5 ditching shovels, £0 19s 10d 3 hand hatchets, £0 4s 6d 1 pickaxe, £0 3s 8d 2 hoes, £0 1s 4d 3 pairs clipping shears, £0 9s 1½d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 5d 1 drawing saw, £0 1s 10d 2 spades, £0 6s 10d 1 sailors palm stone, £0 6s 1d 1 iron rimmed lock with brass knobs, £0 6s 1d 1 padlock, £0 2s 6d 2 pairs holy irons, £1 2s 4d 1 coffee mill, £0 10s 2½d 1 bill hook, £0 2s 6d Hardware total, £9 5s 3½d Rice, 24lb at 2d, £1 4s 3d Thread: 22lb coloured, £4 8s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 3s 8d 2 Hoes £0 1s 4d 3 pr Clipping Sheers £0 9s 4½d 1 Claw Hammer £0 1s 5d 1 Drawing Saw £0 1s 10d 2 Spades £0 6s 10d 1 Frenris Rubstone £0 6s 10d 1 Iron mongd Lock with brass knobs £0 6s 1d 1 Padlock £0 2s 4d 2 pr Holyfasts £1 2s 4d 1 Coffee Mill £0 10s 2½d 1 Bill Hook £0 2s 6d £9 5s 3½d Rice 2 qr 20 £1 4s 3d Thread vizt 22 Coloured £0 4s 8d 3 lb Sild Brown £1 2s 0d £5 2s 8d Nails vizt 8 p 3 £0 4s 7½d 18 p 4 £0 18s 9½d 1 p 2 £0 1s 4½d 34 6 £1 2s 6d 28½ 10 £0 18s 8d 3 40 £0 1s 0d 4 20 £0 3s 4½d 4 lb Glazing brads £0 4s 9d 1 lb Tacks £0 0s 8½d 6 Supper £0 3s 6d 18 Flooring brads £0 6s 9d £3 17s 1½d Carried over £589 10s 6d	3lb white and brown, £1 2s 0d Thread total, £5 2s 8d Nails: 8lb 3d, £0 4s 7½d 18lb 4d, £0 18s 9½d 1lb 2d, £0 0s 1½d 34lb 6d, £1 2s 6d 28½lb 10d, £0 18s 8d 3lb 40d, £0 1s 0d 9lb 20d, £0 3s 4½d 4¾lb glazing brads, £0 4s 9d ½lb tacks, £0 0s 8½d 6 scuppers, £0 3s 9d 18lb flooring brads, £0 6s 9d Nails total, £3 17s 1½d Carried over, £589 10s 6d Interpretations The nails are priced and sold by the pound according to their penny size, the traditional gauge in which 3d, 4d and 6d denoted the length and weight of the nail rather than its cost, so heavier 40d nails and lighter tacks and brads were each drawn from a graded stock. This shows the store supplying building materials to a fine specification, meeting the varied needs of construction and repair on an island reliant on imported iron. Among the hardware, the pairs of holy irons were the heated tools used to shape and finish the ornamental work or to press cloth, and the sailor's palm stone was the hard leather-and-metal guard strapped to the hand for driving a needle through canvas in sailmaking and heavy stitching. Their presence alongside chest locks, hatchets and coffee mills shows the store answering both domestic and maritime wants, from the fitting out of a house to the mending of sails.
412	407	1757 Canvas vizt Brought over £589 10s 5d 8½ pd English Canvas £0 9s 2½d 24½ pd Ocenbrigs £0 16s 2d £1 5s 4½d Turners Ware vizt 5 Scrubbing Brushes £0 11s 3½d 10 Hair Brooms £1 3s 9d 8 Punch Ladles £0 5s 8d 12 Paint Brushes £0 3s 6d 5 Baskets	Brought over, £589 10s 5d Canvas: 8½ yards English canvas, £0 9s 2½d 24½ yards Osnaburg, £0 16s 2d Canvas total, £1 5s 4½d Turner's ware: 5 scrubbing brushes, £0 11s 3½d 10 hair brooms, £1 3s 9d 8 punch ladles, £0 5s 8d 12 paint brushes, £0 3s 6d 5 flasks, £0 13s 9d 1 cieve, £0 1s 2½d 2 platters, £0 2s 3d 8 labourer's baskets, £0 7s 4d 1 tray, £0 2s 5d 1 straining dish, £0 0s 3½d Turner's ware total, £3 13s 7½d Shoes:

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 13s 9d 1 Cow £0 1s 2½d 2 Platters £0 2s 3d 8 Labourers Baskets £0 7s 1d 1 Tray £0 2s 5d 1 Straining dish £0 0s 3½d £3 13s 7½d Shoes vizt 179 pair Mens Ordinary £38 8s 2½d 11 pair Womens Spanish £2 12s 8½d 7 pair Girls £0 14s 3½d 21 pair Colimanco £5 3s 6d 7 pair Mens fine Shoes £2 2s 7d 4 pair Mens Pumps £1 6s 8d 9 pair Womens Calf £1 4s 9d 5 pair Boys £0 18s 4½d 7 pair Channelled Pumps £2 13s 11½d £55 10s 1½d Paint vizt 12½ blue Smalts £0 18s 9d 1 Barrel Blacking £0 0s 7d 2 Co Whiting £0 5s 7d 3 Venetian Red £0 0s 7½d 120 White Lead £2 7s 6d 1 Mahogeny £0 2s 6d 4 Red Lead £0 0s 10d 1 Chandlery £0 0s 2d 1½ Yellow Oaker £0 0s 1d 1 Stone Colour £0 1s 11d 1 Umber £0 0s 4½d 2 Oz White Coperas £0 0s 1½d 1 Oz Jamaica Indico £0 0s 5d 5 English Oaker £0 0s 11d £4 0s 4½d Starch 49½ £0 18s 3½d Broad Cloth vizt 9½ Yards Scarlet £8 19s 7½d 8½ Yards Coloured £7 0s 10d 5¼ Yards Green £4 11s 6½d £20 11s 10½d Carried over £675 10s 9d	179 pairs men's ordinary, £38 8s 2½d 11 pairs women's Spanish, £2 12s 8½d 7 pairs girls', £0 14s 3½d 21 pairs calimanco, £5 8s 6d 7 pairs men's fine shoes, £2 2s 7d 4 pairs men's pumps, £1 6s 8d 9 pairs women's calf, £1 4s 9d 5 pairs boys', £0 18s 4½d 7 pairs channelled pumps, £2 13s 11½d Shoes total, £55 10s 1½d Paint: 12½lb blue smalts, £0 18s 9d 1 barrel blacking, £0 0s 7d 2lb whiting, £0 5s 7d 3lb Venetian red, £0 0s 7½d 120lb white lead, £2 7s 6d 1lb mahogany, £0 2s 6d 4lb red lead, £0 0s 10d 1lb crown lead, £0 0s 2d ½lb yellow ochre, £0 0s 1d 1lb stone colour, £0 1s 11d 1lb umber, £0 0s 4½d 2oz Welsh coperas, £0 0s 1½d 1oz Jamaica indigo, £0 0s 5d 5lb English ochre, £0 0s 11d Paint total, £4 0s 4½d Starch, 49½lb, £0 18s 3½d Broadcloth: 9½ yards scarlet, £8 19s 7½d 8½ yards coloured, £7 0s 10d 5¼ yards green, £4 11s 6½d Broadcloth total, £20 11s 10½d Carried over, £675 10s 9d Interpretations Osnaburg was a coarse, plain linen originally from Osnabrück in Germany, used for sacking, working clothes and slave clothing, and its bulk purchase here reflects the demand for cheap durable cloth on the plantations. The blue smalts were a powdered cobalt-glass pigment used to tint and whiten, while whiting was ground chalk and Welsh coperas a green iron sulphate used in dyeing and ink, the range of pigments and lead colours showing the store supplying the materials for painting and preserving the island's buildings and boats. The shoes are graded by wearer and by style, from bulk men's ordinary down to children's and by kinds such as Spanish leather, calimanco and channelled pumps, showing a settled market for footwear of varied quality. Calimanco was a glossy woollen cloth used for uppers, and channelled pumps were light shoes with a grooved sole, the distinctions marking a garrison population that dressed by rank and means rather than uniformly.
413	408	31st October Brought over £675 10s 9d	Brought over, £675 10s 9d Shirts:

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Shirts vizt 98 Centinels £23 17s 9d 16 Rollers £1 12s 7d 1 pr p Linnen £3 1s 7½d £28 11s 11½d Haberdashery vizt 21 Skeins Mohair £0 7s 10½d 16 Skeins Silk £0 7s 4d 1 Piece Holland Tape £0 0s 11d 8½ Doz Mohair Coat Butt £0 5s 8d 2 Doz Do breast Do £0 0s 8d 2 Doz Gilt breast Do £0 4s 5d £1 6s 10½d Twine 9 Skains £0 5s 7½d Camblet vizt 1½ Yards blue £0 14s 3½d 5 Yards brown £2 7s 9d £3 2s 0½d Kersey 11 Yards £0 16s 6d Serge 1¾ Yards £0 8s 3½d Earthen Ware 1 Milk pan £0 0s 8d Fustian 20 Yards £1 17s 7½d Desockees 7½ pieces £3 3s 9d Pewter vizt 2 Quart Funnels £0 4s 11d 1 Half Gallon Pot £0 5s 8d £0 10s 7d Hatts vizt 3 Mens £2 17s 9d 1 Boys £0 6s 7½d £3 4s 4½d Hosiers Ware vizt 5 pair heid Stockings £0 16s 5½d 7 pair Worsted Do £1 9s 9d 142 pair Thread Do £20 8s 3d £22 14s 5½d Cutlery Ware vizt 13 Ivory Combs £0 13s 6½d 12 pair Shoe Buckles £0 5s 6d 10 Gross horn Moulds £0 4s 2d 3 Butchers Knives £0 0s 10½d 6 doz Cordl Knives & Forks £0 15s 1½d 12 Staghorn Do & Do £0 18s 2d 2 Buting Knives £0 1s 11d £2 19s 3½d	98 sentinels, £23 17s 9d 16 holland, £1 12s 7d 1¾ pieces linen, £3 1s 7½d Shirts total, £28 11s 11½d Haberdashery: 21 skeins mohair, £0 7s 10½d 16 skeins silk, £0 7s 4d 1 piece Holland tape, £0 0s 11d 8½ dozen white hair coat buttons, £0 5s 8d 2 dozen white hair breast buttons, £0 0s 8d 2 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 4s 5d Haberdashery total, £1 6s 10½d Twine, 9 skeins, £0 5s 7½d Camlet: 1½ yards blue, £0 14s 3½d 5 yards brown, £2 7s 9d Camlet total, £3 2s 0½d Kersey, 11 yards, £0 16s 6d Serge, 1¾ yards, £0 8s 3½d Earthenware, 1 milk pan, £0 0s 8d Fustian, 20 yards, £1 17s 7½d Desockees, 7½ pieces, £3 3s 9d Pewter: 2 quart tunnels, £0 4s 11d 1 half gallon pot, £0 5s 8d Pewter total, £0 10s 7d Hats: 3 men's, £2 17s 9d 1 boy's, £0 6s 7½d Hats total, £3 4s 4½d Hosier's ware: 5 pairs worsted stockings, £0 16s 5½d 7½ pairs woollen stockings, £1 9s 9d 142 pairs thread stockings, £20 8s 3d Hosier's ware total, £22 14s 5½d Cutlery ware: 15 ivory combs, £0 15s 6½d 12 pairs shoe buckles, £0 5s 6d 10 gross horn moulds, £0 4s 2d 3 butcher's knives, £0 0s 10½d 6 dozen bundle knives and forks, £0 15s 1½d 12 staghorn knives and forks, £0 18s 2d 2 bidding knives, £0 1s 11d Cutlery ware total, £2 19s 3½d Carried over, £745 12s 0½d Interpretations The shirts are graded by grade and cloth, with the bulk being sentinels, the coarse issue shirt supplied to the garrison's private soldiers, alongside finer holland linen for those who could afford it. Camlet was a mixed cloth of wool and other fibres used for coats and cloaks, kersey and serge were coarse woollens, and fustian a stout cotton-linen twill, the assortment showing the store stocking cloth across the full range from soldier's issue to respectable dress. The horn moulds were button blanks turned from horn to be covered in cloth, sold here by the gross alongside the mohair, silk and gilt buttons of the haberdashery, showing the materials for making and finishing garments kept in bulk. This supply of thread, tape, buttons and cloth reveals a settlement where clothing was largely made and mended on the island rather than bought ready-made, the store furnishing the components for domestic tailoring.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carried over £745 12s 0½d	
414	409	1757 Brought over £744 12s 9½d Pitch &c vizt 43 Rosin £0 7s 2d 2¾ Gallons Tar £0 2s 9d £0 9s 11d Books vizt 5 Common prayer Books £0 12s 6d 1 Horn Book £0 0s 2d 1 Spelling Book £0 1s 3d £0 13s 11d Buckram 16 p Yards £0 15s 1½d Arrack 237½ Gallt £59 6s 3d Wine 12 dozen Lisbon £18 0s 0d Beer 5 lb £8 0s 6d Chinaware vizt 13 Chamber Potts £1 5s 0d 13 Guglets & Basons £1 19s 0d 6 Patting Pans £0 15s 0d 7 Sallad dishes £0 5s 10d 16 Setts dishes & plates £12 16s 0d 29 Bowls £2 8s 4d 27 Sneakers £0 6s 9d 8 Sauce Boats £0 3s 4d 8 Tea Potts £0 6s 0d 24 half pint Cups & Saucers £0 10s 0d 24 Quarter pint Do & Do £0 8s 0d 5 4 Sett plates £1 0s 3d 8 Coffee Cups £0 1s 4d £22 4s 10d Deals vizt 79 Single deals £8 17s 9d 6 double Do £1 1s 3d 1/3 p Riga Timber £2 9s 9½d 3 Bundle £1 8s 0d £13 16s 9½d Leather vizt 108¾ Sole £7 0s 0d 13 Calf Skins £4 11s 6½d £11 11s 11½d Long Ells 43½ Yards £3 16s 1½d Shalloon vizt 34¼ Yards Scarlet £6 15s 7½d 38¾ Yards blue	Brought over, £744 12s 9½d Pitch and tar: 43lb rosin, £0 7s 2d 2¾ gallons tar, £0 2s 9d Pitch and tar total, £0 9s 11d Books: 5 common prayer books, £0 12s 6d 1 horn book, £0 0s 2d 1 spelling book, £0 1s 3d Books total, £0 13s 11d Buckram, 16½ yards, £0 15s 1½d Arrack, 287½ gallons, £59 6s 3d Wine, 12 dozen Lisbon, £18 5s 0d Beer, 5lb, £8 0s 6d Chinaware: 15 chamber pots, £1 5s 0d 13 guglets and basins, £1 19s 0d 6 patty pans, £0 15s 0d 7 salad dishes, £0 5s 10d 16 little dishes and plates, £12 16s 0d 29 bowls, £2 8s 4d 27 sneakers, £0 6s 9d 8 sauce boats, £0 3s 4d 8 tea potts, £0 6s 0d 24 half pint cups and saucers, £0 10s 0d 24 quarter pint cups and saucers, £0 8s 0d 5 dishes and plates, £1 0s 3d 8 coffee cups, £0 1s 1d Chinaware total, £22 4s 10d Deals: 79 single deals, £8 17s 9d 6 double deals, £1 1s 3d 1¾ pieces Riga timber, £2 9s 9½d 3 boards, £0 1s 8d Deals total, £13 16s 9½d Leather: 108¾lb sole, £7 0s 0d 13 calf skins, £4 11s 6½d Leather total, £11 11s 11½d Long ells, 43½ yards, £3 16s 1½d Shalloon: 34¼ yards scarlet, £6 15s 7½d 38¾ yards blue, £6 2s 5d Shalloon total, £12 18s 0½d Chelloes, 25 pieces, £4 1s 3d Cordage, 3¼lb, £5 11s 11d Cotton, 2¼lb, £0 2s 0½d Carried over, £916 9s 5½d Interpretations The chinaware was the porcelain of the China trade brought west along the same route that touched St Helena, ranging from chamber pots and bowls to the sneakers, small handleless cups for spirits or tea, and guglets, the narrow-necked vessels for cooling water. The deals and Riga timber were sawn wood boards from the Baltic, imported because the island produced little usable building timber of its own, so even the wood for construction had to be carried in by sea. Shalloon and long ells were lightweight worsted woollens used for linings and coats, and chelloes were an Indian cotton cloth from the Coromandel trade, the mix of Baltic timber, Chinese porcelain, Indian cottons and Portuguese wine on a single store account showing St Helena as a waypoint drawing goods from every quarter the Company traded. Among the books, the horn book was a child's first primer, a single printed leaf of the alphabet and Lord's Prayer mounted under a thin sheet of horn, its presence beside a spelling book marking the rudiments of schooling kept in stock for the island's children.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£6 2s 5d £12 18s 0½d Chelloes 25 p £4 1s 3d Cordage 3½ Cd 3/4 £5 11s 11d Cotton 2 lb £0 2s 0½d Carried over £916 9s 5½d	
415	410	31st October Brought over £916 9s 5½d Braziers Ware vizt 1 Brass Scale £0 2s 5d 4 Tea Kettles £2 9s 2d 3 Bottling Cocks £0 9s 1½d 3 pair Candlesticks £1 2s 4½d 2 pair Steel Snuffers £0 4s 10d 1 Wash Pan £0 16s 4d £5 4s 3d Long Cloth vizt 2 p No 2 £0 8s 7d 1 Do 4 £3 11s 0d 1 Do 8 £1 15s 6d 4 Do 9 £12 8s 0d 1 Do 10 £0 18s 0d £27 4s 6d Glassware vizt 109 Sqr 10 by 12 £4 19s 11d 118 Do 8 by 10 £3 13s 9d 108 Do 6 by 8 £1 13s 9d 1 Do 11 by 15½ £0 1s 5d 1 Do 11 by 17½ £0 1s 6d 2 Beer Glasses £0 3s 2d 1 Quart Decanter £0 3s 9½d 1 Pint Do £0 3s 2d 1 Cruett £0 2s 3d £11 2s 8½d Tinware vizt 1 Dripping Pan £0 3s 2d 4 Quart Saucepans £0 3s 0d 1 Pint Do £0 0s 6½d 6 Solder £0 6s 9d 1 Watering Pott £0 3s 8½d 1 Dusting Pan £0 4s 9d 1 Sal Armoniac £0 0s 1d £1 6s 0d Iron Potts 1 of 6 Gallons £0 7s 8½d	Brought over, £916 9s 5½d Brazier's ware: 1 brass ladle, £0 2s 5d 4 tea kettles, £2 9s 2d 3 bottling cocks, £0 9s 1½d 3 pairs candlesticks, £1 2s 4½d 2 pairs steel snuffers, £0 4s 10d 1 hash pan, £0 16s 4d Brazier's ware total, £5 4s 3d Long cloth: 2 pieces no. 2, £8 17s 0d 1 piece no. 4, £3 11s 0d 1 piece no. 8, £1 15s 6d 4 pieces no. 9, £12 3s 0d 1 piece no. 10, £0 18s 0d Long cloth total, £27 4s 6d Glassware: 109 squares 10 by 12, £4 19s 11d 118 squares 8 by 10, £3 13s 9d 108 squares 6 by 8, £1 13s 9d 1 square 11 by 15½, £0 1s 5d 1 square 11 by 17½, £0 1s 6d 2 beer glasses, £0 3s 2d 1 quart decanter, £0 3s 9½d 1 pint decanter, £0 3s 2d 1 cruett, £0 2s 3d Glassware total, £11 2s 8½d Tinware: 1 dripping pan, £0 3s 2d 4 quart saucepans, £0 3s 0d 1 pint saucepan, £0 0s 6½d 6 tolds, £0 6s 9d 1 watering pot, £0 3s 8½d 1 straining pan, £0 4s 9d ¼lb sal armoniac, £0 1s 0d Tinware total, £1 6s 0d Iron pots, 1 of 6 gallons, £0 7s 8½d Corks: 8 gross corks, £1 4s 0d ½ sheet, £0 4s 1½d Corks total, £1 8s 1½d Oars, 9, £1 18s 3d Blankets, 9, £2 15s 10½d Total, £967 9s 5½d Interpretations The glassware is dominated by window glass sold as squares in fixed sizes such as 10 by 12 and 8 by 8, the panes measured in inches for glazing, showing the store supplying the material to fit and repair windows on an island where such glass had to be imported entire. The sal armoniac was sal ammoniac, a salt used as a flux in soldering the tinware, its listing among the pans and pots marking the store as a source not just of finished goods but of the materials to make and mend them. The long cloth was a plain Indian cotton woven in long pieces and graded by number, a staple of the Company's textile trade, while the brazier's ware of kettles, candlesticks and snuffers was the worked brass and copper of the household. The full sweep of this quarter's store account, closing at £967 9s 5½d across provisions, cloth, tools, timber, glass and porcelain, reveals how completely the settlement depended on the Company's stores for the material of daily life, from the panes in its windows to the oars for its boats.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Corks vizt 8 Gross Corks £1 4s 0d 1½ Sheet £0 4s 1½d £1 8s 1½d Oars 9 £1 18s 3d Blankets 9 £2 15s 10½d Total £967 9s 5½d	
416	411	1757 Sold to the Planters at 25 p Cent Serge 1¾ Yards £0 9s 6d Haberdashery vizt 2 Skeins Mohair £0 1s 0d 2 Do Silk £0 1s 2d £0 2s 2d Shalloon vizt 4 Yards Scarlet £0 15s 8d 11 Yards blue £1 5s 8d £2 1s 4d Fustian ½ piece £1 5s 8d Long Ells 27¾ Yards £2 14s 6d Chelloes 23 pieces £14 19s 0d Hosiers Ware vizt 2 pair knit Stockings £0 7s 6d 2 pair Worsted Do £0 9s 8d £0 17s 2d Shoes vizt 7 pair Womens Calf £1 4s 6d 2 pair Girls £0 4s 11d 1 pair Womens Spanish £0 5s 6d 4 pair Womens Colimanco £1 3s 8d 1 pair Mens Ordinary £0 4s 4½d £3 3s 6½d Hatts 1 Mens £1 1s 10½d Buckram 6¾ Yards £0 6s 6d Sold at 40 p Cent Flour 1494 £17 2s 8½d Candles 48 £0 7s 0d China Ware vizt 6 Tea Potts £0 6s 0d 12 half pint Cups & Saucers £0 6s 6d 6 Quarter pint Do & Do £0 2s 9d 4 Sneakers £0 1s 4d 1 Bowl £0 2s 2d £0 18s 9d Thread 9 Coloured £0 2s 2d Rice 2 8 0	An account of goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent was as follows. Serge, 1¾ yards, £0 9s 6d Haberdashery: 2 skeins mohair, £0 1s 0d 2 skeins silk, £0 1s 2d Haberdashery total, £0 2s 2d Shalloon: 4 yards scarlet, £0 15s 8d 11 yards blue, £1 5s 8d Shalloon total, £2 1s 4d Fustian, ½ piece, £1 5s 8d Long ells, 27¾ yards, £1 5s 8½d Chelloes, 23 pieces, £2 14s 6d Hosier's ware: 2 pairs knit stockings, £0 7s 6d 2 pairs thread stockings, £0 9s 8d Hosier's ware total, £0 17s 2d Shoes: 7 pairs women's calf, £1 4s 6d 2 pairs girls', £0 4s 11d 1 pair women's Spanish, £0 5s 6d 4 pairs women's calimanco, £1 3s 8d 1 pair men's ordinary, £0 4s 4½d Shoes total, £3 3s 6½d Hats, 1 man's, £1 1s 10½d Buckram, 6½ yards, £0 6s 5d An account of goods sold at 40 per cent was as follows. Flour, 149lb, £17 2s 4½d Candles, 18lb, £0 9s 0d Chinaware: 6 tea potts, £0 6s 0d 12 half pint cups and saucers, £0 6s 6d 6 quarter pint cups and saucers, £0 2s 9d 4 sneakers, £0 1s 4d 1 bowl, £0 2s 2d Chinaware total, £0 18s 9d Thread, 9lb coloured, £2 2s 0d Rice, 2lb, £1 8s 8d Cordage, 11lb, £30 6s 8½d Sugar and candy: 909lb sugar, £18 15s 12d 692lb candy, £18 14s 10d Sugar and candy total, £37 10s 8d Carried over, £123 10s 5½d Interpretations The store sold to the planters at 25 per cent and 40 per cent, higher markups than the 10 per cent charged to the Company's own servants recorded earlier, showing a deliberate tiering of prices by the buyer's standing. This graded pricing reveals the Company favouring its employees with cheaper goods while charging the independent settlers more, using the store not only to supply the island but to reward service to the Company over private planting. The sharp jump to 40 per cent on a second class of goods, covering flour, sugar, candy, cordage and porcelain, marks these as items on which the Company took a fuller margin, perhaps the more sought-after or perishable stores. That the same planters paid one rate for cloth and shoes but a steeper one for provisions and rope suggests the markup tracked demand and scarcity, the Company

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£1 8s 8d Cordage 11 3/7 3/4 £30 6s 8½d Sugar & Candy vizt 909 Sugar £18 15s 12d 692 Candy £18 14s 10d £37 10s 8d Carried over £123 10s 5½d	pricing its staples highest where the settlers had least choice but to buy.
417	412	31st October Brought over £123 10s 5½d Tea vizt 74 lb Bohea £3 14s 6d 343 Congo £18 6s 3d 3 Single £0 4s 9d £22 5s 6d Glassware vizt 10 Sqr 10 by 12 £0 12s 3½d 60 Do 8 by 10 £2 12s 6d 40 Do 6 by 8 £1 0s 0d £4 4s 9½d Nails vizt 7 2 £0 5s 10d 2 3 £0 1s 1d 23 4 £0 13s 5d 24 6 £0 13s 0d 7 10 £0 3s 2½d 2 20 £0 0s 11d 4 Scupper £0 2s 6d 1¾ Glazing Brads £0 2s 1½d £2 2s 3d Paint vizt 10½ Whiting £0 4s 4½d 1 Blue Smalts £0 1s 11½d 1½ Venetian Red £0 4s 1d 2 Barrels Blacking £0 1s 7d £0 12s 0d Oil vizt 1¾ Gallt Linseed £0 8s 3d 1 Bottle Florence £0 3s 2½d £0 11s 5½d Pitch vizt 6 Gallons Tar £0 6s 0d 62 Rosin £0 18s 1d 18 Pitch £0 3s 9d £1 7s 10d Cutleryware vizt 4 Ivory Combs £0 5s 8d 2 Horn Do £0 0s 11d	Brought over, £123 10s 5½d Tea: 7½lb bohea, £3 14s 6d 2¾lb congou, £18 6s 3d 3lb single, £0 4s 9d Tea total, £22 5s 6d Glassware: 10 squares 10 by 12, £0 12s 3½d 60 squares 8 by 10, £2 12s 6d 40 squares 6 by 8, £1 0s 0d Glassware total, £4 4s 9½d Nails: 7lb 2d, £0 5s 10d 2lb 3d, £0 1s 4d 23lb 4d, £0 13s 5d 24lb 6d, £0 13s 0d 7lb 10d, £0 3s 2½d 2lb 20d, £0 0s 11d 4 scuppers, £0 2s 6d 1¾lb glazing brads, £0 2s 7½d Nails total, £2 2s 3d Paint: 10½lb whiting, £0 4s 4½d 1lb blue smalts, £0 1s 11½d 1½lb Venetian red, £0 4s 1d 2 barrels blacking, £0 1s 7d Paint total, £0 12s 0d Oil: 1¾ gallons linseed, £0 8s 3d 1 bottle Florence, £0 3s 2½d Oil total, £0 11s 5½d Pitch: 6 gallons tar, £0 6s 0d 6lb rosin, £0 18s 1d 18lb pitch, £0 3s 9d Pitch total, £1 7s 10d Cutlery ware: 4 ivory combs, £0 5s 8d 2 horn combs, £0 0s 11d Cutlery ware total, £0 6s 7d Canvas: 14 yards Osnaburg, £0 12s 3d 17¾ yards English canvas, £12 8s 3½d Canvas total, £13 0s 6½d Starch, 24lb, £0 12s 0d Salt, 8¾ bushels, £1 15s 8½d Soap, 62lb, £2 14s 3d Carried over, £173 3s 4½d

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		£0 6s 7d Canvas vizt 14 Yards Osenbrigs £0 12s 3d 113¾ Yd Eng Canvas £12 8s 3½d £13 0s 6½d Starch 24 £0 12s 0d Salt 8¾ Bushels £1 15s 8½d Soap 62 £2 14s 3d Carried over £173 3s 4½d	
418	413	1757 Turners Ware vizt Brot over £173 3s 4½d 1 Punch Ladle £0 0s 8½d 2 Scrubbing Brushes £0 5s 2d 1 Paint brush £0 0s 7d 1 Hair Broom £0 3s 4½d £0 9s 8d Bunting vizt 13½ Yards White £0 10s 1½d 6 Yards blue £0 4s 4½d £0 15s 0d Ironmongers Ware vizt 2 pair Bellows £0 10s 2d 1 pair Sheep Sheers £0 1s 6½d 1 Shod Shovel £0 2s 2½d 1 Ditching Shovel £0 6s 4d 2 Gimblets £0 0s 7d 1 Small Frying Pan £0 2s 6d 1 Chest Lock £0 5s 0d £1 8s 4d Lead 12 Sheet £0 3s 6d Tinware vizt 2 Dripping Pans £0 13s 2d 1 Dusting Pan £0 8s 4d £1 1s 6d Deals vizt 7 Single deals £1 1s 0d 5 double Do £0 9s 3d ¾ p Riga Timber £0 16s 0d £2 6s 3d Paddy 1 0 4 £0 6s 6d Leather 3¾ Sole £0 6s 3d Pork 5 pieces £0 16s 8d Twine 41 Skains £1 14s 2d Hooks & Lines vizt 168 Lines No 2 £3 5s 4d	Brought over, £173 3s 4½d Turner's ware: 1 punch ladle, £0 0s 6½d 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 5s 2d 1 paint brush, £0 0s 7d 1 hair broom, £0 3s 0½d Turner's ware total, £0 9s 8d Bunting: 15½ yards white, £0 10s 1½d 6 yards blue, £0 4s 6½d Bunting total, £0 15s 0d Hardware: 2 pairs bellows, £0 10s 2d 1 pair sheep shears, £0 1s 6¾d 1 shod shovel, £0 2s 2¾d 1 ditching shovel, £0 6s 4d 2 gimblets, £0 0s 7d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 6d 1 chest lock, £0 5s 0d Hardware total, £1 8s 4d Lead, 12lb sheet, £0 3s 6d Tinware: 2 dripping pans, £0 13s 2d 1 straining pan, £0 8s 4d Tinware total, £1 1s 6d Deals: 7 single deals, £1 1s 0d 5 double deals, £0 9s 3d ¾ pieces Riga timber, £0 16s 0d Deals total, £2 6s 3d Paddy, 1lb at 2d, £0 6s 6d Leather, 5¾lb sole, £0 6s 3d Pork, 5 pieces, £0 16s 8d Twine, 41 skeins, £1 14s 2d Hooks and lines: 168 lines no. 2, £3 5s 4d 96 lines no. 3, £2 4s 0d 42 lines no. 4, £1 3s 7½d 75 hooks no. 1, £0 4s 9d 375 hooks no. 2, £0 16s 3d 600 hooks no. 3, £0 15s 0d 30 hooks no. 4, £0 0s 10d 200 hooks of Grantham, £0 2s 10d Hooks and lines total, £8 12s 7½d Coals, 1 chaldron, £2 18s 2d Total, £194 1s 5d Interpretations Paddy was rice still in the husk, listed apart from the milled rice sold earlier, and its sale to the planters shows the store supplying seed or unhulled grain as well as food ready to eat. The chaldron of coals was a large dry measure of coal, imported for the forge and hearth on an island with no coal of its own, marking another basic fuel that had to be carried in by the Company's ships. The bunting was the loosely woven worsted cloth from which signal flags and ensigns were made, sold here in white and blue, its presence among the store goods pointing to the fitting out of the flags used at the coastal batteries and signal stations. The heavy stock of fishing lines and numbered hooks,

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		96 Do 3 £2 4s 0d 42 Do 4 £1 3s 7d 75 Hooks No 1 £0 4s 9d 375 Do 2 £0 16s 3d 600 Do 3 £0 15s 0d 30 Do 4 £0 0s 10d 200 Hooks p Grantham £0 2s 10d £8 12s 7½d Coals & Children £2 18s 2d Total£194 1s 5d	sold to servants and planters alike across successive accounts, reflects how far the island leaned on the sea for its food, the store keeping tackle in quantity to sustain a fishery that supplemented the plantation's meat.
419	414	31st October Sold to the Honorable Companys Ships Nails vizt 90 20 £0 9s 2d 37 10 £0 12s 4½d 37 6 £0 17s 11½d 19 4 £0 11s 1d 14 3 £0 9s 4d 5 Glazing brads £0 6s 1½d £3 6s 9½d Cordage 50 5 25 £51 5s 3½d Twine vizt 65 Twine £5 5s 0d 6 Skeins Marline £0 2s 3d £5 7s 3d Hooks & Lines vizt 24 Lines No 2 £0 9s 4d 36 Do 4 £0 19s 9d 3 Hambro Lines £0 5s 1½d 50 Hooks No 4 £0 0s 10d 50 Do No 5 £0 1s 0d £1 16s 9½d Canvas vizt 4 p English Canvas £11 6s 8d 1 p Osenbrigs £6 0s 9d £17 7s 5d Pitch vizt 3 Barrels Tar £0 6s 3d 3 Barrels Pitch £10 10s 10d 4 Rosin £0 0s 10d £16 11s 11d Paint vizt 20 Barrels Blacking £0 15s 10d 28 Red Lead £0 8s 2d 66 Stone Colour £2 4s 0d	An account of goods sold to the Honourable Company's ships was as follows. Nails: 90lb 20d, £0 9s 2d 27lb 10d, £0 12s 4½d 37lb 6d, £0 17s 11½d 19lb 4d, £0 11s 1d 14lb 3d, £0 9s 4d 5lb glazing brads, £0 6s 1½d Nails total, £3 6s 9½d Cordage, 19lb at 5d, £31 5s 3½d Twine: 6lb twine, £0 5s 5d 6 skeins marline, £0 2s 3d Twine total, £0 7s 8d Hooks and lines: 24 lines no. 2, £0 9s 4d 36 lines no. 4, £0 19s 9d 3 Hamburg lines, £0 5s 1½d 50 hooks no. 4, £0 0s 10d 50 hooks no. 5, £0 0s 1d Hooks and lines total, £1 16s 9½d Canvas: 4 pieces English canvas, £11 6s 8d 1 piece Osnaburg, £6 0s 9d Canvas total, £17 7s 5d Pitch: 3 barrels tar, £6 0s 3d 3 barrels pitch, £10 10s 10d 4lb rosin, £0 0s 10d Pitch total, £16 11s 11d Paint: 20 barrels blacking, £0 15s 10d 2lb red lead, £0 8s 2d 6lb stone colour, £2 4s 0d 16lb brimstone, £0 5s 0d Paint total, £3 13s 0d Oil: 12 gallons linseed, £2 16s 6d 30 gallons train, £6 10s 0d Oil total, £9 6s 6d Deals, 28 single, £4 4s 0d Coals, 3½ chaldron, £15 19s 11d Beef and pork: 11 half barrels pork, £148 9s 1d 11 pieces beef, £215 13s 10d Beef and pork total, £364 2s 11d Carried over, £593 1s 9½d Interpretations The goods sold to the Company's ships were the stores of a chandlery: cordage, canvas, pitch, tar and oil for maintaining the hulls and rigging, alongside salt beef and pork in bulk to victual the crews for the long passage home. This account marks St Helena's central purpose as a refreshment and provisioning station on the return voyage from the East, where homeward Indiamen took on fresh

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		16 Brimstone £0 5s 0d £3 13s 0d Oil vizt 12 Gallt Linseed £2 16s 6d 30 Gallt Train £6 10s 0d £9 6s 6d Deals 28 Single £4 4s 0d Coals 3½ Chaldron £15 19s 11d Beef and Pork vizt 11 Hhd Pork £148 9s 1d 11 Punch Beef £215 13s 10d £364 2s 11d Carried over £493 1s 9½d	supplies and repaired their gear before the final leg to England. The brimstone was sulphur, used aboard ship for fumigating the holds and treating the hulls, while the barrels of tar and pitch served to caulk seams and preserve timber and rope against the sea. The scale of the salt provisions, over £360 of beef and pork in a single call, shows the island's stores geared to reprovisioning whole ships' companies, the plantation and the imported barrels together sustaining the traffic on which the Company's trade depended.
420	415	1757 Brought over £493 1s 9½d Candles 25 £0 2s 11½d Salt 7 Bushels £1 9s 2d Tinware 50 Lanthorn Leaves £0 8s 7d Turners Ware 6 Paint Brushes £0 1s 7d Sugar 75 £0 5s 0d Lead 129 Sheet £1 11s 3d £1 17s 7½d Total £501 18s 0d Charges General Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1757 vizt Arrack 12½ Gallt given to the Servants of which taking the Inventory in the Stores bringing an Acct of Ships to Windward Gunners new Warehouse &c £1 14s 2½d Glass Ware vizt 10 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 for repairing the long back Windows £0 9s 9d 10 Sqr Do 6 by 8 for repairing the Do Leaf House £0 2s 6d £0 12s 3d Paint vizt 24 White Lead £0 8s 6d 2 Barr Blacking £0 1s 3d 3 Whiting £0 0s 4½d 15 Blue Smalts for Linnen £0 13s 6½d £1 3s 4d Turners Ware vizt 6 Punch Ladles for the Castle £0 3s 9d 1 Tray £0 2s 7d 1 Paint Brush for painting Gun Carr £0 0s 7d 1 Hair Broom for the Church £0 2s 1½d 10 Birch Brooms for the Gardens & Banks £0 7s 6d £0 16s 1½d Lines vizt 12 Do 4 for the Masons & Carpt Line &c	Brought over, £593 1s 9½d Candles, 2lb, £0 4s 0d Salt, 7 bushels, £1 8s 0d Tinware, 50 lanthorn leaves, £0 8s 7d Turner's ware, 6 paint brushes, £0 1s 7d Sugar, 7lb, £0 5s 0d Lead, 12lb 9oz sheet, £1 11s 3d Total, £501 18s 0d An account of charges general for the following stores expended from 12 July to 11 October 1757 was as follows. Arrack, 13½ gallons given to the people aboard taking the inventory in the stores, bringing an East India ship to Rupert's, greasing men working hides and so on, £1 14s 2½d Glassware: 10 squares glass 8 by 10 for repair to sundry buildings and long house, £0 9s 9d 10 squares 6 by 8 for repair to the doctor's house, £0 2s 6d Glassware total, £0 12s 3d Paint: 24lb red lead for painting the new gun carriages, £0 8s 6d 2 barrels blacking for painting the new gun carriages, £0 1s 3d 3lb whiting for painting the new gun carriages, £0 0s 1½d 1lb blue smalts for London, £0 13s 6½d Paint total, £1 3s 4d Turner's ware: 6 punch ladles for the Castle, £0 3s 9d 1 tray for the Castle, £0 2s 2d 1 paint brush for painting gun carriages, £0 0s 7d 1 hair broom for the church, £0 0s 7d 10 birch brooms for the gardens and banks, £0 2s 1½d Turner's ware total, £0 16s 1½d Lines: 12 lines no. 4 for the masons carrying the water and so on, £0 4s 3d 2 lines for signing the doctor's house, £0 0s 7d Lines total, £0 4s 10d Twine, 2 skeins for the Castle and the doctor's shop, £0 0s 3d Chelloes, 1 piece for covering a bed for the Castle, £0 10s 2d Desockees, 1 piece for the masons in the Castle, £0 4s 3d Broadcloth, 2 yards green for covering the council table, £1 4s 3d Soap, 60lb, £1 17s 6d Corks, 21 gross, £2 8s 1½d Thread, 1lb white for packets, £0 3s 4d

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		£0 4s 3d 2 2 for Singeing Deads at horses £0 0s 7d £0 3s 0d Twine 2 Skains for the Castle and Do Ship £0 1s 1½d Chelloes 1 piece for covering a Bed used in the Castle £0 10s 2d Desockees 1 piece for Mattress in the Castle £0 4s 2d Broad Cloth 2 yards Green for covering the Council Table £1 4s 3d Soap 60 £1 17s 6d Corks 21 Gross £2 8s 1½d Thread 1 Cold for Packets £0 3s 4d Carried over £11 10s 7d	Carried over, £11 10s 7d Interpretations The charges general recorded stores the Company consumed for its own works rather than sold, itemising each against its purpose, from red lead and blacking for painting the new gun carriages to green broadcloth for covering the council table. This internal accounting shows the same store goods that supplied the garrison and planters also maintaining the island's public fabric, the forts, the church, the doctor's house and the seat of government itself. The arrack was issued as a working allowance to men doing heavy or unpleasant labour, taking the store inventory, warping a homeward ship into Rupert's bay and greasing hides, a customary ration of spirits given to sustain workers at arduous tasks. This use of drink as a reward for labour reflects the period's practice of victualling working parties with alcohol, the Company drawing on its own stores to keep its people at the work of running the station.
421	416	31st October Canvas vizt Brot over £11 10s 7d 27¼ Yd Osenbrigs for Rubbers in the Castle covering Buckets & mending Sacks £0 16s 5½d 4½ Yd Eng Canvas for covering Powder Chests £0 13s 8½d £1 10s 0d Candles vizt 93 for the Castle 105 for the Council £20 8s 4½d Ironmongers Ware vizt 3 Iron Rubbers £0 9s 1½d 37 Files £0 18s 10½d 8 Do Hafts for the Armourer £0 0s 1d ½ Ironwire £0 0s 11d 3 Stock Locks for the long Barracks & Gunners dry Steel Room £0 6s 10½d 4 Pickaxes £0 18s 4d 4 Helves Do Rd 2 Wr Ash Do £0 2s 5d 4 Ditching Shovels £0 17s 11d 1 Padlock for the Church £0 2s 3½d 2 Claw Hammers £0 2s 6½d 2 pr Compasses for Guns £0 0s 8d 11 Gimblets £0 0s 8d 2 Do £0 2s 6d 1 Sacking needle for the Castle £0 0s 2d 2 Bricklayers Trowels £0 0s 2d 9 Hatchets for the Armourer £0 0s 2d 3 Fish Rims to the Carpenter £0 3s 1d £5 7s 6½d Tinware 1 Dripping pan the Castle £0 4s 8d Chinaware vizt 24 Soup plates £0 7s 6d	Brought over, £11 10s 7d Canvas: 27¼ yards Osnaburg for rubbers in the Castle, covering baskets and mending sacks, £0 16s 5½d 14¼ yards English canvas for covering powder chests, £0 13s 8½d Canvas total, £1 10s 0d Candles: 93lb for the Castle, [...] 105lb for the council, [...] Candles total, £20 8s 4½d Hardware: 3 iron rubbers, £0 9s 1½d 37 files, £0 18s 10½d 8 files, chisels for the armoury, £0 0s 1d ½lb borax, £0 0s 11d 3 stock locks for the long barracks and gunner's dry stone room, £0 6s 10½d 4 pickaxes, £0 18s 4d 4 helves, doctor's and Mr Alexander's, £0 2s 5d 4 ditching shovels, £0 17s 11d 1 padlock for the church, £0 2s 3½d 2 claw hammers, £0 2s 6½d 2 pairs compasses for the guns, £0 0s 8d 11 gimlets, £0 2s 6d 2 gimlets, £0 0s 6d 1 packing needle for the Castle, £0 0s 2d 2 bricklayer's trowels for the masons, £0 2s 0d 9 hatchets for the masons, £0 3s 1d 3 fish stones to the carpenter, £0 13s 3d Hardware total, £5 7s 6½d Tinware, 1 dripping pan, the Castle, £0 4s 8d Chinaware: 24 soup plates, £0 7s 6d 2 salad dishes and plates, £1 8s 2d 6 chafing dishes, £0 12s 0d 4 patty pans, £0 8s 0d 12 half pint cups and saucers for the Castle, £0 4s 6d Chinaware total, £3 0s 2d Brazier's ware, 1 bottling cock, the Castle, £0 2s 9d Cordage: 5lb at 5d for delivery to Mr Hull for transporting guns, [...] 15lb for thatching along the banks and Ridge House, [...] Cordage total, £2 13s 8d Cutlery ware, 2 shoe knives for the masons, £0 0s 8d Deals: 60 single for repair to the long barracks, wharf and sundry Castle uses, renewing the sty in the milking yard, a table in the alcove in the valley, a hen

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		2 Sett dishes & plates £1 8s 2d 8 Baking dishes £0 12s 0d 4 Patting pans £0 8s 0d 12 half pint Cups & Saucers for the Castle £0 4s 6d £3 0s 2d Braziers Ware 1 Bottling Cock Castle £0 2s 9d Cordage vizt 4 1 26 Do to Mr Hull for transporting Guns 18 for thatching along the Ridge House £2 13s 8d Cutleryware 2 Shoe Knives Shoemaker £0 0s 8d Deals vizt 60 Single for repg the long Barracks making Desks Castle new roofing the Bell repairing the Curing house Table in the Kitchen Hen Coops Curing Sundry Braces &c £6 10s 0d £6 10s 0d Carried over £44 18s 5d	coop, a carriage for the doctor's brewer and so on, £6 10s 0d Deals total, £6 10s 0d Carried over, £44 18s 5d Interpretations The charges detail the constant upkeep of the island's public buildings and defences, with files and chisels for the armoury, stock locks for the long barracks, and deals for repairing the wharf, the milking yard sty and a hen coop. This close itemising, each board and tool charged to a named purpose, shows the Company running the station like a working estate, its stores drawn down piece by piece to keep the forts, barracks and outbuildings in repair. The fish stones supplied to the carpenter were the hard abrasive stones used to sharpen and finish edge tools, and the pairs of compasses issued for the guns were the gunner's instruments for measuring bores and laying out proportions. The variety of specialist items, from bricklayer's trowels for the masons to packing needles for the Castle, reveals a settlement maintaining a full range of trades, the store equipping masons, carpenters, gunners and armourers from a single supply.
422	417	1757 Brought over £44 18s 5d Deals brot over £6 10s 0d 2 double Deals for a Bench for Carpt £0 6s 0d 1 p Riga Timber for the Stable at the Castle £0 6s 8d 1 Buffin for the Stone Cart £1 14s 2d 1 Bault for the Gunners Barrack £0 3s 8½d £9 1s 0d Nails vizt 7 20 11 6 for the long Barracks Carpt & Masons Bench 13 10 repairs in the Stores mending head Rammers Carts & Rammers 1 4 Stone Cart Roofing the Bell Table 1 20 mending the Hen Hutches and 4 making of Padlock Nail £0 2s 2½d 2¼ Glazing Brads £0 0s 6d £0 13s 9½d Blocks 1 double long Tackle to get Stone ashore at Sandy Bay for the Halfmoon £0 4s 9d Oil vizt 3½ Gallt Linseed for painting the new Gun Carriages backing Flints and for the long Barracks and Mr Loes House £0 10s 11½d 1 Bottle Florence for the Armourer £0 2s 3½d 17 Gallt Train for the Ridge House long Barracks Kitchen Bakehouse Gun Carriages and Armourer £2 12s 1d £3 5s 4d Pitch vizt 18 Pitch for the long Barracks Castle & Rammers &c £0 1s 1d 6 Rosin for the Castle £0 0s 8d £0 1s 9d Total £58 7s 4½d Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1757 vizt Tea vizt	Brought over, £44 18s 5d Deals: 2 double deals for a bench for the coopers, £0 6s 10d 1 piece Riga timber for the stable at the Castle, £0 6s 8d 1 baulk for the stone cart, £1 14s 2d 1 baulk for the gunner's barrack, £0 3s 8½d Deals total, £9 1s 4d Nails: 7lb 20d, £0 2s 2½d 11lb 6d, for the long barracks, coopers bench, repair in the stores, mending hand rubbers, tools and horse, £0 3s 10½d 13lb 10d, £0 1s 1d 1lb 4d, stone cart, roofing the stable, mending the hen house and making the paddock sty, £0 0s 1½d 1lb 20d, £0 0s 3½d 6lb, £0 0s 6d 2¼lb glazing brads, £0 2s 2½d Nails total, £0 13s 9½d Blocks, 1 double long tackle to get stone ashore at Sandy Bay for the fishermen, £0 4s 9d Oil: 3¾ gallons linseed for painting the new gun carriages, boarding the flints and for the long barracks and Mr Lea's house, £0 10s 11½d 1 bottle Florence for the armourer, £0 2s 3½d 17 gallons train for the Ridge House, long barracks, kitchen, bakehouse, gun carriages and armourer, £2 12s 1d Oil total, £3 5s 4d Pitch: 10lb pitch for the long barracks, Castle and drummer's use, £0 1s 1d 6lb rosin for the Castle, £0 0s 8d Pitch total, £0 1s 9d Total, £58 7s 4½d An account of diet expenses for the following stores expended from 12 July to 11 October 1757 was as follows. Tea: 1lb single, £0 6s 5d 1lb congou, £0 3s 4d Tea total, £0 9s 9d Arrack, 55 gallons, £7 2s 1d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 8s 8½d Flour, 7lb, £0 5s 8d

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		7 Single £0 6s 5d 4 Congo £0 3s 4d £0 9s 9d Arrack 55 Gallons £7 2s 1d Salt 3 Bushels £0 8s 8½d Flour 748 £5 8s 6d Oil 11 Bottles Florence £1 5s 2½d Rice 15 £0 4s 3d Pork 12 pieces £1 1s 9d Carried over £16 6s 3d	Oil, 11 bottles Florence, £1 3s 2½d Rice, 15lb, £0 4s 3d Pork, 12 pieces, £1 1s 9d Carried over, £16 6s 3d Interpretations The stores charged here maintained the working plant of the settlement, with baulks and Riga timber for a stone cart and the gunner's barrack, and a double tackle block to haul stone ashore at Sandy Bay for the fishermen. This level of detail, each timber and block tied to a specific job, shows the Company sustaining the physical means of its operations, the carts, stables and landing gear on which the island's labour turned. The diet expenses opening at the foot of the page mark a separate account for the provisions consumed at the Company's own table, distinct from the goods sold to servants and planters. The large charge of arrack against this diet, over £7 for 55 gallons, shows spirits forming a substantial part of the establishment's own consumption, the same East India liquor that dominated the table accounts running heavily through the Company's household as well.
423	418	31st October Brought over £16 6s 3d Sugar & Candy vizt 320 Candy £5 6s 8d 25 Sugar £0 5s 0d £5 11s 8d Pease 3 lb Skpt 4 pt £1 £1 0s 0d Total £22 17s 11½d Blacks Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th July to the 11th Octr 1757 vizt Rice 28 2 3 2 £0 8s 3d Arrack 1½ Gallons £0 12s 3½d Oil 3 Gallt Train £0 9s 4½d Soap 2 £0 1s 3d Pork 225 p £26 0s 2d Tea 3½ Bohea £1 1s 7d Sugar & Candy vizt 74 Sugar for the Sick Butter £0 18s 6d 5 Candy £0 1s 8d £1 0s 2d Sailors Cloaths vizt 15 Mens Jackets & Breeches £12 1s 6½d 26 Monmouth Caps £1 13s 2½d 26 Mens Shirts £4 13s 8½d 6 Boys Jackets & Breeches £4 3s 0d 15 Do Shirt £1 14s 3d £24 8s 2½d Shoes 32 pair Mens Ordinary £6 4s 8d Kersey 100 Yards to cloath the Women £6 13s 4d Desbekees 7 pcs for tying in Women £3 6s 4½d Turners Ware vizt 1 Wood Bowl	Brought over, £16 6s 3d Sugar and candy: 320lb candy, £5 6s 8d 28lb sugar, £0 5s 0d Sugar and candy total, £5 11s 8d Pease, 3 bushels at 5s 6d each, £1 0s 7½d Total, £22 17s 11½d An account of stores issued for the slaves from 12 July to 11 October 1757 was as follows. Rice, 28 bags at 3s 2d, £8 3s 0d Arrack, 4¾ gallons, £0 12s 3½d Oil, 3 gallons train, £0 9s 4½d Soap, 2lb, £0 1s 3d Pork, 225lb, £26 0s 2d Tea, 3lb bohea, £1 1s 7d Sugar and candy: 7lb sugar for the sick, £0 18s 6d 5lb candy for the sick, £0 1s 8d Sugar and candy total, £1 0s 2d Sailor's clothes: 15 men's jackets and breeches, £12 1s 6½d 26 Monmouth caps, £1 13s 2½d 26 men's shirts, £4 13s 8½d 6 boys' jackets and breeches, £4 3s 0d 12 boys' shirts, £1 14s 3d Sailor's clothes total, £24 8s 2½d Shoes, 32 pairs men's ordinary, £6 4s 8d Kersey, 100 yards for clothing the women, £6 13s 4d Desockees, 7½ pieces for tying in women, £3 6s 4½d Turner's ware: 1 wood bowl, £0 1s 1d 1 platter, £0 1s 0d Turner's ware total, £0 2s 1d Deals: 6 single for coffins and repair to the slaves' house, £0 12s 0d 1 baulk for coffins and repair to the slaves' house, £0 9s 1d Deals total, £1 1s 1d Iron pots, 1 of 2 gallons, £0 3s 6d Nails: 6lb 6d, for repairs to the slaves' house and making a coffin, £0 2s 1½d 8lb 20d, £0 2s 6d 6lb 4d, £0 2s 4½d Nails total, £0 7s 0d Carried over, £76 11s 6d Interpretations

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		£0 1s 1½d 1 Do Platter £0 1s 0d £0 2s 1d Deals vizt 6 Single for Coffins & repairing Blacks House £0 12s 0d 1 Bault £0 9s 1d £1 1s 1d Potts 1 of 2 Gallons £0 3s 6d Nails vizt 6 6 8 20 for repairs to the Blacks House 6 4 and making a Coffin £0 7s 0d Carried over £76 11s 6d	This account sets out what the Company spent to feed, clothe and house its slaves, and its contents show a bare subsistence: rice and salt pork for food, kersey and ready-made sailor's clothes for covering, and deals and nails charged to coffins and repairs to the slaves' house. The provision was minimal and functional, the same cheap Monmouth caps and coarse cloth issued to common seamen now serving to clothe the enslaved workers on whom much of the island's labour rested. The sugar, candy and tea entered here were reserved for the sick among the slaves, a small allowance of comforts set against the plain diet of rice and pork given to the able-bodied. This distinction shows the Company extending a marginally better provision to those too ill to work, treating the slaves as an asset whose sick required nursing back to usefulness rather than as recipients of any settled care.
424	419	1757 Brought over £76 11s 6d Cutleryware 4 Butchers knives for Black House £0 0s 11d Salt ¼ Bushel £0 0s 8½d Tinware vizt 1 Quart Saucepan £0 0s 8d 1 Lamp for the use of the Sick £0 1s 7d £0 2s 3d Hooks & Lines vizt 78 Lines No 2 £1 1s 8d 66 Do 3 £1 11s 11½d 25 Hooks No 2 £1 4s 3½d 325 Do 3 £0 9s 0d 75 Do 4 £0 5s 8d 100 Do 5 £0 10s 8d £2 17s 1½d Blankets 17 £4 15s 7½d Total £84 8s 7½d Garrison Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1757 vizt Candy 6 for the Doctors Shop £0 2s 0d Twine 1 Skain for Cattle £0 0s 0½d Potts 2 of 12 Gallons £1 6s 0d Soldiers Cloaths vizt 202 Centinels Coats & Breeches £296 18s 4½d 12 Corporals Do & Do £18 12s 0d 12 Serjeants Do & Do £62 17s 0d 8 Gunners Jackets Do & Do £24 0s 0d 8 Quarter Gunners Do & Do £18 12s 0d 21 Matrosses Do & Do £45 2s 1d 4 Drummers Do & Do £13 16s 0d 1 Marshall Do & Do £1 11s 6d 13 Centinels Coats £9 18s 0d	Brought over, £76 11s 6d Cutlery ware, 4 butcher's knives for the butcher house, £0 0s 11d Salt, ¼ bushel, £0 0s 11d Tinware: 1 quart saucepan, for the use of the sick, £0 0s 8d 1 lamp, for the use of the sick, £0 1s 7d Tinware total, £0 2s 3d Hooks and lines: 18 lines no. 2, £1 1s 8d 6 lines no. 3, £0 1s 11½d 66 lines no. 4, £1 4s 3½d 25 hooks no. 2, £0 0s 9d 325 hooks no. 3, £0 5s 8d 75 hooks no. 4, £0 0s 10½d 100 hooks no. 5, £0 1s 10d Hooks and lines total, £2 17s 1½d Blankets, 17, £4 15s 7½d Total, £84 8s 7½d An account of stores issued for the garrison from 12 July to 11 October 1757 was as follows. Candy, 6lb for the doctor's shop, £0 2s 0d Twine, 1 skein for the Castle, £0 0s 7d Deals, 2 of 12 gallons, £1 6s 0d Soldier's clothes: 202 sentinels coats and breeches, £296 18s 4½d 12 corporals coats and breeches, £18 12s 0d 12 sergeants coats and breeches, £62 17s 0d 8 gunner's mates coats and breeches, £24 0s 0d 8 quarter gunner's coats and breeches, £18 12s 0d 21 matrosses coats and breeches, £45 2s 1d 4 drummers coats and breeches, £13 16s 0d 1 marshall coat and breeches, £1 11s 6d 12 sentinels coats, £9 18s 0d Soldier's clothes total, £491 7s 2½d Tea, 7½lb bohea, £2 2s 0d Oil, 70 gallons train for the sea guard, £10 12s 0d Lines, 12 no. 2 for the ships, £0 3s 4d Deals: 7 single for the Castle and coffins, £0 14s 0d 3 double for the Castle and coffins, £0 9s 7d Deals total, £1 3s 7d Pitch, 1lb for coffins, £0 0s 6d Shalloon, 5½ yards scarlet for the drummer's clothes, £0 12s 4½d Carried over, £507 10s 5½d Interpretations The soldier's clothes account graded the garrison's uniforms by rank and role, from the bulk sentinels' coats and breeches down to sergeants, gunner's mates, matrosses, drummers and a marshall, each supplied at its own cost. Matrosses were the junior artillerymen who assisted the gunners at the

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		£491 7s 2½d Tea 7½ Bohea for the two Guards £2 2s 0d Oil 70 Gallt Train for the two Guards £10 12s 11d Lines 12 No 2 for Whips £0 3s 4d Deals vizt 7 Single for Cattle and Coffins £0 14s 0d 3 double for Cattle and Coffins £0 9s 7d £1 3s 7d Pitch 4 for Coffins £0 0s 6d Shalloon 5½ Yards Scarlet for the Drummers Cloaths £12 4s 5½d Carried over £507 10s 5½d	guns, and quarter gunners the petty officers responsible for a share of the ordnance, the range of specialist ranks showing an establishment built as much around its artillery as its infantry. The clothing of the garrison at nearly £500 was by far the largest single charge in these quarterly accounts, dwarfing the provisions and stores, and reveals the heavy cost of maintaining a uniformed force in the Company's colours on a remote island. The scarlet shalloon set aside for the drummers' distinctive coats marks the care taken to dress even the musicians to a standard, the drummer's lace and colour serving the practical need for signals to be seen and heard across the ranks.
425	420	31st October Brot over £507 10s 5½d Nails vizt 6 6 1 10 2 4 for Cattle & Coffins 8 3 £0 3s 10d £0 7s 1d Shoes 313 pair Mens Ordinary £60 19s 5d Hatts vizt 252 Centinels £35 14s 0d 20 Serjeants £11 13s 4d £47 7s 4d Canvas 42 Yards English for Cattle £2 1s 1½d Blankets 48 £13 10s 0d Shirts vizt 20 Serjeants £6 11s 8d 253 Centinels £51 9s 1d 253 Rollers £1 18s 1½d £65 18s 10½d Total £697 14s 3½d Fortification Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th July to the 11th Octr 1757 Oil 2½ Gallt Linseed £0 14s 2½d Paint 5 Barr Blacking for painting Gun Carr ½ Timber 16 White Lead £0 3s 4½d £0 16s 3½d Lines 1 No 4 £0 1s 9d Thread 5 Coloured for making & repairing Flags and for Cartridges £0 0s 7d Twine 4 Skeins £0 1s 6d Bunting vizt 9 pieces White £2 4s 10d 2 pieces blue for a Flag for the Main Fort £2 10s 5d 1 piece red £1 13s 5½d £6 8s 8½d Canvas 4 p English for a Flag and covering a powder Chest £0 10s 9d	Brought over, £507 10s 5½d Nails: 6lb 6d, £0 2s 1½d 1lb 10d, £0 0s 1d 2lb 4d, for the Castle and coffins, £0 0s 9½d 8lb 3d, £0 0s 4½d Nails total, £0 3s 10d Shoes, 313 pairs men's ordinary, £60 19s 5d Hats: 252 sentinels, £35 14s 0d 20 sergeants, £11 13s 4d Hats total, £47 7s 4d Canvas, 42 yards English for the Castle, £2 1s 1½d Blankets, 48, £13 10s 0d Shirts: 20 sergeants, £6 11s 8d 233 sentinels, £51 9s 1d 253 hollands, £1 18s 4½d Shirts total, £65 18s 10½d Total, £697 14s 3½d An account of fortification stores expended from 12 July to 11 October 1757 was as follows. Oil, 2¾ gallons linseed, £0 14s 2½d Paint: 5 barrels blacking for painting gun carriages and sundry uses, £0 3s 4½d ½lb timber, £0 0s 2d 16lb white lead, £0 16s 3½d Paint total, £0 19s 7d Lines, 1 no. 4, £0 0s 2½d Thread, 5lb coloured for making and repairing flags and for cartridges, [...] Twine, 4 skeins for making and repairing flags and for cartridges, £0 16s 8d Bunting: 2 pieces white, £9 4s 10d 2 pieces blue for a flag for the Main Fort, £2 10s 5d 1 piece red, £1 13s 5½d Bunting total, £6 8s 8d Canvas, English for a flag and covering a powder chest, £0 10s 9d Cordage, 7lb for a flag, £0 2s 6½d Turner's ware, 1 paint brush, £0 0s 6½d Deals: 58 single for a carriage to cart dirt, mending gun carriages and sundry fort uses, £10 16s 0d 6 double, £0 9s 1½d 2 baulks at 5s 4½d, £0 18s 2d 1 piece for scaffolding, £0 13s 10d 1 12-inch oak plank for the fort cellar, £1 15s 10d Deals total, £14 12s 9½d Total, £24 8s 1d Interpretations

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		Cordage 7 for a Flag £0 2s 6½d Turnersware 1 Paint Brush £0 0s 6½d Deals vizt 58 Single for a Center to the Port Cullis Shod prong Line 2 Bault repairing the Stone Cart &c 1 Buffin for Scaffolding 1 2 Inch Oak plank for the Port Cullis £10 16s 0d £14 12s 9½d Total £24 8s 1d	The fortification account gathered the stores spent on the island's defences, and much of it went to flags: bunting in white, blue and red, thread and twine for making and repairing them, and canvas and cordage for a flag for the Main Fort. This attention to the signal flags reflects their working importance to a defended island, where colours flown from the batteries carried warning and communication between the coastal positions and passing ships. Among the timber charges, the twelve-inch oak plank for the fort cellar stands out as a heavier and costlier piece than the softwood deals used elsewhere, oak being reserved for work needing strength and durability. The bulk of the fortification spending nonetheless went on ordinary boards for a dirt cart, gun carriage repairs and scaffolding, showing the defences maintained through steady small carpentry rather than any great works.
426	421	1757 Plantation Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1757 vizt Rice & Paddy vizt 45 Rice £0 2s 3½d 50 3 2 Paddy for Doveton and Horses £6 16s 5½d £6 18s 9d Nails vizt 10 6 4 20 for repairs in the long Warehouses 4 10 House rockeries Gates & Carts 1 40 £0 6s 5d £0 6s 5d Cartwheels 1 pair for Carts £0 6s 5d Tar 3½ Gallons for Do £0 3s 11s 6d Long Ells 14 Yd for an Apron for the Gardens £0 3s 1d Lines 7 No 2 for the Gardens use £0 1s 7d Ironmongersware vizt 2 Helves £0 1s 2½d 8 Spades £1 4s 10d 3 Ditching Shovels £0 13s 3½d 2 Scythes £0 10s 6d 7 Scyth Stones for the Gardens use £0 0s 7d 1 Claw Hammer £0 1s 3d 1 Pickaxe £0 3s 4d 1 Hand Hatchet for Sandy Bay Land &c £0 1s 4d £2 16s 6d Iron 77 for making Hatchets Pickaxes & Hoes for the Plantation £0 13s 6½d Cutleryware 3 Pruning knives for the Gardens £0 0s 3d Deals 1 Buffin for Carts and Ladders £0 5s 0½d Cordage 49 for Horses and Cattle £0 14s 3½d Total £16 17s 3½d Boats Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1757 vizt Nails vizt 5 6 1 4	An account of stores issued for the plantation from 12 July to 11 October 1757 was as follows. Rice and paddy: 45lb rice, £0 2s 3½d 50 bags 3lb 2oz paddy for Doveton and House, £6 16s 5½d Rice and paddy total, £6 18s 9d Nails: 10lb 6d, £0 3s 6½d 4lb 20d, for repairs in the long house, stable, house, paddock, gates and cart, £0 1s 3d 4lb 10d, £0 1s 4d 1lb 40d, £0 0s 5½d Nails total, £0 6s 5d Cartwheels, 1 pair for carts, £3 11s 6d Tar, 3½ gallons, £0 3s 4d Long ells, 14 yards for an apron for the gardens, £0 1s 7d Lines, 7 no. 4 for the gardens' use, £0 2s 7d Hardware: 2 files, £0 1s 2½d 8 spades, £1 4s 10d 3 ditching shovels, £0 13s 3½d 2 scythes, £0 10s 6d 7 scythe stones, £0 0s 7d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 3d 1 pickaxe, £0 3s 4d 1 hand hatchet for Sandy Bay land, £0 1s 4d Hardware total, £2 16s 6d Iron for making hatchets, ditchers and other plantation uses, £0 13s 6½d Cutlery ware, 3 pruning knives for the gardens, £0 3s 0d Deals, 1 piece for carts and ladders, £0 5s 3½d Cordage, 19lb for horses and cattle, £0 14s 3½d Total, £16 17s 3½d An account of stores issued for the boats from 12 July to 11 October 1757 was as follows. Nails: 5lb 6d, £0 1s 9½d 1lb 4d, £0 0s 4½d 2lb 3d, £0 0s 4½d Nails total, £0 3s 1½d Turner's ware, 6 paint brushes, £0 3s 4½d Oil, 2¼ gallons linseed, £0 8s 0d Cordage, 253lb, £3 13s 9½d Carried over, £4 8s 4d Interpretations The plantation account supplied the tools and materials for cultivation and stock-keeping, with spades, scythes, ditching shovels and pruning knives for the gardens, cartwheels for the carts and paddy issued as seed rice for the growers Doveton and House. The charge for iron to make hatchets and ditchers on the island shows the settlement working raw metal into its own implements rather than

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		2 5 £0 3s 1½d £0 3s 1½d Turnersware 6 Paint Brushes £0 3s 4½d Oil 2½ Gallt Linseed £0 8s 0d Cordage 253 £3 13s 9½d Carried over £4 8s 4d	importing every finished tool, a measure of self-reliance forced by distance from supply. The separate account for the boats, drawing cordage, linseed oil and paint brushes, marks the upkeep of the small craft on which the island depended for landing goods, fishing and moving between its bays. That the boats warranted their own heading in the stores shows their standing as essential working plant, the settlement's link to the ships in the road and to the sea that fed it.
427	422	31st October Brought over £4 8s 4d Paint vizt 16 White Lead £0 5s 8d 15 Red Lead £0 1s 10½d 2 Stone Oaker £0 0s 10½d 2 Barr Blacking £0 1s 3d 3 Mahogany Colour £0 6s 9d 1 Venetian Red £0 0s 2d 1 Whiting £0 0s 0½d £0 16s 7½d Deals 2 Single £0 4s 0d Pitch 30 £0 3s 9d Total £5 12s 8½d Hospital Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1757 vizt Sugar 286 £3 11s 6d Flour 286 £2 1s 3½d Rice 300 £0 5s 5½d Salt 2¼ Bushels £0 5s 3½d Tea 3 Bohea £0 6s 6d Oil 10 p Gallt Train £0 1s 9d Chinaware 12 Sneakers £0 1s 3d Tinware vizt 4 Lamps £0 6s 4d 1 Quart Saucepan £0 0s 8d £0 0s 7d Turnersware vizt 4 Platters £0 7s 7d 6 Bowls £0 6s 6d £0 14s 1d Canvas 6 Yd English for Cattle £0 6s 2½d Nails No 3 for Cattle £0 0s 5½d Total £10 7s 11d Charges General Dr for the following Stores issued Capt Obryen of the Kings Ship Colchester vizt Arrack 47 Gallons £6 1s 5d Salt 2 Bushels £0 5s 9½d Paddy 4 2 20 £1 0s 6d St Helena October 11th 1757	Brought over, £4 8s 4d Paint: 16lb white lead, £0 5s 8d 5lb red lead, £0 1s 10½d 1lb stone ochre, £0 0s 10½d 2 barrels blacking, £0 0s 10½d 3lb mahogany colour, £0 1s 3d 1lb Venetian red, £0 6s 9d 1lb whiting, £0 0s 2d Paint total, £0 16s 7½d Deals, 2 single, £0 4s 4d Pitch, 30lb, £0 3s 9d Total, £5 12s 8½d An account of stores issued for the hospital from 12 July to 11 October 1757 was as follows. Sugar, 286lb, £3 11s 6d Flour, 286lb, £2 1s 3½d Rice, 500lb, £0 5s 3½d Salt, 2¾ bushels, £0 3s 3½d Tea, 3lb bohea, £0 6s 6d Oil, 10½ gallons train, £0 1s 9d Chinaware, 12 sneakers, £0 1s 11½d Tinware: 1 lamp, £0 0s 8d 1 quart saucepan, £0 6s 4d Tinware total, £0 7s 0d Turner's ware: 1 platter, £0 0s 7d 6 bowls, £0 7s 7d Turner's ware total, £0 7s 7d Canvas, 6 yards English for the Castle, £0 14s 1d Nails, 3lb 3d for the Castle, £0 6s 2½d Total, £10 7s 11d An account of charges general for the following stores expended, delivered to Captain O'Bryen of His Majesty's ship <i>Colchester</i>, was as follows. Arrack, 47 gallons, £6 1s 5d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 5s 9½d Paddy, 4 bags, £0 1s 6d Total, £7 7s 8½d St Helena, 11 October 1757. Errors excepted. Signed by James Powell. Interpretations The hospital account favoured sugar, flour and rice over meat, the invalid diet of soft and nourishing food thought fit for the sick, with tea and a small measure of oil for lamps. This provision marks the hospital as a place of convalescence supplied to a different standard than the garrison, its stores geared to feeding those recovering rather than to the salt beef and pork that sustained the working establishment. The final charge records stores handed to Captain O'Bryen of His Majesty's ship <i>Colchester</i>, a naval vessel distinct from the Company's own ships, showing the island victualling the King's navy as well as the Company's trade. That the <i>Colchester</i> took arrack, salt and seed paddy from the Company's stores marks St Helena's role in supporting the wider British presence in the southern ocean, the Company's station serving the navy's needs alongside its own commercial fleet.

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		Total £7 7s 8½d Errors Excepted Signed Js Powell List	
428	423	1757 List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their Several Salarys Diet Money &c for a Quarter commencing July 12th and ending October 11th 1757 vizt Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Salary £125 0s 0d Do allowance for Servants as usual £31 14s 9d £156 14s 9d John Adamson Lieutt Governor Salary £62 10s 0d Do Diet Money £25 0s 0d £87 10s 0d John Clark of Council £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling Accomptr Salary £17 10s 0d Do Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d Francis Wrangham Secretary Salary £17 10s 0d Do Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d James Powell Storekeeper Salary £17 10s 0d Do Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d William Loe Chaplain Salary £25 0s 0d Do Diet Money £15 0s 0d £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett Factor Salary £7 10s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do Assistant Storekeeper £5 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £25 0s 0d William Wrangham Writer Salary £5 0s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £17 10s 0d Charles Steward Writer Salary £5 0s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent for 18th Augt Inclusive £1 9s 9d £16 9s 9d Robert Barclay Surgn Salary £9 15s 0d	A list of the Honourable Company's officers and servants on the island of St Helena, with their several salaries, diet money and house rent for the quarter commencing 12 July and ending 11 October 1757, was as follows. Charles Hutchinson, governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Charles Hutchinson, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d Charles Hutchinson total, £156 14s 9d John Adamson, lieutenant governor, salary, £62 10s 0d John Adamson, diet money, £25 0s 0d John Adamson total, £87 10s 0d John Clark of council, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, house rent, £2 10s 0d Matthew Purling total, £35 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Francis Wrangham total, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, diet money, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Powell total, £35 0s 0d William Lea, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d William Lea, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Lea total, £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £10 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett total, £25 0s 0d William Wrangham, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham total, £17 10s 0d Charles Steward, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Charles Steward, diet money, £10 0s 0d Charles Steward, house rent to 18 August inclusive, £1 9s 9d Charles Steward total, £16 9s 9d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Barclay total, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard total, £16 5s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d Richard Beale, as clerk, £5 0s 0d Richard Beale total, £18 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, exciseman, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, exciseman, £7 10s 0d Excisemen total, £15 0s 0d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d John Bland, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Bland, house rent, £1 10s 0d John Bland total, £29 0s 0d Carried over, £564 2s 9d Interpretations The pay list shows each officer's income built from separate elements of salary, diet money and house rent, so that the total reward combined a cash wage with allowances for food and lodging. This structure reveals how the Company remunerated its servants on a remote island where housing and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £22 5s 0d John Pritchard Surgs Mate Salary £6 5s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d £16 5s 0d Richard Beale Judge Advocate Salary £10 0s 0d Do Schoolmaster £3 8s 3d Do as Clerk £5 0s 0d £18 8s 3d Samuel Alexander £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett Overseers £7 10s 0d £15 0s 0d John Bland Master Mason Salary £17 10s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £1 10s 0d £29 0s 0d Carried over £564 2s 9d	provisions could not be taken for granted, folding the cost of living into the terms of employment rather than leaving it to the wage alone. Several men held more than one post at once, with Matthew Bazett drawing as factor, assistant storekeeper and exciseman, and Richard Beale serving as judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk together. This plurality of offices shows how a small establishment spread its necessary functions across a limited number of capable men, each carrying several roles because the population could not furnish a separate holder for every duty.
429	424	31st October Brought over £564 2s 9d Thomas Loing Carpenter Salary £12 10s 0d Do House Rent £0 15s 0d £13 5s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick Master of Arms £6 5s 0d James Sherridan Gardener frm 12th July to the 18th Inclusive dismissed £0 15s 4d Edmund Smith Gardener frm 25th July Inclusive Entertained £8 13s 1½d Paul Herridge Armorer £10 10s 0d John Hughes Do Mate £9 0s 0d James Torbett Cooper £8 15s 0d William Moore Steward £6 0s 0d Nich Frost Cook & Assistant Cleaner £1 5s 0d Nicholas Scryder Coxwain of the long Boat £7 10s 0d John Sturges Groom £2 0s 0d Thomas Harper Marshall £5 6s 3½d £65 19s 11d First Company John Clark first Lieutenant Salary £22 16s 3d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do on Account of instructing the Gunners £7 10s 0d £37 3s 1½d Henry Bazett 2d Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d	Brought over, £564 2s 9d Thomas Levins, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d Thomas Levins, house rent, £0 15s 0d Thomas Levins total, £13 5s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, master of arms, £6 5s 0d James Sherridan, gardener, from 12 July to 18 instant, dismissed, £0 15s 4d Edmund Smith, gardener, from 25 July inclusive, entertained, £8 13s 1½d Paul Herridge, armourer, £10 10s 0d John Hughes, his mate, £9 0s 0d James Corbett, cooper, £8 15s 0d William Moore, steward, £6 0s 0d Nicholas Frost, cook and assistant cleaner, £1 5s 0d Nicholas Craften, steersman of the long boat, £7 10s 0d John Stern, groom, £2 0s 0d Thomas Harper, marshal, £5 6s 5½d First company total, £65 19s 11d An account of the first company was as follows. John Clark, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d John Clark, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Clark, on account of instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d John Clark total, £37 3s 1½d Henry Bazett, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Henry Bazett total, £25 1s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacob, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon Jacob total, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants: John Howard, £7 12s 1d Joseph Renton, £7 12s 1d Edward Robinson, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £22 16s 3d Corporals: Humphry Pugh, £5 6s 3½d Thomas Ferris, £5 6s 3½d John Burke, £5 6s 5½d Corporals total, £15 19s 4½d Drummers: John Vaughan, £5 6s 3½d

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		Solomon Jacob Adjutant Salary £22 16s 3d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Serjeants John Howard £7 12s 1d Joseph Rendon £7 12s 1d Edward Robinson £7 12s 1d £22 16s 3d Corporals Humphry Pugh £5 6s 3½d Thomas Ferris £5 6s 3½d John Burke £5 6s 5½d £15 19s 4½d Drummers John Vaughan £5 6s 3½d John Breton £5 6s 8½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Philip Woodrowin £3 16s 5½d George Bennett £3 16s 5½d John Bagley £3 16s 5½d Peter Bellin £3 16s 5½d Centinels carried over £15 4s 2d Carried over £784 14s 4d	John Breton, £5 6s 8½d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels: Philip Wodwin, £3 16s 0½d George Bennett, £3 16s 0½d John Bagley, £3 16s 0½d Peter Bellin, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £15 4s 2d Carried over, £784 14s 4d Interpretations James Sherridan the gardener was paid only to his dismissal on 18 July, while Edmund Smith was taken on from 25 July, the two part-quarter entries recording a change of gardener partway through the period. This precise proration of wages to the day of dismissal and hiring shows the Company keeping strict account of service rendered, paying each man only for the time actually worked rather than a full quarter. Lieutenant John Clark drew an additional sum for instructing the gunners on top of his salary and diet money, marking gunnery training as a distinct paid duty. This extra payment reveals the value placed on skilled artillery instruction in a garrison built around its guns, the Company rewarding the transfer of that expertise to the men who would work the batteries.
430	425	1757 Brought over £784 14s 4d Centinels brought over £15 4s 2d John Blackwell £3 16s 5½d Gabriel Bouy £3 16s 5½d John Bussell £3 16s 5½d William Boddington £3 16s 5½d John Bazett £3 16s 5½d James Cartwright £3 16s 5½d George Capelin £3 16s 5½d William Cooksey £3 16s 5½d Duncan Cameron £3 16s 5½d James Collett £3 16s 5½d William Cleasby £3 16s 5½d Edward Durrant £3 16s 5½d Thomas Dunn £3 16s 5½d James Easthope £3 16s 5½d Robert Evans £3 16s 5½d James Edwards £3 16s 5½d John Flemming £3 16s 5½d	Brought over, £784 14s 4d Sentinels brought over, £15 4s 2d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Gabriel Bouy, £3 16s 0½d John Bufsell, £3 16s 0½d William Boddington, £3 16s 0½d John Bazett, £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d George Copelin, £3 16s 0½d William Cooksey, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d James Collett, £3 16s 0½d William Cleaveby, £3 16s 0½d Edward Durrant, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Dunn, £3 16s 0½d James Easthope, £3 16s 0½d Robert Evans, £3 16s 0½d James Edwards, £3 16s 0½d John Flemming, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d John Grainger, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Whiles, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Witchins, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wattewell, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Hall, £3 16s 0½d Henry Harrenburg, £3 16s 0½d Henry Harper, £3 16s 0½d William Herrald, from 12 July to 20 instant, discharged, £0 7s 6d George Howard, £3 16s 0½d George Ice, £3 16s 0½d William Jarvis, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Edward Kirk, £3 16s 0½d William Lamborne, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Litchfield, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Richard Goulding £3 16s 5½d John Grainger £3 16s 5½d George Green £3 16s 5½d Thomas Hailes £3 16s 5½d Jonathan Hitchins £3 16s 5½d Thomas Hallewell £3 16s 5½d Daniel Hall £3 16s 5½d Henry Harrenburg £3 16s 5½d Henry Harper £3 16s 5½d William Herrott frm 12th July to 20th Incl dischargd £0 7s 6d George Howard £3 16s 5½d George Ice £3 16s 5½d William Jarvis £3 16s 5½d Stephen John £3 16s 5½d Edward Kirk £3 16s 5½d William Lamborne £3 16s 5½d Thomas Litchfield £3 16s 5½d John Marsh £3 16s 5½d William Montgomery £3 16s 5½d William McDaniel 12th July died £0 0s 10d John Murray frm 12th July to 6th Augt Incl died £1 0s 10d David Miles £3 16s 5½d Richard Moreton £3 16s 5½d Centls carried over£157 6s 10½d Carried over£784 14s 4d	John Marsh, £3 16s 0½d William Montgomery, £3 16s 0½d William McDonald, died 12 July, £0 0s 10d John Murray, from 12 July to 6 August instant, died, £1 0s 10d David Miles, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £157 6s 10½d Carried over, £784 14s 4d
431	426	31st October Brought over£784 14s 4d Centinels brought over£157 6s 10½d Simon Mason £3 16s 5½d Murdock McCleod £3 16s 5½d Thomas Dillington £3 16s 5½d John Pugh £3 16s 5½d Alexander Deller £3 16s 5½d James Richardson £3 16s 5½d Abraham Ratcliff £3 16s 5½d John Scotcher £3 16s 5½d John Shaw £3 16s 5½d William Scotman £3 16s 5½d Samuel Springall £3 16s 5½d James Judain £3 16s 5½d	Brought over, £784 14s 4d Sentinels brought over, £157 6s 10½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d Murdock McCleod, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Dillington, £3 16s 0½d John Pugh, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Deller, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Ratcliff, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Scotman, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Springall, £3 16s 0½d James Sudan, £3 16s 0½d David Webber, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Wharritt, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0½d John Webley, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels total, £218 3s 6½d An account of the second company was as follows. Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Thomas Kirkpatrick, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick total, £32 3s 1½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Edward Webber £3 16s 5½d Jeremiah Wharrit £3 16s 5½d Thomas Williams £3 16s 5½d John Webley £3 16s 5½d £218 3s 6½d Second Company Thomas Kirkpatrick 1 Lieutenant Salary £22 16s 3d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £32 3s 1½d Stephen Herbert 2 Lieut Salary frm 12th July to 17th August incl 15th day he Died £7 8s 0d Do Diet Money frm Do to Do £2 15s 6d Do House Rent frm Do to Do £1 0s 3d £11 3s 9d Richard Beale 2 Lieut Salary frm 18th Augt Incl £10 17s 0d Do Diet Money from Do £4 1s 4½d £14 18s 4½d Serjeants John Archer £7 12s 1d William Burdin £7 12s 1d Thomas Bazett £7 12s 1d £22 16s 3d Corporals Samuel Desfountain £5 6s 3½d William Lindsey £5 6s 3½d William Corman £5 6s 3½d £15 19s 4½d Drummers John Gould £5 6s 3½d George Brown £5 6s 3½d £10 12s 11d Carried over £1110 11s 8d	Stephen Horsbrd, second lieutenant, salary, from 12 July to 17 August inclusive, 15th day he died, £7 8s 0d Stephen Horsbrd, diet money, £2 15s 6d Stephen Horsbrd, house rent, £1 0s 3d Stephen Horsbrd total, £11 3s 9d Richard Beale, second lieutenant, salary, from 18 August inclusive, £10 17s 0d Richard Beale, diet money, £4 1s 4½d Richard Beale total, £14 18s 4½d Sergeants: John Wather, £7 12s 1d William Buntin, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bazett, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £22 16s 3d Corporals: Samuel Desfountain, £5 6s 3½d William Lindsey, £5 6s 3½d William Corman, £5 6s 3½d Corporals total, £15 19s 4½d Drummers: John Gould, £5 6s 3½d George Brown, £5 6s 8½d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Carried over, £1,110 11s 8d Interpretations The second lieutenancy of the second company passed from Stephen Horsbrd to Richard Beale within the quarter, Horsbrd's pay running only to his death on 17 August and Beale's beginning the day after. This seamless handover, each man paid to and from the exact day, shows how the establishment absorbed the loss of an officer, promoting a replacement at once so that no post stood vacant and the company's command remained filled. Richard Beale, already drawing pay as judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk on the earlier civil list, now took up the second lieutenancy as well, adding a military commission to his several civilian offices. This accumulation of both civil and military roles in one man marks again how thinly the island's capable men were spread, the same individual serving the court, the school and now the garrison because the small population could not supply separate officers for each.
432	427	1757 Centinels Brought over £1110 11s 8d John Allis £3 16s 5½d Edward Allis £3 16s 5½d John Arlinstall £3 16s 5½d Samuel Anderson £3 16s 5½d John Allison £3 16s 5½d Edward Asseling £3 16s 5½d Thomas Beddow £3 16s 5½d Thomas Bower £3 16s 5½d Isaac Buck £3 16s 5½d John Barrell	Brought over, £1,110 11s 8d Sentinels: John Allis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Allis, £3 16s 0½d John Arlinstall, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Anderson, £3 16s 0½d John Allison, £3 16s 0½d Edward Asveling, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Beddow, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bauer, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Buck, £3 16s 0½d John Barrell, £3 16s 0½d David Broome, £3 16s 0½d Edward Locker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cobb, £3 16s 0½d William Cobb, £3 16s 0½d Read Day, £3 16s 0½d William Dyson, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Davis, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Coles, £3 16s 0½d

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		£3 16s 5½d Richard Broome £3 16s 5½d Edward Cocker £3 16s 5½d Thomas Cobb £3 16s 5½d William Cobb £3 16s 5½d Read Day £3 16s 5½d William Dyson £3 16s 5½d Henry Dudley £3 16s 5½d John Davis £3 16s 5½d Hopkin Davis £3 16s 5½d Samuel Coles £3 16s 5½d Arthur Evans frm 12th to 20th July Incl discharged £0 7s 6d Jonathan Godey £3 16s 5½d Thomas Godden £3 16s 5½d William Gooding £3 16s 5½d John Greenset £3 16s 5½d Richard Griffin £3 16s 5½d William Gaby £3 16s 5½d James Hall £3 16s 5½d John Hayley £3 16s 5½d William Hayes £3 16s 5½d Philip Hickman £3 16s 5½d William Houseman £3 16s 5½d James Hindree £3 16s 5½d George Hill £3 16s 5½d George Kibbett £3 16s 5½d Richard Knight £3 16s 5½d William Keeling £3 16s 5½d Peter Lindsey £3 16s 5½d John Longridge £3 16s 5½d William Coke £3 16s 5½d Lockland McClane frm 12th to 25th July Incl Died £0 11s 8d Duncan McClaren £3 16s 5½d William Kibbett £3 16s 5½d John Peirce £3 16s 5½d Centls carr over £160 13s 4d Carried over £1110 11s 8d	Arthur Evans, from 12 July to 20 instant, discharged, £0 7s 6d Jonathan Godsy, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Godin, £3 16s 0½d William Gooding, £3 16s 0½d John Greenslip, £3 16s 0½d Richard Griffin, £3 16s 0½d William Goby, £3 16s 0½d James Hull, £3 16s 0½d John Hayley, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Philip Hickman, £3 16s 0½d William Houseman, £3 16s 0½d James Hardree, £3 16s 0½d George Hill, £3 16s 0½d George Kibbett, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d William Keeling, £3 16s 0½d Peter Lindsey, £3 16s 0½d John Longridge, £3 16s 0½d William Cake, £3 16s 0½d Lachland McLuna, from 12 July to 25 July instant, died, £0 11s 8d Duncan McClaran, £3 16s 0½d William Kibbett, £3 16s 0½d John Peirce, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £160 12s 4d Carried over, £1,110 11s 8d
433	428	31st October Brought over £1110 11s 8d Centinels bro over £160 12s 11d Edward Preston	Brought over, £1,110 11s 8d Sentinels brought over, £160 12s 4d Edward Preston, £3 16s 0½d Charles Duffy, £3 16s 0½d

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		£3 16s 5½d Charles Duffy £3 16s 5½d Edward Richards £3 16s 5½d William Richards £3 16s 5½d Lewis Rowe £3 16s 5½d Arnold Sifersy £3 16s 5½d Timothy Sullivan £3 16s 5½d William Smith £3 16s 5½d Henry Simmons £3 16s 5½d John Stewart £3 16s 5½d William Smith £3 16s 5½d Thomas Taylor £3 16s 5½d Edward Terry £3 16s 5½d Edward Williams £3 16s 5½d Benjn Williams £3 16s 5½d £217 13s 6½d Third Company Onesiphorus Beale 1 Lieut Salary £22 16s 3d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £32 3s 1½d George Hay 2 Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d Serjeants Robert Mason £7 12s 1d Nichs Frost £7 12s 1d Thomas Leech £7 12s 1d £22 16s 3d Corporals Charles Gifson £5 6s 3½d Robert Brasier £5 6s 5½d Jeremiah Wyill £5 6s 3½d £15 19s 4½d Drummers John Coffin £5 6s 5½d John Gaods £5 6s 3½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Matthew Allis £3 16s 5½d Jenkin Alston £3 16s 5½d Saml Austin £3 16s 5½d William Bechett £3 16s 5½d William Birch £3 16s 5½d	Edward Richards, £3 16s 0½d William Richards, £3 16s 0½d Lewis Rowe, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Slipsey, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Sullivan, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d Henry Simmons, £3 16s 0½d John Stewart, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Edward Ferry, £3 16s 0½d Edward Williams, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels total, £217 13s 6½d An account of the third company was as follows. Christopheros Beale, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Christopheros Beale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Christopheros Beale, house rent, £2 10s 0d Christopheros Beale total, £32 3s 1½d George Hay, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d George Hay, diet money, £6 16s 10½d George Hay total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants: Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Richard Frost, £7 12s 1d Thomas Leech, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £22 16s 3d Corporals: Charles Gifson, £5 6s 3½d Robert Brewer, £5 6s 5½d Jeremiah Wygill, £5 6s 3½d Corporals total, £15 19s 4½d Drummers: John Coffin, £5 6s 5½d John Gaods, £5 6s 3½d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels: Matthew Allis, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Alston, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Austin, £3 16s 0½d William Bechett, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £19 2s 2½d Carried over, £1,434 18s 9d

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		Centls Carr over £19 2s 3½d Carried over £1434 18s 9d	
434	429	1757 Brought over £1434 18s 9d Centinels bro over £19 2s 3½d John Burke £3 16s 5½d John Brewer £3 16s 5½d William Brooks £3 16s 5½d John Brown £3 16s 5½d Benjin Burton £3 16s 5½d William Comple £3 16s 5½d Daniel Corne £3 16s 5½d Stephen Cleverly £3 16s 5½d John Coske £3 16s 5½d John Deer £3 16s 5½d Jacob de Vall £3 16s 5½d Peter Egglestone £3 16s 5½d William Elward £3 16s 5½d Thomas Ellwart £3 16s 5½d Peter Small £3 16s 5½d Henry Fullbright £3 16s 5½d Thomas Green £3 16s 5½d William Harris £3 16s 5½d William Harrison £3 16s 5½d John Hoyes £3 16s 5½d Philip Hillyard £3 16s 5½d James Hindce £3 16s 5½d William Holbrook £3 16s 5½d John Holloway £3 16s 5½d John Hudson £3 16s 5½d James Hudson £3 16s 5½d Thomas Harding £3 16s 5½d Samuel Instone £3 16s 5½d Richard Jones £3 16s 5½d Jams Kitson £3 16s 5½d Even Knowles £3 16s 5½d John Lloyd £3 16s 5½d William Lyon £3 16s 5½d Richd McNally £3 16s 5½d William Martin £3 16s 5½d	Brought over, £1,434 18s 9d Sentinels brought over, £19 2s 2½d John Burke, £3 16s 0½d John Brewer, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Burton, £3 16s 0½d William Comple, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Came, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Cleaveby, £3 16s 0½d John Coste, £3 16s 0½d John Deer, £3 16s 0½d Jacob de Vall, £3 16s 0½d Peter Egglestone, £3 16s 0½d William Elward, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ellwart, £3 16s 0½d Peter Small, £3 16s 0½d Henry Fulbright, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Green, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d William Harrison, £3 16s 0½d John Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Philip Hillyard, £3 16s 0½d James Hindes, £3 16s 0½d William Holbrook, £3 16s 0½d John Holloway, £3 16s 0½d John Hudson, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, £3 16s 0½d James Kitson, £3 16s 0½d Even Knowles, £3 16s 0½d John Lloyd, £3 16s 0½d William Lyon, £3 16s 0½d Richard McNally, £3 16s 0½d William Martin, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 0½d William Denny, £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 0½d Archibald Purvis, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d Henry Scharnhurst, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £178 13s 11½d Carried over, £1,434 18s 9d

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		Stephen Orr £3 16s 5½d William Denny £3 16s 5½d Roger Phillips £3 16s 5½d Archibald Peirce £3 16s 5½d Thomas Rutherford £3 16s 5½d Henry Scharnhurst £3 16s 5½d Joseph Smith £3 16s 5½d Centinels carr over£178 13s 11½d Carried over£1434 18s 9d	
435	430	31st October Brought over£1434 18s 9d Centinels bro over£178 13s 11½d John Simmons £3 16s 5½d William Smith £3 16s 5½d Thomas Stowers £3 16s 5½d John Strange £3 16s 5½d William Taylor £3 16s 5½d Richard Swaite £3 16s 5½d Thomas Whinnell £3 16s 5½d William Wood £3 16s 5½d John Williams £3 16s 5½d Stephn Willoughby £3 16s 5½d Gracious Wharton £3 16s 5½d Thomas Waffington £3 16s 5½d £221 6s 5½d Fourth Company William Kennedy 1 Lieutent Salary £22 16s 3d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £32 3s 1½d Samuel Price 2 Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Serjeants William Langhorne £7 12s 1d Richard Vaughan £7 12s 1d John Bridgewater £7 12s 1d £22 16s 3d Corporals Gilbert Clough £5 6s 3½d Thomas Pearn £5 6s 5½d Benjn Swaite frm 12th July to 23 Sepr incl Died £4 6s 4d £14 19s 3d	Brought over, £1,434 18s 9d Sentinels brought over, £178 13s 11½d John Simmons, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stovers, £3 16s 0½d John Strange, £3 16s 0½d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Swaite, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Whinnell, £3 16s 0½d William Wood, £3 16s 0½d John Williams, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 0½d Gustavus Wodson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Waffington, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels total, £224 6s 5½d An account of the fourth company was as follows. William Kennedy, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d William Kennedy, diet money, £6 16s 10½d William Kennedy, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Kennedy total, £32 3s 1½d Samuel Price, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Price, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Price, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Price total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: William Langhorne, £7 12s 1d Richard Vaughan, £7 12s 1d John Bridgewater, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £22 16s 3d Corporals: Gilbert Clough, £5 6s 3½d Thomas Deacon, £5 6s 5½d Benjamin Swaite, from 12 July to 23 September inclusive, died, £4 6s 4d Corporals total, £14 19s 3d Drummers: Edward Thomas, £5 6s 5½d John Buckham, £5 6s 5½d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels: William Adams, from 12 July to 29 September inclusive, died, £2 18s 4d William Anderson, £3 16s 0½d William Brown, £3 16s 0½d Christian Brimble, £3 16s 0½d Robert Ballard, £3 16s 0½d Onesipheros Bagley, £3 16s 0½d John Boxe, £3 16s 0½d Jague Birch, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £29 10s 7½d Carried over, £1,767 8s 7½d Interpretations The fourth company's roll records the deaths within the quarter of Corporal Benjamin Swaite on 23 September and Sentinel William Adams on 29 September, each paid only to the day he died. These

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Drummers Edward Thomas £5 6s 5½d John Buckham £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Willm Adams frm 12th July to 19th Sepr incl Died £2 18s 4d Willm Anderson £3 16s 5½d Willm Brown £3 16s 5½d Christian Brimeto £3 16s 5½d Robert Ballard £3 16s 5½d Onesipherus Bagley £3 16s 5½d John Boxe £3 16s 5½d Jaqu Birch £3 16s 5½d Centinels carried over £29 10s 7½d Carried over £1767 8s 7½d	entries, set against the earlier notice of both men's deaths in the September meetings, show the pay accounts serving as a running register of the garrison's losses, wages ceasing precisely as service ended.
436	431	1757 Brot over £1767 8s 7½d Centinels bro over £29 10s 7½d Robert Bliss £3 16s 5½d Henry Brown £3 16s 5½d Jacob Brill £3 16s 5½d William Blackman £3 16s 5½d James Carmicheel £3 16s 5½d John Cherrott £3 16s 5½d John Cripps £3 16s 5½d Joseph Chamberlain £3 16s 5½d John Clough £3 16s 5½d John Cork £3 16s 5½d Job Chamberlain £3 16s 5½d Bernard Leagh £3 16s 5½d James Dry £3 16s 5½d Thomas Fuller £3 16s 5½d Peter Fleetwood £3 16s 5½d Edward Grant £3 16s 5½d John Hyde £3 16s 5½d Willm Hayes £3 16s 5½d Willm Hill £3 16s 5½d Robert Jackhurst £3 16s 5½d Thos Kendrick £3 16s 5½d John Kempe £3 16s 5½d John Langbridge £3 16s 5½d Thomas Lindsey	Brought over, £1,767 8s 7½d Sentinels brought over, £29 10s 7½d Robert Bliss, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brill, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, £3 16s 0½d James Carmichael, £3 16s 0½d John Cherrett, £3 16s 0½d John Cippis, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d John Clough, £3 16s 0½d John Cork, £3 16s 0½d Job Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d Bernard Cleagh, £3 16s 0½d James Dry, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 0½d Peter Fleetwood, £3 16s 0½d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0½d John Hyde, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d William Hill, £3 16s 0½d Robert Inkhurst, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 0½d John Kempe, £3 16s 0½d John Langbridge, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lindsey, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Lang, £3 16s 0½d John Lemmon, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d Charles Montague, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, from 12 July to 23 September inclusive as sentinel, £3 1s 8d Thomas Morris, from 24 September inclusive as corporal, £1 0s 1½d William Moor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Major, £3 16s 0½d Edward Marvell, £3 16s 0½d William McCleod, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Nimble, £3 16s 0½d John Pasfweater, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Dayne, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d William Rippen, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £174 3s 11½d Carried over, £1,767 8s 7½d Interpretations Thomas Morris was paid as a sentinel to 23 September and as a corporal from 24 September, his single roll split into two entries at the day of his promotion. This mid-quarter advance, following the

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		£3 16s 5½d Joseph Lang £3 16s 5½d John Lemmon £3 16s 5½d Abraham Major £3 16s 5½d Charles Montague £3 16s 5½d Thos Morris frm 12th July to 23 Sepr incl as Centl £3 1s 8d Do frm 24 Sept incl as Corporal £1 0s 17½d Willm Moor £3 16s 5½d Rich Major £3 16s 5½d Edward Marnell £3 16s 5½d William McCleod £3 16s 5½d Thomas Nimble £3 16s 5½d John Pesswater £3 16s 5½d Thomas Payne £3 16s 5½d William Robinson £3 16s 5½d William Rippen £3 16s 5½d Centinels carr over£174 3s 11½d Carried over£1767 8s 7½d	death of Corporal Benjamin Swaite on the same 23 September recorded on the previous page, shows one man stepping up to fill the place another had left, the accounts tracking the movement from private to non-commissioned rank to the exact day it took effect.
437	432	31st October Brought over£1767 8s 7½d Centinels bro over£174 3s 11½d John Robinson £3 16s 5½d Robert Stuck £3 16s 5½d David Scott £3 16s 5½d Nicholas Scryder £3 16s 5½d Adam Scott £3 16s 5½d Thos Marmore £3 16s 5½d Richard Spencer £3 16s 5½d George Simms £3 16s 5½d James Shilbeart £3 16s 5½d Christian Pyder £3 16s 5½d Joseph Uffin £3 16s 5½d Roger Woolcott £3 16s 5½d John Wibard £3 16s 5½d £221 6s 5½d Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary £22 16s 3d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Gunnars Mates Nathan Semple chief Mate £11 8s 1½d William Turner frm 12th July to 20th Sepr Incl Died £7 4s 0d John Whitchurch	Brought over, £1,767 8s 7½d Sentinels brought over, £174 3s 11½d John Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Scraften, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stanmore, £3 16s 0½d Richard Spinner, £3 16s 0½d George Simms, £3 16s 0½d James Shillward, £3 16s 0½d Christian Tyson, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 0½d Roger Watson, £3 16s 0½d John Wibard, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels total, £223 4s 4d An account of the artillery company was as follows. Thomas Hall, master gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d Thomas Hall, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Hall total, £29 13s 1½d Gunner's mates: Nathan Sample, chief mate, £11 8s 1½d William Turner, from 12 July to 21 September inclusive, died, £7 4s 0d John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Henry Carter, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis, £9 2s 6d John Helling, £9 2s 6d Adam Walker, £9 2s 6d Gunner's mates total, £73 7s 1½d Quarter gunners: James Lee, £6 16s 10½d James Long, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Mason, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Williams, from 12 July to 21 September as quarter gunner, £6 6s 0d Thomas Williams, diet money, £1 0s 0d Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10½d Carried over, £2,094 3s 4½d Interpretations

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£9 2s 6d Henry Carter £9 2s 6d Chas McNeily £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis £9 2s 6d John Helling £9 2s 6d Adam Walker £9 2s 6d £73 7s 1½d Quarter Gunners James Lee £6 16s 10½d James Long £6 16s 10½d Thomas Mason £6 16s 10½d Thomas Williams frm 12th July to 21 September as Quarter Gr £5 8s 0d Do frm Do Do £1 8s 0d Andrew Barton £0 0s 0d Carried over £2094 3s 4½d	The artillery company was paid on a distinctly higher scale than the infantry, its gunner's mates each drawing £9 2s 6d against the sentinels' £3 16s 0½d, and its quarter gunners more than the infantry corporals. This premium marks the skilled character of gunnery work, the Company rewarding the technical men who served and maintained the guns well above the ordinary soldiers who made up the bulk of the garrison. The gunner's mate William Turner, whose pay ran only to his death on 21 September, was the same soldier whose will was proved before the council in the September meeting, leaving his estate to his son-in-law James Pritchard. The recurrence of his name here, wages stopped at the date of death, ties the pay roll to the probate business of the earlier consultations, the two records together tracing a single man from his death through the settlement of his affairs.
438	433	1757 Brought over £2094 3s 4½d Qr Gunrs bro over £34 14s 0d John Jacks £6 16s 10½d John Cleavey £6 16s 10½d James Robinson frm 12th July to 10th Sept as Qr Gr £4 11s 6d Do from 11th Sept Inclusive as Matross £1 10s 3d £54 9s 6d Matrosses Richard Billington £4 11s 3d Wm Benson £4 11s 3d Matthew Brickland £4 11s 3d James Cooper £4 11s 3d Derby Coyles £4 11s 3d Robt Cunningham £4 11s 3d Thomas Davies £4 11s 3d Anthony Day £4 11s 3d William Fletcher £4 11s 3d Andrew Gordon £4 11s 3d James Garnett £4 11s 3d Thomas Midge £4 11s 3d William Munson £4 11s 3d Roger Newnson £4 11s 3d George Nelson £4 11s 3d Willm Terry £4 11s 3d Jos Pritchard frm 12th to 24th July Incl died £0 13s 0d Thomas Pentchett	Brought over, £2,094 3s 4½d Quarter gunners brought over, £34 11s 0d John Jacks, £6 16s 10½d John Cleavey, £6 16s 10½d James Robinson, from 12 July to 10 September as quarter gunner, £4 11s 6d James Robinson, from 11 September inclusive as matross, £1 10s 3d Quarter gunners total, £54 9s 6d Matrosses: Richard Billington, £4 11s 3d William Benson, £4 11s 3d Matthew Brickland, £4 11s 3d James Cooper, £4 11s 3d Derby Coyles, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 3d Thomas Davies, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d Andrew Gordon, £4 11s 3d James Garnett, £4 11s 3d Thomas Midge, £4 11s 3d William Munson, £4 11s 3d Roger Norrison, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d William Ferry, £4 11s 3d Joseph Pritchard, from 12 July to 24 July inclusive, died, £0 13s 0d Thomas Dutchett, £4 11s 3d James Dearcey, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d John Shirtley, £4 11s 3d John Slade, £4 11s 3d John Priest, chief, from 26 July inclusive, entertained, £3 18s 0d John Trim, £4 11s 3d William Thompson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor, from 12 July to 10 September inclusive as matross, £3 1s 0d Thomas Taylor, from 11 September inclusive as quarter gunner, £2 3s 4½d John Tomavan, £4 11s 3d Joseph Turner, £4 11s 3d John Woods, from 12 July to 24 September inclusive as matross, £3 12s 0d John Woods, from 25 September inclusive as quarter gunner, £1 0s 10½d Thomas Grubb, £4 11s 3d

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		£4 11s 3d James Pearcey £4 11s 3d John Robinson £4 11s 3d John Shirtley £4 11s 3d John Slate £4 11s 3d Jno Christ Rhife frm 26th July Incl Entertained £3 18s 0d John Turner £4 11s 3d William Thompson £4 11s 3d Thos Taylor frm 12th July to 10th Sept Incl as Matross £3 1s 0d Do frm 11th Sept Incl as Qr Gunner £2 3s 4½d John Tomavan £4 11s 3d Joseph Turner £4 11s 3d John Woods frm 12th July to 24th Sept Incl as Matross £3 12s 0d Do frm 25 Sept Incl as Qr Gr £1 8s 10½d Thos Wrath £4 11s 3d Rich Winterhouse £4 11s 3d Benjin Wilson £4 11s 3d James York £4 11s 3d £147 4s 6d Total£2295 17s 4½d	Richard Workhouse, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Wilson, £4 11s 3d James York, £4 11s 3d Matrosses total, £147 4s 6d Total, £2,295 17s 4½d Interpretations Several men moved between the ranks of matross and quarter gunner within the quarter, with James Robinson stepping down from quarter gunner to matross on 11 September while Thomas Taylor and John Woods rose the other way. This traffic in both directions, each change pinned to a precise date, shows the artillery's junior ranks as a fluid body where men were advanced or reduced as need and merit dictated, the pay following the actual post held day by day. The matross Joseph Pritchard was paid only to his death on 24 July, one of the many part-quarter entries that make this pay list a detailed mortality record of the garrison. Set alongside the deaths of Turner, Swaite, Adams and others across the same accounts, his brief entry reflects the steady attrition among the soldiers of a remote station, where the pay books doubled as a register of who had died and when.
439	434	31st October John Clark Paymaster Dr 1757 Octr 11th To Cash received from the Honble Companys Cash Chest £2470 17s 9½d Carried over£2470 17s 9½d	The account of John Clark, paymaster, was as follows. 1757 11 October: Cash received from the Honourable Company's cash chest, £2,470 17s 9½d Carried over, £2,470 17s 9½d
440	435	1757 Per Contra Cr 1757 Augt 7th By Cash paid Capt O'Brien for a Cutter for the use of the Honble Compy £22 13s 0d 8th By Cash p Sundry persons for the following particulars for the use of Capt O'Brien Commandr of his Majestys Ship Colchester viz 7½ Doz Fowls £6 15s 0d 7 Hay £1 13s 0d 6 Bushl Potatoes £1 10s 0d 36 Pumpkins £2 14s 0d 4000 Lemons £4 0s 0d 8 Doz Eggs £0 12s 0d £17 6s 0d Do By Cash p Capt Hindman for a small Anchor for the use of the Honorable Companys long boat £1 2s 3d 9th By Cash p Arthur Evans for 11 days Subsisttd at 6d p day after he was discharged £0 5s 6d	1757 7 August: Cash paid Captain O'Bryen for a cutter for the use of the Honourable Company, £22 13s 0d 8 August: Cash paid sundry persons for the following particulars for the use of Captain O'Bryen, commander of His Majesty's ship <i>Colchester</i>: 7½ dozen fowls, £6 15s 0d 7 hay, £1 15s 0d 6 bushels potatoes, £1 10s 0d 36 pumpkins, £2 14s 0d 4,000 lemons, £4 0s 0d 8 dozen eggs, £0 12s 0d Total, £17 6s 0d 8 August: Cash paid Captain Hindman for a small anchor for the use of the Honourable Company's long boat, £1 2s 3d 9 August: Cash paid Arthur Deans for 11 days subsistence at 6d per day after he was discharged, £0 5s 6d 11 October: Cash paid William Duffton Newton for digging graves for 3 deceased soldiers at 5s 6d each this quarter, £0 17s 6d 11 October: Cash paid Samuel Eales for 1 day glazier's work done for the Honourable Company this quarter, £0 4s 0d 11 October: Cash paid John Desfontain for 4 rafters at 1s each for repairing the Honourable Company's house in the House Point, £2 4s 0d 11 October: Cash paid Jonathan Doveton for 150 apples and 4 loads of binders for the use of the Honourable Company, £1 2s 0d

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		Octr 11th By Cash p Wm Duffen Sexton for digging Graves for 7 Deceased Soldiers Do 4/6 each Do 2 inft £0 17s 6d By Cash p Saml Eales for 1 day Glaziers Work done for the Honorable Company this Quarter £0 17s 6d By Cash p John Desfontain for 4 Rafters at 4/ each for repairing the Honorable Compy House in the Horse point £2 14s 0d By Cash p Jonathan Doveton for 150 Apples & 4 Loads of Timbers for the use of the Honorable Company £1 2s 0d By Cash p Thomas Mason for 24 days work at 4d p day in painting 32 Carriages & 5 Ammn Casks for the Honble Compy this Qr £1 16s 0d By Cash p Ragivedo Paccolem (the Mallay Prisoner) for 26 weeks Subsisttd at 2/6 p Week £3 5s 0d By Cash p Jno Chamberlain for Carpts work done for the Honorable Compy this Quarter £5 0s 0d By Cash p Wm Ellward and John deer for work done in assisting the Carpenter this Quarter £7 13s 0d By Cash p William Boddington for assisting in the Secretarys Office this Quarter £5 0s 0d By Cash p William Rippen for taking care of the honble Companys Stock in the long Wood £2 10s 0d By Cash p Robert Evans and William Cooksey for baking 67 Batches of Bread at 4/3 p Batch for guns off garrison this Qr £5 11s 8d By Cash p Benjn Mason for cutting 61 Loads of Rushers at 6 pence p Load for the Honorable Company £1 10s 6d By Cash p John Harper for cutting 50 Loads of Rushers at 6 p Load for the use of the Honorable Company £1 5s 0d Carried over £79 13s 5d	11 October: Cash paid Thomas Mason for 24 days work at 1s 4d per day in painting 32 carriages and 5 ammunition cocks for the Honourable Company this quarter, £1 16s 0d 11 October: Cash paid Ragivendo Peccole, the Malay prisoner, for 26 weeks subsistence at 2s 6d per week, £3 5s 0d 11 October: Cash paid John Chamberlain for carpenter's work done for the Honourable Company this quarter, £0 5s 0d 11 October: Cash paid William Elward and John Deer for work done in assisting the carpenter this quarter, £7 13s 0d 11 October: Cash paid William Boddington for assisting in the secretary's office this quarter, £0 5s 0d 11 October: Cash paid William Rippen for taking care of the Honourable Company's stock in the long wood, £2 10s 0d 11 October: Cash paid Robert Evans and William Cooksey for baking 67 batches of bread at 1s 8d per batch for the guns of the garrison this quarter, £5 11s 8d 11 October: Cash paid Benjamin Mason for cutting 61 loads of rushes at 6d per load for the Honourable Company, £1 10s 6d 11 October: Cash paid John Harper for cutting 50 loads of rushes at 6d per load for the use of the Honourable Company, £1 5s 0d Carried over, £79 13s 5d Interpretations The account records a subsistence payment to Ragivendo Peccole, a Malay prisoner, kept for 26 weeks at 2s 6d a week, showing the island holding a captive from the eastern trade at the Company's charge. This entry marks St Helena's incidental role as a place of detention on the sea route, where a prisoner taken far to the east could be lodged and maintained out of the ordinary quarterly funds. The rushes cut in bulk by Benjamin Mason and John Harper, over a hundred loads between them, were gathered for thatching and bedding, a cheap local material harvested to roof and floor the island's buildings. The many small payments to named individuals for glazing, carpentry, grave-digging and baking reveal how the Company drew casual labour from the settled population, hiring planters and their people by the day or the task to supplement its own establishment of servants.
441	436	31st October John Clark Paymaster Dr 1757 October 11th To Cash Brought over £2470 17s 9½d £2470 17s 9½d Island St	The account of John Clark, paymaster, was as follows. 1757 11 October: Cash brought over, £2,470 17s 9½d £2,470 17s 9½d
442	437	[Physical loss: horizontal strip across the middle of the page, obscuring the amounts and much of the text of several entries.] 1757 Per Contra Cr 1757 October 11th By Cash Brought over £79 13s 5d By Cash p Wm Gurling for 7 Loads of Bambees for the use of the Honorable Company £0 17s 6d By Cash p Sundry Soldiers for working in the Honble Companys Long Boat & rowing in their Yawl this Qr £8 3s 0d	1757 11 October: Cash brought over, £79 13s 5d 11 October: Cash paid Matthew Purling for 7 loads of bamboos for the use of the Honourable Company, £0 17s 6d 11 October: Cash paid sundry soldiers for working in the Honourable Company's long boat and rowing in their yawl this quarter, £8 3s 0d 11 October: Cash paid William Moore for the rent of two houses for the use of the sick soldiers, £4 0s 0d 11 October: Cash paid [...] for chafing dishes and [...] for the Company's table, £1 12s 6d

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		By Cash p William Moore for the rent of two Houses for the use of the sick Soldiers £4 0s 0d By Cash [...] Baking Dishes and [...] [...] Compy Table £1 12s 6d By Cash [...] Lemans and 3 [...] [...] ble Comt Table £3 7s 0d By Cash [...] ing Expence of Ships £0 10s 0d By Cash [...] Honorable Comp [...] £82 17s 0d By Cash paid [...] Servants their [...] the Quarter com [...] £2295 17s 4½d £2470 17s 9½d St Helena October 11th 1757 Errs Excepted p (Signed) John Clark Paymaster The following is the List of Remains in the Honorable Companys Stores taken the 10th of this Month which is as follows Vizt Inventory	11 October: Cash paid [...] for lemons and [...] for the Company's table, £3 7s 0d 11 October: Cash paid [...] for the incidental expense of shipping, £0 10s 0d 11 October: Cash paid [...], £0 0s 0d 11 October: Cash paid the Honourable Company [...], £82 17s 0d 11 October: Cash paid the Company's servants their [...] for the quarter, £2,295 17s 4½d £2,470 17s 9½d St Helena, 11 October 1757. Errors excepted. Signed by John Clark, paymaster. A list of remains in the Honourable Company's stores, taken the 10th of the month, was as follows. Interpretations The single largest disbursement, over £2,295 to the Company's servants for their quarter's pay, corresponds to the detailed muster and pay list running through the preceding pages, tying the paymaster's summary account to the itemised wages of every officer, soldier and gunner. This one line captures in the paymaster's ledger the whole establishment's cost that the earlier rolls set out name by name. The bamboos bought from Matthew Purling and the payments to soldiers for rowing the long boat and yawl show the Company drawing both local materials and its own men's spare labour into its works. That sick soldiers were housed in two rented houses at the Company's charge marks a rough provision for the ill, the garrison lodging its sick in hired accommodation rather than any dedicated infirmary of its own.
443	438	31st October Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honorable Companys Ware Houses the 11th of October 1757 vizt Anchors vizt 4 Anchors 1 Do on the West Rocks 2 Iron Hoops £75 13s 4d Bunting vizt 3 p 33½ Yd blue £7 6s 2d 3 p 23½ Do white £3 19s 1½d 5 p 28 Do Red £9 8s 3½d 6 Yards Red Damaged £0 4s 6d £20 18s 1d Broad Cloth vizt 17½ Yards Green £13 13s 1½d 1 Yd light colour £0 19s 4½d £14 12s 6d Braziers Ware vizt 12 Small Skimmers D 4/6 3/4 £1 9s 8½d 2 Do Do 2/8 £0 5s 4d 2 Do Do D 6/ £0 12s 0d 2 Do Do D 14/1 £1 8s 8d 4 Steel Candlesticks D 2/ £0 8s 0d 1 Warming pan £0 11s 3d 1 Copper Pump £0 11s 0d 4 Brass Ladles D 2/2½ £0 8s 10d 3 Brass for Soldering	An inventory of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouses on 11 October 1757 was as follows. Anchors: 4 anchors, 1 anchor on the West Rocks, 2 iron hoops, £75 13s 4d Bunting: 3 pieces 33½ yards blue, £7 6s 0d 3 pieces 23½ yards white, £3 19s 1½d 5 pieces 28 yards red, £9 8s 3½d 6 yards red, damaged, £0 4s 6d Bunting total, £20 18s 1d Broadcloth: 17½ yards green, £13 13s 1½d 1¼ yards light colour, £0 19s 4½d Broadcloth total, £14 12s 6d Brazier's ware: 12 small skimmers at 2s 6¾d, £1 9s 8½d 2 skimmers at 2s 8d, £0 5s 4d 2 skimmers at 6s, £0 12s 0d 2 skimmers at 14s, £1 8s 0d 1 pair candlesticks at 2s, £0 8s 0d 1 warming pan, £0 11s 3d 1 copper pump, £0 11s 0d 4 brass ladles at 2s 2½d, £0 8s 10d 5 brass for soldering, £0 10s 5d 4 hash pans at 14s 10d, £2 19s 4d 8 bottling cocks at 2s 9d, £1 2s 0d 2 copper kettles 12 gallons, £5 16s 3d 9 copper kettles 6 gallons, £3 4s 6d 1 tea kettle 2 gallons, £1 4s 3d 8 kettles 3 quarts each, £1 3s 0d 2 pairs brass candlesticks, £4 9s 2d 1 pair steel snuffers, £0 2s 7½d 2 brass cocks at 4s, £0 8s 10d Brazier's ware total, £28 12s 8d Blocks: 4 iron bound cat blocks, £1 5s 8d 2 small cat blocks, £1 7s 6d 2 double top blocks, £0 15s 0d 1 single top block, £0 15s 0d 2 dead eyes, £0 8s 0d 6 dead eyes at 4d, £0 5s 9d

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		£0 10s 5d 4 Wash Pans D 14/10 £2 19s 4d 8 Bottling Cocks D 2/9¾ £1 2s 0d 2 Copper Kettles 12 Gallt £5 16s 3d 9 Do Do 6 £3 1s 6d 8 Do 3 Qt each £1 4s 6d 2 pr brass Candlesticks £0 9s 2d 1 pr Steel Snuffers £0 2s 7½d 2 brass Locks D 4/5 £0 8s 10d £28 12s 8d Blocks vizt 4 Iron bound Cat Blocks £1 5s 8d 2 Do Small £1 7s 6d 2 Do double Top £0 15s 0d 1 Do Single Do £0 0s 0d 4 Do Dead Eyes £0 0s 0d 6 Dead Eyes £4 5s 9d 1 double long Tackle £0 0s 9d 2 Blocks Damaged £0 8s 0d £8 6s 8d Carried over £148 3s 3d	1 double long tackle, £0 3s 9d 2 blocks, damaged, £0 8s 0d Blocks total, £8 6s 8d Carried over, £148 3s 3d Interpretations This inventory of stores held in the warehouses records the standing capital of goods the Company kept in reserve at St Helena, distinct from the quarterly accounts of goods sold and consumed. It shows the island maintaining a substantial stock of ship's fittings, anchors, blocks and cordage against the needs of the Company's fleet, the station holding the spares that a passing Indiaman might require for repair. The cat blocks and dead eyes among the blocks were parts of a ship's rigging, the cat block used to raise the anchor to the ship's side and the dead eyes to tension the shrouds that held the masts. Their presence in bulk in the warehouse, alongside the anchors and one held on the West Rocks, marks the island as a chandlery for the homeward fleet, keeping the heavy gear of seamanship ready for vessels that had worn or lost their own on the long passage from the East.
444	439	1757 Brought over £148 3s 3d Buckram 4 p 21 Yards £4 15s 0d Beef & Pork vizt 26 Punch 285 p Beef £373 8s 0d 102 Hhds 51 p Pork £987 17s 7d £1361 5s 7d Books vizt 42 Bibles £7 0s 0d 9 Common prayer Books £1 0s 3d 28 Spelling Books £1 11s 6d 27 Horn Books £0 3s 1½d 39 Primmers £0 9s 9d 38 Testaments £3 3s 4d £13 8s 2½d Copper money 58860 Irish halfpence £122 12s 6d Cutlery Ware vizt 45 Horse Combs £0 3s 9d 154 Horn Do £1 2s 3½d 5 Ivory Do £0 4s 7d 60 p Shoe Buckles £1 5s 0d 2 Cases Fleams £0 9s 1d 2½ Doz Ivory handle Knives & Forks	Brought over, £148 3s 3d Buckram, 4 pieces 21 yards, £4 15s 0d Beef and pork: 26 barrels 251lb beef, £373 8s 0d 102 half barrels 51 pieces pork, £987 17s 7d Beef and pork total, £1,361 5s 7d Books: 42 Bibles, £7 0s 0d 9 common prayer books, £1 0s 3d 28 spelling books, £1 11s 6d 27 horn books, £0 3s 1½d 39 primers, £0 9s 9d 38 Testaments, £3 3s 4d Books total, £13 8s 2½d Copper money, 58,860 Irish halfpence, £122 12s 6d Cutlery ware: 45 horse combs, £0 3s 9d 154 horn combs, £1 2s 3½d 5 ivory combs, £0 4s 7d 60 pairs shoe buckles, £1 5s 0d 2 cases fleams, £0 9s 1d 2½ dozen ivory handle knives and forks, £3 8s 1d ½ dozen buck handle knives and forks, £0 8s 3d 88 pairs knee buckles, £1 16s 8d 2 gross horn moulds, £0 0s 9d 1 bidding knife, £0 0s 10½d 2 shoe knives, £0 0s 8d 53 butcher's knives, £0 12s 1½d Cutlery ware total, £9 12s 11½d Corks: 2 gross corks, £0 4s 7d 2¾ sheet corks, £0 4s 11½d Corks total, £0 9s 6½d Cartwheels: 5 pairs cartwheels, £19 10s 6d 4 axletrees, £1 14s 11d

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		£3 8s 9d ½ Doz Buck handle Do & Do £0 8s 3d 88 p knee Buckles £1 16s 8d 2 Gross horn Moulds £0 0s 9d 1 Buding knife £0 0s 10½d 2 Shoe Knives £0 0s 8d 53 Butchers Do £0 12s 1½d £9 12s 11½d Corks vizt 2 Gross Corks £0 4s 7d 4 Yd Sheet Cork £0 4s 11½d £0 9s 6½d Cartwheels vizt 5 p Cartwheels £19 10s 6d 4 Axletrees £1 14s 11d 32 Wheelbarrows £22 19s 9d 1 Spare side damaged £0 0s 0d 16 Spare sides for hand & Wheelbarrows £1 8s 4d £45 13s 6d Camblet vizt 1 p Scarlet £27 14s 8d 52½ Yards blue £22 13s 0d 47 Do Brown £20 7s 4d 6½ Do damaged £0 16s 0d £71 13s 0d Carried over£1777 13s 6½d	32 wheelbarrows, £22 19s 9d 1 spare side, damaged, £1 8s 4d 16 spare sides for hand and wheelbarrows, £0 0s 0d Cartwheels total, £45 13s 6d Camlet: 1 piece scarlet, £27 14s 8d 52½ yards blue, £22 15s 0d 47 yards brown, £20 7s 4d 6½ yards, damaged, £0 16s 0d Camlet total, £71 13s 0d Carried over, £1,771 13s 6½d Interpretations The salt beef and pork held in the warehouse, valued at over £1,361, dwarfed every other category in the inventory and formed the great reserve of provisions on which the island and the passing fleet drew. This vast store of barrelled meat marks the central function of St Helena as a victualling depot, holding enough salted provision to reprovision homeward ships and sustain the garrison against any interruption in supply. The 58,860 Irish halfpence held as copper money show the island stocking a bulk supply of small coin, the low-value currency needed for the everyday transactions of a settlement. That this petty cash was Irish copper points to the mixed and imported nature of the island's money, drawn from whatever coin the Company's shipping carried, in the same way its silver was made up of Venetians, pagodas, dollars and ryals from across the trading world.
445	440	31st October Brought over£1777 13s 6½d Canvas vizt 2 p 37 Yd English £4 1s 9d 3 p 82 Yd Osenbrigs £14 19s 8d £19 1s 5d Cordage vizt 1 Shroud Hauser Wt 16 2 19 5 Inch 41 1 26 4 Do 25 1 25 3 Do 2 2 9 2½ Do 6 3 4 2 Do 18 0 18 12 Thread Ratling 2 1 6 9 Do Do 3 0 10 116 2 5 £185 19s 8½d Deals vizt 325 Double Deals 18 Do in use in the Cellars £59 13s 7d 3203 Single deals 29 Do in use in the Cellars £328 5s 6d 14¾ p Riga Timber £35 2s 6d 23 Elm boards £4 8s 0d 36 Wainscott Do £11 1s 0d	Brought over, £1,771 13s 6½d Canvas: 2 pieces 37 yards English, £4 1s 9d 3 pieces 82 yards Osnaburg, £14 19s 8d Canvas total, £19 1s 5d Cordage: 1 shroud hawser, weight 16 hundredweight 2 quarters 19lb, [...] 5 inch, 41 hundredweight 1 quarter 26lb, [...] 4 inch, 25 hundredweight 1 quarter 25lb, [...] 3 inch, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 9lb, [...] 2½ inch, 6 hundredweight 3 quarters 4lb, [...] 2 inch, 18 hundredweight 0 quarters 18lb, [...] 12 thread ratline, 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 6lb, [...] 9 thread ratline, 3 hundredweight 0 quarters 10lb, [...] Cordage, 116 hundredweight 2 quarters 5lb, £185 19s 8½d Deals: 325 double deals, 18 in use in the cellars, £59 13s 7d 3,203 single deals, 25 in use in the cellars, £328 5s 6d 14¾ pieces Riga timber, £35 2s 6d 23 elm boards, £4 8s 0d 36 wainscot boards, £11 1s 0d 48 coffins, £9 1s 3d 11 elm planks of 4 inches, £13 15s 0d 5 spars, store use, £0 10s 5d 46 baulks, £16 3s 6d 141 bundles laths, £8 0s 6½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		48 Coffins £9 1s 3d 11 Elm Planks of 4 Inches £13 15s 0d 5 Sparrs Store use £0 10s 5d 46 Baults £16 3s 6d 141 Bundles Laths £8 0s 6½d £486 1s 3½d Earthenware 113 Milk pans £3 13s 8d Flour 199½ Casks or 623 3 7 £177 1s 3d Fustian ½ p £1 7s 4d Glassware vizt 245 Sqr 6 by 8 £3 1s 3d 199 Do 8 by 10 £5 7s 9½d 83 Do 10 by 12 £6 7s 5½d 17 Do 10½ by 11½ £0 13s 9½d 59 Do 10½ by 12½ £2 16s 6½d 17 Do 11 by 14½ £1 1s 3d 17 Do 11 by 17½ £1 2s 8d 16 Do 11 by 18¾ £1 2s 8d 54 Do 11 by 19 £3 19s 5d 15 Beer Glasses £1 1s 6½d 1 pr Cruetts £0 4s 1d 2 p Decaners £0 5s 9d 3 4 hour Glasses £0 10s 0d 1 3 Do Do £0 3s 4d 8 ½ minute Do £0 4s 4d £28 1s 10½d Car over£2979 0s 1d	Deals total, £486 1s 3½d Earthenware, 113 milk pans, £3 13s 8d Flour, 199 casks or 625 hundredweight 3 quarters 7lb, £477 1s 3d Fustian, ½ piece, £1 7s 4d Glassware: 245 squares 6 by 8, £3 1s 3d 199 squares 8 by 10, £5 7s 9½d 83 squares 10 by 12, £6 7s 5½d 17 squares 10½ by 11½, £0 13s 9½d 59 squares 10½ by 12½, £2 16s 6½d 17 squares 11 by 14½, £1 1s 3d 17 squares 11 by 17½, £1 2s 8d 16 squares 11 by 18¾, £1 2s 8d 54 squares 11 by 19, £3 19s 5d 15 beer glasses, £1 1s 6½d 1 pair cruetts, £0 4s 1d 2 pairs decaners, £0 5s 9d 3 quart glasses, £0 10s 0d 1 pint glass, £0 3s 4d 8 half pint glasses, £0 4s 4d Glassware total, £28 1s 10½d Carried over, £2,979 1s 1d Interpretations The timber store held nearly £486 of sawn wood, from thousands of single and double deals to Riga timber, elm planks, wainscot boards and forty-eight ready-made coffins, all imported softwood and hardwood the island could not produce for itself. This great reserve of building material shows how completely St Helena depended on imported wood for every kind of construction and repair, the coffins kept in stock a plain acknowledgement of the steady mortality among the garrison. The cordage was measured and valued by weight in hundredweight, quarters and pounds across the graded ropes from the heavy shroud hawser down to the thin ratline, the standing and running rigging of a ship reduced to a table of tonnage. This bulk store of rope, like the anchors and blocks before it, marks the warehouse as a naval supply, holding the weight of cordage needed to re-rig the Company's ships for the voyage home.
446	441	1757 Brought over£2979 0s 1d Grindstones vizt 1 Large £0 15s 6d 1 Small £0 2s 9d £0 18s 3d Hatts 12 Mens fine £10 10s 0d Hosiers Ware vizt 38 p Thread Stockings £7 9s 10d 4 p knit 1 p Do Do damaged £0 15s 0d 3 p Worsted Do £0 11s 6d £8 16s 4d Hooks & Lines vizt 27423 Hooks No 1 £65 2s 8d 21900 Do 2 £32 17s 0d 16700 Do 3	Brought over, £2,979 1s 1d Grindstones: 1 large, £0 15s 6d 1 small, £0 2s 9d Grindstones total, £0 18s 3d Hats, 12 men's fine, £10 10s 0d Hosier's ware: 38 pairs thread stockings, £7 9s 10d 4 pairs knit, £0 15s 0d 1 pair knit, damaged, £0 15s 0d 3 pairs woollen, £0 11s 6d Hosier's ware total, £8 16s 4d Hooks and lines: 27,425 hooks no. 1, £65 2s 8d 21,900 hooks no. 2, £32 17s 0d 16,700 hooks no. 3, £14 12s 3d 2,525 hooks no. 4, £1 10s 7½d 3,000 hooks no. 5, £2 15s 7½d 1,600 Grantham, £0 16s 0d 41½ dozen lines no. 2, £6 17s 9½d 137½ dozen lines no. 3, £26 12s 10d 25 dozen lines no. 4, £5 10s 5d 10 Hamburg, £0 13s 9d Hooks and lines total, £157 8s 11½d Haberdashery ware:

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£14 12s 3d 2525 Do 4 £1 10s 7½d 3000 Do 5 £2 15s 7½d 1600 p Grantham £0 16s 0d 41⅞ Doz Lines No 2 £6 17s 9½d 137½ Do Do 3 £26 12s 10d 25 Do Do 4 £5 10s 5d 10 Hambro £0 13s 9d £157 8s 11½d Haberdashery Ware vizt 7 Yd Whalebone £1 14s 5d 5 Yd Oz blue Silk 8 Oz light Cold Do 1 Yd Oz brown Do £3 9s 4d 2 light Colour Mohair 3 brown Do 9 Oz blue Do 9 Oz Red Do £7 7s 0d 1 Gr 2 Doz blue Mohair Coat Buttons 7 Do 1 Do Scarlet Do Do 15 Do 5 Do light Colourd Do Do £10 7s 0d 7 Doz blue Mohair breast Do 6 Do light Colour Do Do 8 Do brown Do Do £0 5s 10d 4 Gr 12 Doz Tin breast £0 5s 1½d 3 Doz ½ Gilt Coat £0 13s 0d 3½ Do breast £0 7s 0d 1 Do Silver breast Damaged £0 3s 4½d 23 p Carnation Tape £0 15s 4d £25 1s 0d Iron & Steel vizt 26 4 20 Iron £26 3s 4d 1 3 9 Steel £3 12s 10½d £29 16s 2½d Carried over £3211 10s 10d	7¾ ounces whalebone, £1 14s 5d 5¼ ounces blue silk, [...] 8 ounces light colour silk, £3 9s 4d 1½ ounces brown silk, [...] 2 ounces light colour mohair, [...] 3 ounces brown mohair, £0 7s 7d 9 ounces blue mohair, [...] 9 ounces red mohair, [...] 1 gross 2 dozen blue mohair coat buttons, [...] 7 dozen 1 dozen scarlet coat buttons, £0 10s 7d 15 dozen 5 dozen light coloured coat buttons, [...] 7 dozen blue mohair breast buttons, [...] 6 dozen light colour breast buttons, £0 5s 10d 8 dozen brown breast buttons, [...] 4 gross 12 dozen tin breast buttons, £0 5s 1½d 3 dozen 12 gilt coat buttons, £0 13s 0d 3½ dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 7s 0d 1 dozen silver breast buttons, damaged, £0 3s 4½d 23 pieces carnation tape, £0 15s 4d Haberdashery ware total, £25 1s 0d Iron and steel: 26 hundredweight 4 quarters 20lb iron, £26 3s 4d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 9lb steel, £3 12s 10½d Iron and steel total, £29 16s 2½d Carried over, £3,211 10s 10d Interpretations The warehouse held fishing hooks and lines in enormous quantity, over 73,000 hooks across five sizes and hundreds of dozens of lines, a stock far beyond the garrison's own needs and evidently kept for issue and sale across the island. This vast reserve of tackle underlines how central the fishery was to feeding St Helena, the Company holding the means to keep the whole settlement supplied with the gear to draw food from the surrounding sea. The haberdashery held raw materials for making and trimming clothes, whalebone for stiffening, silks and mohair by the ounce, and buttons of every kind by the gross and dozen, down to gilt and silver ones. This detailed stock of sewing materials confirms that garments were largely made and finished on the island, the store furnishing the tailor and seamstress with the components to produce and repair the clothing worn by servants, soldiers and planters alike.
447	442	31st October Brought over £3211 10s 10d Iron Potts vizt 9 of 6 Gallons £3 3s 0d 3 of 1 Do £0 4s 6d £3 7s 6d Ironmongers Ware vizt 2 Iron mongd Locks D 22/ £2 4s 2d 5 Do Do No 2 £4 8s 8d 6 brass Locks £6 19s 0d 1 Iron mongd Do B £0 5s 6d 1 Do Do C £1 8s 8d 4 Do Do brass Knobs £1 2s 0d	Brought over, £3,211 10s 10d Iron pots: 9 of 6 gallons, £3 3s 0d 3 of 1 gallon, £0 4s 6d Iron pots total, £3 7s 6d Hardware: 2 iron rimmed locks at 2s 1d, £2 4s 2d 5 iron rimmed locks no. 2, £4 8s 8d 6 brass locks, £6 19s 0d 1 iron rimmed lock B, £0 5s 6d 1 iron rimmed lock C, £1 8s 8d 4 iron rimmed locks with brass knobs, £1 2s 0d 14 stock locks, £1 12s 1d 11 chest locks, £1 18s 3d 2 cupboard locks, £0 7s 6d 2 splinter locks, £0 1s 2d 9 pad locks, £0 16s 0½d 3 broad hoes, £0 5s 1½d 1 jack plane, £0 1s 10d 5 gouges, £0 1s 3½d 29 pairs sheep shears, £1 15s 0d

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		14 Stock Locks £1 12s 1d 11 Chest Do £1 18s 3d 2 Cupboard Do £0 7s 6d 2 Splinter Do £0 1s 2d 9 Pad Do £0 16s 4½d 3 Broad Hoes £0 5s 4½d 1 Jack Plane £0 1s 10d 5 Gouges £0 1s 3½d 29 pr Sheep Sheers £1 15s 0d 6 Adzes £0 13s 0d 10 Scrapers £0 16s 8d 4 Turfing Irons £0 11s 0d 39 Pickaxes £6 10s 0d 5 Augers £0 2s 3½d 25 Paper Bills £0 7s 9d 17 Plaisterers Trowels £1 5s 9d 5 Ounces binding Wire £0 0s 8½d 4 Joiners Rubstones £0 8s 6d 2 Yd Oz brass Wire £0 0s 7d 50 Lead Nails £1 2s 11d 211 Packing Needles £1 10s 9d 1 pr H Hinges £0 0s 4d 1 pr Small Do £0 1s 7d 12 pr Do Do 2/9 £1 13s 0d 5 pr Do large 7/8½ £1 18s 6½d 11 pr Shutter Hinges D 2/3 £1 4s 9d 16 pr HL Hinges with rising Joints £2 10s 8d 23 pr Side Do £1 5s 5d 2 Scythes £0 10s 6d 40 Do Stones £0 3s 4d 8 Stone Saws £1 19s 6d Ironmongers Ware Car over £48 8s 2d Car over £3214 18s 4d	6 adzes, £0 13s 0d 10 scrapers, £0 16s 8d 4 turfing irons, £0 11s 6d 39 pickaxes, £6 10s 0d 5 augers, £0 2s 3½d 25 paper bills, £0 7s 9d 17 bricklayer's trowels, £1 5s 9d 5 ounces binding wire, £0 0s 8½d 4 sailor's palm stones, £0 8s 6d 2¼ ounces brass wire, £0 0s 7d 50 lead nails, £1 2s 11d 211 packing needles, £1 10s 9d 1 pair H hinges, £0 0s 4d 1 pair small H hinges, £0 1s 7d 12 pairs H hinges at 2s 9d, £1 13s 0d 5 pairs H hinges, large, at 7s 8½d, £1 18s 6½d 11 pairs shutter hinges at 2s 8d, £1 4s 9d 16 pairs H hinges with rising joints, £2 10s 8d 23 pairs side hinges, £1 5s 5d 2 scythes, £0 10s 6d 40 scythe stones, £0 3s 4d 8 stone saws, £1 19s 6d Hardware carried over, £48 8s 2d Carried over, £3,215 18s 4d Interpretations The hardware store held the fittings and edge tools of every building and land-working trade, dominated by locks of a dozen kinds and by the many pairs of hinges graded from small shutter hinges to large ones with rising joints. This depth of stock in door and chest furniture shows the Company keeping the means to fit and secure the island's buildings, the abundance of locks reflecting a settlement where stores, houses and chests all had to be kept fast. The turfing irons and paper bills were specialist land tools, the turfing iron for cutting and lifting turf and the bill a hooked blade for cutting brushwood and hedging. Their presence alongside augers, gouges, adzes and stone saws marks a warehouse equipped to supply carpenters, masons, ditchers and hedgers together, the single store furnishing the full range of implements by which the island was built, cultivated and maintained.
448	443	1757 Brought over £3214 18s 4d Ironmongers Ware bro over £48 8s 2d 8 pair Stone Saw Heads £2 3s 8d 13 Bricklayers Trowels £1 1s 9d 6 Joiners Hatchets £0 12s 0d 34 Gimblets £0 6s 6d	Brought over, £3,215 18s 4d Hardware brought over, £48 8s 2d 8 pairs stone saw heads, £2 3s 8d 13 bricklayer's trowels, £1 1s 9d 6 joiner's hatchets, £0 12s 0d 34 gimlets, £0 6s 6d 24 stone wedges, £0 16s 0d 1 whip saw, £1 2s 7½d 2 handspikes, £0 5s 0d 134 files, £3 9s 9½d 9 rasps, £0 4s 10½d

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		24 Stone Wedges £0 16s 0d 1 Whip Saw £1 2s 7½d 2 Hand Spits £0 5s 0d 134 Files £5 0s 0d 9 Rasps £3 9s 9½d 3 Firmers Chisells £0 4s 10½d 3 Firmers Chisells £0 1s 6d 2 Maw Cutters £0 5s 8d 17 Spades £2 12s 9d 3 Grubbing Hoes £0 14s 7d 3 pr planking Cards £1 11s 9d 17 Setting Hammers £6 8s 4½d 12 Drill Bows £1 6s 5d 6 Do Boxes £0 0s 9d 3 Walling Hammers £0 4s 6d 1 Cross Cut Saw £1 1s 1½d 36 File Hafts £0 1s 2½d 9 Bill Hooks £1 2s 0d 8 Claw Hammers £0 10s 2d 1 Pruning Saw £0 1s 8d 11 Doz Wood Screws £0 3s 8d 1 large Jack £7 10s 2d 2 Small Do £9 16s 0d 3 Cleavers £0 11s 6d 1 large Frying Pan £0 3s 1½d 25 Small Do £2 2s 2d 12 Mawls £5 2s 0d 1 Thimble Brace £0 2s 6d 11 Yd Corn Emery 11 Yd Flour Do £0 12s 7d 1 Smiths Rubbers £1 1s 3½d 39 Helves £1 3s 7d 1 pr Screw Stocks £0 7s 2d 46 Shutter Hinges £4 16s 9d 24 Sash Fastenings £0 7s 8d 21 Garden Hoes £1 11s 6d 48 brass Shutter Rings £0 8s 10d 2 Hand Hammers £0 4s 10d Ironmongers Ware carr over £110 18s 7d	3 firmer chisels, £0 1s 6d 2 marlin cutters, £0 5s 8d 17 spades, £2 12s 9d 3 grubbing hoes, £0 14s 7d 3 pairs planking cords, £1 11s 9d 19 setting hammers, £6 8s 2½d 12 drill bows, £1 6s 5d 6 drill bows, boxes, £0 0s 9d 3 walling hammers, £0 4s 6d 1 crosscut saw, £1 1s 2½d 36 file hafts, £0 1s 2½d 9 bill hooks, £1 2s 0d 8 claw hammers, £0 10s 2d 1 pruning saw, £0 1s 8d 11 dry wood screws, £0 3s 8d 1 large jack, £7 10s 2d 2 small jacks, £9 16s 0d 3 cleavers, £0 11s 6d 1 large frying pan, £0 3s 1½d 25 small frying pans, £2 2s 2d 12 mauls, £5 2s 0d 1 thimble brace, £0 2s 6d 11¾ ounces corn emery, £0 12s 7d 11¾ ounces flour emery, [...] 1 smith's rubbers, £1 1s 3½d 39 helves, £1 3s 7d 1 pair screw stocks, £0 7s 2d 46 shutter hinges, £4 16s 9d 24 sash fastenings, £0 7s 8d 21 garden hoes, £1 11s 6d 48 brass shutter hinges, £0 8s 10d 2 hand hammers, £0 4s 10d Hardware carried over, £110 18s 7d Carried over, £3,215 18s 4d Interpretations The two jacks valued together at over £17 were among the most costly single items in the whole hardware store, screw jacks or lifting jacks used to raise heavy loads such as guns, timber and building work. Their high worth against the pennies of the files and gimlets marks them as major pieces of mechanical equipment, the powered lifting gear on which the moving of ordnance and the raising of structures depended. The emery held by the ounce in corn and flour grades was crushed abrasive used for grinding and polishing metal, and the drill bows the tools that spun a drill by a back-and-forth cord. Together with the setting and walling hammers, stone wedges and marlin cutters, they show the warehouse holding the fine tools of the mason, smith and joiner, the store equipped to support skilled metalwork and stonework as well as the rough carpentry of everyday repair.

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		Carr over £3214 18s 4d	
449	444	31st October Brought over £3214 18s 4d Ironmongers Ware bro over £110 18s 7d 2 pr Clipping Sheers £0 5s 6d 1 pr Garden Do £0 3s 10d 30 Ditching Shovels £6 14s 6d 31 Shod Shovels £2 8s 8d 12 Garden Rakes £1 10s 3d 6 Edging Irons £0 14s 10d 1 pr Bellows £0 3s 7d 22 hand Hatchets £1 9s 4d 7 Chafing dishes £2 1s 5d 9 Loping Axes £1 5s 10½d £128 1s 4½d Kersey 2 pr 14½ Yards £5 3s 8½d Long Ells 2 pr 4 Yards £3 18s 3d Leather vizt 17 Calf Skins £5 8s 9d 1 3 19 Pump Leather £3 5s 7d 1 2 12 Sole Do £6 4s 0d £14 18s 4d Lead vizt 13 1 7 Sheet £15 10s 7½d 10 Yd 2 Inch pipe £4 15s 6d £20 6s 1½d Masts vizt 1 large Mast 76 Feet long 21 Inr diamr £33 11s 0d 1 Top Do 65 Feet long 17 Inr Do £21 15s 0d ½ Top Mast £8 10s 0d 1 Do Do of Stretham £7 0s 0d 1 Cap £1 11s 6d £72 7s 6d Mustard Seed 2/8 Bushl damaged £2 2s 1½d Nails vizt 4 2 8 2 £14 18s 8d 3 18 3 £8 9s 7½d 4 1 16 4 £9 14s 9d 5 7 6 £10 4s 7½d 4 16 10 £7 17s 1½d 18 20 £0 5s 7½d 1 23 40 £0 14s 1½d 3 2 13 Scupper £8 17s 2d 3 2 Flooring Brads	Brought over, £3,215 18s 4d Hardware brought over, £110 18s 7d 2 pairs clipping shears, £0 5s 6d 1 pair garden shears, £0 3s 10d 30 ditching shovels, £6 14s 6d 31 shod shovels, £2 8s 8d 12 garden rakes, £1 10s 3d 6 edging irons, £0 14s 10d 1 pair bellows, £0 3s 7d 22 hand hatchets, £1 9s 4d 7 chafing dishes, £2 1s 5d 9 lopping axes, £1 5s 10½d Hardware total, £128 1s 2½d Kersey, 2 pieces 14½ yards, £5 3s 8½d Long ells, 2 pieces 4 yards, £3 18s 3d Leather: 17 calf skins, £5 8s 9d 1 hundredweight 19lb pump leather, £3 5s 7d 1 hundredweight 12lb sole, £6 4s 0d Leather total, £14 18s 4d Lead: 13 hundredweight 1 quarter 7lb sheet, £15 10s 7½d 10 pieces 2 inch pipe, £4 15s 6d Lead total, £20 6s 1½d Masts: 1 large mast 76 feet long 21 inches diameter, £33 11s 0d 1 top mast 65 feet long 17 inches, £21 15s 0d 1 top mast, £8 10s 0d 1 top mast of the Stretham, £7 0s 0d 1 cap, £1 16s 6d Masts total, £72 7s 6d Mustard seed, 2½ bushels, damaged, £2 2s 1½d Nails: 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 8lb, no. 2, £14 18s 8d 3 hundredweight 18lb, no. 3, £8 9s 7½d 4 hundredweight 1 quarter 16lb, no. 4, £9 14s 9d 5 hundredweight 7lb, no. 6, £10 4s 7½d 4 hundredweight 16lb, 10d, £7 17s 11½d 18lb, 20d, £0 5s 7½d 1 hundredweight 23lb, 40d, £14 17s 1½d 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 13lb scuppers, £8 17s 2d 3 hundredweight 2lb flooring brads, £5 12s 8d 1 hundredweight 21lb spikes, £2 6s 0d 3 hundredweight 19lb tacks, £6 8s 9d 1 hundredweight 6lb glazing brads, £1 9s 3d Nails total, £76 14s 11½d Carried over, £3,538 10s 8½d Interpretations The warehouse held spare masts as major capital stock, including a large mast of 76 feet and a topmast salvaged from the Stretham, the ship whose surgeon had earlier given evidence of Stanley's character. These great spars, kept ready to replace those lost or damaged at sea, mark the fullest expression of the island's role as a repair yard for the Company's fleet, holding even the tallest timber a ship might need to remast on the homeward voyage. The nails alone, held by the hundredweight across a dozen sizes and worth over £76, formed a substantial store of the single most basic building fastening, imported iron drawn down constantly for construction and repair. This bulk reserve, like the timber and cordage before it, reflects a settlement that had to lay in every nail and spike by sea, keeping months of supply against the irregular arrival of the Company's ships.

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		£5 12s 8d 1 21 Spike £2 0s 6d 3 19 Tacks £6 8s 9d 1 6 Glazing brads £1 9s 3d £76 14s 11½d Car over £3538 10s 8½d	
450	445	1757 Brought over £3538 10s 8½d Oil vizt 174 Gallt Train £26 9s 3d 115 Do Linseed £19 7s 5d 39 Bottles Florence £4 13s 7½d £50 9s 3½d Oars vizt 8 p Grantham £1 10s 0d 7 of 16 Feet 8 of 14 Feet £2 17s 6d £4 7s 6d Pease 7¼ Bushels Split £2 11s 8½d Pumps 2 £25 6s 11d Paint vizt 26 Verdigrease £5 3s 8d 10 3 20 Whiting £0 18s 3d 2 2 Umber £0 19s 4d 1 3 Venetian Red £1 16s 9d 3 Brimstone £0 14s 6d 1 22 Yellow Oaker £0 9s 4½d 1 blue Smalts £7 1s 8d 15 Wt White Coperas £0 15s 10½d 1 19 Stone Oaker £1 2s 4½d 1 13 English Do £0 6s 10d ½ Prussn blue £0 1s 6d 6 Saccarum Saturnia £0 1s 1½d 7 1 White Lead £14 7s 7d 3 Stone Colour £12 16s 8d 2 2 11 Olive Colour £25 9s 3d 2 12 Sky blue £5 13s 4d 25 Mahogany Colour £2 16s 3d 39 Barrells Blacking £2 4s 6d £83 9s 8d Pitch & Tar vizt 7 Barrells Pitch £10 10s 7d 19 Do Tar £27 3s 1d 1½ Do Turpentine £1 10s 0d	Brought over, £3,538 10s 8½d Oil: 174 gallons train, £26 9s 3d 115 gallons linseed, £19 7s 5d 39 bottles Florence, £4 13s 7½d Oil total, £50 9s 3½d Oars: 8 Grantham, £1 10s 0d 7 of 16 feet, [...] 8 of 14 feet, £2 17s 6d Oars total, £4 7s 6d Pease, 7¼ bushels, split, £2 11s 8½d Pumps, 2, £25 6s 11d Paint: 26lb verdigris, £5 3s 8d 10 hundredweight 3 quarters 20lb whiting, £0 18s 3d 2 quarters 2lb umber, £0 19s 4d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters Venetian red, £1 16s 9d 3 quarters brimstone, £0 14s 6d 1 hundredweight 22lb yellow ochre, £0 9s 4½d 1 hundredweight blue smalts, £7 1s 8d 15lb white coperas, £0 15s 10½d 1 hundredweight 19lb stone ochre, £1 2s 2½d 1 hundredweight 13lb English ochre, £0 6s 10d ½lb Prussian blue, £0 1s 6d 6lb sacarum saturnium, £0 1s 1½d 7 hundredweight 1 quarter white lead, £14 7s 7d 5 hundredweight stone colour, £12 16s 8d 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 11lb olive colour, £25 9s 3d 2 hundredweight 12lb sky blue, £5 13s 4d 25lb mahogany colour, £2 16s 3d 39 barrels blacking, £2 4s 6d Paint total, £83 9s 8d Pitch and tar: 7 barrels pitch, £10 10s 7d 19 barrels tar, £27 3s 1d 1½ barrels turpentine, £1 10s 0d 6 hundredweight 3 quarters rosin, £2 18s 5d Pitch and tar total, £42 2s 1d Pewter: 6 gallon pots, £2 13s 11d 6½ gallon pots, £1 12s 3d 2 quart pots, £0 5s 9d 2 pint pots, £0 4s 5d 12 candle moulds, £0 19s 5d Pewter carried over, £5 15s 9d Carried over, £3,746 17s 10½d Interpretations The paint store held a wide range of pigments and lead colours by the hundredweight, from cheap ochres and whiting to costlier olive colour, stone colour and white lead, together worth over £83. This bulk of paint reflects the constant need to protect the island's timber buildings, boats and ironwork against weather and rot, colour and lead being applied not for decoration alone but to preserve wood and metal exposed to sea air. Among the pigments, the sacarum saturnium was sugar of lead, a lead acetate used as a drier and in paint preparation, and verdigris the green copper pigment used in paints and as a mild caustic. The presence of Prussian blue, sky blue and mahogany colour alongside the plain protective lead shows the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 3 Rosin £2 18s 5d £42 2s 1d Pewter vizt 6 Gallon Potts £2 13s 11d 6½ Gallon Do £1 12s 3d 2 Quart Do £0 5s 9d 2 Pint Do £0 4s 5d 12 Candle Moulds £0 19s 5d Pewter Carried £5 15s 9d Carr over £3742 6s 11s 10½d	store carrying finer decorative pigments as well, the means to finish and colour the better woodwork of the Castle and the officers' houses.
451	446	31st October Brought over £3746 17s 10½d Pewter bro over £5 15s 9d 1 Crane £0 18s 6d 17 Pewter Dishes at 6/6 £5 10s 6d 4 Do Do at 8/4 £1 13s 4d 10 Quart Pewter Funnels £1 2s 1½d 1 Worm Tub and Still £10 12s 4d £25 12s 6½d Starch 3 17 £1 13s 8d Shoes vizt 3 pr Mens Pumps £0 18s 0d 5 pr Do Shoes £1 7s 6d 140 pr Do ordinary £27 5s 5d 4 pr Channelled Pumps £1 8s 0d 5 pr Womens Calimanco £1 3s 4d 6 pr Do Calf £0 15s 0d 2 pr Do Spanish £0 8s 8d 2 pr Girls £0 3s 8d 6 pr Boys £1 6s 0d 2 pr Stockhose £0 5s 2d £34 15s 3d Salt 30 Bushels £4 6s 10½d Shalloon 1 pr 16½ Yards blue £4 3s 4d Shirts vizt 285 Neckcloaths £8 18s 1½d 4 Yd pr Linnen £6 14s 2d £15 12s 3½d Scales & Weights vizt 3 pr Scales Store use 1 pr Do £15 18s 7d 3 Beams for Scales 1 Do Store use £28 12s 0d 1 pr Scale Boards 1 pr Store use £4 19s 0d £49 9s 7d	Brought over, £3,746 17s 10½d Pewter brought over, £5 15s 9d 1 crane, £0 18s 6d 17 pewter dishes at 6s 6d, £5 10s 6d 4 pewter dishes at 8s 4d, £1 13s 4d 10 quart pewter funnels, £1 2s 1½d 1 worm tub and still, £10 12s 4d Pewter total, £25 12s 6½d Starch, 3 hundredweight 17lb, £1 13s 8d Shoes: 3 pairs men's pumps, £0 18s 0d 5 pairs men's shoes, £1 7s 6d 140 pairs men's ordinary, £27 5s 5d 4 pairs channelled pumps, £1 8s 0d 5 pairs women's calimanco, £1 3s 4d 6 pairs women's calf, £0 15s 0d 2 pairs women's Spanish, £0 8s 8d 2 pairs girls', £0 3s 8d 6 pairs boys', £1 3s 6d 2 pairs stitchers, £0 5s 2d Shoes total, £34 15s 3d Salt, 30 bushels, £4 6s 10½d Shalloon, 1 piece 16½ yards blue, £4 3s 4d Shirts: 285 neckcloths, £8 18s 1½d 4½ pieces linen, £6 14s 2d Shirts total, £15 12s 3½d Scales and weights: 3 pairs scales, store use, £15 18s 7d 1 pair scales, [...] 3 beams for scales, £28 12s 0d 1 beam, store use, [...] 1 pair scale boards, £4 19s 0d 1 pair scale boards, store use, [...] Scales and weights total, £49 9s 7d Sailor's clothes: 47 men's jackets, £25 3s 3½d 49 men's breeches, £12 18s 3½d 94 shirts, £16 18s 9½d 58 Monmouth caps, £3 18s 6½d 1 boy's jacket, £0 9s 0½d 2 boys' shirts, £0 5s 8½d Sailor's clothes total, £59 13s 8d Soap, 8 hundredweight 3 quarters 15lb, £31 6s 6d Carried over, £3,973 11s 7d Interpretations The worm tub and still held in the warehouse were apparatus for distilling spirits, the still for heating the wash and the worm tub for condensing the vapour through a coiled pipe in cold water. Their presence marks the island as capable of distilling its own liquor, whether from imported materials or local produce, adding a measure of self-supply to the arrack and wine otherwise carried in by the Company's ships. The scales, beams and weights held for store use were the essential instruments of a warehouse that issued goods by weight, from nails and cordage to

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		Sailors Cloaths vizt 47 Mens Jackets £25 3s 3½d 49 Do Breeches £12 18s 3½d 94 Do Shirts £16 18s 9½d 58 Monmouth Caps £3 18s 6½d 1 Boys Jackett £0 9s 3½d 2 Do Shirts £0 5s 8½d £59 13s 8d Soap 8 3 45 £31 6s 6d Carr over£3973 11s 7d	provisions and paint. Their careful listing as capital stock shows the store run as a place of measured account, every bulk commodity weighed out against the Company's books, the accuracy of the scales underpinning the whole system of charging goods to servants, planters and ships.
452	447	1757 Brought over£3973 11s 7d Thread 36 Coloured £9 6s 8d Tinware vizt 3 14 Sal Armoniack £0 1s 4½d 39 Lanthorn Leaves two of em Damaged £0 12s 3½d 8 Watering Potts £2 1s 4d 7 Dripping Pans £1 12s 8d 68 Solder £3 9s 5d 12 Lamps £0 19s 0d 1 Gallon Funnell £0 2s 2½d 2 half Gallt Do £0 3s 4d 7 Quart Do £0 4s 1d 5 Pudding Pans £0 7s 1d 6 Quart Saucepans £0 4s 0d 11 Pint Do £0 5s 6d £10 1s 11½d Twine vizt 2 3 9 Twine £3 13s 1½d 92 Skains Houseline & Marline £1 1s 1d £4 14s 2½d Turnersware vizt 83 Paint Brushes £2 6s 8½d 6 Scrubbing Do £0 12s 6d 5 Hair Brooms £0 10s 7½d 15 Platters £0 15s 4d 21 Bowls £1 1s 3d 4 Trays £0 8s 8d 1 Straining dish £0 0s 3d 1 Butter Print £0 0s 6½d 20 Skimming dishes £0 6s 1d 18 Labourers Baskets £0 15s 0d 12 Fishmens Yokes	Brought over, £3,973 11s 7d Thread, 36lb coloured, £9 6s 8d Tinware: 3lb 14oz sal ammoniac, £0 1s 0½d 39 lanthorn leaves, two of them damaged, £0 12s 3½d 8 watering pots, £2 1s 4d 7 dripping pans, £1 12s 8d 68 tolds, £3 9s 5d 12 lamps, £0 19s 0d 1 gallon funnel, £0 2s 2½d 2 half gallon funnels, £0 3s 4d 7 quart funnels, £0 4s 1d 5 pudding pans, £0 7s 1d 6 quart saucepans, £0 4s 0d 11 pint saucepans, £0 5s 6d Tinware total, £10 1s 11½d Twine: 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 9lb twine, £3 13s 1½d 92 skeins houseline and marline, £1 1s 1d Twine total, £4 14s 2½d Turner's ware: 83 paint brushes, £2 6s 8½d 6 scrubbing brushes, £0 12s 6d 5 hair brooms, £0 10s 7½d 15 platters, £0 15s 4d 21 bowls, £1 1s 3d 4 trays, £0 8s 8d 1 straining dish, £0 0s 3d 1 butter print, £0 0s 6½d 20 skimming dishes, £0 6s 1d 18 labourer's baskets, £0 15s 0d 12 fishermen's yokes, £0 18s 0d 6 pairs yokes for oxen, £0 13s 6d 17 birch brooms, £0 6s 3d 1 cieve, £0 1s 1d 3 flaskets, £0 7s 6d 7 cloth brushes, £0 15s 3½d Turner's ware total, £9 18s 11d European goods amount to, carried over, £4,017 13s 4d Interpretations The turner's ware gathered the wooden and turned domestic goods of the settlement, from bowls, platters and trays to specialised items such as fishermen's yokes for carrying loads, ox yokes for the plough teams and a butter print for stamping pats of butter. This range of everyday wooden implements shows the store supplying the ordinary furniture of household, farm and fishery, the plain gear by which food was carried, prepared and worked across the island. This inventory line closes the reckoning of European goods at £4,017 13s 4d, drawing together into one running total the whole warehouse stock of manufactures brought from home and from the trading world. That the account is headed European

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		£0 18s 0d 6 pair Yokes for Oxen £10 13s 6d 17 Birch Brooms £0 6s 3d 1 Cow £0 1s 1d 3 Flaskets £0 7s 6d 7 Cloath Brushes £0 15s 3½d £19 18s 11d European Goods amounting to Carried over £4017 13s 4d	goods marks a division in the store's keeping between imported manufactures and the island's own produce, the Company distinguishing the costly shipped-in wares from the local provisions in its books.
453	448	31st October Brought over £4017 13s 4d India Goods vizt Cotton 7 £0 5s 10d Chelloes 49 p 3 of em damaged £23 5s 6d Desockees 13½ p £5 2s 5d Pepper 1 £0 0s 6d China Ware vizt 23 Soup plates £0 7s 2½d 10 Do Dishes £2 14s 2d 18 Bowls £1 7s 0d 22 Sneakers £0 3s 8d 66 Sallad Dishes £2 6s 9d 9 Meat Dishes 39 Do plates £1 13s 8d 32 Quarter pint Cups & Saucers £0 9s 4d 1 Chamber Pott £0 1s 3½d 11 Sauce Boats £0 3s 8d 11 Tea Potts £0 7s 4d £9 14s 3d Arrack 696 Gallons £87 0s 0d Candles 11 2 14 £135 12s 6d Sugar & Candy vizt 226 2 8 Sugar £264 6s 10d 19 2 3 Candy £148 9s 0d £412 15s 10d Rice & Paddy vizt 115 2 6 Rice £31 15s 7d 131 0 18 Paddy £28 19s 2d £60 14s 9d Tea vizt 753 Bohea £22 0s 5d 484 Single £22 3s 8d 320 Congo £13 6s 8d £57 10s 9d Long Cloth vizt 7 pr No 8 £11 4s 0d	An account of India goods was as follows. Cotton, 7lb, £0 5s 10d Chelloes, 49 pieces, 3 of them damaged, £23 5s 6d Desockees, 13¼ pieces, £5 2s 5d Pepper, 1lb, £0 0s 6d Chinaware: 23 soup plates, £0 7s 2½d 10 dishes, £2 14s 2d 18 bowls, £1 7s 0d 22 sneakers, £0 3s 8d 66 salad dishes, £2 6s 9d 9 meat dishes, £1 13s 8d 39 plates, £1 13s 8d 32 quarter pint cups and saucers, £0 9s 4d 1 chamber pot, £0 1s 3½d 11 sauce boats, £0 3s 8d 11 tea potts, £0 7s 4d Chinaware total, £9 14s 3d Arrack, 696 gallons, £87 0s 0d Candles, 11 hundredweight 2 quarters 14lb, £135 12s 6d Sugar and candy: 226 hundredweight 2 quarters 8lb sugar, £264 6s 10d 19 hundredweight 2 quarters 13lb candy, £148 9s 0d Sugar and candy total, £412 15s 10d Rice and paddy: 115 hundredweight 2 quarters 6lb rice, £31 15s 7d 131 hundredweight 0 quarters 18lb paddy, £28 19s 2d Rice and paddy total, £60 14s 9d Tea: 753lb bohea, £22 0s 5d 484lb single, £22 3s 8d 320lb congou, £13 6s 8d Tea total, £57 10s 9d Long cloth: 7 pieces no. 8, £11 4s 0d 5 pieces no. 9, £6 6s 0d Long cloth total, £17 10s 0d European and India goods amounting to, £4,827 5s 8d Interpretations The India goods were kept as a distinct class in the inventory, the cottons, chelloes, long cloth, tea, arrack and Chinese porcelain carried west on the Company's Asian trade and held at St Helena on their way to England. This separation from the European goods marks the island's position at the meeting point of the two halves of the Company's commerce, the store holding the produce of Canton and the Coromandel coast alongside the manufactures of home. The great value of the sugar and candy at over £412, far exceeding every other India commodity, points to the scale of the sweet trade passing through the island, sugar being both a staple of consumption and a valuable article of commerce. Combined with

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		5 pr No 9 £6 6s 0d £17 10s 0d European and India Goods amounting to £4827 5s 8d Materials	the European stock, the two together brought the warehouse's holding to £4,827 5s 8d, a substantial concentration of trading capital lodged on a remote island as the security and supply of the Company's eastern traffic.
454	449	1757 Materials for the Barracks vizt Paint vizt 2 0 0 White Lead £4 8s 0d 2 0 0 Pearl £4 8s 0d 1 0 0 Chocolate £3 3s 10d £11 19s 10d Oil 21 Gallt Linseed £4 8s 2d Turners Ware 12 Paint Brushes £0 7s 8d Iron 5 0 2 £5 10s 5d Glass Ware vizt 535 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 576 Do Do 6 by 8 £26 11s 7d Deals vizt 738 p Fir Timber £152 4s 0d 7 pieces Oak Plank £9 7s 0d £161 11s 0d Nails 4 3 14 Locks 79 Hinges 172 pr £38 11s 0d £248 9s 7d Materials for the Hospital vizt Fir Timber 2/5 p White Lead 1 Cask Dry Colours 1 Box Glass 288 Sqr 8 by 10 Iron 2 22 Nails 3 16 Locks 11 Hinges 50 pr HL Oil 6 Gallons Linseed St Helena October 11th 1757 Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th Instant which is as follows vizt Cash	An account of materials for the barracks was as follows. Paint: 2 hundredweight white lead, £4 8s 0d 2 hundredweight pearl, £4 8s 0d 1 hundredweight chocolate, £3 3s 10d Paint total, £11 19s 10d Oil, 21 gallons linseed, £4 8s 2d Turner's ware, 12 paint brushes, £0 7s 8d Iron, 5 hundredweight 0 quarters 2lb, £5 10s 5d Glassware: 535 squares glass 8 by 10, [...] 576 squares 6 by 8, £26 11s 7d Deals: 738 pieces fir timber, £152 4s 0d 7 pieces oak plank, £9 7s 0d Deals total, £161 11s 0d Nails, 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 14lb, [...] Locks, 79, [...] Hinges, 172 pairs, £38 11s 0d Total, £248 9s 7d An account of materials for the hospital was as follows. Fir timber, 2 pieces 5 feet White lead, 1 cask Dry colours, 1 box Glass, 288 squares 8 by 10 Iron, 2 hundredweight 22lb Nails, 3 hundredweight 16lb Locks, 11 Hinges, 50 pairs Oil, 6 gallons linseed St Helena, 11 October 1757. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 instant, with the account set out below. Interpretations These materials were set apart as reserves earmarked for two specific building projects, the barracks and the hospital, distinct from the general warehouse stock. The barracks allocation alone, at nearly £249 and dominated by 738 pieces of fir timber, points to a substantial construction or major repair in hand, the Company laying by the timber, glass, locks and hinges for a defined work rather than for routine issue. That the hospital materials are listed by quantity without prices, unlike every priced category before them, marks this as a working schedule of goods committed to the building rather than a valuation for the books. The parallel provision for both barracks and hospital shows the Company advancing improvements to the garrison's quarters and its sick lodging together, setting aside the fabric for each while the general inventory continued to serve the island's daily wants.
455	450	31st October Cash Dr 1757 Sept 12th To Balance remaining £3364 14s 0d Oct 11th To Rents £561 12s 2d 11th To Licences for Public Houses £15 0s 0d To Plantation for Provisions Sold £18 2s 9d To James Powell for Store Goods Sold in the Quarter ending this day £1161 10s 10½d £5120 19s 9½d	1757 12 September: Balance remaining, £3,364 14s 0d 15 October: Rents, £561 12s 2d 11 October: Licences for public houses, £15 0s 0d 11 October: Plantation for provisions sold, £18 2s 9d 11 October: James Powell for store goods sold in the quarter ending this day, £1,161 10s 10½d £5,120 19s 9½d Interpretations The cash account draws together the island's chief sources of revenue for the quarter: the annual rents from the planters, the sale of provisions from

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			the plantation, the store goods sold by the storekeeper and the licences granted for public houses. This gathering of rents, trade and licence fees into one balance shows the Company deriving its island income from landholding, retail and regulation together, the settlement's finances resting on more than the through-trade of its shipping. The £15 taken for public house licences marks the Company's control over the sale of drink on the island, requiring those who kept houses selling liquor to be licensed and pay for the privilege. This levy shows the administration regulating the retail of alcohol as both a source of revenue and a means of oversight, holding authority over who might sell drink to the garrison and settlers.
456	451	1757 Per Contra Cr 1757 Octr 11th By Sundry Accounts advanced the Paymaster to pay Salaries &c for the Quarter ending this day £2470 17s 9½d By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt 286 Venetians @ 10/ £143 0s 0d 850 Pagodas @ 8/ £340 0s 0d Gold Amounting to £483 0s 0d 3084 Dollars @ 5/ £771 0s 0d 5400 Rupees @ 2/3 £607 10s 0d 1305 double Rials 1/3 £81 8s 9d 10476 half Rials 3¼d £163 13s 9d 441 French pieces 2/- £3 13s 6d Odd Money £1 0s 0d Silver amounting to £1627 7s 0d 146 Cash Notes @ 40/ £292 0s 0d 162 Do 20/ £162 0s 0d 263 Do 5/ £65 15s 0d 160 Do 2/6 £15 0s 0d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d £5120 19s 9½d Corporal Gilbert Clough & John Jacks Quarter Gunner respectively presented the following Petitions To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council The Humble Petition of Corporal Gilbert Clough Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous to Lease a Small piece of the Honorable Companys waste Land about Sixty Feet Square on the Easterly Side of the Road opposite to the House of Serjeant Thomas Leech in James's Valley or (if not thought proper to be granted) a Small piece of Land between the Thomas Leech's House	1757 11 October: Sundry accounts advanced the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges for the quarter ending this day, £2,470 17s 9½d Balance remaining in the following species, viz: 286 Venetians at 10s, £143 0s 0d 850 pagodas at 8s, £340 0s 0d Gold amounting to £483 0s 0d 3,084 dollars at 5s, £771 0s 0d 5,400 rupees at 2s 3d, £607 10s 0d 1,305 double ryals at 1s 3d, £81 8s 9d 10,476 half ryals at 3¼d, £163 13s 9d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £1 0s 0d Silver amounting to £1,627 7s 0d 146 cash notes at 10s, £292 0s 0d 162 cash notes at 20s, £162 0s 0d 263 cash notes at 5s, £65 15s 0d 160 cash notes at 2s 6d, £15 0s 0d Cash notes amounting to £539 15s 0d £5,120 19s 9½d Corporal Gilbert Clough and John Jacks, quarter gunner, each presented a petition to the worshipful Charles Hutchinson, governor, and council. Clough set out that he wished to lease a small piece of the Honourable Company's waste land about sixty feet square on the easterly side of the road opposite the house of Sergeant Thomas Leech in James Valley, or, if that were not thought fit to grant, a small piece of land between Thomas Leech's house [...] Interpretations The island's cash reserve remained a mixture of foreign silver and gold from across the trading world, Venetians, pagodas, dollars, rupees and ryals, together with the Company's own cash notes serving as paper money. This heterogeneous currency, drawn from Venice, southern India, Spanish America and the wider East, reflects a settlement with no coinage of its own, relying on whatever specie its shipping carried and issuing notes to supply the want of small change. The petition marks the constant demand for building land within the confined settlement of James Valley, where a soldier sought even a plot sixty feet square along the road. That Clough named a specific site opposite a sergeant's house and offered a fallback location shows the pressure on the limited flat ground of the valley, land parcelled out in small pieces under the Company's licence.
457	452	31st October House and Serjeant Frost to erect a dwelling House upon	Clough asked to lease a piece of land between the houses of Thomas Leech and Sergeant Frost on which to erect a dwelling house with a small yard,

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		with a small Yard your Petitioner being willing to pay such Rent for the same as your Worship and Council shall think proper Your Petitioner therefore humbly desires you will please to consider the Case and grant your Petitioner liberty to Lease such piece of Land for the purpose aforesaid And your Petitioner shall ever pray &c St Helena 31 Octr 1757 Ordered the Land to be viewed To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council The humble Petition of John Jacks Quarter Gunner Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous to Lease a small piece of the Honorable Companys Waste Land whereon to erect a dwelling House with a small Yard the same to contain about Sixty Foot in length below and adjoining to the House wherein the late William Turner deceased lately Inhabited and about 80 Foot backwards to be Measured And your Petitioner is willing to pay such Yearly Rent for the same as you shall please to direct Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that as he is Married and not likely to leave the Island your Worship and Council will please to take it into Consideration and permit him to Lease the same St Helena 31 October 1757 And your Petitioner shall ever pray &c Ordered the Land to be viewed Mr James Powell the Honorable Companys Storekeeper presented the following representation vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council Worshipful Sir & Sirs Having a Suspicion that Robert Evans and William Cooksey the Honorable Companys Bakers here have	being willing to pay whatever rent the governor and council thought fit. He asked the council to consider his case and grant him liberty to lease such a piece of land for that purpose. St Helena, 31 October 1757. The council ordered the land to be viewed. John Jacks, quarter gunner, petitioned the worshipful Charles Hutchinson, governor, and council. Jacks set out that he wished to lease a small piece of the Honourable Company's waste land on which to erect a dwelling house with a small yard, the plot to measure about sixty feet in length, below and adjoining the house lately inhabited by the late William Turner, and about eighty feet backwards. He was willing to pay whatever yearly rent the council directed. Jacks prayed that, being married and not likely to leave the island, the council would take his case into consideration and permit him to lease the land. St Helena, 31 October 1757. The council ordered the land to be viewed. Mr James Powell, the Honourable Company's storekeeper, presented a representation to the worshipful Charles Hutchinson, governor, and council. Powell stated that he had a suspicion that Robert Evans and William Cooksey, the Honourable Company's bakers on the island, had [...] Interpretations Both Clough and Jacks pinned their requests to plots beside named houses, Jacks to the ground below the house lately inhabited by the deceased William Turner, whose death, will and pay have run through these accounts. The reappearance of Turner's house as a landmark for a new lease shows how the death of one soldier opened ground and dwellings for the living, the settlement's scarce housing passing on as its occupants died. The council met both petitions not with a grant or refusal but with an order that the land be viewed, sending the matter to inspection before any decision. This step shows the administration exercising deliberate control over the parcelling of its waste land, requiring each requested plot to be examined on the ground so that grants were made with knowledge of the site rather than on the petitioner's description alone.
458	453	1757 Have been negligent in not making just Returns of the use and disposal of the Flour committed to their Charge for baking Bread for the Garrison and my reason for such Suspicion being increased by frequently observing the Blacks with Bread I therefore often questioned the said Bakers (particularly the said Robert Evans) concerning the use and disposal thereof who always declared that they at all times made just returns to me of the disposal of the Flour and that they put two Pounds of neat Flour into each Loaf Yet not being entirely Satisfied in relation thereto On the 28th Instant I desired Mr Wilm Moore the Honorable Companys Steward to inspect into and see the	Powell suspected that the bakers had been negligent in not making honest returns of the flour committed to their charge for baking bread for the garrison. His suspicion had grown from frequently seeing the slaves with bread, and he had often questioned the bakers, particularly Robert Evans, about the use and disposal of the flour. Evans always declared that they made honest returns at all times and put two pounds of neat flour into each loaf. Not being entirely satisfied, Powell on 28 October asked William Moore, the Honourable Company's steward, to inspect the use and disposal of a cask of flour. Moore did so, and the cask made twenty-seven loaves more than the bakers usually returned for such a quantity of flour. After this discovery, Powell again questioned the bakers, particularly Evans, about the disposal, and they then said that the flour in that cask was very good, and that not every cask was of equal quality, so that one cask would not produce as much bread as another of equal weight. Powell was thoroughly afraid, as the discovery plainly showed, that the bakers never put two pounds of neat flour into a loaf, though Evans had repeatedly told him

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		use and disposal of a Cask of Flour wch he accordingly did which Cask made more by 27 Loaves than the said Bakers usually made a Return of for such quantity of Flour After this discovery I again questioned the said Bakers (particularly the said Robert Evans) in relation to such disposal who then said that the Flour in that Cask was very good and that every Cask did not prove of an equal Goodness and therefore one Cask would not produce So much Bread as another the if an equal Weight which must be intirely afraid as it plainly appears by the Discovery above mentioned that they the said Bakers never put in two pounds of neat Flour into a Loaf as they (particularly the said Robert Evans) from time to time told me they did nor have they given any Account to me or in any manner charged themselves with such Overplus of Flour as used formerly to be done Therefore I think it my duty to acquaint your Worship and Council of such a discovery I am Worshipfull Sir and Sirs St Helena 31 Octr 1757 your most obedient humble Servant (Signed) Js Powell William Moore then declared that Mr Powell being Suspicious that the Bakers had wronged him Desired him to Weigh a Cask of Flour (which he did) and saw it made into Bread and it amounted to 27 Loaves more than was usually paid for The	they did, nor had they given any account or charged themselves with the surplus of flour as had formerly been done. Powell therefore thought it his duty to acquaint the governor and council of the discovery. St Helena, 31 October 1757. Signed by James Powell. William Moore then declared that Powell, suspecting the bakers had wronged him, had asked him to weigh a cask of flour, which he did, and saw it made into bread, and it amounted to twenty-seven loaves more than was usually paid for. Interpretations Powell built his case against the bakers on a controlled test, having the steward weigh out a single cask and count the loaves it yielded against the bakers' usual return. The surplus of twenty-seven loaves became direct evidence that the bakers had been holding back flour, the measured experiment turning a vague suspicion into a demonstrable shortfall the bakers could not explain away. The affair exposes the standing arrangement by which the bakers were bound to put a fixed two pounds of flour into each loaf and to account for any surplus, a check against the embezzlement of the Company's grain. That Powell repeatedly saw the slaves with bread points to the suspected leak, the bakers accused of diverting withheld flour into extra loaves rather than returning it, the whole matter turning on the honest measure of a staple ration in a settlement dependent on imported flour.
459	454	31st October The Bakers William Cooksey and Robert Evans being sent for the former confessed that he had received for sometime past from Evans between three and four Shillings p Week for Surplus Bread that they had sold The said Evans likewise confessed that he used to divide with Cooksey Sometimes Seven Sometimes Nine Shillings each baking day They being then severally asked what they had done with the Money They declared they had spent it For which notorious fraud we ordered them to be imprisoned Thomas Loing the honorable Companys Carpenter presented the following Complaint against Thomas Stanley late Servant to Mr John Adamson Thomas Loing the Honorable Compys Carpenter represented to us that he had lett a Room to Thomas Stanley late Servant to Mr Adamson the Lieutenant Governor and hearing a Womans Voice in it the same Night he found it to be Mirtilla	The bakers William Cooksey and Robert Evans were sent for. Cooksey confessed that for some time past he had received from Evans between three and four shillings a week for surplus bread that they had sold. Evans likewise confessed that he divided with Cooksey, sometimes seven and sometimes nine shillings, each baking day. When each was asked what he had done with the money, they declared they had spent it. For this notorious fraud, the council ordered them to be imprisoned. Thomas Levins, the Honourable Company's carpenter, presented a complaint against Thomas Stanley, late servant to John Adamson. Levins represented that he had let a room to Stanley, and hearing a woman's voice in it one night, found it to be Myrtilla, a slave woman belonging to Mr Alcock. He took no further notice of it at the time, but finding afterwards that she came there almost every night, and his wife likewise discovering it, he told Stanley he would not allow Myrtilla to come there, as she was a known thief and everything that was bad. Stanley replied, damn him, that she should come, or anyone else he liked. The following night Levins was told by two men that Myrtilla was in the room with Stanley, and he knocked at the door and asked Stanley to turn her out. Stanley replied that she was not there, and that if she was he would not turn her out. Levins sent for the sergeant of the guard, who searched the room, and not finding her, returned to

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		a Slave Woman belonging to Mr Alcock that he then took no further Notice of it but finding afterwards that she came there almost every Night And his Wife likewise discovering it told the said Stanley she would not Suffer the said Mirtilla to come there as she was a notorious Thief and every thing that was bad Upon which Stanley replyd Damn me Madam she shall come or any one else that I like That on the Night following he (Loing) was told by two Men that Mirtilla was in the Room with Stanley he thereupon knocked at his door and Desired him to turn her out Stanly replyd She was not there and if she was he would not turn her out That he sent for the Serjeant of the Guard who Searching the Room and not finding her he returned to his Guard again That soon after he was gone Stanley called him Wholp little Dog and Puppy for sending for the Serjeant That he told him he would not take such Language Stanley then made a kick at him and came up to him with his Fists upon which they fought sometime Stanley then went to Bed During the Scuffle he saw something hang round Stanleys Neck like a Crucifix which gave him no good opinion of him and hearing Stanley say that he would take a Weeks turn in the Country and see all Creeks and Corners and odd places in the Island to look for Stones and Shells he Loing thought it his Duty to acquaint us with it Upon	his guard. Soon after he was gone, Stanley called Levins a whelp, a little dog and a puppy for sending for the sergeant. Levins told him he would not take such language, and Stanley made a kick at him and came up to him with his fists, upon which they fought for some time. Stanley then went to bed. During the scuffle Levins saw something hanging round Stanley's neck like a crucifix, which gave him no good opinion of him, and hearing Stanley say he would take a week's turn in the country and see all creeks and corners and odd places in the island to look for stones and shells, Levins thought it his duty to acquaint the council of it. Upon [...] Interpretations The two bakers were imprisoned for what the council judged a notorious fraud, the systematic sale of bread baked from flour they were bound to account for, with Cooksey and Evans dividing several shillings between them on each baking day. This outcome shows the Company treating the embezzlement of the garrison's bread as a criminal matter warranting gaol rather than mere dismissal, a firm response to the theft of a staple provision on which the whole settlement relied. Levins's complaint carries a note of suspicion beyond the quarrel over Myrtilla, fixing on the crucifix he saw at Stanley's neck and Stanley's talk of roaming the island's creeks and remote corners to gather stones and shells. In a period of war with Catholic France, and on a fortified island of strategic value, these details read as hints of a man distrusted as both a papist and a possible spy, the carpenter reporting Stanley's wanderings as something the authorities ought to know.
460	455	1757 Upon this Information we sent the Marshal to forbid the said Stanleys going into the Country or to go on pretence of Fishing in any Boat Francis Wrangham Secretary this Day represented to us in Council that on Sunday Morning the 30th Instant John Langbridge Soldier came and brought to him three Gold Rings and said he had heard that he Mr Wrangham knew something of them Mr Wrangham further Saith of immediately upon his seeing them he knew they must have been taken out of a Cupboard in his (the Secretarys) Office and that they belonged to the Estate of the late Richard Gurling deceased but notwithstanding his knowledge of them Langbridge did not then tell them who he had them from until Mr Wrangham told him he could not have them from any Body but William Boddington wch Langbridge directly acknowledged and then told Mr Wrangham he had pawned them to him for Seven Rupees and that upon his redeeming them again he Langbridge was to have received ten Rupees That in about half an hour afterwards John Legg	Upon this information, the council sent the marshall to forbid Stanley from going into the country or going out on the pretence of fishing in any boat. Francis Wrangham, secretary, represented to the council that on Sunday morning 30 October, John Langbridge, soldier, came and brought him three gold rings, saying he had heard that Wrangham knew something of them. Wrangham stated that immediately on seeing them he knew they must have been taken out of a cupboard in the secretary's office, and that they belonged to the estate of the late Richard Gurling, deceased. Despite his knowledge of them, Langbridge did not at first tell him who he had them from, until Wrangham told him he could not have had them from anybody but William Boddington, which Langbridge then acknowledged. Langbridge told Wrangham he had pawned them to him for seven rupees, and that upon Boddington redeeming them again, Langbridge was to have received ten rupees. About half an hour afterwards, John Legg, who kept a punch house, came to Wrangham with three more gold rings, saying he had taken them from Boddington in pawn for liquor. Legg further told Wrangham that he had questioned Boddington about one of them, a mourning ring, imagining, as Wrangham did, that Boddington had not got it honestly. Boddington had told Legg that a friend of his in the shipping time gave it to him. Langbridge and Legg were sent for and each acknowledged what Wrangham had declared. Boddington, who wrote occasionally under

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		(who keeps a Punch House) came to him the said Mr Wrangham with three more gold Rings and told him he had taken them from the said Boddington in pawn for Liquor And further acquainted him Mr Wrangham that he questioned Boddington about one of them (a Mourning Ring) imagining (as he Mr Wrangham supposd) that Boddington had not got it honestly Boddington then told the said John Legg that a friend of his in the Shipping time gave it to him The said Langbridge and Legg being sent for severally acknowledged they told Mr Wrangham what he has above Declared And the said Boddington who wrote occasionally under Mr Wrangham in the Secretarys Office was then sent for and being brought before us confessed that he took the above Rings out of a Sort of Cupboard in the Office and pledged them to John Langbridge and John Legg as they have above Declared For which	Wrangham in the secretary's office, was then sent for, and being brought before the council, confessed that he took the rings out of a cupboard in the office and pledged them to John Langbridge and John Legg as they had declared. For [...] Interpretations The theft was uncovered through the very network of pawning it relied on, as the stolen rings surfaced when both the soldier Langbridge and the publican Legg brought them to Wrangham, the secretary from whose office they had been taken. The mourning ring in particular, a ring made to commemorate a death and belonging to the deceased Gurling's estate, aroused suspicion by its nature, its distinctive character helping to expose Boddington's account of an innocent gift as false. The case shows the punch house serving as an informal pawnbroker, John Legg advancing liquor against pledged goods, a common function of such drinking houses where credit and pawning went hand in hand. Boddington, a clerk with access to the estate goods held in the secretary's office, exploited his trusted position to steal and pawn the rings for drink and rupees, the fraud turning on the same abuse of office as the bakers' embezzlement heard the same day.
461	456	31st October Which Theft we ordered the said Boddington to be imprisoned And Langbridge and Legg to forfeit their Money whom we also fine in the Sum of twenty Shillings each to the Honorable Companys Cash Legg having acknowledged he was likewise to have received a Premium that we thought unreasonable tho not altogether so large as that which Langbridge was to have had Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	For this theft, the council ordered Boddington to be imprisoned, and Langbridge and Legg to forfeit their money, fining each twenty shillings to the Honourable Company's cash. Legg had acknowledged that he was likewise to have received a premium the council thought unreasonable, though not altogether so large as that which Langbridge was to have had. Signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The council punished not only the thief but the two men who had taken the stolen rings in pawn, fining Langbridge and Legg twenty shillings each and stripping them of the money advanced. This shows the administration treating those who received and lent against stolen goods as parties to the offence, holding that the soldier and the publican bore blame for dealing in plunder they had reason to distrust, not merely Boddington who took it. The council fixed on the excessive premium Langbridge and Legg were to gain on redemption as an aggravating feature, the rate of profit on their pawns judged unreasonable even by the standards of the trade. That the bench weighed the size of the expected return in condemning them reveals a concern with usurious dealing, the men censured as much for the exorbitance of their bargain as for handling the rings at all.
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