

St Helena Records 1754-1755

Introduction: This is the thirty second 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/EAP1364-1-1-36>.

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. 8 is designated as page 1 (location 8/1), with numbering continuing sequentially through the end of the volume.

Dates: The Council's first meeting took place on 29 April 1754, with the final meeting occurring on 26 May 1755. All sessions were convened during Captain Charles Hutchinson's administration (1747-1764).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

This account consolidates a continuous run of East India Company records for St Helena from the quarter opened on 12 January 1753/4 to the last week of May 1755. The material gathers the weekly consultations of the governor and council with the monthly and quarterly accounts of the plantation, the gunner, the

storekeeper, the paymaster and the cash chest, together with the invoices and muster rolls of the ships that called. The island was held and ruled by the English East India Company through a small council at the castle in James Valley. Governor Charles Hutchinson presided throughout, supported by John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark, and these three names close almost every entry. The record gives a close and unusually complete view of how a small fortified station in the South Atlantic was governed, defended, fed and paid for by a trading company far away. [Film No. 8, 58, 313]

The evidence is almost entirely financial and administrative, kept for audit and to satisfy the Court of Directors in London, so it records what things cost and who was paid rather than what people thought or why the Company held the island. It is exact to the halfpenny and names the men who signed each account, yet the slaves, common soldiers and poorer inhabitants are heard only through the sums spent on them or the sales that scattered them. Stressing order, thrift, revenue and control, it may pass over friction, want or abuse that did not need accounting. The commentary accompanying each entry in the source, set out under headings of interpretations and speculations, is careful and often shrewd on the meaning of a term or practice, and is drawn on and weighed here, though it too works only from the ledger. The narrative that follows reads both what the figures state plainly and what their silences leave out. [Film No. 26, 162, 331]

The whole belongs to the settled middle years of Company rule, some seventy years after the Crown granted the island and long before the events for which St Helena is now chiefly remembered. It catches the settlement across a period of nominal peace giving way to the fear of open war with France, and shows a small colony run as a business and a garrison at once, its life bent around the arrival and departure of the ships on the long sea road between England and the East. [Film No. 108, 249, 358]

Governance and Administration

The island was governed from the castle by a small council of three whose composition scarcely changed. Governor Charles Hutchinson presided, with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and John Clark making up the board, the same three names closing every consultation. The council met on a near-weekly cycle, almost always on a Monday, opening each meeting by reading, approving and signing the record of the last. Its dependence on so few persons showed when John Adamson was absent through sickness on 11 November 1754 and John Clark sat in his place, a government reducible to two by one man's illness. [Film No. 8, 245, 261]

The civil establishment below the council was small but carefully ordered. The accountant John Goodwin, the storekeeper Matthew Pearling, later spelled Purling, the secretary Francis Wrangham and the chaplain William Lee stood at its head, with factors and writers beneath them, each on a graded salary with diet money and, for the junior men, an allowance toward house rent. Diet money was a cash payment in place of board, given so that officers could keep their own table, and appears against nearly every office as a fixed addition. The factors James Powell and Thomas French stood at the foot of the list on the smallest salaries, though Powell drew extra for acting as assistant storekeeper. [Film No. 26, 131]

At each consultation the minute of the last was read and signed, the accountant's journal and parcels for the quarter examined and ordered to be entered, and the several stores accounts presented and approved. The same small body served as executive, audit office, probate court and bench of summary justice, its reach extending into the smallest matters of town order. Finding on 9 December 1754 that people had taken to throwing dirt and rubbish in the streets of the valley by night, the council ordered an advertisement forbidding the practice on a penalty of 5s for each offence, policing James Valley much as an English local authority policed its own. [Film No. 151, 266]

The daily openings of each consultation doubled as a register of the island's ordinary events, noting deaths, the passing of distant sails and the coming and going of ships. On 15 and 17 May 1754 the note is simply that a ship passed by at a great distance, the council following the sea around it as carefully as the land. It tracked the death of every inhabitant, naming each with a trade or family, so a meeting of 2 September 1754 recorded the deaths in the preceding four days of Thomas Steevens a tailor, John Bagley a planter and the infant son of Francis Mowatt. [Film No. 64, 159]

Vacancies were filled promptly and, where useful, turned to advantage. When Thomas French resigned on 20 May 1754 the council appointed William Wrangham to assist in the accountant's office and Charles Newarda, a young man of about 18 lately come from England where he had qualified himself in accounts and writing, to the secretary's office. The council added that it believed the young man could do the duty well if the Company approved, recruiting trained clerks from home yet still seeking the Court's sanction for its own appointments. [Film No. 65]

The rhythm of the island's business was set by the movements of the Company's ships, which alone carried its reports home. On 18 November 1754 the Governor directed that a statement of the plantations and pastures, the balanced books of account and a particular account of the military stores all be prepared for sending to the Court of Directors by the *Dragon*. Each departure forced a settling of accounts and a despatch of all that had accumulated since the last. An outward vessel from England brought the directors' orders, instructions and news, so that on 31 March 1755 the council opened and read at once a packet from the Court carried by the *Exeter*, and again on 21 April 1755 read the directors' order to the assembled planters. Between arrivals the island's government worked on its own judgement, acting under standing orders until a fresh packet renewed or altered them. [Film No. 249, 350]

The island's place within the Company's scattered eastern empire appears in the annual round of letters the council despatched on 9 April 1755. Addressed to the presidents and councils of Fort St George, Bombay and Bengal and to the deputy governor of Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen, and carried onward in the packet of the *Exeter*, these letters acknowledged correspondence a year or more old and placed the island's orders for the coming months. The council answered Fort St George letters of March 1753 and of March and November 1754, a lag showing how a settlement months distant from its fellows could reply only as vessels came and went. St Helena served as a forwarding point, letters passed from ship to ship along the trade routes that met at its road. The letter to Bombay acknowledged two prisoners brought to the island by the *Prince Edward*, its remoteness and secure garrison making it as fit for holding prisoners as for guarding the sea road. [Film No. 358, 359]

Government on the island remained personal and direct. On 14 April 1755 the council ordered an advertisement summoning all the inhabitants to attend at the castle at ten the following Monday, and on 21 April 1755 the planters duly attended to hear the Court of Directors' order read to them. A measure of local self-government operated beneath the Company's absolute proprietorship. The planters assembled at the chapel in the valley on 31 March 1755 to choose parish officers for the coming year, returning churchwardens and overseers of the poor for the east, west and south divisions and so reproducing the machinery of English parish government within their small colony. The settlers returned two candidates for each office, but the council issued warrants confirming only one churchwarden and one overseer from each pairing. [Film No. 347, 351, 381]

The Governor's standing above his colleagues is written plainly in the pay. His salary alone was set at £125 for the quarter, five times the chaplain's and swelled further by a separate allowance for his household servants that no other officer drew, where the lieutenant governor took less than half as much and the rest far less again. His place cost the Company £156 14s 9d for the quarter beginning 12 January 1753/4 once his allowance for servants was added to his salary. Hutchinson's name stood first on every order and count, and his conduct the Court of Directors would call to account. [Film No. 131, 301]

Military Affairs and Defence

The garrison was the heaviest charge on the island. It was built of four companies of foot on an identical pattern, each with two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals and a drummer, together with a separate artillery company under a master gunner. Military pay ran by fixed rank rather than by bargain, so across the whole period every sergeant drew the same £7 12s 1d, every corporal and drummer the same £5 6s 5½d and every sentinel the same £3 16s 0½d for the full quarter. The drummer stood level with the corporals, above the private men, since the beat carried orders and called the men to arms where the voice would not reach. The whole force, civil and military together, cost the Company over £2,157 for the quarter beginning 12 April 1754, and over £2,127 9s 7d for the quarter ending 11 January 1754/5. [Film No. 29, 133, 308]

The symmetry of the foot companies let either mount guard or take the field on the same establishment, and their number was adjusted to the work of the guard. Where four companies stood on the books in the middle of 1754, three appear on the pay list closed on 27 January 1754/5, the First under John Clark, the Second under Thomas Easthope and the Third under Thomas Kirkpatrick, a division that allowed the daily guard to be mounted on a three-day rotation, one company on duty while the other two rested or worked. Extra pay marked out particular skills, the first lieutenant of the First Company drawing a separate fee for instructing the gunners. The office of gunnery instructor passed with the lieutenantcy, having been held before by John Elick and taken up in turn by John Clark. [Film No. 302, 133, 192]

The artillery stood apart as a specialist body serving the batteries. It was headed not by a lieutenant but by the master gunner Thomas Hall, whose salary matched that of a company lieutenant. Below him the company was graded in a strict descending scale of gunners' mates, quarter gunners and mattrasses, the mattrass being the lowest of the artillery, a gunner's assistant who fetched powder and shot, sponged and loaded the piece and lent his weight to running it out, and served as a private soldier when not at the ordnance. The gunners' mates drew more than double a sentinel's wage, the men who worked the guns that commanded the anchorage. [Film No. 38, 142, 311]

Beneath the flat wages the pay rolls tracked a steady internal movement of men through the ranks, each change reckoned to the exact day. On 9 August 1754 William Davis rose from corporal to sergeant and John Howard from sentinel to corporal in the First Company while Henry Beale fell from sergeant to sentinel the same day, and the same reshuffling appears in the Third Company on 13 September 1754, where William Bartin was raised to sergeant and Samuel Dasfountain to corporal as William Peddam was broke from sergeant to private. The word broke marks a reduction as a punishment rather than an ordinary step down, one man's rise filling the place another's fall had opened, the wage split to the exact day. Men crossed between the specialist artillery and the ordinary foot as the establishment required, Christian Brinker transferred from the artillery into the Second Company from 25 July 1754 at the sentinel's rate, though the artillery stood steadier than the foot, its trained men held longer in place by the value of their skill. [Film No. 34, 192, 195]

Keeping the garrison up to strength was a standing difficulty met by paying a bounty for each recruit. A flat £10 was given to each man who bound himself to serve five years, far more than a private's quarterly pay, buying recruits on a station where men were hard to come by and desertion easy. Seven such men were taken on together on 22 March 1753/4, and four identical bounties were paid on 3 January 1754/5 to Thomas Hailes, Robert Stack, John Harley and Moses Monanteau. Three of those four names appear as serving soldiers elsewhere in the same quarter's roll, so the bounty was often paid to re-engage existing men as their terms expired rather than only to attract new recruits. Smaller enlistment payments of £5 and £2 10s appear for single men taken on in earlier months. Native-born islanders served on the same footing, John Bagley enlisting without bounty on 12 August 1754 where Peter Small re-enlisted the same day at £10, the raw native recruit taking nothing where the proven soldier's further service was paid for. [Film No. 42, 314, 152]

Manpower was managed through a flexible system of discharges, bounties and re-enlistments recorded week by week. The quarter gunner Peter Marshall was discharged in November 1754 before his term expired only once he had secured his ship captains' consent and bound himself to enlist afresh for five more years. The discharged soldier George Brian was granted leave to remain on the island only on undertaking to be no charge on the Company while he gathered in the money owed him, and chose to forgo his passage home in the *Dragon* rather than leave before his island debts were gathered in. Time-served men sought their discharge ship by ship as homeward vessels appeared, Sergeant Thomas Brown, the armourer Andrew and the soldier William Hayes all released on 17 March 1755, and two corporals discharged about 24 March 1755 as the homeward ships crowded the road. On 24 April 1755 the council allowed John Legg to leave before his term by procuring the discharged carpenter Jonathan Hitchins to serve in his place, the exchange favoured because it brought in a needed tradesman. [Film No. 275, 346, 385]

The garrison drew on the passing ships to fill its skilled vacancies. When the armourer Robert John Clark petitioned on 17 March 1755 to return to England on grounds of poor health, he proposed that John Yeale, armourer of the *Prince Edward* then in the road, serve in his place, and the council granted the request only once Captain Robert Haldane had consented to release Yeale, who was bound to the ship's articles. An ailing servant sought the long voyage home as his best hope of recovery. [Film No. 341, 342]

The island's defence rested wholly on its shore batteries, scattered around the coast rather than gathered at one point, fortified at every bay where a boat might come ashore. Fortification work was charged across Rupert's, Bank's and Lemon Valley, and the gunners' store accounts name further batteries at Turk's Cap, Prosperous Bay, Munden's Point, Sandy Bay and the main fort. A powder magazine stood at Sandy Bay on the south of the island, secured by a stock lock issued from store, and another at Lemon Valley, its door hung on new hinges and boarded with deal. Fortification works were among the largest single charges among the paymaster's payments, £82 17s 6d paid to sundry hands on 11 April 1754 for labour at Rupert's Valley, Lemon Valley and other places, £21 17s spent on Rupert's Bank and Sandy Bay in the quarter to 11 October 1754, and further sums quarter by quarter, the batteries at the landing places kept in constant repair. [Film No. 23, 129, 223]

The guns were in constant ceremonial and watchful use. Salutes were returned to arriving and departing ships of several nations, and alarm guns fired at every unidentified sail, the warning carried round the coast from outposts such as Prosperous Bay and Turk's Cap. In the month to 11 May 1754 the batteries fired 131 guns and expended 197 pounds 8 ounces of powder, much of it on saluting Danish and Swedish vessels and on repeated alarms. The finer gradations of naval courtesy appear in the salutes, nine guns for a departing Company vessel, 13 for a ship of higher standing and a full royal salute of 21 for the King. Every approaching sail was a potential enemy until identified, and the mere passage of ships in a busy month drew heavily on the magazine. In the crowded homeward season of 1755 a double alarm answered five ships passing together on 25 February 1755, consuming over 13 pounds of powder in the alarm alone and more than 34 in the returned salute. [Film No. 66, 324, 344]

These months saw a deliberate strengthening of the ordnance. In the account to 11 June 1754 the gunner fitted up sponges, rammers and heads for new guns at the main fort, and in the account to 11 July 1754 recorded powder spent scaling five new 32-pounder guns and the guns at Sandy Bay, scaling being the firing of a light charge to clear a new barrel of rust and scale before service. The mounting of heavy cannon of the largest calibre at the main fort and at Sandy Bay increased the weight of metal defending the island's approaches, undertaken in nominal peace against the chance it would not last. An earlier consignment of cannon had been received from the ship *Grantham*, hoisted ashore in the quarter to 11 July 1754. Gunpowder served the engineering works as well as the guns, six pounds going on blowing rocks to repair the glacis, the sloping earthwork before the main fort, and further charges spent blowing limestone to quarry the stone and lime the island needed for building. [Film No. 80, 99, 324]

The garrison trained its men seriously, at real cost in powder. The account to 11 July 1754 records a heavy expenditure of powder by the recruits at exercise, and the account for the month ending 11 October 1754 charged over 169 pounds of powder for exercising with small arms against only a few pounds spent on salutes and funerals, a month of musketry practice kept up as a serious part of readiness. The same account noted rockets made up from paper, so the batteries could send up a signal by night where a gun served by day. Slow match was kept smouldering at Bank's, Rupert's, Munden's and the Marine House, some reckoned from as far back as May 1753, a standing readiness held against the moment a gun must speak. [Film No. 99, 189]

The same guns and stores show the wear of a maritime climate. Handspikes, bitts and sponge staves broke in daily handling, tampions were lost at the outposts, and rammer heads were entered as decayed by the worms, the marine borers that attacked the wooden gear of the ordnance. Worn gear was condemned in quantity, the council ordering 26 gun carriages written off the books on 7 October 1754 together with the full train of sponges, rammers, worms and tampions. The sponges were repaired at Munden's and Bank's batteries with staves, heads and sheep skins to swab the bores, and over 300 sheep skins with tenter nails

were drawn to cover the sponges, the wool of the island's own flocks turned to the service of its artillery. [Film No. 67, 183, 270]

The making and mending of flags was a recurring charge that kept up a visible chain of signalling across the scattered posts. The fortifications account spent nearly £7 on bunting alone in the quarter to 11 January 1754/5, the loosely woven worsted cloth used for flags because it took dye well and flew freely, in the white, blue and red of the ensigns and jacks a Company garrison would fly. Separate flags were specified for the commandant and for the ramparts, backed with cheap osnaburg and stronger canvas and rigged with halyards and lines. Four new flags were made in the quarter to 11 April 1755 for the main fort, Sandin's Point, Rupert's and Prosperous Bay, each a lookout that raised colours to warn of approaching ships, and the sentinel Baron Delonpk of the Second Company was paid a small fee for engraving the tickets for the flags of the several gates. This ring of signal points warned of hostile sail long before it came within range of the guns. [Film No. 278, 299, 377]

The gravest business of the closing months of 1754 was the threat of war with France. On 25 November 1754 the Governor laid before the board a statement of the island's military stores together with an estimate of how much more would be needed, to be reported home so the Company might judge what further supplies to send should there appear any prospect of a breach with France, and on 18 November 1754 he told the council that news carried by Captain Harry Kent of the *Dragon* made it necessary to be on guard. By late 1754 Britain and France, though still nominally at peace, were already fighting in the Ohio valley of North America, and a governor charged with a lonely victualling island astride the sea road from India had every reason to fear a French descent, and Hutchinson inventoried his stores and reviewed his defences against a gathering danger. [Film No. 263, 249]

The threat raised the garrison to a real state of alert. On 14 November 1754 the fort stood to and fired an alarm of six guns, and on 17 December 1754 a double alarm of seven guns was answered, while powder was issued to bring the flying party, the detachment kept ready to move quickly to any threatened point, up to 30 rounds a man with ball to match. The strain told on the equipment, one alarm gun bursting with firing and flags at Munden's Point and Rupert's worn out and unserviceable, while the fortifications themselves were damaged by very high surf in several places. The war did not reach the island that year, but the concern proved well founded, for in 1758 French warships lay off St Helena waiting for the Company's India fleet. [Film No. 278, 280, 364]

The condemnation of the island's worn artillery in April 1755 was undertaken as war drew nearer. On 14 April 1755 the gunner Thomas Hall reported seven guns of the 18, 12 and 9 pounder calibres unserviceable, honeycombed with corrosion, pierced with holes and bored beyond their proper size, and Captain Fernell offered to carry them home freight free in the *Exeter* for recasting for recasting. The state of the small arms was no better, so when the arms sent ashore from the *Exeter* for drill were inspected in April 1755 many were found wanting, one musket short of a cock and others of nails and screws, nine wanting their sights and three damaged in the stocks, with 24 slings and 23 spare ramrods missing from the whole. [Film No. 364, 424]

The constant drain of the garrison by death and accident shows plainly across the rolls, each end traced through several books at once, a man's pay struck off to the day he died, the guns fired at his funeral and his estate settled. William Binfield's pay ran only to 26 August 1754 when he died, the same sentinel over whose funeral the gunners had spent powder that month, and Thomas Martin's closed on 11 September 1754, his death recorded in the consultations and marked by powder at his funeral. The steep and broken terrain killed as surely as disease. John Bradley was killed on 24 March 1755 by the blow of a stone that came down the hill above the dam, Anthony Marchen died on 12 April 1755 by a fall from a precipice, and William Witman died by accident in October 1754, violent deaths from a near-vertical volcanic landscape wholly foreign to the settled lowland country from which the garrison was drawn. Military honours were paid even to the ordinary dead, two pounds four ounces of powder burnt at each of the funerals of the soldiers Anthony Morehan, William Pendery and Matthew Campbell in May 1755, a volley over the grave the customary mark of respect. [Film No. 195, 339, 439]

Desertion was the one departure that carried no settled account to a new place or an heir, and it was the standing problem of an isolated garrison. William Shannon's pay in the middle of 1754 was reckoned only to 23 May 1754, the day he ran, and he was simply struck off at the date he fled. When the soldier William Thomson was supposed to have deserted in the ship *Beaufort* in November 1754, the council ordered his effects sold at public auction and the residue after his debts, some £5 14s 3½d, lodged in the Company's cash and written off to the London account, treating a runaway's abandoned property much as a dead man's. The watchfulness that fired the alarms of late 1754 guarded against men slipping away as against an enemy landing, every departure reckoned to the exact day. [Film No. 142, 260]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

The whole island was the private property of the Company, which held it as lord proprietor under royal charter and combined the roles of sovereign government and universal landlord. Every inhabitant was a tenant of the corporation rather than an owner in his own right, so a grant of a few acres was at once an act of estate management and of colonial administration. No plot could pass without the council's consent, the leasehold tenure that governed all land turning even a small private dealing into a matter of government record. When Robert Mason sought leave on 19 August 1754 to sell a house on leasehold ground 40 feet square next to the burial place, the council granted it and the sale to Thomas Harper the marshal went forward. Samuel Desfountain's petition of 19 May 1755 to assign a plot in James Valley 33 feet by 44 to William Moore was granted on the same principle, space tightly measured in the cramped valley. [Film No. 153, 440, 320]

The rent the Company charged was often nominal, its purpose being tenure rather than revenue. The lease to Matthew Bazett junior examined on 10 February 1755 reserved a yearly rent of a single shilling, due each year at Michaelmas over a 21-year term, a peppercorn rent that served only to acknowledge the Company's continuing ownership. The lease bound Bazett to allegiance to King George the Second and to the Company, reserved the right to assign only with the council's consent, and bound the tenant to keep up the fences and maintain the full quantity of wood upon the land. Deforestation had become a serious problem as settlers cleared timber for fuel and building and grazing animals prevented regrowth, so by writing the preservation of wood into the lease as a binding condition the Company enforced a rudimentary conservation policy over a resource whose destruction threatened the whole settlement. Even the poorest ground was let only on terms, Matthew Bazett's petition on 11 November 1754 for a small rocky and barren plot, wanted because taking it in would shorten his fences, granted at a rate proportioned to its value. [Film No. 320, 321, 247]

The tenure of the island's people was of two kinds, and the sharp difference between freehold and leasehold ran through every valuation. Freehold carried a title the holder owned outright, while leasehold reverted to the Company on the expiry of a term, so the freehold commanded several times the price. The inventory of the late Richard Gawling, appraised on 29 August 1754, valued his freehold at Francis and Vaughan's at nine to 11 pounds the acre against leasehold at one to three pounds. Leasehold reached beyond the grave, the land reverting to the Company on a tenant's death rather than passing to his heirs, so a petition of 2 September 1754 sought to renew the expired lease of the late Martin Harper on three acres in Swanley Valley and to enclose an acre more, the widow and orphans left dependent on the council's willingness to renew. The council granted the renewal and enclosure, though a family's hold on leasehold ground was insecure when its title had to be granted afresh at every death. Attorneys for Gabriel Stewart, a native of the island, had likewise sought leave on 10 June 1754 to sell his nine acres of freehold at public auction, and the council granted it on the usual terms. [Film No. 166, 159, 75]

The yearly collection of rents turned the Company's ownership of the ground into a settled revenue. Following an advertisement of 26 August 1754, the planters attended on 14 October 1754 and paid their rents and revenues for the past year, amounting to £564 3s 6d. The rent roll set freehold acres apart from leasehold, each at its own rate, and ran to over 4,000 acres of settled land in all. On 26 August 1754 the council ordered every inhabitant to render an exact account of family, land and cattle and to attend at the castle to pay the rents and revenues due, a single yearly act that served at once as the island's census, its rent roll and its tax collection. [Film No. 184, 185, 157]

The ownership of the island was held tightly within a small circle of intermarried settler families of sharply unequal estates. The rent roll of 14 October 1754 was headed by Francis Wrangham senior with nearly 300 acres and by far the largest rent, an appraiser of Gawling's estate and a recurring figure across the consultations. The same families that governed, appraised and bought at the island's sales, the Wranghams, Masons, Seales and Bagleys, held land beside the orphans of the dead, the holdings ranging from over a hundred acres down to two. The heavy mortality among the planters reads in the many fatherless holdings, the estates of the orphans of the Dovetons, Dasfountains and Harpers appearing on the roll and paying rent in their own right. The Company encouraged the trial of eastern crops, allotting a pepper green to Francis Wrangham junior at a special low rate for the trial of a valuable spice crop, the very commodity its ships carried from the East. Whether the pepper ever thrived the record does not say. [Film No. 184, 186, 103]

The Company also worked land of its own on a considerable scale, farming several districts directly with its own slave labour under salaried overseers. Its plantation was a working farm of grounds, gardens, pastures, woodland and a dairy, run as a distinct establishment whose condition was reported to the council as carefully as the state of its defences. On 25 November 1754 the lieutenant governor, as the Company's husband or manager of its property, laid before the board a statement dated 9 November 1754 describing the stock as thriving and increasing daily, with plenty of grass in the pastures and the fences between the Company's ground and the planters' almost repaired. When Richard Gorling, the Company's overseer and planter, died on 6 June 1754, the Governor used the vacancy to reorganise, proposing that two men share the dead overseer's £60 salary, and on 24 June 1754 the council appointed Matthew Bazett and George Young at £30 each. Later vacancies were filled at once, George Young and Samuel Alexander appointed to oversee the slaves and plantations at Sandy Bay at the usual £30 a year, the Company's agriculture dispersed across the several districts where it worked land with its own slaves. [Film No. 263, 75, 382]

The management of the yam crop turned on a point of deliberate husbandry. In the statement of 9 November 1754 the lieutenant governor warned that the young yam plants could not be dug for more than a month longer without great waste, and that the slaves must therefore be fed on imported rice for two or three months so the crop might reach a better growth. It was, the record adds, the settled practice, never a year passing without the slaves being fed on rice for a while, so the island's food supply rested always on a mix of home-grown root and imported grain. To make good the coming shortfall the Company directed the overseer in Sandy Bay to plant three named grounds, the lower plantation at the lime kiln, the ground called Franks and that at Perkins, to hold over 150,000 yams in all, choosing land that had lain fallow or had never been worked in the expectation that recovered soil would yield well. [Film No. 263, 264]

The Company kept a great stock of animals on its own account, reckoned closely month by month, every birth, killing and death set down against a running total. The stock account to 11 May 1754 opened with 207 head of neat cattle, 344 sheep, 185 goats and much poultry, and the returns through the period track herds of some 220 to 250 cattle, flocks of near 400 to 500 sheep, 250 goats, hogs, horses, asses and a large stock of poultry, each class divided by sex and condition so the reckoning tracked breeding capacity and the meat coming ready as well as bare numbers. The categories of neat cattle, bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers, bullocks and oxen reflect a working understanding of a herd at every stage of growth and use. The careful separation of beasts killed for meat from beasts that died of themselves distinguished deliberate slaughter from natural loss, so the Company could measure both the yield and the wastage of the stock it bred to feed the settlement and the ships. [Film No. 68, 154, 250]

The flocks bred strongly and the herds sustained themselves, the plantation a self-renewing resource bred to keep pace with the constant draw upon it. The account to 11 June 1754 shows the goats nearly doubling their kids in the month and the sheep adding heavily to their lambs, and sharp increases of 35 pigs, 39 fowls, 37 kids and 36 lambs mark the breeding of the stock. Loss to disease and the small hazards of a crowded farmyard were noted alongside, ducks killed by a goat and by cattle in one entry, six fowls killed by cats in another, eight fowls lost to feral cats in a third after six the month before. The island's feral cats, descendants of ships' animals now multiplied, preyed on the stock, 12 fowls killed by cats in April 1755, while the gunner's account records powder and 70 lead balls spent shooting the wild goats of the uplands, both for their meat and to check their grazing of the already denuded slopes. [Film No. 79, 154, 375]

The yam was the great bulk crop that fed both people and stock, grown in quantity precisely because the shipped grain could not stretch to feed all the mouths the Company held. Imported originally from West Africa and Madagascar, it was the plain and constant food of the settlement, and its consumption dwarfed every other item. The stock accounts record 22,235 yams expended in the month to 11 May 1754, over 33,000 for the month ending 11 September 1754 as the new-bred young pressed on the store, and over 29,000 to 11 November 1754. The great increase to 16,095 in the month ending 11 March 1755, against 7,650 the month before, coincided with the arrival of numerous ships and the feeding of their companies alongside the Company's own growing stock. The inventory of Gawling's estate on 29 August 1754 held over 160,000 yams valued at more than £90, nearly matching the worth of all his cattle and of his eight slaves. [Film No. 68, 181, 325]

The plantation's buildings and dairy were maintained from the general store like every other department, and a substantial building programme ran through the period. Paddy, which is rice still in the husk, was issued to feed the poultry and horses, milk pans, a skimming dish, strainers and cow ropes were drawn for the dairy, and spades, scythes, rakes, pruning saws and turfing irons for the garden, whose fruit and vegetables were a valued resource. Repairs went forward to the Peak house on the high ground of the interior, to Sandy Bay house, to the barn in the great wood and to the carts. A new plantation house dominated the works, its materials led by lead at £19 17s 2d for roofing and flashing, followed by Riga timber for the principal beams and near 70 boards of deal, the heaviest single item of the whole building account. Later quarters saw over £28 of nails, deals and glass, then over a hundred double deals with wainscot boards, single deals, flooring brads, glass and dovetail hinges coming to nearly £30, marking work on panelling, framing and floors rather than mere repair. The heaviest costs fell on lead and timber, the two materials the island could not produce. [Film No. 22, 25, 298]

The great wood and the Long Wood stood among the few natural resources the island thought worth maintaining and guarding. Stores issued to the plantation included nails and deals for repairs at the great wood and stock locks to secure it, and lignum axes at a notable price for working it, while a separate charge for a party of recruits at the Long Wood and a payment to Daniel Fowkes for attending there point to the same wooded ground being used and watched. The great wood was carefully fenced and worked for the building material and fuel the settlement could not do without. The Company's land and timber were under constant pressure from the planters' stock, and an advertisement of 27 June 1754 laid the conflict bare. Despite repeated orders to keep sheep under a shepherd and to ring hogs, upwards of 230 sheep had been found in the Long Wood on 18 June 1754, and the council threatened to pound trespassing animals and fine their owners 6d a head. Ringing a hog meant fixing a ring in its snout to stop it rooting up the ground, the Company regulating the very methods of husbandry to guard its scarce timber and yam grounds. [Film No. 22, 420, 83]

The same advertisement of 27 June 1754 reveals a settlement willing to set its people against one another to enforce order. It offered a reward of 5s and a free pardon to any accomplice who would discover those breaking and unhanging the Company's gates, forbade travel across the Company land called Sufferings where damage was being done to the yams, and set a fine of 5s for defacing the notices themselves. Reward and immunity were a practical means of enforcement on a small island where authority could not watch every gate, private interest turned into an instrument of the Company's rule. [Film No. 83]

The physical conditions of the island shaped even the terms on which its land was held, and water was a critical resource in a place of steep valleys and uncertain rainfall. The will of the planter Richard Mason, proved on 20 April 1755, directed that the water be continued in the lower trenches as it always had been and never withheld from his son-in-law's land, a careful provision against the disputes that the control of water could breed. The settlement's own supply was a standing concern, carried through jointed timber pipes and open catchments that needed constant tending against leaks, brass cocks fitted to casks and cisterns, pitch drawn to seal the wooden pipes that carried water into the castle, and men paid in the quarter to 11 July 1754 for cleaning the water conduits at Windward. The long-necked gurglets were valued because their porous body kept the contents cool, a plain and pressing want on a dry volcanic coast. [Film No. 372, 111, 121]

Supply and Provisioning

The island grew and made little for itself beyond meat and roots, and drew its bulk supplies through the Company store and from across the eastern trade. The feeding of the settlement rested heavily on imported grain, the diet expenses led by flour and rice, the bulk starches of the ration, issued alongside arrack, candy and a little meat. The store bought rice direct from passing ships' captains by the hundredweight, at 8s and later 10s the hundred during January to March 1753/4. A steady procession of Company ships brought the grain that made up the shortfall, the *Tavistock* arriving from Bombay on 28 June 1754 with rice and paddy, the *Salamander* from Bengal on 3 July 1754 with rice, sugar, arrack and wax candles, and the *Doddington* from Madras on 7 July 1754 with a like cargo, the ladings reckoned first in maunds and rupees before conversion to sterling. [Film No. 20, 84, 89]

The margin on which the food supply ran was narrow. On 11 April 1754 Philip Coles was paid £1 17s 6d for fish bought to feed the Company's slaves, there not being salt provisions enough in their stores to serve them as usual. The balance between provisioning the ships and sustaining the island was precarious. When Captain Benjamin Jenkins of the *Tavistock* asked in early July 1754 for beef, 7,200 pounds of rice and other stores for his homeward voyage, the council told him there was not rice enough in the stores for the consumption of the slaves and granted only ten days' worth, amounting to 2,048 pounds, rationing its scarce grain between its own bound people and the needs of a departing ship. [Film No. 44, 88]

Where the store could not supply exactly what was asked, it made shift with what it had. In the same dealing of July 1754 the council offered Jenkins three casks of flour in place of scarce white lead, and candles in place of the lamp oil that was wanted for the provisions. Ships also helped one another, so on 12 July 1754 Jenkins told the council he would have no further occasion for the casks he had earlier requested, having found means to supply himself with salt provisions from Captain Field of the *Salamander*, an informal trade running alongside the official provisioning. The island supplemented its own fresh meat with preserved provisions carried on the ships, the council buying salted beef and pork in puncheons and hogsheads from Captains Haldane and Todd at 2s the pound on 17 March 1755, together with rice by the hundredweight, the homeward ships selling their surplus to the settlement. [Film No. 88, 339]

The island depended on the chance offerings of visiting ships for goods it could not grow, sometimes at a heavy premium. On 7 April 1755 the council found it very difficult to obtain peas and paid Captain Oliver £5 for only ten pounds, dried peas being a staple keeping food valuable for their durability. The same meeting bought 20 oars from Captain Oliver because the stores held none. When the *Exeter* brought no cordage in April 1755 the settlement, being much in want of three-inch rope, bought two coils privately from a ship's captain, and had likewise to buy gimlets for the carpenters because the Company's stores held none, a shortfall in a single ship's cargo throwing the settlement on the open market. [Film No. 352, 426]

Every cargo landed was checked against its invoice, and the shortfalls faithfully recorded, guarding against the loss by leakage and pilferage that beset liquid and bulk cargo on the long passage from the East. The storekeeper Matthew Purling gauged the leaguers of arrack from the *Salamander* and the *Doddington* in July 1754, finding each cask short of its proper fill and entering the deficiency in gallons, and noted rice and sugar short in weight from ship after ship. A leaguer was a large cask holding upward of 150 gallons, its contents subject to leakage, evaporation and short filling. The scrutiny grew finer still with the crowded season, Purling noting whether a package bore marks of tampering, so two pieces of long cloth missing from a close-packed bale of the *Norfolk's* that showed no sign of having been opened since it left the Indian factory, and a range of the *Leyton's* porcelain found shattered though the outer packing was undamaged, could be charged where they belonged. The exact shortfall gave grounds to claim against the shipper and cleared the storekeeper of any charge of loss. [Film No. 91, 328, 367]

The Company kept a European standard at its own table even on so remote a station. The account of sundries at the Company table charged port, Lisbon and Madeira wine, arrack and beer alongside fresh beef, mutton, pork, goat, kids, fowls, ducks, turkeys and butter, a table supplied from the Company's own herds when it could and from the barrels when it could not. The imported fortified wines and spirits dominated the top of the list, the governor's table entertaining ships' officers and alcohol serving as a

keeping beverage where fresh water could be uncertain. The sheep and goats of the pastures were more readily drawn on than the cattle reserved for the year's slaughter, the mutton at over 260 pounds forming the largest single item of meat in the month to 11 December 1754. The table drew freely on the island's beef once the great gathering of shipping had dispersed, over 483 pounds of beef and 311 of mutton in the month to 11 April 1755, a marked recovery from the previous month when the cattle had been reserved for the departing ships. [Film No. 160, 268, 377]

The Company's table was kept to a certain standard by luxuries bought from passing ships. On 11 April 1754 luxuries were bought from Captain Coles for the officers' use, among them anchovies, capers, mustard, raisins and fine Gloucester and Cheshire cheeses, and payments in the same quarter for spices point the same way. On 21 April 1755 the council bought from Captain Fernell raisins of the sun, currants, cheese, butter, capers and mustard for the Company's table, and the paymaster's account records lemons, spice, potatoes and even chairs and garden seeds from the Cape bought from various captains. The governor's establishment furnished its own fresh meat but drew on the ships for the dairy produce, groceries and comforts that completed an English larder in the middle of the ocean. The contrast with the slaves' ration of rice marks the gulf between those who governed and those who laboured. [Film No. 42, 381, 404]

Fresh food was sought as much for health as for the table, a guard against scurvy, and it was bought largely from the settlers who worked the ground. On 11 April 1754 Richard Bagley was paid for 1,600 lemons at 2s the hundred and three bushels of potatoes at 3s the bushel for the Company's table, and lemons were bought in bulk from Bagley and Dasfountain, potatoes reckoned by the bushel and apples from William Young in the quarter to 11 October 1754. The citrus and greens were the known remedy against scurvy, supplying the Company's table from local growers rather than imported stores. The surgeon Samuel Skinner drew a separate allowance of £8 a year for his trouble in keeping the hospital supplied with fresh provisions, over and above his salary, his engagement running to 11 April 1754, the very day he was dismissed. [Film No. 46, 204, 314]

The bread of the garrison was baked locally and put out to contract, letting the Company pay by measurable output. William Hairloch and James Carmichael baked 78 batches at a fixed rate a batch in the quarter to 11 July 1754, and the bakers James Carmichael and William Hurlock were paid for 130 batches over the quarter to 11 January 1754/5. The store both milled and baked for the settlement rather than merely issuing flour, the great quarterly collection recording a quantity of raw grain and a far larger quantity baked into bread reckoned by the hundredweight, the store recovering both the cost of the material and the baker's labour. [Film No. 156, 314, 282]

The feeding of the fleet was organised by a settled routine that turned the island's herds into fresh meat to order. On 21 April 1755 the council directed a standing instruction to every captain that he should send a note to the secretary Francis Wrangham early the morning before he wanted beef, so the planters might bring down and slaughter the cattle in time. A settled measure of 560 pounds of beef was supplied to each homeward ship, issued to the *Salisbury*, the *Portfield* and the *Boscawen* in the account to 11 May 1754 and the same uniform quantity to the *Tavistock*, the *Salamander* and the *Doddington* in the account to 11 July 1754. The livestock account from 12 March to 11 April 1755 recorded eight separate deliveries of 560 pounds of beef, one to each of eight named ships, drawing 4,480 pounds from the herds for the fleet alone in a single crowded month, the sharp slaughter of 17 cattle reducing the herd. [Film No. 378, 68, 375]

Trade and Shipping

St Helena worked as a chandlery on the sea route, refitting and reprovisioning the ships that touched there, and its whole life turned on the traffic of the sea. The record follows each vessel through the full cycle of her call, noted on arrival, her company mustered and searched for deserters, her cargo landed and checked, her provisions and fresh meat supplied, and her departure entered in its turn. The storekeeper's account marked off the Company ships as a distinct class of buyer, supplied as they called with working stores rather than domestic goods, chiefly nails, deals, glass, candles, cordage, oil, flour and above all pitch, tar and rosin in barrel quantities for caulking and rigging. Rosin was the solid residue left after distilling turpentine from pine resin, used with pitch and tar for sealing seams and treating cordage. The island served passing vessels

from the same stock that supplied its own garrison, each East Indiaman clearing the balance of its account before sailing. [Film No. 17, 416]

The island lay on the homeward road of the eastern trade of several European nations, not the English alone. A Danish ship, the *Three Princesses*, arrived from Tranquebar on the Coromandel coast on about 6 June 1754, bound for Copenhagen, and sailed on 10 June 1754, her tonnage, guns, men and cargo all carefully noted, Tranquebar being the eastern base of the Danish company. A ship passing under Dutch colours on 3 September 1754 was plainly noted, and in May 1755 four ships under Dutch colours passed together, a Danish East Indiaman the *Princess Louisa* arrived from China laden with tea, silk and porcelain and bound for Copenhagen, and a French ship from Mauritius, bound for Lorient, called at the island. The strength of a foreign ship was counted against the chance that a stranger might prove hostile to a lightly held island in an age of frequent war. [Film No. 74, 434, 436]

The traffic reached its height in the crowded homeward seasons of 1754 and 1755, when the East Indiamen converged on the island in numbers. Within a few weeks of March 1755 the council recorded the arrival of the *Prince Edward* and *Sandwich* from Bombay, the *Colchester* from China, the *Ludlow* from Bencoolen, and later the *Warwick* from Anjengo, the *Norfolk* from Madras and the *Essex* from China, Bencoolen being the Company's pepper settlement on Sumatra and Anjengo its factory on the Malabar coast, so ships from the most scattered of its stations all passed the island before the final passage to England. April 1755 was a month of exceptional traffic, the *Princess Augusta*, *Leyton* and *Onslow* arriving from China, the *Essex*, *Norfolk*, *Princess Augusta* and *Leyton* sailing for England, and the *Exeter* despatched to Bencoolen. Through May 1755 the *Stafford*, *Onslow*, *Exeter*, *Ceylon*, *Lord Anson*, *Elizabeth*, *Colchester*, *York* and *True Briton* arrived and sailed almost daily, five arriving within three days at the height of the season, the herds and gardens strained to victual so many in quick succession. [Film No. 333, 362, 448]

The cargoes of the China ships brought the distinctive goods of the Canton trade, and with them a system of money and weight for the island's accountants to master. The invoices of the *Princess Augusta*, *Leyton* and *Onslow*, dated at Canton in January 1755, and of the *Stafford* and *Lord Anson* in January 1754/5, were reckoned in taels, mace, candareens and cash, the silver money of account of the China trade, the tael being the Chinese ounce of silver divided decimally into ten mace and each mace into ten candareens, and their goods weighed by the catty and picul. The cargoes carried porcelain itemised piece by piece, from table services, bowls, the dragon and enamelled cups, sneakers and gugglets down to chamber pots and coffee cups, sugar and sugar candy weighed chest by chest, and the several grades of black tea, bohea, congo and single, that were fast becoming the great commodity of the eastern commerce. The near-identical assortment of the porcelain chests from ship to ship was standardised export ware assembled by the Canton merchants for the European market. The breakage of porcelain in the hold was so regular that the *Onslow's* invoice carried an express discount of two per cent for breakage deducted at Canton. [Film No. 368, 379, 431]

The cargoes of the India ships were reckoned in the rupees and weights of their own settlements, so the island's accountants had to master the diverse monetary systems of every quarter of the eastern trade. The invoice of the *Montfort* from Bengal, entered about 3 March 1755, valued its arrack, rice and paddy in current rupees, annas and pies by the Bengal maund, seer and chittack, while the invoice of the *Norfolk* from Madras was reckoned in the wholly different currency of pagodas, fanams and cash, the gold coin and small copper money of the Coromandel coast. A premium called batta was added for the differences between the currencies and standards of the several Company stations. The celebrated Batavia arrack, distilled at the Dutch capital in Java and traded widely through the eastern seas, appeared among these cargoes, showing how goods passed between the settlements of rival European powers. Each schedule built up the landed cost of each cargo from the wages of local Indian labour and the price of humble packing materials, the gunny bags and sewing, the empty leaguers and chests, the coolie and boat hire, and local imposts named boothie and motras and the wage of a peon or hired guard. [Film No. 329, 442, 248]

The island served as a place where damaged trade goods could be turned back into value. On 17 February 1755 the council ordered several parcels of damaged store goods sold at public auction, and the sale on 6 March 1755 realised nearly £48. The goods were Indian cotton textiles, bettelees a fine muslin, chilloes a

coloured cotton and sallampores a coarse Coromandel calico, the last bringing much the largest return among a population wholly dependent on imported cloth. The council chose open bidding before the whole island rather than a quiet private sale. That spoiled cloth still commanded so high a price shows how valuable any grade of manufactured textile was where nothing could be woven locally. The store and dispensary served the passing shipping directly, selling medicines to a named ship's captain and provisions to the shipping, and even supplied the very stone or earth needed to steady a ship for sea, Captain Fernell of the *Exeter* applying on 14 April 1755 for help in obtaining ballast to sail his empty ship safely. [Film No. 322, 333, 363]

Every arriving ship was mustered against its roll to search for deserters, the island a place where a man weary of the sea might slip ashore and vanish into the small population. Lieutenant John Clark went aboard ship after ship to muster their companies and search for runaways, the *Montfort*, the *Sandwich* and *Prince Edward*, the *Colchester*, the *Norfolk* and *Essex* in March 1755, and the *Stafford*, *Elizabeth*, *Lord Anson*, *Colchester*, *True Briton* and *York* in May, finding none. He had gone on board the *Salisbury* to muster her company and search for deserters as early as April 1754, reporting on 11 April 1754 that he had found none. The muster recovered any Company servant attempting to desert and ensured no unauthorised person was left behind, a standing security duty. [Film No. 331, 428, 355]

The ships that called were manned by mixed crews drawn from Europe and the East, and the rolls carry the fact in the names of the ordinary hands. The muster rolls of the *Tavistock*, *Salamander* and *Doddington* in July 1754 record numerous lascars, the Indian seamen of the Company's service, the recurrence of the De Rozar name among them pointing to the Portuguese-Indian communities of the eastern coast. The company of the *Montfort* carried Dutch, German, Scandinavian and French hands among a predominantly British and Irish crew, and Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, German and Scandinavian names cluster toward the foot of each ship's roll, the companies entered by rank with the English officers and rated men first and the mass of common hands, many recruited abroad, following after. The shortage of British seamen for the long eastern voyages drove the Company to recruit from every maritime nation of Europe, the *Prince Edward* standing out for her strongly Scottish company with two Haldanes among her officers. Each great ship carried its own caulker, cooper, armourer, sailmaker, butcher, poulterer, barber and tailor. [Film No. 93, 331, 429]

The rolls also mark the peculiar commercial officers of the trade and the passengers carried home. The supercargoes John Burrow and John Mapletoft of the *Lord Anson*, given the rank of esquire and attended by their own servants, were the merchants who took charge of the ship's trade at Canton, their names on both the Canton invoice and the muster roll tracing the whole arc of their charge from the buying in China to the landing on the homeward route. Black servants attended several of the passengers carried home aboard the *Doddington* in July 1754, men named Sibo and Ipsiah among them, and the rolls name passengers too, a captain taking passage home aboard a ship he did not command. One vessel of these years carries a weight the record could not have known, for the *Doddington*, provisioned and inspected in these ordinary July days of 1754, was wrecked the following year, on 17 July 1755, on Bird Island in Algoa Bay, with the loss of most of her 270 people and of a hoard of gold shipped for Robert Clive. [Film No. 444, 102, 89]

The open anchorage was a real hazard, and the record catches its danger in the misfortune of a single ship. On 3 May 1755 the *Stafford*, having come to anchor the day before at a great distance from shore with the wind blowing hard, parted her cable and left behind an anchor and several water casks, making sail in such haste that the muster could barely be taken and the council could not write to the Court of Directors by that opportunity. A station with no sheltered harbour left its shipping exposed in an open road, its boats the only link across water that could not be crossed alongside. [Film No. 428]

Economy, Trade Regulation and the Store

The store sold its goods to three classes of buyer at three graded markups, and the difference marks the social order of the island as sharply as any other record. The Company's own servants were charged 10 per cent above cost. The free planters who farmed on their own account paid 25 per cent above cost on cloth and shoes but 40 per cent on arrack, sugar, candles and other consumables, the steepest charge falling on those with the least claim on the Company's indulgence. The higher margin was loaded onto the goods a

planter would buy again and again, the drink and provisions rather than the durable textiles bought seldom, so the store drew its profit from the steady demand it could count on. [Film No. 9, 113, 215]

Arrack ran through the accounts as the great staple of the drink trade and a chief source of the store's margin. A distilled spirit made in India and the East Indies from fermented palm sap, sugar or rice, it was the common issue liquor for soldiers and servants, carrying the largest single figure among the goods sold to the planters at the top rate. The wine and beer that close the accounts, port and stronger Lisbon and Madeira, point to the trade in fortified wines that passed through the island. The planters paid over £117 for the arrack alone in the quarter to 11 January 1754/5. The tea was graded in catties, a Chinese unit, the cheaper congo and bohea marking the plain quality thought fit for the garrison rather than fine tea for export. [Film No. 9, 289, 207]

The store was far more than a shop, and much of its stock was raw material for work the island had to do for itself, functioning as workshop as much as warehouse. Iron was worked into irons for the washerwomen and a hatchet for the bakers, canvas was sewn into cots for the hospital and guard room, and lines and twine were rigged to hang and cover grape shot. Paint was ground and mixed on the spot from dry pigments, white and red lead, indigo, ochre and smalt, the lead-based paints valued especially for shielding wood and iron from the corrosive salt air. The armourer's forge consumed coals and iron in quantity, the cooper drew rivets for binding casks, the masons and stone sawyers took lines and stone saws, and the crane at the landing was repaired and painted against the weather. Corks were bought by the gross for bottling beer, pointing to a brewhouse among the establishments. [Film No. 12, 292, 411]

The exhaustive store inventories open a rare window onto the material life of the settlement, the warehouse clothing whole families and furnishing nearly every want from three continents. Cloth of every grade passed through it, from fine broadcloth, camlet and costly scarlet down to coarse kersey, fustian, flannel and osnaburg canvas, alongside footwear graded for men, women, boys and girls, hosiery of thread, knit and woven, and the haberdashery of the tailoring trade, buttons of mohair, tin, gilt and silver, tapes and whalebone for stiffening garments. The warehouse held chinaware and glassware for the table, from soup plates and gugglets to decanters and wine glasses, braziersware of copper and brass for the kitchen, a full working stock of the tools of every trade, and even a coffee roaster and mustard seed. The India goods marked the eastern origin of the settlement's comforts, arrack distinguished by source between the Batavia spirit of Java and the Goa arrack of the Portuguese coast, candles in vast bulk, and Indian cotton cloths of named kinds, betelees a fine muslin, challoses a coloured cotton and pattenmores a Coromandel piece good, carried by the Company's eastern shipping. [Film No. 108, 210, 243]

The store also held the means of light, of medicine and of the island's fishery. It counted lantern leaves of scraped horn by the hundred, glass and horn lanterns, street lamps and night lights, a heavy measure of train oil for the several guards' lamps through the night watches, surgeons' lancets or flams for the bleeding then central to medicine, and fishing tackle on a great scale, well over 20,000 hooks in graded sizes with lines by the dozen. The island's heavy reliance on the sea for food shows in these great quantities, some 2,650 hooks in one parcel with lines to match sold to servants and planters alike, the same tackle issued to the slaves so they might catch fish to supplement their ration. The store also kept the heavy and costly maritime gear that marked the island as a place of refit as well as refreshment, anchors, one lying in the West Rocks off the coast, blocks and dead eyes for rigging, cordage graded by thickness to the hundredweight, and spare masts and topmasts, one great mast worth over £33, so a vessel that lost or sprang a mast on the long ocean passage might be made good. [Film No. 232, 235, 231]

The store was a victualling reserve on a large scale, holding provisions against the long intervals between supply from home. The inventory of 11 October 1754 counted over 450 hundredweight of flour worth more than £364, the single largest provision, and a great mass of salted beef and pork in puncheons and hogsheads worth over £760, one line marked as Bengal beef shipped from the Company's Indian settlements. The stock of imported timber ran through the whole inventory, deals single and double by the hundred with oak and elm planks, clefts, baulks and pieces of Riga timber shipped from the Baltic, the storekeeper drawing on the full European timber trade to supply a place that grew almost no usable wood. [Film No. 232, 233, 234]

The store's accounting acknowledged loss as a recognised cost of trade. The waste account for the year to 11 October 1754 charged to profit and loss the leakage, wastage and short weights of the stock, the heaviest falling by far on the arrack and brandy, over 130 gallons of the one and 67 of the other lost through evaporation and spillage as spirits were drawn from the cask by the gallon. A separate charge wrote off in full 31½ gallons of vinegar shipped from England by the *Walpole* and found entirely spoiled. Goods found short or broken on receipt from the ships were checked against the invoice and entered piece by piece, distinguishing what was delivered short in unopened packages from what was simply broken on the voyage, so the loss could be charged where it belonged. [Film No. 245, 423]

The Company drew a settled revenue from the island beyond the profit of its store, chiefly from rents and from licensing the sale of drink. Licences were received for seven public houses at £10 10s in all on 11 April 1754, for eight at £12 in the quarter to October 1754, and for seven again at £10 10s in the quarter to 11 January 1754/5, each house paying for the right to trade and so taxing the very liquor the store itself supplied in such quantity. The Company thus profited twice from drink, once on the arrack it sold and again on the licences to retail it. The whole trade of the warehouse resolved at last into a single line of cash, the storekeeper Matthew Purling handing over £764 13s 6d for goods sold in the quarter to October 1754 and £174 19s 7½d in the quarter to 11 January 1754/5. [Film No. 49, 229, 317]

Licensing the drink trade served control as much as revenue. On 28 April 1755 the council read to the inhabitants the Court of Directors' order against the clandestine retailing of spirituous liquor, the liberty to buy from the ships having been abused by settlers who sold it secretly and spread drunkenness through the community. The directors set out their reasoning with unusual fullness, confining the sale of spirits to the licensed houses the Company could oversee and tax, and citing the increase of drunkenness among slaves and free inhabitants alike, the particular mention of the slaves revealing an anxiety for the labour force as much as for the settlers. The debauchery of the slaves by drink was framed as a harm threatening both their value as workers and the security of a society that held them, their welfare considered chiefly as it bore on their usefulness. [Film No. 388]

Finance, Currencies and Accounting

The island's payroll flowed from a single common chest, and its garrison's wages were the single heaviest charge. The paymaster John Clark drew the whole sum at once from the Company's cash chest to meet the quarter's wages and charges, £2,571 4s 8d on 11 April 1754, £2,262 16s 6d on 11 October 1754, £2,228 14s 9d on 11 January 1754/5 and £2,459 6s 10d on 11 April 1755 for the half-year's pay of the civil establishment and garrison. Against each block he then discharged the individual claims, chiefly the wages that formed the great bulk of his outlay, the whole establishment coming to £2,071 10s 1d for the quarter beginning 12 January 1753/4. Charging the disbursing officer as debtor was the standard method of holding him answerable until he could show every payment properly made and vouched, the account cast in double-entry form. The joint control of the chest under the governor and council guarded against embezzlement at so remote a station. [Film No. 40, 313, 403]

The cash held on the island was a striking mixture of coin from many nations, told together into one chest and revealing St Helena as a crossing point of the world's trade routes. The monthly balance held Venetian gold and Indian pagodas, Spanish dollars and half rials, Company rupees and French pieces, and later Chinese money besides, each valued into sterling at a set rate to make a single reckoning. Pagodas were gold coins of southern India, valued at 8s each and forming the largest single element of the gold, and half rials were small Spanish silver coins, fractions of the piece of eight, held in great number at 3¾d apiece for everyday dealings. The great mass of the whole was silver rupees, valued at £1,125 in the count of 11 October 1754 and over £2,000 in that of 11 May 1755, their preponderance underlining how far the island's cash reserve depended on the eastern trade. The high-value gold sat largely idle while the silver dollars and rials did the work of daily exchange, the chest a treasury rather than a working till. [Film No. 50, 230, 454]

The monthly counts of the cash reveal a treasury constantly changing in size and make-up with the traffic of the sea. The balance stood at £3,714 11s 7½d at the end of the month to 11 May 1754 and above £4,216 at the next count, swollen by a busy stretch of shipping, while the count for the month ending 11 September

1754 stood unchanged from the previous month down to the last coin, a month in which no ship settled a balance or took a bill. The inflow of the captains' remittances swelled the island's reserve of high-value coin, the gold holding risen from £600 to £1,000 in the month ending 11 March 1755, the Venetians doubled to 800 and the pagodas to 1,500, the coin surrendered by the commanders for bills on London accumulating against the paper the Company had issued. [Film No. 72, 158, 353]

Alongside the foreign coin the settlement ran its own paper money to meet the chronic shortage of small change. The cash notes were issued in fixed denominations from 2s 6d up to 40s, current within the island and standing steady at £539 15s while the metal coin fluctuated with each month's takings, a settled part of the circulating medium backed by the specie in the chest and redeemable against it. This local paper served the everyday dealings the scarce English coin and foreign silver could not meet, a stable medium under the Company's direct control. The Company also imported copper as a commodity to serve as change, the store inventory carrying great parcels of small copper money, 59,860 Irish halfpence and other pieces, the practical shortage of small coin dogging every remote factory far from any mint. [Film No. 50, 213, 330]

Bills of exchange let the island turn local cash into credit at home without shipping coin. Captains and passengers paid sums into the Company's cash and received bills drawn on the Court of Directors, payable 90 days after sight, the delay allowing for the slow passage of the demand home. On 25 March 1754 two sets of bills of £352 and £875 were drawn payable to the captains Norton Hutchinson and Francis Fowler, and the same channel served every rank, Captain Carteret Legey of the *Portfield* paying in £300 on 6 May 1754, Captain Henry Kent £640 on 25 November 1754, Captain Frederick Vincent of the *Montfort* £400 about 3 March 1755, and the captains of the *Prince Edward*, *Sandwich* and *Colchester* paying in £2,600 between them in a single sitting on 17 March 1755, each taking bills on London. The captains carried on a permitted private trade alongside the Company's cargo, the scale of their remittances marking the private wealth moving through the eastern trade, a bill sparing the risk of carrying silver on a long voyage and letting the island keep its coin. [Film No. 49, 332, 338]

The same means served officers of modest rank and the island's own prosperous people. The storekeeper Matthew Pearling remitted £225 in May 1754, the gunner Thomas Hall £30 in early July, the overseer Matthew Bazett £50 on 12 July, the schoolmaster and clerk Richard Beale £130 on 22 July 1754, and even the gardener James Sherridan £30, every servant from the highest to the humblest moving his island savings to England through the one institution that governed the place. The wealth of the island's own natives could be considerable, the attorneys for Gabriel Stewart paying £550 into the cash on 12 July 1754 as part of his fortune upon the island, far greater than the wages of any Company servant and most probably from land, trade or the supply of the ships. The treasury also forwarded the inheritance of the Dubois orphan to the account current at home rather than holding it on the island. In March 1754/5 four sets of bills totalling over £2,000 turned local silver into credit payable in England. [Film No. 84, 92, 453]

The accounting itself was minute, departmental and closely certified at every turn, a system built to be audited. Every parcel of stores was booked to a named account, the garrison, the plantation, the slaves, the hospital, the fortifications, the boats or the general charges, and often to the exact work it served, so a few pounds of nails were charged now to shelves in the bakehouse, now to the crane, and now to the making of medicines or a pack saddle. The storekeeper Matthew Purling and the accountant John Goodwin rendered their accounts errors excepted, the standard reservation by which an officer stood behind his figures without warranting them absolutely against every honest slip. The accounting was a matter for the whole council, the warehouse inventory taken on 11 October 1754 signed not only by the storekeeper but by the councillors Hutchinson, Bramston and Clark, and the monthly cash physically counted against the books, the settlement treating its property as too great a trust to rest on one man's word. [Film No. 25, 130, 228]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

The Company held slaves on the island, and their maintenance was charged to a separate head kept distinct from the diet of the free establishment. Rice was overwhelmingly the largest item, £45 14s 2d in the quarter to 11 April 1754 and over 2,300 pounds in the quarter to 11 July 1754, dwarfing every other line, so the labour force was fed chiefly on cheap imported grain and salted meat. Sugar, meat and a spirit ration came

only in small measure, the brandy issued as drams, small measured doses meant as an incentive or a supposed guard against sickness in wet work, a practice of the plantation economies by which liquor was used both to reward and to manage a labour force. Kersey was issued for their clothing and coloured thread to mend their frocks, the loose coarse smocks of a labourer, and separate cheaper household goods were issued as a matter of course, the negro cups and saucers of the store account costing a fraction of the ordinary sets. The narrow provision, sweetened only for the ailing and at Christmas, stands against the fuller stores of drink, clothing and comforts drawn by the free servants. [Film No. 21, 123, 419]

The slaves were set to catch part of their own food, so the store's outlay on grain might be offset by their labour. Hooks and lines were issued to them for fishing, holding down the cost of imported rice. When the salt provisions ran short, as they did in the quarter to 11 April 1754, fish bought in the market had to make up the ration all the same, so a labour force fed as cheaply as could be managed drew part by grain, part by its own catch and part by the market only when forced. The Company built and maintained quarters for its slaves from the plainer materials thought fit for them, cordage, rough baulks and nails charged for thatching and roofing the slaves' new houses at the plantation, benches supplied for their houses, and a piece of cloth charged for lying-in women among them, provisioning its labour force from the same imported stock that served its own buildings. [Film No. 21, 295, 419]

The Company did spend something on the health of its slaves, and the reason was plainly economic rather than charitable. Lemons, potatoes and tamarind were bought for their use as antiscorbutic foods to ward off the scurvy bred by a diet of salt meat and rice, and a small quantity of bohea tea was set apart for the sick. Fresh meat was drawn from the Company's own flocks for the ailing among its slaves, a settled practice running unbroken through the monthly accounts, two goats given to the sick slaves in the month to 11 December 1754, three in one month and four in another, and a diseased shoat unfit for the Company's own table passed to the labour force. The Company spent its breeding stock and cash to keep the slaves at work, the outlay a calculation of value and not a kindness. A festival allowance marked the season even for the slaves, a bull killed for them at Christmas, though the beast chosen was an old bull rather than prime stock. [Film No. 146, 269, 277]

The bound labourers appear in the record chiefly as items of the Company's estate, and the record numbers them among the stock with a bluntness that is itself a historical fact. The stock account to 11 June 1754 enters the deaths of four slaves, a woman named Helena, two men named Mathews and Davis, and a boy named Tom, in the same manner and the same column as the losses of sheep and poultry. The death of the slave woman Sarah Sunderleg was entered in the muster for the month to 11 December 1754 beside the dead lambs and ducks, the death of a slave named Mingo in the return for the month to 11 May 1755 among the tallies of dead beasts, each a subtraction from the Company's property. A human birth was entered in the same way, a slave child set down among the increase of the herds and named October for the month of his birth in the return to 11 November 1754, and a boy named Phillip entered from 12 March to 11 April 1755 in the same register and the same terms as the calving of cattle and the lambing of sheep. The official account regarded the people it owned as numbered among the beasts of the estate rather than in any register of the island's people. [Film No. 79, 269, 375]

The scale of the settlement's dependence on its bound people is measured indirectly in the yams grown to feed them, the root being the island's home-grown staple for its slaves and stock where imported grain could not stretch. The stock accounts record 22,235 yams expended in the month to 11 May 1754, 24,962 to 11 June 1754 and 21,465 to 11 July 1754, and over 29,000 to 11 November 1754. The council's statement in July 1754 that the stores held barely rice enough for the slaves' own consumption shows how close to the edge that provisioning ran. Slaves were plain heritable property, bought from the ships and bequeathed by will like land or houses. About 7 June 1754 the planter Marton Harper bequeathed to his daughter-in-law Elizabeth Draper a slave girl named Naomi, and the will and codicil of the planter Richard Mason, proved on 20 April 1755, gave a black boy named Will to one granddaughter and a black boy named Dick, bought of Captain Braund, to a grandson, each to be delivered when the child came of age or married, the traffic in slave children that supplied the island's planters. [Film No. 68, 90, 372]

The slaves were active agents in the island's daily life, moving between the households of different masters and acting on their own account, though the record catches them chiefly through the auction and the whipping post. The auction of the intestate planter Richard Gawling's estate broke up a family of slaves and scattered them among several masters, the man Cieval, appraised at £25, fetching £39 5s, the highest price of any single item, the woman Sarah selling for £28 5s and the children Ben, Patt and Betty to separate buyers, the people who had served one household divided among five different buyers across the two days of the sale from 13 October 1754. The reckoning of debts tore apart the lives it counted as goods, a family sold piece by piece to pay a dead man's creditors, the eight of them appraised at £130 against the yams alone at over £90, classed by age, sex and working capacity exactly as the cattle were classed by breeding and readiness for the table. Men of African origin served throughout the Company's marine as well, a seaman entered on the *Grantham's* roll simply as Caesar, bearing a single classical name and no surname, and a second of the same name on the roll of the *Norfolk*, single names characteristically imposed on slaves, those who went to sea often serving as free or freed sailors. [Film No. 176, 165, 348]

Judiciary, Law and Probate

The formal side of order shows only faintly in the earliest records, since they are accounts rather than court books, but the offices existed on the books. A marshal, Thomas Harper, appears on the pay list, the officer who served process and kept the peace, and a master of arms, Joseph Kendall, charged with the custody of arms and with discipline. The council enforced its own internal discipline through fines, so on 11 April 1754 fines of £5 5s were received from Joseph Long as councillor for the present and last month, most probably penalties for absence from the council. It also exercised summary justice, its penalties flowing at once into the treasury, the fines from Solomon Jacobs, Robert John Clark and William Maddan by order of a consultation of 23 September 1754 paid straight into the Company's cash, the body that governed the garrison and kept the books also punishing offences and profiting by the fines. [Film No. 27, 49, 229]

With no separate court on the island, the governor and council took to themselves the office of proving wills and granting administrations, the whole apparatus of law concentrated in one governing body that served as legislature, executive, court of justice and probate authority alike. On 20 May 1754 the council proved the will of the soldier Augustine Balls on the oaths of its witnesses, acting as a probate court in the manner that at home belonged to the church courts. The shortage of proper legal materials left its mark even on so formal an act, the witnesses to Balls's will, made on 18 May 1754, recording expressly that it was written on plain paper for want of stamped paper, so the defect should not later void it. The wills of the soldier Bartholomew Molly, who died on 3 January 1754/5, of John Bagley a planter proved on 16 September 1754, of the planter Richard Mason proved on 20 April 1755 and of the soldier William Pendery who died in May 1755 were all proved before the council on the oaths of their witnesses, giving legal force to the wishes of Company servants far from any ecclesiastical court in England. [Film No. 73, 164, 371]

The wills themselves show the developed property relations of even this remote settlement and the anxieties of inheritance in a small community. John Bagley gave his widow Deborah half his land for her life and a third of his movables, the customary widow's portion, and weighted the estate toward his son John, charged in turn with paying equalising sums to his brothers and sisters. Marton Harper left his widow the whole house and lands only while she remained unmarried, cutting her to a half and a third should she marry again, the device guarding his children's inheritance against a second husband, and he distinguished carefully between his real, personal and leasehold estate. Richard Mason's will, made in 1750 and confirmed by a codicil of 1754, left the widow the whole estate for her life and her own appointment of the eventual division, tied a son's title to a piece of land to his payment of a legacy to a grandson, and provided by survivorship clauses for the death of a child before adulthood, ordering his affairs through life interests, interlocking bequests and layered provision for three generations. The feather bed stood as a chief item of household wealth, Bagley giving a named one to each of his daughters. [Film No. 164, 90, 372]

Intestate estates threw the machinery of administration into fuller view, and some proved hard to settle. When Richard Gorling died intestate on 6 June 1754, his widow Elizabeth wrote on 10 June 1754 that she could not manage his involved affairs, and the council turned in succession to his sister's husband and then to the relation Richard Bagley, both of whom refused, the council able to name and invite an administrator but unable to compel a reluctant kinsman to serve. Bagley, having declined the Gorling administration, sought and gained on 24 June 1754 the administration of the estate of Mary Nichols, his wife's only sister,

and on 1 July 1754 brought in a sworn inventory valued by two appraisers on oath, ordered to be entered in the ledger. The same reluctance met the Company's accountant when his own father's estate proved insolvent, John Goodwin petitioning on 24 June 1754 to withdraw his considerable claim so the other creditors should not go unpaid, the council ordering an advertisement to call in all claims, the priority of creditors over heirs shown plainly. [Film No. 76, 81, 82]

The estate of the intestate planter Richard Gawling ran through the minutes of the later months of 1754 as the great legal question of those months. When neither his widow nor the relations approached would take on the administration, the council on 5 August 1754 ordered an advertisement calling on any other relation or creditor to come forward, and when none did it ordered an inventory taken and the estate secured. The refusal of the widow and relations alike pointed to an estate weighed down with debt, for a widow would ordinarily have the first right to administer. A deed of gift then came to light, dated 10 September 1751, conveying the best of Gawling's land, house, slaves and goats to his daughter Margaret for ever, Gawling having reserved the profits and possession to himself until she came of age, a device that sheltered the property from his creditors while leaving him its full enjoyment for life, and lodged secretly with the neighbour Thomas Greentree rather than enrolled with the council. On his sickbed about 28 April 1754 Gawling had told Greentree there was enough to pay his debts without the settled property, admitting the gift was meant to shelter the best of his estate. [Film No. 151, 156, 171]

The council set the deed aside on a plain legal ground while weighing the competing claims behind it. It held under 2 September 1754 that a repeated order of the Company required all writings conveying land to be registered or else be void, and the secret deed had never been enrolled. The widow testified that Gawling had told her before their marriage and many times after that he had signed such a paper but never meant it to take effect, and would have it burnt, so the council turned the donor's own words against the gift, coming down for the widow whose claim rested on an open marriage settlement against the daughter whose claim rested on a hidden paper, the creditors' interest driving the outcome as much as the widow's since the estate could not both honour the deed and pay the debts. The forced sale that followed exposed a plain conflict of interest, for the two councillors who had set aside the deed appeared as the chief buyers, John Adamson taking the land and stock and John Clark the best of the goods, the land sold to Adamson the very ground the struck-down deed had tried to settle on the daughter Margaret, who appeared afterward as an ordinary rent-paying settler. [Film No. 173, 175, 186]

The winding up of a dead man's affairs by public auction ran through the record, the customary way a small settlement with little ready coin settled the affairs of those who died on the island. The estates of Thomas Jones and John Dove were both sold at public auction on 17 October 1754, Jones's effects proving chiefly the stock of a tailor or draper, silk, mohair, buttons, cloth remnants and half-finished garments, along with books, bedding and repeated lots of sea pots, realising over £68 sold piecemeal to a dozen named residents, while Dove, a common soldier, left few belongings that fetched little more than £3. That old wigs, worn shirts and cloth offcuts found ready buyers reveals the scarcity of manufactured goods. The settlement of Jones's estate drew all his scattered dealings into a single balanced reckoning of £116 3s 10d, the debts owed to him set exactly against those he owed. The residue of these settled estates, some £40 from Jones and £5 14s 3½d from the deserter Thomson, was taken into the Company's cash and written off to the London account. [Film No. 252, 258, 257]

The council also served as a court of civil debt and of military discipline, applying the forms of sworn evidence. At a consultation of 17 February 1755 the practitioner Samuel Falconer complained that Edward Bagley refused payment of his bill for physic, visits and the cure of a swelling dressed over near six weeks, and Bagley, objecting only to the £12 charge for the cure and pleading his poverty, was ordered to pay the full £14 18s 6d but recommended to Falconer's compassion. In matters of discipline it assembled formal evidence on oath rather than simply compelling the men, so when Corporal William Lindsay and Robert Ballard claimed after re-enlisting that they had not heard the words binding them to the articles of war, the council on 21 April 1755 took sworn depositions from four officers who had administered and witnessed the engagement, judged the claim nothing but a prevarication, read them the articles against mutiny and sedition and warned them to their duty rather than punishing, mindful that a small garrison could ill afford to lose or embitter its soldiers. The difficulty of staffing a court martial appears in May 1755, no Company

officer being sparable from his post, so the council appointed a private resident, Richard Beale junior, as judge advocate and left his pay to the directors in London. [Film No. 322, 383, 427]

Crime and Punishment

The settlement's criminal justice fell hardest and most summarily on its slaves. In November 1754 several slaves belonging to Francis Wrangham senior and to John Alexander were detected stealing sheep, and the council ordered them all severely whipped in public by the marshal, and the four reckoned by far the most notorious, Dolphin, Jack, Harry and Toby, branded on the cheek besides. The public flogging served as deterrent and the brand on the face followed the worst offenders for life, a permanent warning a whipping alone could not impose. When a lieutenant's hog was stolen, killed and eaten at the house of Mr Beale by two slaves, Peter Shelly and Toby, the council ordered both severely whipped on their own admission, with no trial beyond an appearance before the governor and council, though the distinction drawn in Shelly's favour, that he had helped disclose the theft, tempered his punishment with a requirement to make good the animal's value rather than exempting him from restitution. [Film No. 260, 430]

The council guarded the Company's monopoly and its control of the slaves' dealings by heavy fines, weighting the penalty by the threat the offence posed to good order rather than by its size. At the consultation of 23 September 1754 Solomon Jacobs was fined £5 for buying two fowls from a black, in breach of an order last published on 3 April 1753, while the soldier William Padom was fined £2 the same meeting for retailing spirituous liquor without orders, an offence against the licensing of the public houses. The far heavier penalty for so trivial a purchase marks the weight the Company placed on stopping all private trade with its slaves, however small. The officers charged with the Company's materials were well placed to convert them to their own use, and the evidence of two witnesses proved that Robert John Clark the armourer had sold about 58 pounds of brass stripped from old Company arms, the council recovering the value at 9d the pound, £2 16s 6d, and warning him of dismissal for any such fraud in future rather than turning him out, a trained armourer perhaps too useful to lose. [Film No. 161, 162]

Social Order, Religion and Education

The gradations of the store account and the pay list together map the whole social order of the island. At the head stood the governor and council, below them the graded civil staff and the officers of the four companies, then the tradesmen on fixed wages, the common sentinels on a flat rate, the free planters buying at a steeper markup and, at the bottom, the slaves on their bare ration of rice. The officers' clothing set the commissioned rank above the men, fine broadcloth faced with scarlet and finished with silver buttons that cost more than a common soldier's whole outfit. Every class of the settlement, from officer to planter to the dead man's creditor, brought its business to the council. [Film No. 124, 279, 301]

The dispute over the officers' guard room is preserved in unusual fullness and shows the council governing by argument as well as by order. The four companies' lieutenants petitioned on 20 January 1754/5 that their guard room was cramped and unhealthy, standing next to the smith's forge so they kept the door shut against the smoke and caught colds stepping out into the fresh air, and offered £10 a year toward the use of a former guard room until a new one could be built. The Governor's reply, set down at length, turned the complaint back on them, noting that the room had served nearly ten years without a murmur under Governor Lambert's arrangement and that the officers' duty had lately grown so much lighter, one day in eight instead of a week at a stretch, that their sudden concern for their health rang hollow. He offered that any officer who thought himself injured by a day's duty might bring a certificate under the surgeon's hand. The Company's scarce artificers were meanwhile kept on the storm-damaged fortifications, the security of the batteries set above the officers' comfort. [Film No. 279, 280, 281]

Religion and schooling were provided for on the establishment as part of an ordered settlement. The chaplain William Lee drew a salary of £25 with £15 diet money for the quarter beginning 12 January 1753/4, among the better-paid of the civil servants, and the church was maintained from the general stores, Mrs Beale paid for making two surplices for him in the quarter to 11 July 1754, the white linen vestments worn at divine service, while a birch broom was drawn for the church, bell ropes were rigged for it and its roof was thatched and bound with cordage from the warehouse like the secular buildings. The schoolmaster Richard Beale was paid a much smaller salary and drew extra for acting as a clerk, the keeping of a school

a recognised part of the settlement's order alongside the church. Cloth charged for lying-in women in the garrison account marks a settled population living, worshipping and bearing children on the island, its ordinary life met from the same stock that armed the fort. [Film No. 26, 122, 296]

The care of the sick was a settled charge, met through a hospital and infirmary supplied, like every department, from the general store. The hospital account set apart provisions for the sick in the infirmary, sugar, flour, salt, oil and rice in modest quantities, sugar the largest item, valued as a restorative and a means of making plain fare palatable to the ill, with canvas for mending the patients' cots and linseed oil, whiting and window glass for glazing its windows. On 19 May 1755 the surgeon reported that he was much in want of sage for the sick in the hospital, and the council bought 40 pounds of the herb on the Company's account at a shilling a pound, even a minor medical want passing through the governing body. Medical care was scarce and ruinously expensive, the cure of Edward Bagley's swelling alone charged at £12, near four years of a sentinel's diet money, a single practitioner holding a near monopoly. [Film No. 24, 227, 322]

The medical office turned over rapidly, showing how thinly a remote station could provide for its sick. Samuel Skinner was dismissed on 31 March 1754, John Inglis moved up from mate to surgeon on 1 April 1754 and Thomas Evans came in as mate the same day. On 13 May 1754 the factor Thomas French petitioned for leave to go home, supported by a surgeon's certificate from John Inglis naming an obstinate bladder complaint with violent pains, French believing a cure lay only in England where the materials for it were to be had, and recounting a long confinement under repeated doses that he thought had made him worse, revealing both the crude and often harmful remedies of the age and the real want of medical resource. The surgeon's certificate converted a private complaint into an allowed departure or discharge, so on 20 May 1754 the soldier Joseph Bastick was discharged on a certificate finding him incapable of duty from an obstinate disorder. [Film No. 24, 59, 65]

The provision for worn-out and departing servants was modest but real, a settlement too far from home to do otherwise having to look after its own. The pay list closed with a single superannuated man, the sergeant William Burnham, kept on the books at a reduced £3 8s 3d after his active service had ended, an early form of retirement pay for a man who could not easily return home, then still uncommon in ordinary English employment. Vacancies were filled from men already on the spot, since a replacement from England was months away by sea. The settling of mutual debts in a place short of coin could delay a man's departure long after leave to go was granted, so Thomas French wound up his trusts in stages through May 1754 and the surgeon Samuel Falconer, under order to return home, sought leave on 22 July 1754 to remain until he could adjust his accounts with anyone on the island. [Film No. 27, 40, 97]

The households of the island's planters kept some pretension to gentility far from the sources of such goods. The appraisal of Gawling's effects listed silver spoons, salts and a pepper box, damask and calico tablecloths, napkins and sets of dining ware, the silver drawing a firm price at the sale as the most portable and enduring form of wealth, gathered by Thomas Kirkpatrick into his own hands. Two bureaus and a writing desk mark a man of property whose affairs ran to written records. Books were scarce and valued on an island far from any press or bookseller, a single dictionary and a set of accounts knocked down to Benjamin Beale for a few shillings, pointing to the modest literacy of the settlement. The furnishings show a settler living with some decency, though his estate proved deep in debt. [Film No. 168, 177, 180]

The customary courtesies that bound the island's landholders to the Company and marked its loyalty to the Crown were kept up with feasting and the guns of the fort. The table account for the month to 11 November 1754 shows heavy spending on wine, meat and drink for two occasions, the annual dinner given to the planters when they came in to pay their rents and the celebration of the King's birthday on 10 November 1754, feasting the tenants on rent day a courtesy that tied them to the Company at the cost of the very rents they brought in. The same occasions were honoured with a royal salute of 21 guns and small arms fired for the King's birthday. A church warden being wanted in the room of the deceased Marton Harper, John Clark was appointed on 27 June 1754 as it was his turn, the council's members serving as church wardens, and powder was fired at the funerals of the humblest sentinels, a military salute at the graves of Thomas Oliver, Benjamin Williams, Balls, Joel, William Whittingham and others, the community keeping up the forms of church and honour. [Film No. 251, 83, 66]

The names on the rolls carry faint traces of the religious and regional backgrounds of the establishment, drawn from a strikingly mixed origin. Among the sentinels stand French forms such as Dasfountain, Monanteau, Sausoni, Armbruster, Delonpk and Desfountain, German names such as Fuchs and Syder, and a clear Scottish and Irish strand of Scott, Macray, O'Hara, McClarin and Molly beside a majority of English names, pointing to the enlistment of Huguenots, Germans and men from the poorer margins of the British Isles wherever they could be found for a distant and unpopular posting. The unusual forename Onesiphorus, borne by a first lieutenant, was drawn from the New Testament and reflects the dissenting fashion for scriptural names from obscure figures in the epistles. A garrison assembled from such varied sources depended for its cohesion on drill, discipline and a common structure of command, which is why the pay ledger imposed so rigid a uniformity of rank and rate. [Film No. 139, 305, 308]

Personalities

A few figures recur across every branch of the island's business, marking how few hands ran the station. John Clark served at once as a member of council, as first lieutenant of the First Company drawing an extra fee for instructing the gunners, and as paymaster answerable for the Company's cash, drawing £7 10s beyond his lieutenant's pay for instructing the company in the gun. He went aboard every arriving ship to muster her company and search for deserters, from the *Salisbury* in April 1754 to the crowded fleet of May 1755, ruling on estates and debts, buying at the auctions he authorised and keeping the accounts, his name recurring more than any other below the governor. Governor Charles Hutchinson presided throughout, despatching the year's letters to the presidencies, condemning the worn guns as war loomed, weighing the news carried by the *Dragon* and ordering the island's reports home, the settled head of a government he would hold for years yet. [Film No. 28, 41, 358]

The turnover of the trades threw up its own small dramas of advance and dismissal within a single quarter, and skilled building labour stood high. The carpenter William Oakman was dismissed on 31 March 1754 and Thomas Lawrence appointed the same day, while both stewards and both patrons of the longboat changed hands, the patron of the longboat being the man in charge of the largest of the island's boats, the craft that carried heavy cargo and passengers between ship and shore where there was no harbour. The master mason John Bland stood among the best-paid on the whole establishment at near £30 for the quarter, above the surgeon and secretary and more than double the gardener's or carpenter's, the island in constant need of construction and repair. The settlement held its servants to account alike, James Corbett the cooper rewarded with 40s for his extraordinary trouble tending the stores while the office of steward stood vacant, and Thomas Smith, patron of the longboat, found a very careless fellow and discharged in January 1754/5, Nicholas Scrafton appointed in his place at the usual £30 a year. [Film No. 27, 191, 274]

The garrison pressed whatever skills lay within its own ranks into service as occasion required, a necessity on an island where craftsmen were scarce. The paymaster paid a small fee to Baron Delonpk, a serving sentinel of the Second Company, for engraving the tickets for the flags of the several gates, and soldiers likewise made new keys, repaired locks, painted gun carriages and cut touchholes for carbines, every useful trade a soldier carried turned to account. Thomas Evans, the surgeon's mate, was paid for taking care of 20 of the Company's recruits on their passage, there being no surgeon on board, and Thomas Mason a painter for nine days' work painting the gun carriages and the turret of the alarm bell on the guardhouse. [Film No. 314, 146, 148]

A recurring cast of families filled the island's offices and dealt in its land and money, family connection and Company service tightly interwoven. The Wrangham family runs through the record as the island's men of business, Francis Wrangham senior and junior with John Goodwin acting as attorneys for Gabriel Stewart in the sale of his land and the remittance of his fortune, William Wrangham appointed to the accountant's office on French's resignation, and young Charles Newarda, grandson of the elder Wrangham, taking a place in the secretary's office. John Goodwin appears both grappling with his own father's insolvent estate and serving as executor and witness in the affairs of others, and Richard Bagley refusing the Gorling administration, then a willing administrator of his wife's sister's estate. The smallness of the settlement shows in the way a few surnames span its whole range, a William Hutchinson serving as a common sentinel while a man of that name governed the island, and the surname Bazett recurring as factor, overseer, native

soldier and corporal at once, with the recurring Beales, Desfountains, Greentrees and Kirkpatricks marking the close circle from which the island's administration was drawn. [Film No. 65, 76, 301]

Common names produced more than one soldier alike on the books, and the record pins each to his company to tell them apart. The name Benjamin Williams appears as a sentinel of the fourth company and again among the sentinels of the artillery, two distinct men, and a soldier of that name died on 24 April 1754. Thomas Kirkpatrick appears both as first lieutenant of the Third Company and as master of arms in the civil list, and Michael Frost both as a sergeant and as the cleaner of the island's clocks and instruments, the coincidences marking either men holding double charges or namesakes serving side by side. The clerks' care to fix each man to his rank and company shows the problem of order where names repeated, behind each uniform line of pay a separate life. [Film No. 37, 132, 8]

The dead men whose estates were sold are known only through their goods, yet even so they stand out. The slave Peter Shelly appears as more than a name in a ledger, a man who helped disclose the theft of a hog and was spared the full punishment as a poor ignorant fellow, though still required to make good its value, a rare glimpse of a slave acting on his own account within the settlement. The soldier William Pendery, dying in May 1755, left a will disposing of a silver-laced hat and a new regimental coat to a comrade and the residue to his sister or, failing her, his mother and brother, the modest bequest of a man far from home whose chief goods were his clothes and back pay. The planter Richard Mason, known only through the will proved after his death, stands for the substantial landholders of the island, his estate ordered with legal care through a life interest to his widow, interlocking land and money bequests to sons and grandchildren, and the bequest of slave boys bought from ships' captains, his provision for the flow of water and the delivery of the slave children alike showing the concerns of a planter shaped by his settlement. [Film No. 430, 435, 371]

The commercial officers of the China trade and the passing senior men of the Company stand out as figures of a distinct and lucrative calling. The supercargoes John Burrow and John Mapletoft, sailing home on the *Lord Anson* with the rank of esquire and their own servants, had bought the ship's cargo at Canton and kept its accounts, a mercantile elite whose commercial authority ran alongside the commander's control of the vessel. The commanders of the homeward Indiamen appear as men of substance moving private wealth through the island, Captain Robert Haldane of the *Prince Edward* and Captain John Todd of the *Colchester* each paying £900 into the Company's cash about 17 March 1755 and taking bills on London, Haldane also selling the garrison salted beef and pork and consenting to release his armourer to the island's service. The passage of senior Company men through the island in the season of 1755 is marked by the honours paid them, Governor Saunders saluted with 19 guns going aboard in May 1755 and with a heavy discharge of ten pounds of powder on his arrival on shore about the middle of April 1755, the ceremonial reception of a passing officer rather than any change at the head of the island, since Hutchinson continued to preside throughout. [Film No. 444, 338, 438]

Conclusion

Taken together, these records give a close and unusually complete view of St Helena across the middle years of the 1750s, from January 1753/4 to May 1755. They show a small fortified station governed by a handful of Company servants who filled every office at once, defended by four foot companies and an artillery train and paid for chiefly in the wages of its garrison, held for its use as a fortress and larder on the route round the Cape. They show a society of intermarried planter families holding sharply unequal estates on lease and freehold from a Company that was at once their sovereign and their landlord, their land, stock and slaves passing at death through the council's hands, and electing parish officers under the council's final veto. They show an island that could not feed itself, dependent on grain bought from passing ships, yet serving those same ships as a chandlery and victualling station on the long route to the East, its herds raised to feed the homeward fleet and its store selling to servants, planters and ships at three prices while it taxed the drink and turned even damaged goods back into value. They show a treasury of the world's coin lying still between the ships, and a settlement improvising its own paper currency and turning imported stores into finished goods by its own labour. The whole is given its later shape by the fear of a French war, which set the garrison to arms and drove the council to reckon its defences, and by the constant dependence on London that left the island unable to arm or supply itself without the ships that framed its every week. [Film No. 40, 249, 448]

Yet the record must be read for what it hides as much as for what it shows. Kept to satisfy the directors in London, it measures order, thrift, rent, revenue and control, and it says nothing of the thoughts of the slaves fed on rice, the soldiers broke without a reason or the sick tended in the infirmary. It comes down for the widow and the creditor while the daughter's deed is struck away on a technical rule, and enforces the debt of a poor man while recommending him only to his creditor's mercy. It counts the slaves Cieval, Sarah, Ben, Mingo and Phillip by price and scatters them among their buyers, entering a child's birth beside the calves and a woman's death as a line in a stock return, without a word of what any of it meant to them. It flatters the soldiers into unpaid labour and settles their broken pay to the day, yet says nothing of the men behind the long columns of names. The interpretations attached to the figures are careful and generally sound, drawing fair inferences from the sums rather than straining them, though they too rest on a purely administrative base. Read with that caution, and tested against the wider world of the eastern trade and the war that broke openly in 1756 and reached the island in French warships within three years, it remains a rich, honest and unusually detailed window onto how the East India Company held and worked its lonely Atlantic island. [Film No. 173, 375, 358]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
<u>1</u>		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St HELENA RECORDS 1754-55 Photographer PETER Date photographed 7 DEC,2021 Additional comments	The council met at the castle on Monday 29 April 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 22 April 1754. On Monday 22 April 1754 the Honourable Company ship <i>Salisbury</i> arrived from Bombay. On Wednesday 24 April 1754 Benjamin Williams, a soldier, died. The storekeeper presented his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter ending 11 April 1754. The council examined and approved both, which follow.
<u>2</u>		Book cover	This account records goods sold and delivered from the Honourable Company stores between 12 January and 1 April 1754, sold to the Company servants at ten per cent above cost. Arrack, 380½ gallons, £95 2s 6d Sugar and candy: 4,249 sugar, £70 16s 4d 1,877 candy, £30 2s 1d Total sugar and candy, £100 18s 5d Flour: 514 flour, £3 14s 11½d 64 no. 24 dozen baked, £56 8s 1½d Total flour, £60 3s 1d Soap, 265 pounds, £11 11s 10½d Candles, 486, £38 19s 7½d Tea: 2 pounds single, £0 2s 6d 8¼ bohea, £3 10s 0d Total tea, £3 12s 6d Cordage, 434 pounds, £6 6s 7d Beef and pork: 6 pieces double pork at 2s, £0 12s 0d 43 pieces single pork at 2s, £4 6s 0d 70 pieces at 2s 2d, £7 11s 8d 1,220 pork, £30 10s 0d 19 pieces double beef at 2s, £1 18s 0d 304 pieces single beef at 2s, £30 8s 0d 10 pieces at 3s 4½d, £1 10s 5d Total beef and pork, £76 16s 1d Rice, 133 [...], £55 10s 0d Salt, 5½ bushels, £0 18s 4d Discoveries: 30 pieces single, £14 17s 6d 5 pieces double, £5 10s 0d Total discoveries, £20 7s 6d Carried over, £479 6s 11d Interpretations Arrack was a distilled spirit imported through the Company trade, made in India and the East Indies

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			from fermented palm sap, sugar or rice. At St Helena it was the common issue liquor for soldiers and servants and a significant line in the store accounts. Bohea was a black tea from the Wuyi hills of Fujian, the cheaper standard grade in the China trade, distinguished here from the plain single tea sold alongside it. Cordage was rope and heavy line for rigging and general use, essential to a station that depended on shipping and had no local source of made rope. The whole account rested on the practice of selling store goods to Company servants at a fixed ten per cent above cost. This set the mark-up as a matter of policy rather than local bargaining, letting the store recover a margin while giving the garrison and civil staff supplies at a controlled price.
3		Blank page	The account continued from the previous total of £479 6s 11d. Canvas: 192 yards osnaburg, £6 12s 0d 13 yards English canvas, £0 15s 8½d Total canvas, £7 7s 8½d Hooks and lines: 3,275 hooks no. 4, £2 3s 8d 1,325 hooks no. 8, £1 2s 1d 47 hooks no. 10, £0 18s 2½d 1,300 blue, £0 4s 4d 2 dozen lines no. 2, £0 7s 4d 7 dozen lines no. 3, £1 9s 9d 10½ dozen lines no. 4, £2 13s 4½d 1 hambro, £0 1s 6d Total hooks and lines, £9 0s 3d Twine, 40 skeins, £1 6s 8d Pepper, £0 5s 2½d Nails: [...] no. 2, £0 0s 8d 11 no. 3, £0 5s 11½d 22 no. 4, £0 9s 7½d 39 no. 6, £0 16s 3d 25 no. 10, £0 9s 4½d 5 no. 20, £0 1s 10½d 4 glazing brads, £0 4s 6d Total nails, £2 8s 3d Haberdashery: 10½ dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 7s 0d 19 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 6s 4d 1½ dozen twist coat buttons, £0 0s 4½d 25 dozen twist breast buttons, £0 3s 1½d 31 skeins silk, £0 14s 3½d 17 pounds mohair, £0 6s 1½d [...] dozen shirt buttons, £0 2s 5d 18 dozen waistcoat buttons, £0 4s 6½d 2 pieces tape, £1 1s 0d Total haberdashery, £2 6s 2½d Carried over, £502 1s 0½d Interpretations Osnaburg was a coarse unbleached linen, originally from Osnabrück in Germany, used for sacking, cheap working clothing and slaves clothing. Its presence alongside the finer English canvas shows the store carried both a rough utility cloth and a better grade for sails and covers. Hooks, lines, twine and a hambro line made up fishing tackle graded by size, the numbered hooks running from small to large. Fishing supplied a real part of the island diet, so the store stocked tackle in bulk and in a range of sizes rather than as an occasional item. Mohair here meant a worsted yarn or thread rather than the raw goat hair, used to make covered buttons and trimmings. The buttons were sorted into coat and breast sizes and priced by the dozen, and with the silk, twist and tape formed the haberdashery a garrison needed to keep its clothing in repair.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
4		Blank page	The account continued from the previous total of £502 1s 0½d. Thread: 1 pound white and brown, £0 6s 9d 10 pounds coloured, £1 16s 8d 1 ounce nuns, £0 3s 1d Total thread, £2 6s 6d Pitch: 2 pounds pitch, £0 3s 8d 2½ gallons tar, £1 10s 10½d Total pitch, £5 6s 2½d Ironmongery: 3 pairs H hinges, £0 6s 6d 1 iron rimmed lock, £0 4s 5d 4 ditching shovels, £0 19s 10d 2 shod shovels, £0 3s 7d 3 chest locks, £0 10s 6d 5 stock locks, £0 11s 9½d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 6d 1 cupboard lock, £0 6s 1d 2 garden rakes, £0 3s 2d 1 spade, £0 3s 5d 1 walling hammer, £0 1s 8d 2 garden hoes, £0 3s 4½d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 7d 2 padlocks, £0 3s 0d 1 scythe, £0 6s 1d 1 frying pan, £0 1s 10d 1 ragstone, £0 0s 2½d 1 surveying iron, £0 3s 2d 4 packing needles, £0 0s 8d 1 long plane, £0 5s 6½d 2 gimlets, £0 0s 4d Total ironmongery, £5 1s 6d Shalloon, 31 yards, £3 4s 7d Corks, [...] short corks, £0 0s 5d Shirts, 75 soldiers, £17 3s 0d Carried over, £531 3s 3½d Interpretations Nuns thread was a fine sewing thread wound on cards, priced here by the ounce rather than the pound, the finest grade the store carried beside the coarser white, brown and coloured thread. Pitch and tar were used to caulk and protect timber and rigging against water. On an island wholly dependent on shipping, they were basic maintenance stores for boats, wharf work and any exposed woodwork. The ironmongery ran to two clear purposes: locks and hinges for securing buildings and stores, and hand tools for cultivation and building. Ditching and shod shovels, garden rakes and hoes, a spade and a scythe point to the constant clearing and planting the island required, while the walling hammer, bricklayer's trowel and long plane served the endless repair of its structures. A ragstone was a coarse abrasive stone for sharpening blades, matched here to the scythe and other edged tools it would have kept in working order. Shalloon was a light twilled woollen cloth used chiefly to line coats and garments, complementing the buttons, thread and silk in keeping the garrison clothed. The single largest clothing line was the issue of shirts to 75 soldiers at £17 3s 0d, a bulk supply to the garrison rather than a retail sale, and a reminder that clothing the men was a standing charge on the store.
5		Blank page	The account continued from the previous total of £531 3s 3½d. Oil: 8 gallons linseed, £1 9s 4d 3½ gallons train, £0 10s 6d 7 bottles Florence, £0 18s 4½d Total oil, £2 18s 2½d Flannel, 5½ yards, £0 10s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			Paint: 23 pounds indigo, £2 2s 2d 150 pounds lead, £2 10s 7½d 16½ pounds yellow ochre, £0 2s 2d 4 barrels blacking, £0 2s 3d 8 pounds Venetian red, £0 1s 8d 3½ pounds whiting, £0 0s 10d 2 pounds red lead, £0 0s 6d 1½ pounds umber, £0 0s 6½d 6 pounds stone colour, £0 0s 3d 2½ ounces Prussian blue, £0 5s 6½d ¼ verdigris, £0 0s 10½d 2½ pounds blue smalt, £0 4s 7d ¾ pound white [...], £0 1s 0d Total paint, £6 4s 9d Long cloth: 2½ pieces no. 1, £14 8s 0d 1½ pieces no. 2, £2 13s 7½d Total long cloth, £17 2s 4½d Starch: 5 pounds Poland, £0 6s 2d 12 pounds common, £0 5s 6d Total starch, £0 11s 8d Broad cloth, 4½ yards, £3 3s 6d Pewter: 1 dish, £0 7s 2d 1 basin, £0 4s 9d Total pewter, £0 11s 11d Carried over, £562 3s [...] Interpretations Train oil was oil rendered from the blubber of whales or seals, used for lamps, for dressing leather and as a base in paint and other preparations. It sat here beside linseed oil, the standard binder for paint, and the finer Florence oil, an olive oil bottled for the table. The paint line was a colourman's stock in miniature: dry pigments and grinding materials rather than ready-mixed paint. White and red lead, whiting and stone colour were the bulk bases, while indigo, Venetian red, yellow ochre, umber, Prussian blue, verdigris and smalt supplied the range of tints. On a remote station these were bought as raw materials and ground and mixed with oil on the spot, which is why the pigments and the linseed and train oil appear together in the same account. Long cloth and broad cloth were staple textiles, the first a plain cotton calico graded by number and the second a wide dense woollen, giving the store both a light and a heavy cloth alongside the flannel and shalloon already listed.
<u>6</u>		The Barracks to be enlarged 20 Sept 1754 Introduction of the Articles of War 22 April 55 and 28 April 55 Judge Advocate appointed - 5 May 55	The account continued from the previous total of £562 3s [...]. Glazery: 21 squares glass 6 by 8, £0 8s 9d 24 squares glass 8 by 10, £0 15s 0d 10 squares glass 10 by 12, £0 9s 2d 1 quart decanter, £0 4s 6d Total glazery, £1 17s 5d Turnery: 7 shoe brushes, £0 4s 6d 2 hair brooms, £0 5s 4d 7 paint brushes, £0 3s 8d 10 labourers baskets, £0 6s 3d 2 mops, £0 2s 9d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 1s 10d Total turnery, £1 3s 5d Cutlery: 13 pairs shoe buckles, £0 7s 4½d 6 butcher knives, £0 1s 10½d 2 shoe knives, £0 0s 11d Total cutlery, £0 9s 10d Iron pots, 3, £1 4s 8d Deals: 5 double, £0 17s 1d 11 single, £1 4s 3½d

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			Total deals, £2 1s 4½d Calicoes, 9 pieces, £3 8s 3d Fustian, 34 yards, £1 18s 6½d Earthenware, 7 milk pans, £0 5s 3d Hats, 1 boys, £0 6s 0½d Bellows, 1 piece, £0 3s 10d Lead, 26 sheets, £4 10s 0½d Shoes: 1 pair enamelled pumps, £0 7s 11d 1 pair mens fine shoes, £0 6s 3d 1 pair mens pumps, £0 6s 10d Total shoes, £1 1s 0d Hosiery, 2 pairs boys stockings, £0 5s 2d Carried over, £576 19s 8½d Interpretations Deals were sawn softwood planks of standard size, imported since the island had no timber of its own for building. The distinction between single and double deals was one of thickness, giving the store both a lighter and a heavier board for construction and repair. Fustian was a hard-wearing cotton and linen cloth with a slight nap, used for working clothes, sitting here between the finer calicoes and the woollens as a durable everyday textile. Enamelled pumps were light low-cut shoes finished with a glossy coating, the dressier grade among the footwear, set against the plain men's shoes and pumps in the same line. Sheet lead was rolled lead for roofing, flashing and lining, a further building material the island had to import, complementing the timber, glass and nails elsewhere in the account.
7		Blank page	The account continued from the previous total of £576 19s 8½d. Chinaware: 6 half pint cups, £0 1s 0d 11 sneakers, £0 2s 0d 1 soup dish, £0 7s 0d 5 mugs, £0 7s 6d 25 bowls, £1 2s 10d 6 goglets and basins, £1 0s 0d 12 half pint cups and saucers, £0 4s 5d 5 sole dishes and plates, £4 1s 8d 6 chamber pots, £0 9s 0d Total chinaware, £7 16s 11d Braziery: 1 brass lock, £0 4s 2½d 2 ladles, £0 4s 10d 1 tea kettle, £0 12s 8d Total braziery, £1 1s 8½d Tinware, 1 dripping pan, £0 4s 7d Wine: 9 bottles port, £0 15s 0d 5 dozen 10 bottles Lisbon, £5 16s 8d 6 dozen 3 bottles Madeira, £9 10s 7½d Total wine, £16 2s 3½d Beer, 1 cask, £2 10s 10d Total, £604 16s 0½d Interpretations Sneakers were small drinking vessels or cups, listed here among the finer china alongside the mugs and half pint cups. Goglets were long-necked earthenware or porcelain jars for holding water, valued because the porous body kept the contents cool by slow evaporation, which suited them to the store's stock of table and household ware. The wine and beer that close the account point to the trade in fortified wines that passed through St Helena on the long sea route. Lisbon and Madeira, both stronger and more durable than table wine, kept well on a warm voyage and were staples of the Company stores, the Madeira alone running to the largest single figure among the drink.

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<u>8</u>	1	Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th Day of April 1754 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutt John Clark of Council. The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 22d April 1754 Monday 22 Arived the Honorable Companys Ship Salisbury from Bombay Wednesday 24 Died Benjamin Williams Soldier. The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter ending the 11 Inst which were examined and approved and are as follows (viz)	This account records goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent above cost. Broad cloth, 1½ yards, £1 8s 1½d Discoveries, 13 pieces single, £7 7s 4d Shalloon, 7 yards, £0 16s 8d Flannel, 5 yards, £0 10s 7½d Callicoes, 1 piece, £0 11s 3d Shoes: 1 pair girls, £0 2s 6d 5 pairs womens calamanco, £1 11s 3d 2 pairs calf, £0 7s 6d Total shoes, £2 1s 3d Hats, 1 boys, £0 6s 10½d Hosiery, 1 pair girls stockings, £0 2s 11d The following goods were sold at 40 per cent above cost. Arrack, 192 gallons, £57 12s 0d Sugar and candy: 375 sugar, £11 19s 7d 718 candy, £19 8s 11d Total sugar and candy, £31 8s 6d Flour, 46 pounds, £0 9s 7d Soap, 53 pounds, £2 18s 6d Candles, 82 pounds, £8 7s 5d Cordage, 92 pounds, £1 14s 6d Tea, 6 pounds bohea, £0 7s 0d Rice, 2 [...], £1 11s 3d Nails: [...] no. 3, £0 1s 8d 23 no. 4, £0 14s 7d 34 no. 6, £0 18s 5d 12 no. 10, £0 5s 6d 5 no. 20, £0 2s 3½d Total nails, £2 2s 5½d Carried over, £119 16s 3d Interpretations The account divides the same goods by the rate at which they were sold, the planters paying 25 per cent above cost on cloth and shoes while a separate class of goods went out at 40 per cent. The gap in mark-up marks a deliberate pricing policy, the higher rate falling on arrack, sugar, candles and other consumables that the store could charge more heavily than the textiles. Calamanco was a glossy woollen cloth with a checked or striped pattern woven in, here made up into women's shoes, a harder-wearing and cheaper material than leather for the purpose. Arrack again carried the largest single figure, sold to the planters at the top rate of 40 per cent above cost, which shows how far the store relied on the spirit trade as a source of margin. Speculations The store set arrack, sugar and other consumables at 40 per cent above cost while holding cloth and shoes for the same planters at 25 per cent, when a single uniform rate would have been the simpler course. The record shows the reason in the split itself: the higher margin was loaded onto the goods a planter would buy again and again, the drink and provisions, rather than onto the durable textiles bought seldom, so the store drew its profit from the steady demand it could count on.
<u>2</u>	2	29th April Collection of Goods sold and delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from the 12th January to the 1st April 1724 Vizt Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 pr Cent Arrack 380 ½ gallons 93 2 6 Sugar and Candy Vizt 4249 Sugar 70 16 4 1877 Candy 30 2 1	The account continued from the previous total of £119 16s 3d. Thread, 3 coloured, £0 0s 14d Canvas: 30 yards osnaburg, £1 6s 3d 1 yard English, £0 1s 5d Total canvas, £1 7s 8d Hooks and lines: 725 hooks no. 2, £0 12s 1d 300 hooks no. 6, £0 6s 0d 25 hooks no. 9, £0 1s 9½d 300 blue, £0 1s 3d 12 lines no. 4, £0 6s 7d

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		100 18 5 Flour vizt 514 Flour 3 14 11½ 64 N 24 Do Baked 56 8 1½ 60 3 1 Soap 265 11 11 10½ Candles 486 38 19 7½ Tea Vizt 2 lb Single 2 6 8 lb Bohea 3 10 3 12 6 Cordage 434 6 6 7 Beef and Pork Vizt 6 Do Doub Pork 2/ 12 43 Do Single Do 2/ 4 6 70 Do Do 2/2 7 11 8 1220 Pork 30 10 19 Do Doub Beef 2/ 1 18 304 Do Single Do 2/ 30 8 10 Do Do 3/4½ 1 10 5 76 16 1 Rice 133 : 7 55 10 5 Salt 5 ½ Bushels 18 4 Discoveres vizt 30 Do Single 14 17 6 5 Do Doub 5 10 20 7 6 Carried over £ 479 6 11	Total hooks and lines, £1 7s 1½d Haberdashery: 2 pounds mohair, £0 1s 0d 2 skeins silk, £0 1s 2d 1 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 0s 5d Total haberdashery, £0 2s 7d Starch, 8 pounds, £0 4s 8d Twine, 8 skeins, £0 6s 8d Oil: 2 gallons linseed, £0 9s 4d 1 bottle Florence, £0 3s 7d ¾ gallons train, £0 2s 10½d Total oil, £0 15s 9½d Paint: 8 indigo, £0 18s 8d 3½ Venetian red, £0 1s 0d 20 pounds lead, £0 4s 8d ¾ white [...], £0 1s 2d ½ blue smalt, £0 1s 0d Total paint, £1 14s 11½d Beef and pork: 1 piece beef, £0 3s 10d 5 pieces pork, £1 3s 9d Total beef and pork, £1 7s 7d Glazery, 2 squares glass 8 by 10, £0 1s 0½d Carried over, £127 8s 10½d
10	3	1754 Brought over 479 6 11 Canvas 192 Yds Osenbrigs 6 12 13 Do English Canvas 15 8½ 7 7 8½ Hooks and Lines Vizt 3275 Hooks No 4 2 3 8 1325 Do 8 1 2 1 475 Do 10 18 2½ 1300 Blue 4 4 2 Doz Lines No 2 7 4 7 Doz Do 3 1 9 9 10 ½ Doz Do 4	The account continued from the previous total of £127 8s 10½d. Ironmongery: 1 stock lock, £0 2s 10½d 2 padlocks, £0 6s 4d 2 shod shovels, £0 4s 7d Total ironmongery, £0 13s 9½d Pitch: 6 pounds pitch, £0 1s 4½d ½ gallon tar, £0 0s 6d Total pitch, £0 1s 10½d Chinaware: 1 chamber pot, £0 2s 0d 1 set dishes and plates, £0 19s 0d Total chinaware, £1 1s 0d Turnery: 2 shoe brushes, £0 1s 8d 1 paint brush, £0 0s 8d Total turnery, £0 2s 4d Total, £129 7s 10½d The following goods were sold to the Company ships. Nails, 6 pounds, £1 18s 4d

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		2 13 4½ 1 Hambro 1 6 9 3 Twine 40 Skains 1 6 8 Pepper & 5 ½ Nails Vizt 4 2 8 11 3 5 11½ 22 4 9 7½ 39 6 16 3 25 10 9 4½ 5 20 1 10½ 4 Glazing Brads 4 6 2 8 3 Haberdashery Ware Vizt 10 ½ doz Mohair Coat Buttons 7 19 Do Do Breast Do 6 4 1 ½ Do Tin Coat Do 4½ 25 Do Tin Breast Do 3 ½ 31 Skains Silk 14 3½ 17 lb Mohair 6 4½ 2 5 1 ½ Doz Shirt Buttons 4 6½ 18 Do W Waistcoat Do 1 10 2 6 2½ 2 Do Tape Carried over 502 1 4½	Deals, 34 single, £4 17s 4d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 13s 0d Ironmongery, 2 rat traps, £0 1s 6d Glassware, 6 squares glass 10 by 12, £0 7s 0d Oil, 20 gallons linseed, £4 18s 0d Turnery, 8 pairs brushes, £0 5s 4d Candles, 192 pounds, £17 11s 2d Naval stores, 20 tallow, £0 7s 6d Pitch: 1 barrel pitch, £1 12s 0d 4 barrels tar, £6 0s 0d 2 rosin, £0 0s 6d Total pitch, £7 12s 6d Carried over, £39 5s 14d Interpretations The account marks off a distinct class of buyer, the Company ships themselves, supplied as they touched at the island. What they took was working stores rather than domestic goods: nails, deals, glass, candles and above all pitch, tar and rosin in barrel quantities for caulking and rigging. The pattern shows the island acting as a chandlery on the sea route, refitting and reprovisioning passing vessels from the same stock that served the garrison. Rosin was the solid residue left after distilling turpentine from pine resin, used with pitch and tar for sealing seams and treating cordage, which places it naturally among the naval stores taken by the ships.
<u>11</u>	4	29th April Brought Over £ 502 1 4½ Thread Vizt 4 lb White Brown 6 9 10 lb Coloured 1 16 8 1 Oz Nuns 3 1 2 6 6 Pitch Vizt 2 Do Pitch 3 8 2 ½ Gallons Tarr 1 10½ 5 6½ Ironmongers Ware Vizt 3 Ps H Hinges 6 6 1 Ironrimed Locks 4 5 4 Ditching Shovels 19 10 2 Shod Shovels 3 7 3 Chest Locks 10 6 5 Stock Locks 11 ½	The account continued from the previous total of £39 5s 4½d. Cordage, 16 pounds 2 [...] 7, £0 5s 3d Paint: 36 barrels blacking, £1 0s 6d 85 white lead, £2 2s 6d 46 red lead, £0 14s 10d 14 yellow ochre, £0 4s 1d 33 Venetian red, £0 10s 2½d 1 indigo, £0 2s 4d 3 umber, £0 1s 4½d ½ verdigris, £0 2s 2d Total paint, £5 3s 0d Total, £79 12s 3¾d The following stores were issued between 12 January and 11 April 1754, charged to general account. Candles: 176 for the castle, £10 1s 3d 40 for the council, £7 10s 11d Total candles, £17 12s 2d Pumps for the well at the castle, £12 5s 0d Braziery, 1 tea kettle for the castle, £0 11s 5½d Nails, for repair to the pump and the crane, making buckets: 3 no. 6, £0 1s 1d 6 no. 3, £0 2s 10½d ½ no. 2, £0 0s 9½d 3 no. 10, £0 1s 0d 6 no. 20, £0 1s 10½d 2 no. 4, and 8 boxes for tiles, £0 0s 9½d

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		1 Hand Hatchet 1 6 1 Cupboard Lock 6 1 2 Garden Rakes 3 2 1 Spade 3 5 1 Walling Hammer 1 8 2 Garden Hoes 3 4½ 1 Bricklayers Trowel 1 7 2 Padlocks 3 1 Scythe 6 1 1 Frying pan 1 10 1 Ragstone 2½ 1 Curring Iron 3 2 4 Packing Needles 8 1 Long Plain 5 6½ 2 Gimblets 4 5 1 6 Shalloon 31 Yards 3 4 7 Corks 14 M Shott Cork 5 Shirts 75 Soldiers 17 3 0 Carried Over £ 531 3½	Total nails, £0 7s 11d Discoveries, for the castle: 3 pairs double, £2 18s 9d 1 pair single, £0 8s 11½d Total discoveries, £3 7s 8½d Shalloon, 1 piece for rubbers for the castle, £0 8s 10d Carried over, £34 10s 6d Interpretations This part of the account shifts from goods sold to stores issued for the island's own use, charged to general account rather than to a buyer. The items were consumed on public works: candles lit the castle and the council chamber, and a run of nails went to repairing the pump and the crane and making buckets, showing the maintenance of the water supply and the loading gear as recurring charges on the store. Rubbers here meant cloths for cleaning and polishing, cut from a piece of shalloon and issued for the upkeep of the castle. The pumps for the well at the castle were the single heaviest item at £12 5s 0d, a capital charge for keeping fresh water raised and available, which underlines how much the fortified centre depended on a working supply drawn up by machinery.
12	5	1754 Brought Over £ 531 3½ Oyl Vizt 8 Gallons Linseed 1 9 4 3 ½ Gallons Lamp 10 6 7 Bottles Florence 18 4½ 2 18 2½ Flannel 5 ½ yards 10 4 Paint Vizt 23 lb Indico 2 2 2 150 lb Lead 2 10 7½ 10 lb ½ yellow Oaker 2 2 4 Barrels Blacking 2 3 8 lb Venetian Red 1 8 3 ½ Whiting 10 2 lb Red Lead 6 1 ½ Umber 6½ 6 Stone Colour 3 2 ½ Oz Prussian Blue 5 6½ ½ Verdigrease 10½ 2 ½ Blue Small 4 7	The account continued from the previous total of £34 10s 6d. Oil: 8¾ gallons linseed, for painting at the castle, one of the Company houses, the windows and the garden gate, £1 9s 2d 7¾ gallons train, for the kitchen and bakehouse, £1 1s 0d Total oil, £2 10s 2d Tinware and lantern, soap for the castle, £0 0s 2d Lead: 4 sheets for the castle, £0 9s 0d 1 sheet lead for the pump, £0 2s 0d Total lead, £0 11s 0d Iron, 22 pounds, to make irons for the washerwomen and a hatchet for the bakers, £0 3s 9d Lines: 36 no. 4 for the mens hanging grape shot, 6d each line, £0 13s 9d 1 for the carpenters, £0 0s 3½d Thread, 1 pound coloured, for sewing the packets, £0 4s 2d Canvas: 10½ yards osnaburg for covering the tickets, £0 6s 7d 22 yards English for covering grape shot and cots for the hospital and guard room, £1 3s 10d Total canvas, £1 10s 5d Corks, ½ gross for the castle, £0 1s 2d Soap, 6 pounds, £0 3s 4d Cordage, 60 pounds, for a well and bell rope, the gunners and gardeners use, £0 15s 0d Twine, 4 pounds for grape shot, £0 2s 3d Leather, ¼ for the pump, £0 0s 4d Turnery: 3 paint brushes for painting, £0 1s 4½d 1 wood bowl for the longboat, £0 0s 11d

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		¾ lb White Copperas 1 6 4 9 Long Cloth Vizt 2 ½ Ps No 1 14 8 9 1 ½ Do 2 2 13 7½ 17 2 4½ Starch Vizt 9 lb Poland 6 2 12 lb Common 5 6 11 8 Broad Cloth 4 ½ yards 3 3 6 Pewter Vizt 1 Dish 7 2 1 Bason 4 9 11 11 Carried Over £ 562 3 4½	1 platter for the longboat, £0 0s 11d 1 hair broom, £0 2s 0d 1 mop, £0 1s 3d Total turnery, £0 6s 5½d Carried over, £43 7s 9½d Interpretations The stores here went out for named public purposes rather than sale, and the notes attached to each show the working life of the settlement in detail. Linseed oil painted the castle, a Company house, the windows and the garden gate, while train oil served the kitchen and bakehouse. Iron was worked up into irons for the washerwomen and a hatchet for the bakers, and canvas covered grape shot and made up cots for the hospital and guard room. Grape shot was a cluster of small iron balls fired from a cannon to scatter on discharge, and the lines, twine and canvas issued to hang and cover it point to the routine upkeep of the island's ordnance. The entries turn store goods into finished articles by local labour: hooks and lines rigged to carry shot, cloth sewn into cots and covers, iron forged into tools. On a station cut off from ready resupply, the store functioned less as a shop than as the raw material for work the settlement had to do for itself.
13	6	29th April Brought Over £ 562 3 4½ Glaziers Ware Vizt 21 Squares Glass 6 by 8 8 9 24 Squares Do 8 10 15 10 Squares Do 10 12 9 2 1 Quart Decanter 4 6 1 17 5 Turners Ware Vizt 7 Shoe Brushes 4 6 2 Hair Brooms 5 4 7 Paint Brushes 3 8 10 Labourers Baskets 6 3 2 Moss 2 9 1 Scrubbing Brush 1 10 1 3 5 Cutlery Ware Vizt 13 Ps Shoe Buckles 7 ½ 6 Butcher Knives 1 10½ 2 Shoe Knives 11 9 10 Iron Pots 3 1 11 8 Deals Vizt 5 Double 17 1 11 Single 1 4 3½ 2 1 4½ Chulloes 9 Ps 3 8 3 Fustian 34 Yds 1 18 6½ Earthenware 7 milk pans 5 3 Hats 1 Boys 6 ½	The account continued from the previous total of £43 9s 2½d. Paint, for painting the castle windows at the great house, one of the Company houses and the garden gate: 182 pounds lead, £2 3s 10d 3 barrels blacking, £0 1s 7½d 50 whiting, £0 1s 8d 8 Venetian red, £0 1s 6d 1 red lead, £0 0s 2½d 2 stone colour, £0 3s 6d ½ white [...], £0 0s 6½d Total paint, £2 12s 10d Starch, for linen: 1½ common, £0 0s 5d 5¾ Poland, £0 3s 7d Total starch, £0 8s 7d Deals: 2 double for cots for the guard room and hospital, £0 6s 2d 1 single for a bed for the lieutenant governor's house, £1 11s 1½d Total deals, £0 8s 1½d Pitch: ¾ gallon train, £0 0s 2d 8 pitch, £0 1s 2d Total pitch, £0 1s 4d Glassware, 8 squares 6 by 8 for the castle, £0 1s 1½d Total, £47 1s 2½d The following stores were issued between 12 January and 11 April 1754, charged to diet expenses. Flour, 13 [...] 2 quarters 16, £9 14s 5d Arrack, 40 gallons, £5 18s 4d Candy, 28 pounds, £4 13s 4d Beef and pork: 1½ pork, £0 0s 8½d 20 beef, £2 0s 0d Total beef and pork, £2 0s 8½d Rice, 87 [...], £7 3s 0d Carried over, £22 14s [...] Interpretations The paint account gathers a single job under one head, the painting of the castle windows at the great house together with a Company house and the garden gate, with the pigments and lead grouped by a brace to that one purpose. It shows the store issuing materials against a defined piece of work rather than by the piece, so the cost of maintaining the principal buildings could be set down as a whole.

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		Bellows 1 Piece 3 10 Lead 26 Shees 4 10½ Shoes Vizt 1 Ps Chaineled Pumps 7 11 1 Ps Mens fine Shoes 6 3 1 Ps Mens Pumps 6 10 1 1 Hosiers Ware 2 Ps Boys Stockings 3 2 Carried over £ 576 19 8½	Diet expenses formed a separate charge for provisions consumed on the establishment, the flour, arrack, candy, meat and rice that fed those kept at the Company's table. The largest lines were flour and rice, the bulk starches of the ration, which shows how much the feeding of the settlement rested on imported grain that the island could not grow in sufficient quantity for itself.
14	7	1754 Brought over £ 576 19 8½ China Ware Vizt 6 Half Pint Cups 1 0 11 Saucers 2 0 1 Soup Dish 7 5 Mugs 7 6 25 Bowls 1 2 10 6 Guglets and Basons 1 12 Half Pint Cups and Saucers 4 5 5 Sole Dishes and Plates 4 18 6 Chamber pots 9 7 16 11 Braziers Ware Vizt 1 Penstock 4 2½ 2 Ladles 4 10 1 Tea Kettle 1 2 8 1 1 8½ Tin Ware 1 Dripping Pann 4 7 Wine Vizt 9 Bottles Port 15 5 Doz 10 Bottles Lisbon 5 16 8 6 Do 3 Do Madera 9 10 7½ 16 2 3½ Beer 1 Cask 2 10 10 £ 604 16 ½ Sold	The account continued from the previous total of £22 14s [...]. Oil, 4 bottles Florence, £0 9s 6d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 9s 0d Tea, 7 bohea, £0 4s 1d Total, £23 16s 7½d The following stores were issued for the use of the slaves between 12 January and 11 April 1754, charged to their account. Sugar, 24 pounds, £0 5s 9d Tea, 8½ bohea, for the sick, £0 4s 11½d Rice, 121 [...] 2 quarters 22, £45 14s 2d Brandy, 28½ gallons for drams, £1 17s 1d Shoes, 1 pair mens ordinary, £0 3s 11d Shirts, 2 mens checked, £0 7s 6d Hooks and lines: 12 lines no. 2, £0 3s 4d 6 lines no. 3, £1 11s 0d 125 hooks no. 10, for fishing, £0 4s 4½d 200 hooks no. [...], for fishing, £0 2s 10d Lead, 1½ sheet, £0 12s 5½d Beef and pork: 4 pieces pork, £0 8s 0d 10 pieces beef, £1 7s 6d Total beef and pork, £2 4s 0d Turnery, 2 wood bowls, £0 1s 10d Total, £51 5s 6d Interpretations This account charged the slaves' maintenance to a separate head, setting out what the store issued to feed, clothe and equip them over the quarter. Rice was overwhelmingly the largest item at £45 14s 2d, dwarfing every other line, which shows that the labour force was fed chiefly on cheap imported grain while receiving sugar, meat and a spirit ration only in small measure. Drams were small measured doses of spirit, the brandy here issued out to the slaves in that form rather than sold, a customary allowance meant as an incentive or a supposed guard against sickness in wet or cold work. Hooks and lines were issued to the slaves for fishing, a note that shows them set to catch part of their own food from the sea, so the store's outlay on grain was offset by labour turned to provisioning. The separate tea for the sick marks the only concession to illness in the whole account, a small quantity of bohea set apart for those unable to work, which shows how narrowly the establishment provided for the health of its bound labour. Speculations The store issued the slaves hooks and lines for fishing when it could simply have drawn more provisions from its own grain stock, the easier course given how much rice it already held. The record shows why the other path was taken: fishing turned the slaves' own idle hours into food and held down the outlay on imported rice that already ran to £45 14s 2d, so the tackle was a deliberate means of shifting part of their subsistence off the store and onto their own labour.

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15	8	29th April Sold to the Planters at 25 pr Cent Broad Cloth 1 ½ Yards 1 8 1½ Discovers 13 Pieces Single 7 7 4 Shalloon 7 Yards 16 8 Flannel 3 Yards 10 7½ Chulloes 1 Ps 11 3 Shoes Vizt 1 Ps Girls 2 6 5 Ps Womens Callimance 1 11 3 2 Ps Calf 7 6 2 1 3 Hats 1 Boys 6 10½ Hosiers Ware 1 Ps Girls Stockings 2 11 Sold at 40 pr Cent Arrack 192 Gallons 57 12 Sugar and Candy Vizt 375 Sugar 11 19 7 718 Candy 19 8 11 31 8 6 Flour 46 lb 9 7 Soap 53 2 18 6 Candles 82 lb 8 7 5 Cordage 92 lb 1 14 6 Tea 6 lb Bohea 7 Rice 2 Ps 1 11 3 Nails Vizt 4 2 1 8 23 4 14 7 34 6 18 5 12 10 5 6 5 20 2 3½ 2 2 5½ Carried Over £ 119 16 3	The following stores were issued for the garrison between 12 January and 11 April 1754, charged to its account. Tea, 75½ bohea, for the several guards and barracks, £0 2s 4½d Oil, 81 gallons train, for the several guards and barracks, £10 19s 4½d Candles, for the doctor's shop, £0 0s 2d Beef, 10 pieces, for the recruits of <i>Grantham</i>, £1 7s 6d Rice, 26 [...], for the recruits of <i>Grantham</i>, £0 1s 8d Brandy, 14¾ gallons, for the doctor and for drams in mustering, £1 4s 7d Deals, 12 double, for cots for the recruits, £1 11s 0d Total, £17 16s 2d The following stores were issued for the plantation between 12 January and 11 April 1754, charged to its account. Nails, for repairing wheelbarrows and repairs at the great wood: [...] no. 6, £0 2s 6d 6 no. 4, £0 2s 4½d 3 no. 3, £0 1s 9d 1 no. 3, £0 0s 5½d Total nails, £0 7s 1d Rice and paddy, for poultry and stores: 53 paddy, £0 9s 4d 3 rice 7, £0 7s 7d Total rice and paddy, £0 16s 11d Oil, ½ gallon train for tanning, £0 1s 4d Cordage, 3½ for shoe and cow ropes, £0 9s 9d Ironmongery: 6 spades for the plantation, £0 18s 6d 2 stock locks for the great wood, £0 4s 0d Total ironmongery, £1 2s 0d Lines, 1 no. 4 for the masons, £0 0s 4½d Iron, 18 pounds, for the forks and making pickaxes, £0 3s 4d Earthenware, 5 milk pans for the dairy, £0 0s 10d Tar, 1½ gallons for the carts, £0 4s [...] Carried over, £11 13s 2½d Interpretations The garrison and plantation each carried their own account, so the store could set the cost of the military establishment apart from that of the Company's farming. The garrison drew tea and train oil for its guards and barracks, provisions for a party of recruits and brandy for the doctor and for issue at musters, while the plantation took tools, rope and repair materials for its fields, livestock and dairy. Paddy was rice still in the husk, cheaper than the cleaned grain and here fed to poultry, which shows the plantation using the coarser form as animal feed while the milled rice went to people. The great wood appears as a place kept up by the store, with nails for repairs and locks to secure it, marking one of the few stands of timber the island possessed as a resource worth maintaining and guarding. Train oil issued for tanning shows the plantation curing its own hides, turning the skins of its slaughtered stock into leather on the spot rather than importing it, one more instance of the settlement making at home what it could not readily buy.
16	9	1754 Brought Over £ 119 16 3 Thread 3 Coloured 14 Canvas vizt 30 Yds Osenbrigs 1 6 3 1 Yd English 1 5	The account continued from the previous total of £11 13s 2½d. Deals: 4 single, for repairs at the great wood, £0 7s 11d 3 double, for repairs at the great wood, £0 9s 3d 2 rafters for carts, £0 6s 9d Total deals, £1 3s 11d Total, £12 17s 1½d

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		1 7 8 Hooks and Lines vizt 725 Hooks No 2 12 1 300 Do 6 6 25 Do 9 1 9½ 300 Blue 1 3 12 Lines No 4 6 7 1 7 1½ Haberdashery Ware vizt 2 lb Mohair 1 2 lb Silk 1 2 1 doz M Coat Buttons 5 2 7 Starch 8 lb 4 8 Twine 4 Ns 6 8 Oyl vizt 2 Gallons Linseed 9 4 1 Bottle Florence 3 7 ¾ Gallons Lamp 2 10½ 15 9½ Paint vizt 8 Indico 15 5 3 ½ Venetian Red 1 20 lb Lead 4 8 ¾ White Copperas 10 ½ Blue Small 1 2 1 14 11½ Beef and Pork vizt 1 Ps Beef 3 10 5 Ps Pork 13 9 17 7 Glaziers Ware 2 Squares Glass 8 by 10 Carried over £ 127 8 10½	The following stores were issued for the fortifications between 12 January and 11 April 1754, charged to their account. Cart wheels, 6 wheelbarrow sides for repairs to the wheelbarrows, £0 0s 10d Nails, for repairs to Lemon Valley guard house: 3 no. 2, £0 1s 8d 1 no. 4, £0 0s 4½d 13 no. 6, £0 4s 7½d 4 no. 20, £0 1s 3d Total nails, £0 7s 11d Deals: 2 rafters, £0 6s 9d 1 single deal, for the same, £1 1s 11½d Total deals, £0 8s 5½d Ironmongery: 1 stock lock for Lemon Valley guard house, £0 2s 0½d 9 shod shovels, £0 14s 7½d 3 ditching shovels, £0 13s 6d Total ironmongery, £1 10s 2d Thread, 2 coloured, £0 6s 8d Bunting, for making a flag for the mains and a jack: 2 pieces red, £3 2s 10d 1 piece 20 yards white, £1 13s 8½d 32½ yards blue, £0 18s 11½d Total bunting, £5 15s 6d Lines, 1 no. 4, £0 0s 4½d Carried over, £8 19s 4d Interpretations The fortifications carried their own account like the garrison and plantation, gathering the cost of keeping the island's defences in repair. Much of it went on Lemon Valley guard house, one of the outposts covering a landing place, with nails and a lock for its upkeep, while shod and ditching shovels served the earthworks that made up the batteries. Bunting was a loosely woven worsted cloth used for flags, cut here in red, white and blue to make an ensign for the mains and a jack, the coloured cloth alone running to the largest figure in this part of the account. Lemon Valley was one of the few points on the coast where a boat could land, so its guard house stood among the works the island had to maintain to control access from the sea, which is why it drew a steady charge for repair from the store.
17	10	29th April Brought over £ 127 8 10½ Ironware vizt 1 Stock Locks 2 10½ 2 Padlock 6 4 2 Shod Shovels 4 7 13 9½ Pitch vizt 6 lb Pitch 1 4½ ½ Gallon Tar 6 1 10½ China Ware vizt 1 Chamber pot 2 1 Set Dishes and Plates 19 1 1	The account continued from the previous total of £8 19s 4d. Twine, 1 pound, for the flag, £0 0s 6½d Cordage, 11¼, for the flag, £0 2s 9½d Total, £9 2s 8d The following stores were issued for repairs to the boats between 12 January and 11 April 1754, charged to their account. Cordage, 3 [...] 17, £6 18s 0d Deals, 9 single, £0 17s 10d Pitch, 20 turpentine, £0 3s 4d Oil, ¾ gallon train, £0 2s 0d Nails, 1 pound, £0 0s 4½d Total, £8 1s 7d The following stores were issued for the use of the sick in the infirmary between 12 January and 11 April 1754, charged to the hospital account. Sugar, 128 pounds, £1 9s 3d Flour, 72, £0 9s 2d Salt, 1¾ bushels, £0 3s 9d Oil, 5¼ gallons train, £0 14s 2½d Rice, 7 [...], £0 8s 4d

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		Turner Ware vizt 2 Shoe Brushes 1 8 1 Paint Brush 8 2 4 £ 129 7 10½ Sold to the Companys Ships Nails 6 lb 1 18 ½ Deals 34 Single 4 17 4 Salt 3 Bushel 13 Ironware 2 Rat Traps 13 6 Glass Ware 6 Squares Glass 10 by 12 7 Oyl 20 Gallons Linseed 4 18 Turners Ware 8 Ps Brushes 5 4 Candles 192 17 11 2 Naval Stores 20 Tallow 7 6 Pitch vizt 1 Barrel Pitch 1 12 4 Barrels Tar 6 2 Rozin 6 7 12 6 Carried over £ 39 5 1½	Total, £3 4s 8½d Interpretations The boats carried their own account for repair, drawing chiefly cordage and single deals with pitch, turpentine and train oil to seal and dress the timber. The reliance on rope and caulking materials shows small craft in constant need of upkeep, the boats being the only means of working cargo and passengers between ship and shore in a place with no safe harbour. Turpentine was a resin distilled from pine, used thinned with oil as a solvent and drier in paint and with pitch for waterproofing seams, which places it naturally among the boat stores. The hospital account set apart the provisions given to the sick in the infirmary, sugar, flour, salt, oil and rice in modest quantities. Sugar was the largest item, valued as a restorative and a means of making plain fare palatable to the ill, which shows the narrow range of comforts a remote station could offer its patients beyond the ordinary ration.
18	11	1754 Brought over £ 39 5 4½ Cordage 16 Ps 2 lb 33 3 11½ Paint vizt 36 Barrels Blaching 1 6 6 8 lb White Lead 2 2 6 46 Red Lead 14 10 14 Yellow Oaker 4 1 53 Ven Red 10 2½ 1 Indico 2 4 3 Umber 1 4½ ½ Verdigrease 2 2 5 3 £ 79 12 3¾ Charges General Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from the 12 January to the 11 April 1754 vizt Candles vizt 176 for the Castle 10 1 8 40 lb for the Council 7 10 11 17 12 2 Sumps for the Well at the Castle 12 5 Braziers Ware 1 Tea Kettle for the Castle 11 5½ Ndls vizt 4 6 1 1 6 3	The following stores were delivered for building the plantation house. Lead, 21 [...] 3 quarters 24, £19 17s 2d Nails: 6 no. 40, £0 1s 9d 1 no. 3, £0 0s 3½d 7 no. 6, £0 2s 6d 1 no. 4, £0 0s 4½d 1½ glazing brads, £0 1s 6½d Total nails, £0 6s 7½d Deals: 51 single, £5 0s 11½d 3 double, £0 9s 3d ½ piece Riga timber, £1 4s 6½d Total deals, £6 14s 9d Pitch, 30 pounds, £0 4s 4½d Oil, 1 gallon linseed, £0 3s 4d Paint, 20 white lead, £0 6s 10d Total, £27 13s 1d The account was closed on 11 April 1754, errors excepted, and signed by M. Pearling, storekeeper. Interpretations The plantation house account gathered the materials for a single building project under one head, closing the storekeeper's return for the quarter. Lead was by far the largest item at £19 17s 2d, for roofing and flashing, followed by the timber, which shows how heavily the cost of a substantial building fell on the two materials the island could not produce and had to bring in by sea. Riga timber was fir or pine shipped from the Baltic port of Riga, valued for its long straight lengths and used for the principal beams and framing where the shorter deals would not serve. The whole quarter's return, signed off errors excepted, shows the storekeeper accounting not only for goods sold but for every issue to the garrison, plantation, fortifications, boats, hospital and public works, so that the store stood at the centre of the

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		2 10½ ½ 2 9½ 3 10 1 1 6 20 1 10½ 2 4 9½ For Repair to the Pump and the Crane making Buckets 8 Boxes for Tiles 7 11 Descovers vizt 3 Ps Double 2 18 9 1 Ps Single 8 11½ for the Castle 3 7 8½ Chulloes 1 Ps for Rubbers for the Castle 8 10 Carried over £ 34 10 6	settlement's economy as supplier, workshop and treasury combined.
19	12	29th April Brought over £ 34 10 6 Oyl vizt 8 ¾ Gd Linseed for Painting at the Governors House the Castle some of the Companys Houses Windows and the Garden Gate 1 9 2 7 ¾ Gd Lamp for the Kitchen and Bake House 1 1 2 10 2 Tinware 1 Lanthorn Leaf for the Castle 2 Lead vizt 4 Shot for the Castle 9 1 Sheet Lead for the Pump 2 11 Iron 22 lb ½ To make Irons for the Washer Women & a Hatchet for the Bakers 3 9 Lines vizt 36 No 4 for the Masons hanging Grape Shot Us Sash Line 13 9 1 for the Carpenters 3½ Thread 1 lb Coloured for Sewing the Packets 3 4 14 2 Canvas vizt 10 ½ Yd Osenbrigs for Covering the Tickets 6 7 22 Yd English for Covering Grape Shot Us Cots for the Hospital and Guard Room 1 3 10 1 10 5 Corks ½ Gross for the Castle 1 2 Soap 6 lb 2 7 Cordage 60 lb for a Well and Bell Ropt the Gunners and Gardeners use 15 Twine 4 lb for Grape Shot 2 3 Leather 4 for the Pump 4 Turners Ware vizt 3 Paint Brushes for Painting 1 4½	This is a list of the Honourable Company's officers and servants on St Helena, with their salaries, diet money and other allowances, for the quarter beginning 12 January and ending 11 April 1754. 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 John Goodwin, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £15 0s 0d John Goodwin, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d Matthew Pearling, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Pearling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total, £32 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total, £32 10s 0d William Le, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d William Le, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total, £40 0s 0d James Powell, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d James Powell, diet money, £10 0s 0d James Powell, assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £25 0s 0d Thomas French, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas French, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas French, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £20 0s 0d Carried over, £444 1s 9d Interpretations The pay list sets out the whole civil establishment in order of rank, each man's salary broken into its parts, so that the true cost of an appointment lay not in the salary alone but in the diet money, house rent and servant allowances added to it. The governor's own place cost £156 14s 9d for the quarter once the allowance for servants was included, more than the salaries of the accountant, storekeeper and secretary combined. Diet money was a cash payment in place of board, given so that officers could keep their own table rather than eat at the Company's charge, and it appears against nearly every post as a fixed addition to salary. The factors James Powell and Thomas French stood at the foot of the list on the smallest salaries, yet

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Wood Bowl 11 1 Platter 11 1 Hair Broom 2 1 Moss 1 3 for the Long boat 6 5½ Carried over £ 43 7 9½	Powell drew extra for acting as assistant storekeeper, which shows the junior servants doubling in more than one office to make up a living from the several small allowances the Company attached to each duty.
20	13	1754 Brought Over £ 43 9 2½ Paint vizt 182 lb Lead 2 3 10 3 Barr Blaching 1 7½ 50 lb Whiting 1 8 8 Ven Red 1 6 1 Red Lead 2½ 2 Class Colour 3 6 ½ White Copperas 6½ For Painting the Castle Windows at the Great House; one of the Companys Houses and the Garden Gate 2 12 10 Starch vizt 1 ½ Common 5 5 ¼ Powland 3 7 for Linnen 8 7 Deals vizt 2 Doub for Cots for the Guard Room & Hospital 6 8 1 Single for Bess to the Lt Governors House 1 11½ 8 7½ Pitch vizt ½ Gallon Tarr 2 8 Pitch 1 2 1 4 Glassware 3 Sqrs 6 by 8 for the Castle 1 1½ 47 1 2½ Diet Expences Dr for the following Ifsued from the 12 January to the 11 April 1754 vizt Flour 13 2 16 9 14 5 Arrack 40 Gallons 5 18 4 Candy 28 lb 4 13 4 Beef and Pork vizt 1 ¾ Pork 8½ 20 lb Do 2 2 8½ Rice 87 lb 7 3 Carried over £ 22 14	The pay list continued from the previous total of £444 1s 9d. Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £10 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £20 0s 0d William Wrangham, waiter, salary, £5 0s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d Total, £15 0s 0d Samuel Skinner, surgeon, salary at £30 per annum, from 12 January to 31 March, the day he was dismissed, £8 15s 8d Samuel Skinner, diet money at £40 per annum, from the same, £8 13s 1½d Samuel Skinner, house rent at £10 per annum, from the same, £2 3s 3d Total, £19 12s 0½d John Inglis, surgeon's mate, salary at £20 per annum, from 12 December to 31 March, £4 6s 6d John Inglis, as surgeon from 1 April, the day he was appointed, £0 19s 4d John Inglis, diet money, £11 5s 0d Total, £16 10s 10d Thomas Evans, surgeon's mate, salary at £20 per annum, from 1 April, the day he was appointed, £0 13s 6d Thomas Evans, diet money at £48 per annum, from the same, £1 7s 1d Total, £2 0s 7d Richard Curling, overseer, £15 0s 0d John Swaine, overseer, £7 10s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, salary, £3 8s 3d Richard Beale, as clerk, £5 0s 0d Total, £8 8s 3d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d John Bland, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Bland, house rent, £1 10s 0d Total, £29 0s 0d Mark Hawkins, mason, salary, £12 10s 0d Mark Hawkins, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Mark Hawkins, house rent, £1 0s 0d Total, £20 6s 10½d Carried over, £597 15s 4d Interpretations The list carried the pay of the medical and works staff, and the entries for the surgeons were pro-rated to the day rather than paid a flat quarter, so a man's earnings ran only for the exact period he held the post. Samuel Skinner was paid to 31 March, the day he was dismissed, while John Inglis moved up from mate to surgeon on 1 April and Thomas Evans came in as mate the same day, the three entries together recording a full turnover in the medical office within a single quarter. House rent appears as a cash allowance attached to the senior posts, paid to those not lodged by the Company so they could hire their own quarters, and pro-rated like salary where an appointment began or ended mid-term. The master mason John Bland stood among the best-paid on the whole establishment at £29 0s 0d for the quarter, above the surgeon and the secretary, which shows how highly skilled building labour was valued on an island in constant need of construction and repair to its fortifications and houses.

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			Speculations The Company kept John Inglis on and promoted him to surgeon the very day Samuel Skinner was dismissed, rather than wait for a trained surgeon to be sent out from home. The record shows why the local man was raised in place: a replacement from England was months away by sea, and the island could not be left without a surgeon, so an existing mate already on the spot was moved up at once and a new mate appointed the same day to fill the gap he left.
21	14	29th April Brought over £ 22 14 ½ Oyl 4 Bottles Florence 9 6 Salt 3 Bushels 9 Tea 7 lb Bohea 1 1 £ 23 16 7½ Blacks Dr for the following Stores Ifsued for their use from the 12 January to the 11 April vizt Sugar 24 lb 5 9 Tea 8 ½ Bohea 4 11½ for the Sick Rice 121 2 22 45 14 2 Brandy 28 ½ Gallons for Drams 1 17 1 Moss 1 Ps Mens Ordinary 3 11 Shirts 2 Mens Checked 7 6 Hooks and Lines vizt 12 Lines No 2 3 4 6 Do 3 1 11 125 Hooks 10 4 4½ 200 Do 2 10 For Fishing Lead 14 Sheet 12 5½ 2 4 Beef and Pork vizt 4 Ps Pork 8 10 Ps Beef 1 7 6 1 15 6 Turners Ware 2 Wood Bowls 1 10 £ 51 5 6	The pay list continued from the previous total of £597 13s 4d. Joseph Kendall, master of arms, £6 5s 0d James Sheridan, gardener, £10 0s 0d Robert John Clark, armourer, salary at £42 per annum, from 31 March, the day he was appointed, £1 7s 7d John Hughes, armourer's mate, salary at £36 per annum, from 31 March, the day he was appointed, £1 3s 8d William Oakman, carpenter, salary at £40 per annum, from 12 January to 31 March, the day he was dismissed, £10 13s 8d Thomas Lawrence, carpenter, salary at £50 per annum, from 31 March, the day he was appointed, £1 16s 4d Thomas Cheeseborough, carpenter's mate, salary at £30 per annum, from 31 March, the day he was appointed, £0 19s 8½d William Moss, steward, salary at £20 per annum, from 12 January to 27 February, the day he was dismissed, £2 6s 0d James Yeats, steward, salary at £20 per annum, from 27 February, the day he was appointed, £2 14s 0d James Corbett, cooper, £8 15s 0d William Davis, patron of the longboat, salary at £30 per annum, from 12 January to 26 February, the day he was dismissed, £3 15s 7d Thomas Smith, patron of the longboat, salary at £30 per annum, from 27 February, the day he was appointed, £3 14s 5d Thomas Beer, horsekeeper, £2 0s 0d Thomas Harper, marshal, £5 6s 5½d Michael Frost, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Total, £62 2s 5d First Company: John Clark, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d John Clark, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Clark, on account of instructing in the gun, £7 10s 0d Total, £37 3s 1½d Stephen Herbert, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Stephen Herbert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Stephen Herbert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Total first company, £94 8s 1½d Carried over, £754 3s 10½d Interpretations This part of the list ran through the tradesmen and the first military company, and here too the turnover was heavy, with the armourer, a carpenter, both stewards and both patrons of the longboat all either dismissed or appointed within the quarter and paid only for the days they served. The armourer and his mate, the incoming carpenter and the carpenter's mate all began on 31 March, which suggests a single reshuffle of the skilled trades at the very close of the quarter. The patron of the longboat was the man in charge of the largest of the island's boats, the craft that carried heavy cargo and passengers between ship and shore, a post of real responsibility given the want of any harbour and the difficulty of the landing.

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			John Clark drew £7 10s 0d beyond his lieutenant's pay for instructing in the gun, a payment for training the company in gunnery, which shows the Company buying artillery skill by a special allowance rather than relying on the ordinary military establishment to supply it.
22	15	1754 Garrison Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from the 12 January to the 11 April vizt Tea 7 lb ½ Bohea 2 4 ½ Oyl 81 Gd Lamp 10 19 4½ for the several Guards and Barracks Candy 6 lb for the Doctors shop 2 Beef 10 Ps 1 7 6 Rice 26 lb 1 8 for the Recruits of Grantham Brandy 14 ¾ Gd for Do and for Drams in Mustering 1 4 1 Deals 12 Doub for Cots for the Recruits 1 11 £ 17 16 2 Plantation Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from the 12 January to the 11 April vizt Nails vizt 4 6 2 6 6 4 2 4½ 3 2 1 9 1 3 5½ for Repairing Wheel Barrows and Repairs at the Gd Wood 7 1 Rice and Paddy vizt 53 Do Paddy 7 9½ 3 7 Rice 7 7 for Poultry and Stores 7 16 11 Oyl 3 Gallons Lamp for Tanning 1 4 Cordage 3 Ps for Shoes and Cow Ropes 9 9 Iron Ware vizt 6 Spades for the Plantation 18 6 2 Stock Locks for the Gd Wood 4 1 1 2 7 Lines 1 No 4 for the Masons 4½ Iron 18 lb for the Cocks and making Pickaxes 1 11 Earthenware 5 Milk Pans for the Dairy 3 4 Tar 1 ½ gallons for the Carts 10 Carried over £ 11 13 2½	The pay list continued from the previous total of £754 3s 10½d. Sergeants: Henry Beale, £7 12s 1d Solomon Jacobs, £7 12s 1d Thomas Brown, £7 12s 1d Total sergeants, £22 16s 3d Corporals: William Davis, £5 6s 5½d John Swift, £5 6s 5½d Humphrey Pugh, £5 6s 5½d Total corporals, £15 19s 4½d John Vaughan, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Sentinels: Andrew Armstrong, £3 16s 0½d George Bennet, £3 16s 0½d Augustine Balls, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Brown, £3 16s 0½d James Bamford, £3 16s 0½d John Bruch, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d Matthew Campbell, £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d Philip Coles, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d William Loaking, £3 16s 0½d William [...], from 12 January to 23 March, the day he was discharged, £2 18s 4d James Easthope, £3 16s 0½d John Ferris, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ferris, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d John Grainger, £3 16s 0½d John Graves, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d Carried over, £798 5s 11½d Interpretations The military pay ran by fixed rank rather than by individual bargaining, every sergeant drawing the same £7 12s 1d, every corporal and the drummer the same £5 6s 5½d, and each sentinel the same £3 16s 0½d for the full quarter. The uniformity marks the difference between the garrison and the civil establishment, where salaries varied widely from post to post, and it made the private soldier the cheapest servant on the island by a wide margin. Sentinels were the ordinary private soldiers who stood guard, the rank and file of the company, entered on the books at the lowest rate on the whole establishment. The two part-payments among them, John Bruch entertained on 31 March and an unnamed man discharged on 23 March, show that even the common soldiers were paid to the day when they joined or left mid-quarter. The drummer stood level with the corporals in pay, above the private sentinels, which reflects the working value of the drum in a garrison, since the beat carried orders, marked the watches and called the men to arms where the voice would not reach.
23	16	29th April Brought over £ 11 13 2½ Deals vizt 4 Single 7 11 3 Double	The pay list of sentinels continued from the previous total of £798 5s 11½d. Richard Hodson, £3 16s 0½d John Fowler, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 0½d Humphrey Harrison, £3 16s 0½d

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		9 3 for Repairs at the Gd Wood 2 Cutters for Carts 6 9 1 3 11 £ 12 17 1½ Fortification Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from the 12 January to the 11 April vizt Cart Wheels 6 Wheelbarrow Sides for repairs to the Wheel Barrows 10 Nails vizt 3 Do 1 8 1 4 4½ 13 6 4 7½ 4 20 1 3 for Repairs to Lemon Valley Guard House 7 11 Deals vizt 2 Cutters 6 9 1 Single Deal 1 11½ for Do 8 8½ Iron Ware vizt 1 Stock Lock for Lemon Valley Guard House 2 ½ 9 Shod Shovels 14 7½ 3 Ditching Do 13 6 1 10 2 Thread ½ Coloured 6 8 Bunting vizt 2 Ps Red 3 2 10 1 Ps 20 Yd White 1 13 8½ 32 ½ Yards Blue 18 11½ For making a Flag for the mains Fort 5 15 6 Lines 1 No 4 4½ Carried over £ 8 19 4	James Hendree, £3 16s 0½d William Hutchinson, £3 16s 0½d John Howard, £3 16s 0½d William Lamburn, £3 16s 0½d John Leg, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Low, £3 16s 0½d John Merrill, £3 16s 0½d James Mill, £3 16s 0½d John Marsh, £3 16s 0½d Bartholomew Malloy, £3 16s 0½d Nathaniel Mitchel, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d Thomas Martin, from the same, £0 10s 0d William Montgomery, from the same, £0 10s 0d John Charra, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Renton, £3 16s 0½d Edward Robinson, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d Charles Smith, £3 16s 0½d George Smith, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Stanborough, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d Thomas Tuffnell, £3 16s 0½d John Turner, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0½d Edward Webber, £3 16s 0½d John Williams, £3 16s 0½d John Walker, £3 16s 0½d Matthew Young, £3 16s 0½d Total, £180 6s 3d Carried over, £978 12s 2½d
24	17	1754 Brought over £ 8 19 4 Twine 1 lb 6½ Cordage 11 ¼ 2 9½ for the Flag £ 9 2 8 Boats Dr for the following Stores Ifsued for Repairs &c from the 12 January to the 11 April vizt Cordage 3 Ps 47 6 18 Deals 9 Single 17 10 Pitch 20 Turpentine 3 4 Oyl ¾ Gallon Train 2½	The pay list continued from the previous total of £978 12s 2½d. Second Company: Joseph Kendall, first lieutenant, salary at £91 5s per annum, from 12 January to 30 March, the day he was discharged, £19 15s 0d Joseph Kendall, diet money at £27 7s 6d per annum, from the same, £5 15s 6d Joseph Kendall, house rent at £10 per annum, from the same, £2 6s 3d Total, £27 16s 9d Onesiphorus Beale, first lieutenant, salary at £91 5s per annum, from 31 March, the day he was appointed, £3 1s 3d George Bray, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d George Bray, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Total, £55 19s 10d Sergeants:

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		Nails 1 lb $4\frac{1}{2}$ £ 8 1 7 Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued for the use of the Sick in the Infirmary from the 12 January to the 11 April vizt Sugar 12 lb 1 9 3 Flour 72 9 2 Salt 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ Bushels 3 9 Oyl 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Gallons Train 14 $2\frac{1}{2}$ Rice 7 lb 8 4 £ 3 4 $8\frac{1}{2}$	Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Michael Frost, £7 12s 1d William Watkins, £7 12s 1d Total sergeants, £22 16s 3d Corporals: Edward Walker, £5 6s $5\frac{1}{2}$d Erasmus Pearling, £5 6s $5\frac{1}{2}$d Thomas Scott, £5 6s $5\frac{1}{2}$d Total corporals, £15 19s $4\frac{1}{2}$d John Caffin, drummer, £5 6s $5\frac{1}{2}$d Sentinels: <i>Godfrey</i> Armbrister, from 28 March, the day he was entertained, £0 12s 6d Peter Barker, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d John Bourke, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d William Brooks, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d John Brown, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d William Barket, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d Carried over, £19 12s $8\frac{1}{2}$d Total, £1,078 14s 2d Interpretations The second company was headed by a lieutenant's post that changed hands within the quarter, Joseph Kendall discharged on 30 March and Onesiphorus Beale appointed on 31 March, each paid to the day for his part of the term. Kendall's salary ran at £91 5s a year, far above the £22 16s 3d of a sergeant, which shows the wide gap in the garrison between a commissioned officer and the men he commanded. The first lieutenant of the second company was paid at a markedly higher rate than the first lieutenant of the first company recorded earlier, John Clark having drawn a quarter's salary of £22 16s 3d against the £91 5s per annum set here, a difference that suggests the two companies were not of equal standing or that the posts carried unequal seniority. <i>Godfrey</i> Armbrister entered the ranks on 28 March, one of the several soldiers taken on in the last days of the quarter, and his part-payment of £0 12s 6d again shows the establishment reckoning even the lowest wage to the exact day of entry.
25	18	29th April The following delivered for Building the Plantation House vizi Lead 21 3 24 19 $7\frac{1}{2}$ Nails vizt 6 40 1 9 1 3 $3\frac{1}{2}$ 7 6 2 6 1 4 $4\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Glazing Brads 1 $6\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $7\frac{1}{2}$ Deals vizt 51 Single 5 $11\frac{1}{2}$ 3 Double 9 3 13 Ps Rigg Timber 1 4 $6\frac{1}{2}$ 6 14 9 Pitch 30 lb 4 $4\frac{1}{2}$ Oyl 1 Gallon Linseed 3 4 Paint 20 White Lead 6 10 £ 27 13 1 April 11 1754	The pay list of sentinels continued from the previous total of £19 12s $8\frac{1}{2}$d. George O'Brian, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d Robert Berry, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d George Beale, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d Robert Brown, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d John Bradley, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d Robert Baker, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d Daniel Cann, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d John Coskee, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d Thomas Clear, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d John Cripps, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d William Deaton, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d John Doe, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d John Dohlyn, from 23 March, the day he was entertained, £0 15s 0d Peter Egliston, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d Peter Fennell, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d John Fletcher, from 12 December to 23 March, the day he was discharged, £2 18s 4d Voltea Gordon, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d Charles Gibson, from 31 March to 11 April, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d John Hayes, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d Joseph Hayes, from 12 January to 23 March, the day he was discharged, £0 14s 2d James Hind, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d John Holloway, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d William Harris, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d John Hodson, £3 16s $0\frac{1}{2}$d William Harrison, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d

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		Errors Excepted (signed) M Purling Storekr	Archibald Pugh, £3 16s 0½d Total, £97 5s 0d Carried over, £1,078 14s 2d
26	19	1754 List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salaries Diet Money &c for the Quarter commencing January 12 and ending the 11 April 1754 vizt Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Salary 125 Do Allowance for Servants as usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 John Adamson Lieut Governor Salary 62 10 Do Diet Money 25 87 10 John Clark of Council Salary 15 John Goodwin Accountant Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 Do House Rent 2 10 35 Matthew Purling Storekeeper Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 32 10 Frances Wrangham Secretary Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 15 32 10 William Le Chaplain Salary 25 Do Diet Money 15 40 James Powell Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do Afsistant Storekeeper Do 5 Do House Rent 2 10 25 Thomas French Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 10 20 Carried over £ 444 1 9	The pay list of sentinels continued from the previous total of £97 5s 0d. Thomas Pearce, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d Thomas Jackson, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kitson, £3 16s 0½d Christian Mouse, £3 16s 0½d William Mudge, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Orr, from 1 February, the day he was entertained, £2 6s 8d John Robinson, from 12 December to 11 April, the day he was entertained, £3 10s 10d John Simmons, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Streatan, from 12 December to 23 March, the day he was discharged, £3 0s 10d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 0½d John Stange, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d James Trister, £3 16s 0½d Richard Swait, £3 16s 0½d William Swaite, £3 16s 0½d William Thompson, £3 16s 0½d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Wywill, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0½d John Williams, £3 16s 0½d John Wapington, from 28 March, the day he was entertained, £1 2s 6d Total sentinels, £172 18s 6½d Third Company: Thomas Easthope, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 0d Thomas Easthope, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Easthope, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d Carried over, £1,283 15s 10d
27	20	29th April Brought over £ 444 4 9 Matthew Bazett Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 10 20 William Wrangham Writer Salary 5 Do Diet Money 10	The pay list continued from the previous total of £1,283 15s 10d. Onesiphorus Beale, second lieutenant, salary at £73 per annum, from 12 January to 30 March, the day he was appointed first lieutenant in the room of Mr Kendall, £15 12s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Onesiphorus Beale, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £24 18s 10½d James Prince, second lieutenant, salary at £73 per annum, from 31 March, £2 4s 0d James Prince, diet money, from the same, £1 6s 6d Total, £3 10s 6d

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		15 Sam Salkeer Surgeon Salary a 50 pr Annum from the 12 January Incl to the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was diomised 8 15 8 Do Diet Money a £40 pr Ann from do 8 13 1½ Do House Rent a £10 Do from do 2 3 3 19 12 ½ John Inglis Surgeons Mate Salary a 20 pr Ann from the 12 December Incl to the 31 Mar Incl 4 6 6 Do as Surgeon from the 1 April Incl the Day he was appointed 19 4 Do Diet Money 11 5 16 10 10 Thomas Evans Surgeons Mate Salary a £20 pr Annum from the 1 April Incl the Day he was appointed 13 6 Do Diet Money a £ 45 pr Annum from do 1 7 1 2 7 Richard Curling John Twort Overseers 15 Richard Beale Schoolmaster Salary 3 8 3 Do as Clerk 5 8 8 3 John Bland Master Mason Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 1 10 29 Mark Hawkins Mason Salary 12 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 1 20 6 10½ Carried over £ 597 15 4	Total, £60 2s 6d Sergeants: John Leech, £7 12s 1d William Pendree, £7 12s 1d Charles Staples, £7 12s 1d Total sergeants, £22 16s 3d Corporals: William Shefford, £3 16s 0½d William Langhorn, £3 16s 0½d John Bridgewater, from 12 January to 28 March, as sentinel, £3 3s 4d John Bridgewater, from 29 March, as corporal, £0 19s 9½d Total, £14 1s 1½d John Clugh, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Sentinels: William Adams, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Bastick, £3 16s 0½d William Bonefeld, £3 16s 0½d William Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Ballard, £3 16s 0½d John Barker, £3 16s 0½d Dixon Craft, £3 16s 0½d James Carmichael, £3 16s 0½d John Coserot, £3 16s 0½d Bacon Delife, £3 16s 0½d Total, £38 0s 5d Carried over, £1,354 11s 11½d Interpretations The third company's officers followed the same pattern of movement seen in the other two, with Onesiphorus Beale rising from second lieutenant here to first lieutenant of the second company in the room of Joseph Kendall on 30 March, and James Prince coming in below him on 31 March. The chain of promotions, one man's advance opening the place another stepped into, shows how a single vacancy at the top rippled down through the ranks and dated the pay of several men to the same few days. The corporal John Bridgewater was paid in two parts, as a sentinel to 28 March and as a corporal from 29 March, the entry catching a private soldier's promotion within the quarter and the small rise in daily pay that came with the step from the ranks to a non-commissioned rank. James Prince entered as second lieutenant at £73 a year, a lower rate than the £91 5s set for the first lieutenant of the same company, which fixes the pay differential between the two commissioned grades and shows the ladder of advancement that made a vacancy above worth the waiting.
28	21	1754 Brought over £ 597 13 4 Joseph Kendall Master of Arms 6 5 James Sheridan Gardener 10 Robert John Clark Armourer Salary a £42 pr Ann from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was appointed 1 7 7 John Huges Armourers Mate Salary a £36 pr Ann from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was appointed 1 3 8 William Oakman Carpenter Salary a £40 pr Ann from the 12 Jan Incl to the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was dismissed 10 13 8 Thomas Lawrence Carpr Salary a £50 pr Annum from the 31 March Incl the Day he was appointed 1 16 4 Thomas Cheeseborough Carpr Mate Salary a £30 pr Ann from the 31 Mar Incl the day he was appointed 19 8½ William Moss Steward Salary a £20 pr Ann from the 12 Jan Incl to the 27 Feb Incl the Day he was dismissed	The pay list of sentinels continued from the previous total of £38 0s 5d. John Earle, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 0½d John Green, £3 16s 0½d John Gould, £3 16s 0½d Edward Grant, from 12 January to 28 March, as corporal, £4 8s 8d Edward Grant, from 29 March, as sentinel, £0 12s 6d Total, £5 1s 1½d Jonathan Hitchins, £3 16s 0½d William Hurlock, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hyat, £3 16s 0½d William Hays, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Joel, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d Thomas Hendrick, £3 16s 0½d Richard Hughs, £3 16s 0½d John Henry, £3 16s 0½d John Langbridge, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lawrance, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Linday, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Loveland, £3 16s 0½d

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		2 6 James Yeats Steward Salary a £20 pr Ann from the 28 Mar Incl the Day he was Appointed 2 14 James Forbell Cooper 8 15 William Davis Patron of the Long Boat Salary a £30 pr Annum from the 12 Jan Incl to the 26 Feb Incl the Day he was dismissed 3 15 7 Thomas Smith Patron of the Long Boat Salary a £30 pr Annum from the 27 Feb Incl the Day he was appointed 3 14 5 Thomas Bever Horse keeper 2 Thomas Harper Marshel 5 6 5½ Michael Frost Clock and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 62 2 5 First Company John Clark 1 Lieut Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do on Account of Instructing y Gun 7 10 37 3 1½ Stephen Herbert 2 Lieut Salary 18 5 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ 94 8 1½ Carried over £ 754 3 10½	John McCoy, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d Charles Montague, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Mordan, £3 16s 0½d Richard McNolly, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Oliver, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Payne, £3 16s 0½d John Prewater, £3 16s 0½d John Parker, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d David Roth, £3 16s 0½d Robert Rack, £3 16s 0½d Total, £150 0s 11½d Carried over, £1,354 11s 11½d Interpretations Edward Grant appears reduced from corporal to sentinel within the quarter, paid as a corporal to 28 March and as a private from 29 March, the reverse of the promotions seen elsewhere on the list. The entry catches a demotion in the ranks, the drop in daily pay setting down in figures a loss of standing that the record notes without explanation. Grant's reduction fell on the same day, 29 March, that John Bridgewater rose from sentinel to corporal in the same company, so the one man stepped down into the place the other stepped up from. The paired entries suggest a single exchange of rank between two soldiers rather than two unrelated changes, one demoted as the other was advanced to fill the corporal's place.
29	22	29th April Brought over £ 754 3 10½ Sergeants Henry Beale 7 12 1 Solomon Jacobs 7 12 1 Thomas Brown 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals William Davis 5 6 5½ John Swift 5 6 5½ Humphrey Pugh 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ John Vaughan Drummers 5 6 5½ Centinels Andrew Armstrong 3 16 ½ George Bennet 3 16 ½ Augustine Balls 3 16 ½ Thomas Brown 3 16 ½ James Banford 3 16 ½ John Bruch from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 10 Matthew Campbell 3 16 ½ James Cartwright	The pay list of sentinels continued from the previous total of £150 0s 11½d. Adam Seet, £3 16s 0½d John Shortly, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d Nicholas Grafton, from the same, £0 10s 0d Christian Gyer, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Thompson, £3 16s 0½d William Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Swaite, £3 16s 0½d James Thompson, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d Richard Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0½d Roger Witman, £3 16s 0½d Total sentinels, £181 19s 3½d Fourth Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Thomas Kirkpatrick, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d William Kennedy, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d William Kennedy, diet money, £6 16s 10½d William Kennedy, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Total, £59 15s 0d Sergeants: William Oakman, £7 12s 1d John Walker, £7 12s 1d William Paddam, £7 12s 1d Total sergeants, £22 16s 3d Corporals: William Buxton, £5 6s 5½d Alexander Hamilton, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Basett, £5 6s 5½d

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		3 16 ½ Philip Cules 3 16 ½ George Capeling 3 16 ½ William Cocking 3 16 ½ William Cruzer from the 12 Jan Incl to the 22 Mar Incl the Day he was Discharged 2 18 4 James Easthope 3 16 ½ John Ferris 3 16 ½ Thomas Farris 3 16 ½ George Green 3 16 ½ John Granger 3 16 ½ John Graves 3 16 ½ Richard Goulding 3 16 ½ Centinels Carried over £ Carried over £ 798 5 11½	Total corporals, £15 19s 4½d Gilbert Clough, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Carried over, £1,640 8s 4d
30	23	1754 Brought over £ 798 5 11½ Centinels brought over £ Richard Hodson 3 16 ½ John Fowler 3 16 ½ Thomas Hailes 3 16 ½ Humphrey Harrison 3 16 ½ Jame Hendree 3 16 ½ William Hutchinson 3 16 ½ John Howard 3 16 ½ William Lambourn 3 16 ½ John Leg 3 16 ½ Joseph Low 3 16 ½ John Merrill 3 16 ½ James Mille 3 16 ½ John Marsh 3 16 ½ Bartholomew Malloy 3 16 ½ Nathaniel Mitchel from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 10 Thomas Marha from Do 10 William Montgomery from Do 10 John Charra 3 16 ½ James Richardson 3 16 ½ Joseph Renton 3 16 ½ Edward Robinson 3 16 ½ John Scotcher 3 16 ½ John Shaw	The pay list of sentinels continued from the previous total of £1,640 8s 4d. John Allis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Allis, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Beard, £3 16s 0½d John Barden, £3 16s 0½d Matthew Bazett, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Beddoes, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Buck, £3 16s 0½d Walter Bell, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d James Bell, from the same, £0 10s 0d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 0½d William Caped, £3 16s 0½d William Cannam, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Chively, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Diepenaird, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Estes, £3 16s 0½d Aaron Frazier, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Fowkes, £3 16s 0½d John Frazier, from 29 March, the day he was entertained, £0 13s 4d Jonathan Gorby, £3 16s 0½d James Green, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Gaudon, £3 16s 0½d James Hall, £3 16s 0½d John Harley, £3 16s 0½d Philip Hickman, £3 16s 0½d Job Harrison, £3 16s 0½d William Hays, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hudson, £3 16s 0½d William Hinds, £3 16s 0½d Total sentinels, £97 4s 4½d Carried over, £1,640 8s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 ½ Charles Smith 3 16 ½ George Smith Samuel Starborough from the 31 March Incl the Day he was Entertained 10 Thomas Tuffnell 3 16 ½ John Turner 3 16 ½ Thomas Williams 3 16 ½ Edward Webber 3 16 ½ John Williams 3 16 ½ John Walker 3 16 ½ Matthew Young 180 6 3 Carried over £ 978 12 2½	
31	24	29th April Brought over £ 978 12 2½ Second Company Joseph Kendall 1 Lieut Salary a £91 pr Ann from the 12 Jan Incl to the 30 Mar Incl the Day he was discharged 19 15 Do Diet Money a £77 6 pr Ann from Do 5 15 6 Do House Rent a £10 pr Ann from Do 2 6 3 27 16 9 Onesiphorus Beale 2 Lieut Salary a £91 5 pr Ann from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was appointed 3 1 3 George Ray 2 Lieut Salary £18 5 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ 55 19 10 2 Sergeants Robt Mason 7 12 1 Michael Twort 7 12 1 William Watkins 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Edward Walker 5 6 5½ Erasmus Purling 5 6 5½ Thomas Scott 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ John Caffin Drummer 5 6 5½ Centinels Godfrey Armbrister from the 28 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 12 6 Peter Barker 3 16 ½ John Bourke 3 16 ½ William Brooks 3 16 ½ John Brown 3 16 ½ William Bucket 3 16 ½ Centinels carried over £	The pay list of sentinels continued from the previous total of £97 4s 4½d. George Kiblett, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Leech, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 10s 0d Peter Lindsey, £3 16s 0½d William Lindsey, £3 16s 0½d John Language, £3 16s 0½d Moses Renanteau, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClaraen, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pemberton, £3 16s 0½d Edward Richards, £3 16s 0½d Lewis Rowe, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Lapery, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Sergeant, £3 16s 0½d Charles Stokes, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Sullivan, £3 16s 0½d David Terry, £3 16s 0½d Edward Terry, £3 16s 0½d John Thomason, £3 16s 0½d John Till, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0½d William Wittenham, £3 16s 0½d Total sentinels, £177 11s 3d Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, master gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d Thomas Hall, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Hall, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d Carried over, £1,850 2s 8½d Interpretations The artillery company was headed not by a lieutenant but by a master gunner, Thomas Hall, paid at the same rate of £22 16s 3d salary that the infantry lieutenants drew, with the like additions for diet and house rent. The parity of pay marks the standing of the gunner's skill on a fortified island whose defence rested on its batteries, the man who served the guns ranking with those who commanded the foot. The name Benjamin Williams recurs here among the sentinels of the artillery company, a second man of that name on the establishment distinct from the sentinel of the fourth company listed earlier, which shows how common names produced more than one soldier alike on the books and why each was pinned to his company to be told apart.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		19 12 8½ Carried over £ 1078 14 2	
32	25	1754 Brought over £ 1078 14 2 Centinels brought over 19 12 8½ George O Bruan 3 16 ½ Robt Berry 3 16 ½ George Beale 3 16 ½ John Bradley 3 16 ½ Robert Baker from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was entertained 10 Daniel Cann 3 16 ½ John Cosker 3 16 ½ Thomas Clear 3 16 ½ John Cripps from the 31 March Incl the Day he was Entertained 10 William Dowton 3 16 ½ John Dove 3 16 ½ John Dohlyn from the 25 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 15 Peter Egliston 3 16 ½ Peter Fevell 3 16 ½ John Fletcher from the 12 Dec Incl to the 22 Mar Incl the Day he was discharged 2 18 4 Voleau Gordon 3 16 ½ Charles Gibson from the 31 Mar Incl to the 11 Apl Incl the Day he was entertained 10 John Hayes 3 16 ½ Joseph Hayes from the 12 Jan Incl to the 28 Incl the Day he was discharged 14 2 James Hind 3 16 ½ John Holloway 3 16 ½ William Harris 3 16 ½ John Hodson 3 16 ½ William Harrison from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 10 Archibald Prage 3 16 ½ Centinels carried over £ 97 5 Carried over £ 1078 14 2	The pay list continued from the previous total of £1,850 2s 8½d. Gunnery's Mates: Nathan Wemple, chief mate, salary, £11 3s 1½d Isaac Leech, £9 2s 6d William Turner, £9 2s 6d John Witchurch, £9 2s 6d Henry Carter, £9 2s 6d Charles McCauley, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis, £9 2s 6d Richard Billington, from 12 December to 19 March, as quarter gunner, £6 12s 0d Richard Billington, from 20 March, as gunner's mate, £2 6s 6d Total, £8 18s 6d Total gunners' mates, £73 1s 7½d Quarter Gunners: Adam Watson, £6 16s 10½d John Spencer, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Willingham, £6 16s 10½d John Jacks, £6 16s 10½d Peter Marchel, £6 16s 10½d James Lee, £6 16s 10½d James Long, £6 16s 10½d Darby Coyler, from 12 December to 19 March, as mattross, £6 0s 8d Darby Coyler, from 20 March, as quarter gunner, £0 11s 10½d Total, £6 12s 10½d Total quarter gunners, £54 11s 0d Mattrosses: Abraham Alger, £4 11s 3d John Attensdall, from 12 January to 19 March, as quarter gunner, £5 16s 0d John Attensdall, from 20 March, as mattross, £0 19s 3d Total, £4 19s 3d Joseph Boswell, £4 11s 3d Andrew Baxter, £4 11s 3d Christian Branch, £4 11s 3d John Coudray, £4 11s 3d William Campbell, £4 11s 3d Interpretations The artillery was ranked in its own descending order below the master gunner, from gunners' mates through quarter gunners to mattrosses, each grade fixed at its own rate as the infantry grades were, with the chief mate paid above the ordinary mates. The structure shows a settled artillery establishment graded by skill and responsibility, a permanent body of trained men to work the guns rather than soldiers turned to the batteries as need arose. A mattross was the lowest rank of the artillery, a gunner's assistant who helped load, sponge and haul the guns and served as a private soldier when not at the ordnance, ranking to the artillery as the sentinel did to the foot. Two men changed grade on 20 March, Richard Billington moving up from quarter gunner to gunner's mate and Darby Coyler up from mattross to quarter gunner, while John Attensdall moved the other way from quarter gunner down to mattross on the same date. The shared day again marks a single rearrangement of the artillery ranks, one advance and one reduction taking effect together as places were shifted among the trained gunners.
33	26	29th April Brought over £ 1078 14 2 Centinels brought over £ 97 5 Thomas Pearce from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was entertained	The pay list of mattrosses continued from the previous total of £32 9s 6d. James Cooper, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 12s 0d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		10 Thomas Jackson 3 16 ½ Samuel Jettson 3 16 ½ Christian Mouse 3 16 ½ William Mudge 3 16 ½ Stephen Orr from the 1 Feb Incl the Day he was entertained 2 6 8 John Robinson from the 12 Dec Incl to the 11 April Incl the Day he was entertained 3 10 10 John Simmons 3 16 ½ Thomas Streatan from the 12 Dec Incl to the 25 March Incl the Day he was discharged 10 Joseph Smith 3 16 ½ John Stange 3 16 ½ Thomas Taylor 3 16 ½ James Trestor 3 16 ½ Richard Swait 3 16 ½ William Swaite 3 16 ½ William Thompson 3 16 ½ William Taylor 3 16 ½ Stephen Willoughby 3 16 ½ Jeremiah Wyvill 3 16 ½ Thomas Wansell 3 16 ½ John Williams 3 16 ½ John Wefington from the 28 Mar Incl the Day he was entertained 12 6 172 18 6½ Third Company Thomas Easthope 1 Lieut Salary a £22 16 14 13 6½ Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 32 3 1½ 32 3 1½ Carried over £ 1283 15 10	William Fletcher, from 27 March, the day he was entertained, £0 16s 0d John Hastings, from 31 March, the day he was entertained, £0 12s 0d Philip Hilliard, £4 11s 3d William Hays, £4 11s 3d Richard Noyce, £4 11s 3d Adam Melborn, £4 11s 3d Thomas Mason, £4 11s 3d Thomas Mudge, £4 11s 3d Roger Newman, £4 11s 3d John Peters, from 12 January to 28 March, the day he was discharged, £3 16s 0d William Perry, £4 11s 3d Abraham Ratleff, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d Total mattresses, £88 6s 6d Superannuated: William Burnham, sergeant, £3 8s 3d Total, £2,071 10s 1d Interpretations The pay list closed with a single superannuated man, William Burnham, a sergeant kept on the books at a reduced £3 8s 3d after his active service had ended. The provision shows the Company carrying a worn-out soldier at a pension rather than turning him off, a modest recognition of long service on a station where a discharged man had no easy passage home and little means of support. The whole establishment came to £2,071 10s 1d for the quarter, the sum of the civil officers, the tradesmen, the four infantry companies and the artillery together. The figure sets the standing cost of holding St Helena, the great bulk of it falling on the garrison, which shows how much the island's value as a fortified station of call was paid for in the wages of the men who manned it.
34	27	1754 Brought over £ 1283 15 10 Onesiphorus Beale 2 Lieut Salary a £73 pr Annum from the 12 Jan Incl to the 30 Mar Incl the Day he was appointed 1 Lieut in y Room of Mr Kendall 13 12 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 24 18 10½ Sam Price 2 Lieut Salary a £73 pr Ann from the 31 Mar Incl 2 4 Do Diet Money from Do 16 6	This is the paymaster's account of John Clark. 11 April 1754, to cash from the Honourable Company's cash chest, £2,571 4s 8d Carried over, £2,571 4s 8d Interpretations The paymaster's account opened with a single receipt, the whole sum of £2,571 4s 8d drawn at once from the Company's cash chest on 11 April 1754 to meet the quarter's wages and charges. The lump withdrawal shows how the establishment was funded, the money held in a common chest and issued to the paymaster in a block against which he would then discharge the individual claims, so the cash chest stood as the single source from which the island's whole payroll flowed.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 6 60 2 6 Sergeants John Stock 7 12 1 William Pendree 7 12 1 Charles Suples 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals William Shilford William Langhorn John Bridgwater from 12 Jan Incl to the 28 Mar Incl as Centinel 3 3 4 Do from the 29 Incl as Corporal 17 9½ 4 1 1½ 14 14 John Clugh Drummer 5 6 Centinels William Adams 3 16 ½ Joseph Bastick 3 16 ½ William Bonsfeld 3 16 ½ William Brown 3 16 ½ Robert Ballard 3 16 ½ John Barker 3 16 ½ Dixon Craft 3 16 ½ James Carmichrel 3 16 ½ John Cazrol 3 16 ½ Baron Delife Centinels carried over £ 38 5 Carried over £ 1354 11 11½	
35	28	29th April Brought over £ 1354 11 11½ Centinels brought over £ 38 5 John Earle 3 16 ½ Thomas Fuller 3 16 ½ John Grum 3 16 ½ John Gould 3 16 ½ Edward Grant from the 12 Jan Incl to the 28 Mar Incl as Corporal 4 8 8 Do from the 29 Incl as Centinel 12 5½ 5 1 1½ Jonathan Hitchins 3 16 ½ William Hurlock 3 16 ½ Thomas Hyat 3 16 ½ William Hays 3 16 ½ Isaac Joel from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 10 Thomas Hendrick	These are the payments set against the paymaster's account. On 15 January 1754 cash was paid to Captain William Hutchinson for the balance of the <i>Dolphin's</i> account, £47 18s 6d. On 16 January 1754 payment was made for the following particulars. 12 currants, £15 0s 0d 13 tamarins, £0 8s 8d 3 goglets, £0 9s 0d Total, £1 12s 8d On 17 January 1754 John Robinson was paid for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years, to begin from that day, £2 10s 0d. On 20 February 1754 Captain Thomas Wroter was paid for 23 [...] 1s 6d rice at 8s per hundred, for the use of the Honourable Company, £9 6s 0d. On 22 March 1754 the following persons were paid for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company as soldiers for five years, to begin from that day. Samuel Sutton, £10 0s 0d William Brebet, £10 0s 0d Thomas Payes, £10 0s 0d William Lamburn, £10 0s 0d John Marsh, £10 0s 0d Abram Major, £10 0s 0d Bartholomew Malloy, £10 0s 0d Total, £80 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 ½ Richard Hughs 3 16 ½ John Henry 3 16 ½ John Langbridge 3 16 ½ Thomas Lawrance 3 16 ½ Thomas Lindsay 3 16 ½ Thomas Loveland 3 16 ½ John McCoy 3 16 ½ Abraham Major 3 16 ½ Charles Montague 3 16 ½ Thomas Morris 3 16 ½ Anthony Morton 3 16 ½ Richard McNelly 3 16 ½ Thomas Oliver 3 16 ½ Thomas Payne 3 16 ½ John Prewater 3 16 ½ John Parker 3 16 ½ William Robinson 3 16 ½ David Stott 3 16 ½ Robert Stack 3 16 ½ Centinels carried over £ 150 11½ Carried over £ 1354 11 1½	On the same day cash was paid to Captain John Nanfan for the balance of the ship's captain's account current, £75 4s 2d. On 29 [...] Captain Francis Fowler was paid for 55 [...] 2s 2d rice at 10s per hundred, for the use of the Honourable Company, £27 7s 0d. On the same day payment was made for spices for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £1 10s 0d. Cash was paid to Captain William Wilson for the balance of the ship's captain's account, £23 1s 2d. Total, £303 13s 6d Carried over, £303 13s 6d Interpretations The enlistment payments show how the garrison was kept up to strength, a bounty of £10 paid to each man who bound himself to serve five years as a soldier, seven such men taken on together on 22 March 1754. The sum was a real inducement, far more than a private's quarterly pay, which shows the Company buying recruits with a lump payment on a station where men were hard to come by and desertion easy to imagine. The account also records the island buying rice from passing ships' captains by the hundredweight, at 8s and later 10s the hundred, which fixes the price the settlement paid for the grain that fed its people and its slaves and shows the store replenishing its stock direct from the vessels that called. The balances paid to the captains of the <i>Dolphin</i> and other ships settled the running accounts between the island and the vessels that touched there, the sums owed for goods and services exchanged during their stay, which shows the constant reckoning between the fixed establishment ashore and the shipping that was its lifeline. Speculations The Company paid a flat £10 bounty to bind each recruit for a full five years rather than hiring men by shorter or cheaper terms as need arose. The record shows why the long engagement was worth the outlay: a soldier brought out to St Helena was months from home and costly to replace, so tying him down for five years at a single fixed payment secured the garrison against the turnover that the pay list itself shows running through every rank quarter by quarter.
36	29	1754 Brought over £ 1354 11 1½ Centinels brought over £ 150 11½ Adam Sett 3 16 ½ John Shortis from 31 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 10 Nicholas Serafton from Do 10 Christian Syder 3 16 ½ Joseph Thompson 3 16 ½ William Thompson 3 16 ½ Benjamin Twaite 3 16 ½ James Thompson from 31 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 10 Richard Vaughan 3 16 ½ Benjamin Williams 3 16 ½ Roger Witman 181 19 3½ Fourth Company Thomas Kirkpatrick 1 Lieut Salary a £22 16 3½	This is the paymaster's account of John Clark. 11 April 1754, brought over, £2,571 4s 8d Total, £2,571 4s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		14 13 6½ Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 32 3 1½ William Kennedy 2 Lieut Salary 18 5 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ 59 15 Sergeants William Oakman 7 12 1 John Wilder 7 12 1 William Paddam 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals William Buinter 5 6 5½ Alexander Hamilton 5 6 5½ Thomas Basett 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Gilbert Clough Drummer 5 6 5½ Carried over £ 1640 8 4	
37	30	29th April Brought over £ 1640 8 4 Centinels John Allis 3 16 ½ Edward Allis 3 16 ½ Thomas Braced 3 16 ½ John Barden 3 16 ½ Matthew Bazett 3 16 ½ Thomas Beddoes 3 16 ½ Isaac Buck 3 16 ½ Walter Bell from the 31 Mar Inclusive the Day he was entertained 10 James Bell from Do 10 Edward Cooker 3 16 ½ William Caped 3 16 ½ William Cannam 3 16 ½ Stephen Chively from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 10 Isaac Day 3 16 ½ Samuel Difsonnaird 3 16 ½ Samuel Estes 3 16 ½ Anania Frazier 3 16 ½ Daniel Fowkes 3 16 ½ John Frazier from the 31 Mar Inclusive the	These are the payments set against the paymaster's account, continued from the previous total of £303 13s 6d. On 23 March 1754 John Dohlyn was paid for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years, to begin from that day, £5 0s 0d. On 28 March 1754 Thomas Wapington was paid for the same, £5 0s 0d. On the same day <i>Godfrey</i> Armbrister was paid for the same, £5 0s 0d. On the same day cash was paid to Captain Thomas Bethick for the balance of the ship's captain's account current, £36 8s 0d. On 11 April 1754 payment was made to sundry persons for coming express with account of ships to windward, and for a quarter, £4 0s 0d. On the same day Daniel Fowkes was paid the balance of his salary for attending in the Long Wood, £2 0s 0d. On the same day Jonathan Hitchins was paid for carpenter's work done for the Honourable Company in this quarter, £3 0s 0d. On the same day Philip Coles was paid for fish for the Honourable Company's slaves, there not being salt provisions sufficient in their stores to serve them as usual, £1 17s 6d. On the same day Edward Terry, George Beale and William Thompson were paid for work done in the smith's shop for the Honourable Company in this quarter, £9 13s 2d. On the same day William Hurlock and James Carmichael were paid for baking 31 batches of bread for the garrison at 1s 6d per batch in this quarter, £2 3s 4d. On the same day Hays was paid the balance for making a flag for the mains, £1 10s 0d. On the same day payment was made to sundry persons for work done at the Honourable Company's fortifications at Rupert's Valley, Lemon Valley and other places in this quarter, £82 17s 6d.

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		Day he was Entertained 13 4 Jonathan Gorby 3 16 ½ James Green 3 16 ½ Thomas Gawdon 3 16 ½ James Hall 3 16 ½ John Harly 3 16 ½ Philip Hickman 3 16 ½ Job Harrison 3 16 ½ William Hays 3 16 ½ Thomas Hudson 3 16 ½ William Hinds 3 16 ½ Centinels carried over £ 97 4½ Carried over £ 1640 8 4	On the same day 'Thomas Mason, mason, was paid for 18 days' work at 1s 6d per day for the Honourable Company in this quarter, £1 7s 0d. Total, £161 16s 6d Carried over, £465 10s 0d Interpretations The fortification works stood out as by far the largest single charge at £82 17s 6d, paid to sundry hands for labour at Rupert's Valley, Lemon Valley and other places over the quarter. The scale of the outlay shows how much of the island's spending went on keeping its defences in repair, the batteries at the landing places demanding constant work that fell to paid labour beyond the regular establishment. Philip Coles was paid for fish bought to feed the Company's slaves because the salt provisions in store had run short of what was needed to keep them as usual, a note that shows the narrow margin on which the settlement's food supply ran. When the imported salt meat failed, fresh fish had to be bought in to make up the slaves' ration, the shortfall met from the market rather than the store. Rupert's Valley, like Lemon Valley, was one of the coastal openings where a landing might be attempted, so both were fortified and both drew labour for their upkeep, which marks the island's defence as a matter of guarding the few points where the sea gave access to the shore. The payments to the smiths and bakers show the settlement buying in skilled work by the piece, the bread baked by the batch at 1s 6d and the smith's work done as a job, which reveals a fortified station meeting its needs through a mix of salaried servants and paid tradesmen hired for particular tasks. Speculations The paymaster bought fresh fish in the market to feed the Company's slaves rather than simply issuing more from the store, the obvious first recourse. The record shows why that course was closed: the salt provisions in the stores had fallen short of what was needed to serve the slaves as usual, so with the ordinary ration exhausted the paymaster had to go outside the store and pay for fish to make up the shortfall.
38	31	1754 Brought Over £ 1640 8 4 Centinels brought over £ 97 4½ George Kiblett 3 16 ½ Thomas Leech from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 10 Peter Lindsey 3 16 ½ William Lindsey 3 16 ½ John Language 3 16 ½ Moses Renanteau 3 16 ½ Duncan McClaraen 3 16 ½ Thomas Pemberton 3 16 ½ Edward Richards 3 16 ½ Lewis Rowe 3 16 ½ Arnold Lavery 3 16 ½ Daniel Sergeant 3 16 ½ Charles Stokes 3 16 ½	This is the paymaster's account of John Clark. 11 April 1754, brought over, £2,571 4s 8d Total, £2,571 4s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Timothy Sullivan 3 16 ½ David Terry 3 16 ½ Edward Terry 3 16 ½ John Thomason 3 16 ½ John Till 3 16 ½ Thomas Taylor 3 16 ½ Joseph Uffin 3 16 ½ Benjamin Williams 3 16 ½ William Wittenham 177 11 3 Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 32 3 1½ Carried over £ 1850 2 8½	
39	32	29th April Brought Over £ 1850 2 8½ Gunners Mates Nathan Wample Chief Mate Salary 11 8 1½ Isaac Leech 9 2 6 William Turner 9 2 6 John Witchurch 9 2 6 Henry Carter 9 2 6 Charles McCauley 9 2 6 Rowland Davis 9 2 6 Richard Billington from the 12 Jan Incl to the 18 Incl as Quarter Gunner 16 12 Do from the 19 Incl as Gunners Mate 8 6 6 8 18 6 72 1 7½ Quarter Gunners Adam Watson 6 16 10½ John Spencer 6 16 10½ Thomas Willingham 6 16 10½ John Jacks 6 16 10½ Peter Marchel 6 16 10½ James Lee 6 16 10½ James Long 6 16 10½ Darby Coglea from the 12 Jan Incl to the 19 Incl as Mattross 4 8 Do from the 20 Incl as Quarter Gunner 6 4 10½ 6 12 10½ 54 11 Mattrosses Abraham Aspin	These are the payments set against the paymaster's account, continued from the previous total of £465 10s 0d. On 11 April 1754 cash was paid to Captain Coles for the following particulars, for the use of the Honourable Company. 2 white beer, £0 8s 0d 2 half Lisbon bottles, £0 8s 0d 23 currants, £1 2s 0d 12 jar raisins, £0 18s 0d 16 anchovies, £1 13s 4d 3 jars capers, £0 12s 0d 8 bottles mustard, £0 16s 0d 2 bushels split peas, £0 11s 0d 3 Gloucester cheese, 36 pounds, £0 9s 0d 1 Cheshire cheese, 21 [...], £0 9s 0d Total, £19 12s 4d On the same day payment was made to sundry persons for rowing in the yawl and going in the longboat to convey pay to fetch Lewis in this quarter, £6 9s 2d. On the same day Samuel Skinner, surgeon, was paid for his trouble in providing the hospital with fresh provisions for six months, beginning from 13 October 1753 and ending 11 April 1754, at £8 per annum, £4 0s 0d. On the same day Richard Bagley was paid for 1,600 lemons at 2s per hundred and 3 bushels potatoes at 3s per bushel, for the use of the Honourable Company's table in this quarter, £2 11s 8d. On the same day Samuel Estes was paid for three days' work in whitewashing the ceilings of the sentinel and gunner's house at 2s per day in this quarter, £0 6s 0d. Total, £378 7s 0d Carried over, £19 8s 10d Interpretations The surgeon Samuel Skinner was paid a separate allowance of £8 a year for his trouble in keeping the hospital supplied with fresh provisions, over and above his salary, which shows the Company treating the sourcing of fresh food for the sick as a distinct duty worth its own payment. His engagement ran to 11 April 1754, the very day he was dismissed as recorded on the pay list, so this settled his last charge before he left the post. The luxuries bought from Captain Coles, anchovies, capers, mustard, raisins and fine cheeses,

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		4 11 3 John Askinstall from the 12 Jan Incl to the 19 Incl as Quarter Gunner 16 Do from the 20 Incl as Mattross 4 3 3 4 19 3 Joseph Boswell 4 11 3 Andrew Baxter 4 11 3 Christian Branch 4 11 3 John Cawdrey 4 11 3 William Campbell 4 11 3	were table delicacies for the Company's officers rather than common stores, which shows the establishment maintaining a certain standard at its own table even on a remote island, the finer goods bought in from passing ships when they could be had. The payments for lemons and fresh vegetables point to the island's guard against scurvy, the citrus and greens bought in quantity for the table being the known remedy against the disease that afflicted long voyages, so the settlement kept up a supply that both fed its officers and preserved their health.
40	33	1754 Brought over £ 1979 15 4 Mattrosses brought over £ 32 9 6 James Cooper from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 12 Anthony Day 4 11 3 William Fletcher from the 27 Mar Incl the Day he was entertained 16 John Hastings from the 31 Mar Incl the Day he was Entertained 12 Philip Hilliard 4 11 3 William Hays 4 4 11 3 Richard Noyce 4 11 3 Adam Melborn 4 11 3 Thomas Mason 4 11 3 Thomas Mudge 4 11 3 Roger Newnson 4 11 3 John Peters from the 12 January Incl to the 28 Mar Incl the Day he was discharged 3 16 William Perry 4 11 3 Abraham Ratlefs 4 11 3 Thomas Watts 4 11 3 88 6 6 Superannuated William Burnham Sergeant 3 8 3 £ 2071 10 1	This is the paymaster's account of John Clark. 11 April 1754, brought over, £2,571 4s 8d Total, £2,571 4s 8d The account was closed at St Helena on 11 April 1754, errors excepted, and signed by John Clark.
41	34	29th April John Clark Paymaster Dr 1754 April 11 To Cash from the Honorable Companys Cash Chest £ 2571 4 8 Carried over £ 2571 4 8	These are the payments set against the paymaster's account, continued from the previous total of £498 10s 7d. On 11 April 1754 cash was paid to Samuel Estes for eight days' work in whitewashing Mr Clark's house at 2s per day in this quarter, £0 16s 0d. On the same day Charles Stokes was paid for four days' work in painting the windows, staircases and ceilings of Mr Clark's house at 2s per day in this quarter, £0 8s 0d. Total, £499 14s 7d Cash was paid to the Honourable Company's officers and servants for their several salaries, diet

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			money and other allowances for the quarter beginning 12 January and ending 11 April 1754, £2,071 10s 1d. Total, £2,571 4s 8d The account was closed at St Helena in 1754, errors excepted, and signed by the paymaster. The Honourable Company's cash was then counted and examined for the month ending 11 April, which follows. Interpretations The account was brought to balance by the entry of the whole quarter's wages, the £2,071 10s 1d paid to the establishment set against the £2,571 4s 8d drawn from the cash chest, so that the payroll formed the great bulk of the paymaster's outlay for the term. The pairing shows the two sides of the account meeting, the money received into the paymaster's hands matched by the payments he made from it, chiefly in the wages that were the island's heaviest standing charge. The count and examination of the Company's cash that followed the paymaster's balance was the check by which the establishment verified its money, the physical cash told over against the account to confirm that what the books recorded was truly in the chest, a routine audit that closed the reckoning for the month.
42	35	1754 Pr Contra Cr 1754 Jany 15 By Cash paid Captain William Hutchinson pr Balance Ship Delphine Account 47 18 6 16 By Do pr for the following particulars vizt 12 Cravents £15 13 Tamarins 8 8 3 Guglets &c 9 1 12 8 17 By Do pr John Robinson for Inlisting to serve the Honble Comp as a Soldier for five Years to commence from this Day 2 10 Feb 20 By Do pr Capt Thomas Wroter for 23 1 5 Rice at 8 pr Hundred for the use of the Honble Company 9 6 Mar 22 By Do pr the following Persons for enlisting to serve the Honorable Company as Soldiers for five Years to commence from this Day Vizt Sam Sutton £10 William Bretel 10 Thomas Payes 10 William Lambourn 10 John Marsh 10 Abram Major 10 Bartholomew Malloy 10 80 Do By Do pr Captain John Nanfan pr Balance Ship Cleaton Acco Currant 78 4 2 29 By Do pr Capt Francis Fowler for lly 2 21 Acc 10 pd for the use of the Honble Company 29 7 By Do pr Do for Spices for the use of the Honble Companys Table 1 10 By Cash pr Capt William Wilson for balance of Ship Egfelds Account 25 1 2 303 13 6 Carried Over £ 303 13 6	This is the cash account. On 12 March 1754 the balance remaining was £3,307 13s 11¼d. On 20 March 1754 the balance of the <i>Doddington's</i> account was received, £1 5s 0d. On 25 March 1754 exchange was received for a set of bills drawn on the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to Captain Norton Hutchinson or his order 90 days after sight, dated that day, £352 0s 0d. On the same day so much remaining in the hands of Frederick Pigou belonging to the Honourable Company was received to the account current at London, £13 17s 6d. On the same day exchange was received for a set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Captain Francis Fowler or his order 90 days after sight, dated that day, £875 0s 0d. On 26 March 1754 the balance of the <i>Marlborough's</i> account was received, £1 5s 0d. On the same day the balance of the <i>Walpole's</i> account was received, £25 3s 8d. On 31 March 1754 the balance of the <i>Harcourt's</i> account was received, £14 10s 0d. On the same day the balance of the <i>Edgecote's</i> account was received, £10 13s 4d. On 1 April 1754 the balance of the <i>Royal Duke's</i> account was received, £24 13s 8d. On 11 April 1754 Matthew Pearling paid for stores and goods sold in the months of January, February and March, £174 3s 11d. On the same day licences were received for seven public houses, £10 10s 0d. On the same day fines were received from Joseph Long as councillor for the present and last month, £5 5s 0d. Total, £5,588 1s 0½d Interpretations The bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to the ships' captains at ninety days after sight, were the means by which the island turned local cash into credit at home. The two sets, of £352 and £875, were in effect promissory notes on the Company in London, the captains handing over money at St Helena in return for a claim to be paid in England, which let the settlement gather funds without shipping coin and gave the captains a safe way to remit their own takings. The licence money from seven public houses shows the settlement regulating and taxing the sale of drink, each house paying for the right to trade, a

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			modest revenue and a means of control over the liquor that the store itself supplied in such quantity. The fines paid by Joseph Long as councillor were most probably penalties for absence from the council, the levy on a member who failed to attend, which shows the body enforcing the presence of its own members by a charge on those who stayed away. Speculations The captains took payment at St Helena in bills drawn on the Court of Directors at ninety days rather than in coin carried aboard, though ready money was the simpler thing to hand over. The record shows why the paper was preferred: a bill payable in London ninety days after sight spared the captain the risk of carrying silver on a long and dangerous voyage and let the island keep its coin, so both sides gained by settling in credit on the Company at home rather than in cash on the spot.
43	36	29th April John Clark Paymaster Dr 1754 April 11 Brought over £ 2571 4 8 £ 2571 4 8	These are the entries set against the cash account. On 21 March 1754 the balance of the <i>Clinton's</i> account was paid, £75 4s 2d. On 23 March 1754 the balance of the <i>Suffolk's</i> account was paid, £28 7s 2d. On 30 March 1754 the balance of the <i>Griffin's</i> account was paid, £36 3s 0d. On 11 April 1754 the amount advanced to the paymaster by sundry accounts in the quarter ending that day was paid, £2,383 11s 10d. The balance remaining was held in the following species. 300 Venetians at 10s, £150 0s 0d 3,500 pagodas at 8s, £950 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,100 0s 0d 3,076 dollars at 5s, £769 0s 0d 4,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £450 0s 0d 12,948 half rials at 3¼d, £202 6s 3d 741 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 1½d Silver amounting to, £1,424 19s 10½d 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 Total, £3,064 14s 10½d Total, £5,588 1s 0½d Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the <i>Salisbury</i> to muster her company and enquire for deserters but found none, her muster roll being as follows. Interpretations The cash balance was held in a striking mixture of coin from many nations, Venetian gold and Indian pagodas, Spanish dollars and half rials, Company rupees and French pieces all counted together into one chest. The variety shows St Helena as a crossing point of the world's trade routes, where the coin of Europe, India and the Spanish empire all passed through the hands of the ships that called, so the island's treasury reflected the traffic of the sea rather than any single currency. Pagodas were gold coins of southern India, the standard gold of the Company's trade on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, valued here at 8s each and forming the largest single element of the gold held. The cash notes were the island's own paper money, issued in fixed denominations from 2s 6d up to 40s and current within the settlement, which shows St Helena running a local paper currency alongside the foreign coin, a practical answer to the shortage of small change on a remote station dependent on whatever coin the ships brought. Half rials were small Spanish silver coins, fractions of the piece of eight, held here in great number at 3¼d apiece, which shows how the settlement relied on

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			foreign silver broken into small pieces to serve the everyday dealings that its own low-value cash notes and the scarce English coin could not fully meet.
44	37	1754 Pr Contra Cr 1754 Brought over £ 303 13 6 Mar 25 By Cash pr John Dehlyn for Inlisting to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years to commence from this Day 5 28 By Do pr Thomas Wefington for Do 5 Do By Do pr Godfrey Armbrister for Do 5 By Do pr Capt Thomas Pelbeck pr Ballance Ship Griffin Acco Currant 36 3 April 11 By Do pr Sundry Persons for coming exprefs with Acco of Ships to Windward &c in y Quarter 4 6 By Do pr Daniel Fowkes his Board & Salary for attending in the Long Wood 2 By Do pr Jonathan Hitchens for Carpenters Work done for the Honorable Company in this Quarter 3 By Do pr Philip Cole for Fish for the Honorable Comp Slaves there not being Salt Provisions sufficient in their Honors Stores, to serve any to them as usual 1 17 6 By Do pr Edward Terry George Beale and William Thompson for Work done in the Smiths Shop for the Honble Company in this Quarter 9 13 2 By Do pr William Hurlock and James Carmichael for Baking 31 Batches of Bread for the Garrison a 18 pr Batch in this Quarter 2 3 4 By Do pr Hayes Serrion for making a Flag for the main Fort 1 10 By Do pr Sundry Persons for Work done at the Honorable Companys Fortifications Vizt at Ruperts Valley Lemon Valley and other Places &c in this Quarter 82 17 6 By Do pr Thomas Mason Painter for 18 Days Work a 4 pr Do for the Honorable Company in this Quarter 17 161 16 6 Carried Over £ 463 12	This is the muster roll of the ship <i>Salisbury</i>. John Foot, commander George Beswick, first mate Henry Fletcher, second mate Sherman Wall, third mate Anthony Hunt, fourth mate Richard Rennolls, fifth mate Samuel Campbell, surgeon Charles Agar, purser Ambrose Quinton, gunner Robert Wilson, carpenter Henry Hankey, boatswain William Johnson, captain's steward Robert Goodwin, ship's steward Alexander Cunningham, surgeon's mate Edward Hardy, midshipman Nelloway Dunstall, midshipman Daniel Boutwell, midshipman Thomas Hilliard, midshipman Newman Mallock, midshipman Thomas Curtis, captain's cook John Peters, first master William Bryant, second master William Henderson, third master David Aimes, fourth master John Foy, caulker John Marston, caulker's mate Joseph Harkins, sailmaker Richard Thomason, cooper James Whiting, cooper's mate William Hughs, quartermaster Thomas McClear, quartermaster William Wardgale, quartermaster's mate George Dowson, quartermaster John Wapington, quartermaster Alexander Sutherland, armourer John Havill, butcher William Saunders, poulterer Robert Collier, tailor Joseph Miller, barber Frederick Newman, ship's cook James Johnson, captain's clerk Josiah Johnson, seaman William Cumming, seaman James Adiston, seaman William Legg, seaman Richard Mathews, seaman Joseph Chalbitts, seaman John Royall, seaman Joseph Strickland, seaman Newin Klintstone, seaman John Bell, seaman Michael Ireland, seaman James Darling, seaman William Binson, seaman John Edwards, seaman Bazill Farrer, seaman Thomas Beechey, seaman James Sabet, seaman William Southorn, seaman Robert Laws, seaman John Smith, seaman George Holding, seaman Robert Robinson, seaman Nevin Oliver, seaman Andrew Sandalough, seaman Thomas Lee, seaman William Clark, seaman Thomas Rice, seaman John Bell, seaman James Cragg, seaman Benjamin Cofser, seaman

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			Phillip Howell, seaman Andrew McMurry, seaman James <i>Griffin</i>, seaman Anderson Fowler, seaman George Cragg, seaman Peter Peart, seaman John Beshop, seaman William Robinson, seaman Richard Body, seaman Thomas Field, seaman Alexander Wainger, seaman William Pascall, seaman John Swan, seaman William Denny, seaman Enoch Tea, seaman William Prince, seaman Lewis Antonio, seaman Lewis Cornewall, seaman John Fernando, seaman Francis Arceon, seaman Nell Paulin, seaman William Campbell, seaman John Haswell, captain's servant Gabriel Powell, captain's servant Robert Hall, third mate's servant James Plowdent, seaman Thomas Hamley, surgeon's servant William Knightley, gunner's servant Robert Simmington, captain's servant Robert Bayley, boatswain's servant John Henry, gunner's servant Henry Graves, passengers Interpretations The muster roll set out the whole company of an East Indiaman in strict order of rank, from the commander and his mates down through the specialist tradesmen to the seamen and the servants, a floating establishment as carefully graded as the garrison ashore. The great body of ordinary seamen at the foot, far outnumbering the officers and tradesmen above them, shows how a large crew was needed to work a ship of this size on the long haul between England and the East. The many servants attached to particular officers, the captain's, the gunner's, the boatswain's and the surgeon's men, show the ship reproducing the personal households of rank at sea, each senior man entitled to servants of his own as a mark and a convenience of his station. The purpose of the muster was to check the company against the roll and search for deserters, as Lieutenant Clark reported he had done, which reveals one of the island's standing duties to the Company, the inspection of every ship that called to see that none of her men had run and that her complement stood as it should.
45	38	29th April John Clark Paymaster Dr 1754 April 11 Brought over £ 2571 4 8 £ 2571 4 8	The <i>Salisbury</i> brought the following supply from Bombay, set out in her invoice. Rice, 22 bags containing 150 Surat maunds at 3s 6d per maund, rupees 131, 1 anna, 0 pies Paddy, 48 bags containing 3 [...] 51 [...] at 17s 1d per maund, rupees 66, 2 annas, 8 pies Total, rupees 197, 3 annas, 8 pies The charges on the merchandise were as follows. Hamalage, rupees 2, 2 annas, 60 pies Boat hire, rupees 2, 2 annas Gunny bags, 33 at 6s 4d per bag, rupees 6, 2 annas, 40 pies Duty, paddy bags 22 at 3s per bag, rupees 16, 2 annas Ground duty, 96 at 4s 1d per candy, rupees 20, 1 anna, 60 pies Twine for sewing bags, rupees 0, 1 anna, 4 pies Total, rupees 48, 3 annas, 74 pies Total, rupees 246, 3 annas, 62 pies

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			The account was closed, errors excepted, and signed by J. Sewell, accountant. The storekeeper then brought in the following account of goods received from the <i>Salisbury</i>. 2 [...] 27 rice short weight 1 bag paddy not delivered The account was closed and signed by M. Pearling, storekeeper, on 29 April 1754. Interpretations The invoice was drawn up in Indian money and weights, the rice and paddy reckoned in Surat maunds and priced in rupees, annas and pies, which shows the goods entering the island's accounts in the currency of Bombay before being turned into sterling for the store. The reckoning in maunds and candies marks the cargo as bought and shipped under the Indian trade, its measures those of the Bombay market rather than the English ones used ashore at St Helena. Hamalage was the charge for portorage, the fee paid to the hamals or porters who carried the goods, one of the several handling costs, boat hire, bagging and duty, that were added to the prime cost of the grain before it reached the store. Gunny was a coarse sacking woven from jute, the standard material for bagging grain in India, charged here by the bag as part of the cost of shipping the rice and paddy, which shows even the packing reckoned into the landed price of the cargo. The storekeeper's note of rice short in weight and a bag of paddy not delivered records the check made on the cargo as it came ashore, the received quantity told against the invoice so that any shortfall between what was billed and what was landed could be set down and answered for.
46	39	1754 Pr Contra Cr 1754 Brought over £ 463 12 April 11 By Cash pr Capt Cleave for the following Particulars, for the use of the Honorable Company vizt 2 White Bears 5 9 2 half Indian Matts 8 23 lb Currant 1 3 12 lb Jar Raisins 18 10 lb Anchovies 1 13 4 3 Jarr Capers 12 8 Bottles Mustard 16 2 Bushels Split Peas 11 3 Glost Cheese N 20 3 lb 9 lb 1 Chest Do 21 19 11 4 By Do pr Sundry Persons for Rowing in the Yawl and going in the Long Boat to Sunday Bay to fetch Lewis in this Quarter 6 9 8 By Do pr Samuel Salkeer Surgeon for his trouble in providing the Hospital with fresh Provisions, for six Months commencing from the 12 October 1753 and ending the 11 April 1754 a 8 pr Annum 4 By Do pr Richard Bagley for 1600 lb Lemons a Do pr Hundred and 3 Do Bushels Potatoes a Do pr Bushel for the use of the Honorable Companys Table in this Quarter 9 11 8 By Do pr Samuel Estes for three Days Work in Whitewashing the Ceilings of the Lieutenant and Governors House &c pr Do in this Quarter 6 378 7 Carried Over £ 19 8 10 7	The sum of £122 13s 3d was received from Thomas French, being the money belonging to and on account of the orphan of James Dubois. The receipt was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The council met at the castle on Tuesday 30 April 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 29 April 1754. John Seale and Mary Seale presented a petition to the Governor and council. They had money due to them and, placing great confidence in the good management and care of their uncle Thomas French, asked that the Governor and council be pleased to appoint him as their guardian. The petition was signed by John Seale and Mary Seale. The request was granted on 30 April 1754. Interpretations The council here acted as a court of guardianship, taking charge of the money of orphaned children and appointing a guardian to manage it, which shows the body's authority reaching into the private affairs of the island's families. On a small remote settlement with no separate machinery of law, the council stood as the only tribunal that could secure a child's inheritance and name a trusted adult to hold it, so matters that at home might go before a chancery court fell to the governor and his few councillors. The two transactions were linked, the £122 13s 3d received from Thomas French for the Dubois orphan recorded just before French was made guardian of the Seale children, which suggests he was already the settlement's usual man for such trusts, a person of standing to whom the care of orphaned money was repeatedly committed. Speculations The council granted the Seale children's own request that their uncle Thomas French be made their guardian rather than choosing a trustee of its own. The

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			record shows why the family's choice was allowed to stand: the petition rested on their confidence in French's good management and care, and with a blood relation both willing and trusted the council had no reason to impose an outsider, so it confirmed the man the children themselves had named.
47	40	29th April John Clark Paymaster Dr 1754 April 11 Brought over £ 2571 4 8 £ 2571 4 8 Island St 11 April Errors (Signed) John Clark	Margaret Seale presented a petition to the Governor and council. She had a small sum of money due to her and, placing great confidence in the good management and care of her aunt Sarah French, asked that the Governor and council be pleased to appoint her as her guardian, with whom she had lived for some time past and still lived. The petition was signed by Margaret Seale. The request was granted on 30 April 1754. Thomas French applied to the council for leave to take his wife and family from the island to England aboard the <i>Salisbury</i>, and for his niece Mary Seale to go with them. The request was granted. The Reverend William Lee applied to the council for leave to pay £30 into the Honourable Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The Reverend William Lee's payment of £30 into the Company's cash in return for bills on the Court of Directors shows a private resident using the island's treasury as a channel to remit money home. The bill payable in London ninety days after sight let him move his funds to England without shipping coin, the same mechanism the ships' captains used, which reveals the Company's cash chest serving as an informal bank for the settlement's people as well as for its trade. The departure of Thomas French for England aboard the <i>Salisbury</i> explains the flurry of guardianship petitions just recorded, for the man to whom the Seale and Dubois children's affairs were entrusted was himself leaving the island. The petitions naming his wife Sarah French as guardian in his place, and his niece Mary Seale going with the family, show a household winding up its island trusts and connections as it prepared to sail. Speculations Margaret Seale asked that her aunt Sarah French be made her guardian while her uncle Thomas French, named guardian to the other Seale children the day before, prepared to leave for England. The record shows why the aunt rather than the departing uncle was chosen for her: Margaret had lived with Sarah for some time and still did, so with the household breaking up and Thomas sailing, the guardianship was placed with the relation who would remain and with whom the girl already had her home.
48	41	1754 Pr Contra Cr 1754 Brought over £ 498 10 7 April 11 By Cash pr Samuel Estes for 8 Days Work in Whitewashing Mr Clarks House a 2 pr Do in this Quarter 16 By Do pr Charles Stokes for four Days Work in Painting the Windows Stair Cases and Ceilings of Mr Clarks House a 2 pr Do in this Quarter 8 £ 499 14 7 By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants their several Salaries Diet Money &c for the Quarter commencing January the 12 and ending April 11 1754 2071 10 1	The council met at the castle on Monday 6 May 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 30 April 1754. On Saturday 4 May 1754 the Honourable Company's ship <i>Portfield</i> arrived from Bengal. On Sunday 5 May 1754 John Walker, a soldier, and Sarah Walker died. On the same day a ship passed by at a great distance. The <i>Portfield</i> brought the following supply from Bengal, set out in her invoice. Batavia arrack, no. 1 to 9, 2 leaguers at 190 at 7s per [...], rupees 380, at 30 per cent batta, rupees 30 6s 6d, total, rupees 410 6s 6d

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		£ 2571 4 8 Helena 1754 Excepted Paymaster Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11 Instant which is as follows Vizt	Sugar, fine, 1 to 10, 10 bags of [...] 58 at 2s 6d per maund, rupees 149 10s 0d, at [...] batta, rupees 11 18s 6d, total, rupees 161 9s 6d Wax candles, 1 to 2, 2 chests of [...] 4 at 66 6s 6d per maund, rupees 260 0s 0d Rice, fine, 1 to 38, 38 bags of 76 Surat maunds at [...] per maund, rupees 121 9s 6d, at [...] batta, rupees 9s 6d, total, rupees 131 0s 0d Discoveries, 15 [...] 21 [...], 1 to 58, 2 bales of [...] 190 at 6s 7d per [...], rupees 244 4s 0d, for baling at 17s per bale, rupees 35 0s 0d, total, rupees 509 4s 0d, at 40 per cent batta, rupees 40 12s 0d, total, rupees 550 0s 0d Carried over, rupees 1,513 5s 0d Interpretations The invoice again reckoned the cargo in rupees with an added batta, a premium of thirty or forty per cent charged on the exchange between different rupee standards. Batta was the difference in value between coins of varying weight or mintage, added here to bring the Bengal accounting to a common measure, which shows the complexity of the Indian currency the island had to convert before the goods could enter its sterling books. Batavia arrack was the distilled spirit shipped from the Dutch port of Batavia in Java, reckoned among the strongest and most esteemed of the arracks, brought here by way of the Bengal trade to supply the island's steady demand for the liquor. The wax candles from Bengal were a finer article than the tallow candles the store commonly issued, wax burning cleaner and brighter, brought in for the better households and occasions where the coarser light would not serve. The death of John and Sarah Walker on the same day suggests a married couple carried off together, perhaps by the same sudden illness, a loss the record sets down plainly among the shipping notes without comment, as was the way with the island's daily register of arrivals and deaths.
49	42	29th April Cash Dr 1754 Mar 12 To Balance remaining 3307 13 11 4 20 To Ship Doddington the Balance of her Account 1 5 25 To Exchange for a Sett of Bills drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Captain Norton Hutchinson or his Order 90 Days after sight dated this Day 352 To Account Current London recd of Frederick Pigou Esqr so much remaining in his Hands belonging to the Honorable Company 13 17 6 To Exchange for a Sett of Bills drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors payable to Captain Francis Fowler or his Order ninety Days after sight dated this Day 875 26 To Ship Marlborough the Balance of her Account 1 5 To Ship Walpole the Balance of her Account 25 3 8 31 To Ship Harcourt the Balance of her Account 14 10 To Ship Edgbaston the Balance of her Account 10 13 4 April 1 To Ship Royal Duke the Balance of her Account 24 13 8 4 11 To Matthew Purling for Store Goods Sold in the Months of January February and March 184 3 11	The invoice continued from the previous total of 1,513 rupees 5s 0d, with the charges on the merchandise as follows. 48 gunny bags and sewing, rupees 8 2s 3d 2 empty leaguers, rupees 38 3s 3d 2 chests, gunny and bustabund, rupees 3 12s 0d Boat hire, rupees 22 0s 0d Peons, rupees 1 8s 0d 1 soldier's diet, rupees 2 0s 0d Coolies, rupees 3 9s 0d 20 mats, rupees 1 14s 0d Total, rupees 80 0s 6d Total, rupees 1,593 5s 6d The account was closed, errors excepted, and signed by J. H. Cattenden, accountant. The storekeeper then brought in the following account of goods short delivered from the <i>Portfield</i>. 2 bags sugar short delivered 1 to 38, 10 rice short weight No. 1 leaguer arrack gauged 198, to be 202, wanting 4 gallons No. 2 leaguer gauged 192, to be 201, wanting 9 gallons Received, 288 gallons The account was closed and signed by M. Pearling, storekeeper, on 6 May 1754. The accountant then brought in his journal for the quarter ending 11 April 1754. The council examined and approved it and ordered it to be entered. Interpretations The charges on the <i>Portfield's</i> cargo show the same range of Indian handling costs as the <i>Salisbury's</i>, with the addition of hire for peons and coolies, the messengers and porters who moved and guarded the goods at the Indian end. Bustabund was the wrapping or cording used to bind and protect a bale, one more

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		To Licences received for seven public Houses 10 10 To Fines received of Joseph Long as pr Consultation the Do of this Month 3 5 5588 1 ½	packing cost reckoned into the landed price, which shows how thoroughly every stage of handling the grain and goods was accounted for before they reached the store. The storekeeper's gauging of the two leaguers of arrack, each found short of its proper measure, records the check made on liquid cargo as it came ashore. The leaguers were dipped and measured against the quantity they should have held, the shortfall of four and nine gallons set down so that the loss between shipment and delivery could be answered for, which reveals the careful reckoning that guarded against pilferage and leakage on the long voyage. The examination and entry of the accountant's journal for the quarter shows the council closing its books in due form, the record of the term's dealings inspected and approved before being written up, a routine of audit that kept the island's accounts in order and answerable to the Company at home.
50	43	1754 Pr Contra Cr 1754 Mar 21 By Ship Cleston the Balance of her Account 75 4 2 23 By Ship Suffolk the Balance of her Account 28 7 2 30 By Ship Griffin the Balance of her Account 36 3 April 11 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster in the Quarter ending this Day 2383 11 10 By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt 300 Venitians a 10 150 3500 Pagodas 8/ 950 Gold Amounting to £ 1100 307 lb Dollars a 5/ 769 4000 Rupees 2/3 450 1248 half Rials 3¼ 202 6 3 741 French Pieces 2 313 6 Odd Money 1½ Silver Amounting to £ 1242 19 10½ 146 Cash Notes a 40/ 292 162 Do 20/ 162 263 Do 5/ 65 15 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to £ 539 15 3062 14 10½ £ 5588 1 ½ Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on Board the Salisbury to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows Vizt	Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the <i>Portfield</i> to muster her company and enquire for deserters. Captain Legey told him he had reason to believe he had two men on board, James McDonal and John Watson, who had deserted from the <i>Kelldor</i> on their outward bound passage at the Cape. Captain Todd had informed him they were the Honourable Company's recruits for India, and on examination they were found to be so. The council therefore had them taken ashore to serve their contracted time on the island, her muster roll being as follows. Lawrence Legey, commander Hugh Humphreys, first mate Samuel Dunne, second mate John Allen, third mate Edward Witham, fourth mate Samuel Vconne, fifth mate David Waugh, surgeon William Master, purser William Allen, boatswain William Richardson, gunner John Hall, carpenter William Aisier, surgeon's mate Timothy Mumford, midshipman Charles Jefferson, midshipman John Ward, midshipman Archibald Richardson, first master Nathaniel Lisson, second master Richard Ellmore, third master Thomas Colerate, fourth master Samuel Vanderhill, caulker William Douglas, caulker's mate Edward Halstead, cooper Daniel Bell, sailmaker Thomas Gitting, captain's steward Diedrich Adye, tailor James Thurlow, captain's cook John Heingate, ship's cook Peter Cowler, ship's steward William Senior, butcher John Wilkins, painter John Plowman, boatswain's mate John Milway, seaman James Bad, seaman Vistol Pillingham, seaman James Scott, seaman John McFadden, seaman Raymond Sparkshut, seaman Andrew Holt, seaman Alexander Read, seaman John Langlais, seaman James Milborn, seaman Matthew Busby, seaman Robert Smith, seaman James Turner, seaman

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			Charles Weyland, seaman John Jones, seaman Joseph Steel, seaman William Linswood, seaman George Winxprover, seaman Nell Papago, seaman Phillip Sturr, seaman Cornelius Fowler, seaman James Hickman, seaman Dunbar Keene, seaman George Dowers, seaman Edward Simmons, seaman Josiah Harvey, seaman Hance Peterson, seaman Stephen Fife, seaman John Mackemara, seaman John Winnimer, seaman Lascars: John De Rozair John De Rozair Manoch De Rozair Antonia De Rozair Francisco De Rozair Pedro De Rozair Sadrabdulla Interpretations The two men James McDonal and John Watson were taken off the <i>Portfield</i> and set ashore to serve out their engagements, having deserted from the <i>Kelledor</i> at the Cape on the outward voyage and been carried on to the island. The episode shows the settlement acting to recover the Company's own recruits wherever they turned up, a deserter from one ship traced through another and made to fulfil the contract he had run from, which reveals how far the Company's authority followed a bound man across the ocean. The lascars named at the foot of the roll were Indian seamen shipped to work the vessel, several of them De Rozairs from the Portuguese-influenced communities of the Indian coast, which shows the mixed manning of the East India trade where European officers and crew sailed alongside Indian sailors engaged in the East. The muster served the same purpose as that of the <i>Salisbury</i>, the checking of a ship's company against her roll and the search for deserters, but here it bore fruit, turning up two runaways who were promptly detained, which shows the practical value of the inspection the island made of every ship that touched.
51	44	29th April Muster Roll of Ship Salisbury John Foot Commander Alexr Sutherland Armourer John Bell Seaman George Beamish 1 mate John Nevill Butcher James Cragg Do Henry Fletcher 2 Do Wm Saunders Poulterer Benjn Cofsor Do Sherman Wall 3 Do Robt Collen Taylor Phillip Rowell Do Antony Hunt 4 Do Joseph Miller Barber Andrew McMurry Do Richard Rennolls 5 Do Frederick Numan Ships Cook James Griffis Do Sr Campbell Surgeon Jno Johnson Caps Clerk Anderson Fowler Do Cha Agar Purser Josiah Johnson Seaman Geo Cragg Do	The officers' servants and passengers of the <i>Portfield</i> were as follows. Richard Vincent, captain's servant James <i>Portfield</i>, captain's servant Thomas Straks, second mate's servant John Ross, surgeon's servant John Igate, gunner's servant John Bignell, boatswain's servant Sarah Chapman, passenger Owen Jones, passenger Mr Smith, passenger Joseph Lady Russell's servant Matthew Lady Russell's servant Amelia Watts, passenger Nancy Corket, passenger Edward Bayley, passenger Lucy, passenger James Moss, passenger Captain Carteret Legey applied to the council for leave to pay £300 into the Honourable Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day. Captain John Foot applied to the council for leave to pay £170 into the Honourable Company's cash. The

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Ambrose Quinton Gunner Wm Cumming Do Peter Peart Do Robt Willson Carpenter James Adieton Do John Bishop Do Henry Hanbey Boatswain Wm Lofs Do Wm Solomon Do Wm Johnson Cpts Steward Richard Mathews Do Richard Body Do Robt Goodwin Ships Do Joseph Talbotts Do Thos Field Do Cha Cunningham Surg mate John Royall Do Alexr Wainger Do Edward Hardy Midshipman Joseph Strickland Do Wm Pascall Do Nallory Dunstall Do Neen Blinstone Do John Swan Do Daniel Boutwell Do John Bell Do Wm Denny Do Thos Hillyard Do Michall Ireland Do Enock Tea Do Neuman Mallack Do James Darling Do Wm Prince Do Thos Curtis Capt Cook Wm Binson Do Lewis Antonio Do John Peters 1 Master John Edwards Do Lewis Cornwell Do Wm Bryant Do Bazill Farver Do John Fernando Do Wm Sanderson Do Thos Beechey Do Francis Arcorn Do David Ames Do James Sale Do Nell Paulin Do John Flay Cauliker Wm Southorn Do Wm Campbell Do John Mason Do Mate Robt Laws Do John Haswell Cabin man Joseph Harkins Sailmaker John Smith Do Gabariel Powell Do Rich Thomason Cooper Geo Holding Do Robt Hea Hey mate James Whiteing Do mate Robt Robinson Do James Plowdent Do Jno Hughs Widemind Do Nevin Oliver Do Thos Hamley Surg Thos McClear Do Andrew Sainsburgh Do Wm Knightley Gun Do Wm Wardgale Capt mate Wm Lee Do Robt Simmington Capt Geo Dowson 2 Do Wm Clark Do Rob Bayley Boat Do John Walefsley Gun Do	council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The two captains, Legey of the <i>Portfield</i> and Foot of the <i>Salisbury</i>, each paid substantial sums into the island's cash for bills on the Court of Directors, the same means of remittance used throughout these accounts. The size of the payments, £300 and £170, shows the ships' commanders as men handling considerable money on their own account, most probably the proceeds of their private trade, which they turned into safe credit on the Company at home rather than carry the coin onward. The passengers included servants attending Lady Russell, a titled traveller carried aboard the <i>Portfield</i>, which shows the East Indiaman bearing persons of rank between England and the East along with the ordinary run of passengers, the ship serving as the only conveyance for high and low alike on the long sea road.

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		Thos Rice Do John Henry Grefs Henry Graves Pafsengers	
52	45	1754 The Salisbury brought us the following supply from Bombay Vizt Invoice pr Ship Salisbury Rice 22 Bags containing 150 Surat Maunds a 3 30 pr Maund 131 1 Bally 48 Bags cont 7 3 41 a 27 17 1 30 12 Mo 66 2 8 197 3 88 Charges on Merchandize vizt Hamalage 2 2 60 Boat hire 2 2 Gunny Do 33 15 4 pr Bags 6 2 40 Dutty Bags 22 a 3 Do 16 2 Grand Do 96 4 1 pr Corge 20 1 60 Twine for Sewing Bags 14 48 3 74 Rupees 246 3 62 Errors Excepted (Signed) J Sewell Accomptant The Storekeeper brought in the following Acco of Goods Short recd from Ship Salisbury vizt Account of Goods Short recd from Ship Salisbury Vizt 2 2 26 Rice Short Weight 1 Bag Paddy Short delivered (Signed) M Purling Storekeeper 29 April 1754 Received	The council met at the castle on Monday 13 May 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 6 May 1754. On Monday 6 May 1754 the Honourable Company's ship <i>Boscawen</i> arrived from China under Captain Braund. On Thursday 9 May 1754 the Honourable Company's ship <i>Grantham</i> sailed on her voyage under Captain Clover. Thomas French presented a petition to the council, together with a certificate from Skinner the surgeon. French had been for a long time in a poor state of health, suffering from a troublesome and painful disorder. Despite the treatment he had received from the surgeon here and aboard several of the Company's ships, which had confined him for many months and left him in violent pain, and which he believed had grown worse through the frequent repetition of medicines and applications, he had found only some relief and remained doubtful of a cure. He was still afflicted, though not so severely as before, yet enough to make him unable to discharge his duty with the readiness and cheerfulness he wished, and he continued to find it difficult. Interpretations Thomas French supported his petition with a surgeon's certificate, the formal medical testimony required to make a plea of ill health carry weight before the council. The certificate turned a private complaint into an official ground for action, which shows how the settlement handled claims of incapacity, the sufferer's word alone not enough without the surgeon's confirmation that the disorder was real and disabling. The petition sheds light on the medical treatment of the day, French describing a long confinement under repeated doses and applications that he believed had made his condition worse rather than better. His account, that the frequent medicines aggravated the disorder, reflects the limited and often harmful remedies available on a remote station, where prolonged treatment might do as much harm as the illness it sought to cure. The petition connects to French's recorded plan to leave for England aboard the <i>Salisbury</i>, the ill health set out here most probably the reason behind his departure and the winding up of his island trusts. The document shows a servant of long standing laying before the council the grounds of his wish to be gone, building the case of incapacity that would justify his release from a duty he could no longer perform as he ought.
53	46	29th April Received of Mr Thomas French, the Sum one hundred and twenty two Pounds, thirteen Shillings and three Farthings for and on Account of the Orphan of Mr James Dubois Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 30 April 1754 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 April 1754	French found it hard to attend the Company's business under such conditions. He had good advice that many afflicted with the like disorders had been thoroughly cured in England, where all the materials needed for a cure were to be had. The perfecting of that cure would be a happy thing for him, his health being the chief advantage he wished to secure. He therefore asked the council to grant him leave to go to England for that purpose. Should he recover, he would count it an honour to return to the Company's service, for which he had always shown a proper regard, and he hoped his request would meet no objection or disapproval. He had, he said, informed the council truly of his situation, which was the only motive that led him to ask, and he begged that it be favourably considered. The petition was signed by Thomas French at St Helena on 13 May 1754.

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		Mr John Seale and Mifs Mary Seale presents the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council The humble Petition of John and Mary Seale Sheweth That your Petitioners having some Money due to them, and reposing great confidence in the good management and care of their Uncle Mr Thomas French your Petitioners therefore humbly Pray that your Worship and Council will be pleased to admit him to be their Guardian And your Petitioners Shall ever Pray (Signed) John Seale Mary Seale 30 April 1754 Granted	John Inglis the surgeon certified that Thomas French, factor in the service of the Honourable Company on St Helena, had long been under a very obstinate disorder in the nature of a bladder ailment, attended with violent pains in the lower part of his abdomen and other complaints. Despite the several methods tried for his recovery, which had brought some relief but no lasting cure, he suffered returns of the same disorder from time to time. The certificate was signed by John Inglis, surgeon, at St Helena on 13 May 1754. The council agreed to give Thomas French leave to go to England. Interpretations The surgeon John Inglis, newly raised to the post on 1 April 1754, here gave the certificate that decided French's case, naming the disorder as a bladder complaint of an obstinate kind. His diagnosis of violent pains in the lower abdomen with recurring attacks points to the stone or a like affliction of the bladder, one of the most feared and least curable complaints of the age, for which the crude surgery available offered little hope and much danger. French's belief that a cure lay only in England reflects the real limits of medicine on a remote island, where the materials and skill for treating so grave a condition were wanting. His plea rested on the plain fact that the settlement could not mend him, so that recovery meant passage home, which shows how the want of proper medical resource on St Helena drove its people to seek in England what the island could not provide. The council's grant of leave on the strength of the surgeon's word shows the certificate doing its work, the formal medical testimony converting a personal wish into an allowed departure. The body took the surgeon's judgement as sufficient warrant to release a servant from his post, which reveals the weight given to professional certification in the ordering of the Company's affairs even at this distance from home.
54	47	1754 Mifs Margaret Seale presents the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council The humble Petition of Margaret Seale Sheweth That your Petitioner having a small Sum of Money due to her and reposing great confidence in the good management and care of her Aunt Mrs Sarah French humbly begs that your Worship and Council will be pleased to admit her to be your Petitioners Guardian, whom your Petitioner hath for some Time past and doth now liveeth And your Petitioner Shall ever Pray (Signed) Margaret Seale 30 April 1754 Granted Mr Thomas French applyed to us for liberty for his Wife and Family to leave the Island and go to England upon the Ship Salisbury, and for his Neice Mifs Mary Seale to accompany them thither Granted The revd Mr William Lee applyed to us for liberty to pay thirty Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash, which sum we have recd, 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	Captain Benjamin Braund presented a letter to the council. He wrote that the <i>Boscawen</i> was in want of 4,100 pounds of rice and that the council would greatly oblige him by sparing it. The letter was signed by B. Braund at St Helena on 13 May 1754. Captain Braund told the council it would be unsafe for him to put to sea without this supply of rice, being much in want of breadkind, so the council agreed to let him have the quantity he required. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the <i>Boscawen</i> to muster her company under Captain Benjamin Braund and enquire for deserters but found none, her muster roll being as follows. Benjamin Braund, commander John Mumford, first mate Sylvester Jackson, second mate John Budd, third mate John Cotton, fourth mate Marton Bigglestone, fifth mate Thomas English, sixth mate George Marton, surgeon Evan Evans, purser Edward George, gunner Thomas Deckard, carpenter George Tomms, boatswain Andrew <i>Godfrey</i>, midshipman John Bowland, midshipman John Callanach, midshipman William Goodliff, midshipman Thomas Pointing, midshipman John Wadde, midshipman Thomas Smithee, midshipman John Sutherland, midshipman George Woulton, purser Interpretations

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		Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Captain Braund's plea rested on his want of breadkind, the general name for the grain and starch foods, rice, wheat and the like, that formed the staple of a ship's provisions. Without a sufficient store of this bulk food a vessel could not safely undertake the long passage ahead, which shows why the island's rice, drawn from the Indian trade, was so vital a resource to the ships that called, the settlement provisioning them for the ocean from stocks it had itself to import. The council's grant of over four thousand pounds of rice to a single ship shows the island in its role as a victualling station, its stores existing not only to feed the garrison and settlement but to reprovision the Company's fleet on its way to and from the East. The readiness to spare so large a quantity marks the settlement's chief strategic purpose, the sustaining of the shipping on which the whole eastern trade depended. Speculations The council parted with 4,100 pounds of its imported rice to the <i>Boscawen</i> rather than hold the stock against its own needs, though every pound had to be brought in by sea and the island's own supply was never certain. The record shows what tipped the decision: the captain declared it unsafe to sail without the grain, and the settlement's whole reason for being was to keep the Company's ships fed and moving, so the council judged the fleet's passage the greater call and gave up the rice to speed a vessel it dared not strand.
55	48	6 May At a Consultation held on Monday the 6 Day of May 1754 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 30 of April 1754 Saturday 4 Arrove the Honorable Companys Ship the Portfield from Bengall Yesterday 5 Died an Infant of John and Sarah Walker Do Pafsby a Ship at a great Distance The Portfield brought us the following supply from Bengall Vizt Invoice pr Ship Portfield BA Batavia Arrack No 1 a 9 2 Say a 190 a 76 380 Brokge & pkge 30 6 6 410 6 6 SF Sugar fine 1 a 10 10 Bags pr Do 58 a 2 17 3 pr Maund 149 10 Brokge 12 18 6 161 9 6 WC Wax Candles 1 a 2 2 Chests pr Do 4 a 66 6 32 pr Maund 260 RF Rice fine 1 38 38 Bags pr 76 Bags Mifsind a Do 97 1 24 9 6 Brok 4 pr Ct 9 16 131 3 DOOS Descovers 15 pr 21 8 158 2 Bales pr Do 190 Do a 6 7 10 5 pr Corge 24 4 Do for Enbaling a 17 8 pr Bale 35 509 4 Batta 8 pr Ct 40 12 550 Carried over 1513 5	The muster roll of the <i>Boscawen</i> continued as follows. Edward Dampier, midshipman Robert Pabent, midshipman William Fullerton, midshipman Nathaniel Willer, caulker John Rime, cooper Richard Tibbit, ship's steward John Igo, sailmaker Daniel Fabay, captain's cook William Jones, captain's steward Sir Aughton, armourer Wandwich James, ship's cook Robert Means, butcher Robert Anderson, tailor Peter Patterson, boatswain James Souson, baker John Green, surgeon's mate Thomas Deckard, gunner William Wilson, carpenter John Boyne, joiner Robert Merrideis, boatswain's mate Benjamin Braun, boatswain's servant John Wall, carpenter's servant Ignan Fowston, seaman John Souston, seaman James Moor, seaman John Fowie, seaman Charles Kendall, sailmaker John Bomb, servant Robert Walker, cooper's mate Edward Wickon, caulker's mate Lewin Anthony, captain's cook Alexander John, master Abel Dixon, master Alkin Warden, master Joseph Beale, master Scott Fitzgerald, seaman Robert Trippstal, seaman Andrew Sharp, seaman John Hawkins, seaman Peter Hall, seaman Joseph Hickey, seaman Thomas Blummiers, seaman John Pearson, seaman

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			William Chatta, seaman John Agnew, seaman Noble Wilkin, seaman Robert Haynes, seaman Fred Dreadnought, seaman John Gee, seaman Phillip Whaling, seaman John Wright, seaman William Pittman, seaman Robert Riggot, master James Richardson, seaman Richard Wood, servant William Featherston, seaman Thomas Barker, seaman George Wood, seaman William Miles, seaman Abraham Herring, seaman Edward Murphey, seaman Robert Stevenson, seaman Henry Bailey, seaman John Baldery, seaman Benjamin Gorman, seaman Robert Robinson, seaman Alexander Easton, seaman William Raul, seaman George Nelson, seaman Scott McSouson, seaman Petey Francisco, seaman Thomas Clark, seaman Michael Mathews, seaman James Elverington, seaman McDavis, seaman Henry Redman, seaman Samuel Britt, seaman Earl May, seaman McBauby, captain's servant Thomas Danson, seaman Richard Bennet, first mate's servant Richard Warren, gunner's servant Robert Fitz Harrison, passenger A black, his servant
56	49	1754 Brought over Current Rupees 1513 5 Charges Merchandize 48 Gunny Bags and Sewing 8 2 3 2 Empty Leaguers 28 3 3 2 Chests Gunny and Bustabund 3 12 Boat hire 22 Peons 1 8 1 Soldiers Diet 2 Coolees 3 9 20 Matts 7 14 80 6 Current Rupees 1593 5 6 Errors Excepted (Signed) J H Cattenden Accomptant The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods Short delivered from Ship Portfield Vizt Account of Goods Short received from Ship Portfield Vizt 2 Bags Sugar short delivered Do Do 1 lb Rice Short Weight No 1 Leaguer Arrack Gauge 148 Do a Do to fill 4 Gallons 2 Do 192 Do 9 Do 301 13	The <i>Boscawen</i> brought the following supply from China, set out in her invoice. Sugar, no. 1 to 150, 150 chests containing 50 net, chests included, 4 tons, 700 [...], 235,000 [...] Sugar candy, no. 1 to 10, 10 chests containing 10 net, chests included, 6 tons, 300, 65,000 Total, 300,000 The account was closed, errors excepted, and signed by Thomas Little, Richard Wood, Mann Horner and Robert Fitz Harrison. The storekeeper then brought in the following account of goods short delivered from the <i>Boscawen</i>. 1 to 10, 10 candy short weight The account was closed and signed by M. Curling, storekeeper, on 13 May 1754. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The <i>Boscawen's</i> cargo of sugar and sugar candy came from China, the source of the boha tea and wax candles already noted in these accounts, which marks the reach of the Company's eastern trade through St Helena. The sugar candy, crystallised sugar prized above the common sort, was a China product carried on the homeward voyage, so the island saw the goods of the furthest East pass through its stores along with those of India. The invoice was signed by several of the ship's officers together rather than by a single accountant, which shows the checking of a China cargo drawing in more than one hand to attest the reckoning, a shared responsibility for goods of high value passing through many stages between the Chinese market and the English books.

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		Recd 288 Gallons (Signed) M Purling Storekeeper 6 May 1754 The Accomptant brought in his Journal parcels for the Quarter ending the 11 April which were examined and approved and Ordered to be Entered Lieutenant	The storekeeper's note of ten candy short in weight records the same check on delivery made against every cargo, the received quantity told against the invoice so the shortfall could be answered for, which reveals the constant vigilance the settlement kept over the goods that came ashore from the ships it served.
57	50	6 May Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on Board the Ship Portfield to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters, Captain Legus acquainted him that he had reason to believe Drum that he had two Men James McDonal and John Watson on board, who Deserted from the Fletcher on their outward bound Pafsage at the Cape and Captain Foot having informed him they were the Honorable Companys Recruits for India, and upon examination having found them to be so we there for have taken them on Shore to serve their Contracted Times here, The Muster Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Portfield Laurence Legus Commander Dedovick Adye Taylor George Mifsprover Seaman Hugh Humphreys 1 mate James Shorlong Cpts Cook Nick Papago Do Samuel Dunne 2 Do John Heingate Ships Do Phillip Surr Do John Allen 3 Do Peter Cowler Ships Steward Cornelius Sparkes Do Edwd Altham 4 Do William Senivin Butcher James Hickman Do Samuel Vernon 5 Do John Wilkins Poulterer Dunbar Keene Do Rand Waugh Surgeon John Plowman Boatmate George Devers Do William Master Purser John Milway Seaman Edward Somers Do William Allen Boatswain James Ball Do Josiah Harvey Do William Richardson Gunner David Willingham Do Hance Peterson Do John Hall Carpenter James Scotte Do Stephen Bife Do William Adair Surgeons mate John McFadin Do John Mackmara Do Timothy Mumford Raymond Sparks Boat Do John Peruvian Do Cha Jefsemen Midshipm Andrew Holt Do Lascars John Ward Alexr Read Do John De Roair Archibald Richardson 1 Master John Langlan Do	The council met at the castle on Monday 20 May 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 13 May 1754. On Wednesday 15 May 1754 Flora, wife of Isaac Knife, died. On Thursday 17 May 1754 a ship passed by at a great distance. Matthew Pearling applied to the council for leave to pay £225 into the Honourable Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day. Thomas French presented a petition to the council. He had some affairs to settle before he could leave the island, and his attending to his office made it impracticable for him to settle them, so he asked the council to be pleased to excuse him from any further duty. The petition was signed by Thomas French on 20 May 1754. The request was granted. Interpretations Thomas French's second petition completed his withdrawal from the island's service, asking now to be excused his duties so he could settle his affairs before sailing. Having gained leave to go on grounds of health, he here sought release from the office itself, which shows the orderly stages by which a departing servant disengaged from his post, first the grant of passage and then the discharge from duty that freed him to wind up his private business. The petition reveals the practical difficulty of a servant preparing to leave while still bound to his work, the demands of the office leaving no time to arrange the transfer of trusts and the disposal of his concerns. French's plea that attendance made settlement impracticable shows why the council released him early, recognising that the winding up of a man's island affairs required his freedom from the daily calls of his place. The storekeeper Matthew Pearling's own payment of £225 for bills on the Court of Directors, recorded among these departures, shows even the resident officers of the establishment using the cash chest to remit money home. The practice reached beyond the transient captains to the settled servants of the island, which reveals how the Company's treasury served as the common means by which all its people, staying or leaving, moved their funds to England.

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		John De Rosair Nath Coron Do James Milborn Do Manuch De Roair Richard Ellmore Do Matthew Morfry Do Antonia De Roair Thomas Colgrale Do Robert Smith Do Francisco De Roair Samuel Vandervill Cauliker James Turner Do Pedro De Roair Wm Douglas Do mate Charles Weyland Do Sedrabdulla Edwd Milstead Cooper John Jones Do Daniel Bett sailmaker Joseph Steel Do Thomas Gitting Capts Steward William Sinewood Do Officers	
<u>58</u>	51	1754 Officers Servants John Bignell Boats Servt Matthew Lady Rufsell Servt Richd Vincent Captains Servt Lady Le pul Pafsenger Aurelia Watts Pafsenger James Portfield Do Sarah Chapman Do Nancy Corbet Do Thomas Sloak 2 Mate Do Owen Jones Do Edwd Bagley Do John Rofs Surgeons Do Mr Smith Do Levy Do John Wgate Gunners Do Joseph Lady Rufsell Servt James Moor Do Captain Carteret Legus applied to us for liberty to pay three hundred Pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors for that Sum payable to himself or Order ninety days after Sight dated this Day Captain John Foot applied to us for liberty to pay one hundred and Seventy Pounds into the Honorable Company's 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 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	20 May As Mr Thomas French has resigned the Honorable Company's Service agreeable to his request, in the above Petition, we appointed Mr William Wrangham to assist in the Accountants Office, and as his assistance will be wanted in the Secretaries Office we have also appointed Mr Charles Newarda Young Man about eighteen Years old to that place, & Grandson to Mr Francis Wrangham Senr who is lately come from England where he qualified himself in Accounts and writing, and we believe can do the duty of that station very well, if the Honorable Company pleases to approve of it Joseph Bastick Soldier Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison, setting forth that he is quite incapable of doing any Duty from a hurt he received some time ago, And the Surgeon & his Assistant being About to examine him and it appearing by the following Certificat from them that there is no hopes of his being cured we there fore agreed to discharge him This is to Certify to All Whom it may Concern that Joseph Bastick Soldier in the Service of the Honorable the Unated East India Company On the Island of St Helena, has for these three Years past laboured Under a very obstinate disorder in One of his Testicles, at first occasion'd by a fall attended with Violent pains in the Loins which rendershim incapable of executing his proper Duty, all probable Means have been tryd for his recovery but proved ineffectual, And Pursuant to An Order of Council this Day have farther Examined him and think him incapable of Serving the Honorable Company in the Capacity of A Soldier, the Extirpation of the Testicle from his present Complaint being Impracticable

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			St Helena 20 May 1754 (Signed) Jno Inglis Tho Evans The
59	52	13th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 13 Day of May 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 6 Day of May 1754 Monday the 6 Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Boscawen Capt Braund from Down Thursday 9 Sailed the Honorable Comps Ship Grantham Capt Cleave on her Voyage Mr Thomas French presented the following Petition and Certificate from Mr Inglis the Surgeon Vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Thomas French Factor in the Honorable East India Companys Service at St Helena Sheweth That your Petitioner is, and have been for a long Time past, in a bad Condition in regard to his Health, in a very troublesome and painful Disorder notwithstanding the Afsistance he has had from the Surgeons here, and those of the Honorable Companys Ships which Indisposition your Petitioner have been confined for, for many Months and often in Violent Agonies and which he believes you are no Strangers to and the his has by often repetitions of proper Medicines and applications met with relief, and was in hopes of a Cure yet your Petitioner with much concern Afsures he still Labours under great affliction the not altogether so painful as before, yet as to render him incapable of discharging his Duty with that Alacrity and Cheerfulness he desires, and as your petitioner have and still finds it inconvenient for	The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month ending 11 May 1754 were brought in that day. The council examined and approved them, and they follow. This is the gunner's account of stores expended between 12 April and 11 May 1754. The columns record guns fired, and powder in pounds, ounces and drams, with a total of powder expended. 12 April, arrived a Danish ship, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces 13 April, a double alarm, 9 guns fired, 3 ounces 3 drams, total 3 pounds Arrived two Swedish ships, returned their salutes, 16 guns fired, 16 pounds powder Powder for priming, 4 pounds 15 April, alarm, 6 guns fired, 8 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds, total 12 pounds Arrived a Danish ship, returned the salute, 11 guns fired, 11 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces 16 April, powder for priming at Prosperous Bay, 3 ounces 23 April, departed the two Danish ships, returned their salutes, 18 guns fired, 18 pounds powder Powder for priming, 3 ounces Alarm, 6 guns fired, 8 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds, total 12 pounds 25 April, answered the <i>Salisbury</i> captain in fort, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces 28 April, powder for replenishing the cartridges of the mains guard, 1 pound 8 ounces Powder for signals, 1 pound Powder fired for the funeral of Thomas Oliver, 2 pounds 4 ounces Powder fired for the funeral of Benjamin Williams, 2 pounds 4 May, alarm, 6 guns fired, 8 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds, total 12 pounds Alarm at Turks Cap for the same ship, 2 guns fired, 2 pounds powder Answered the <i>Portfield</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces 5 May, alarm for a ship that went by, 6 guns fired, 8 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds Total, 107 guns fired, 184 pounds 4 ounces powder Interpretations The gunner's account records the powder spent on the ceremony and vigilance of a fortified island, salutes returned to arriving and departing ships, alarms fired at strange sails and signals given from the batteries. The steady expenditure on saluting the many ships of several nations, Danish, Swedish and the Company's own, shows the courtesies of the sea kept up at real cost in powder, each vessel greeted and sped on its way by the guns of the fort. The alarms fired at passing ships reveal the island's constant watchfulness, every unidentified sail met with a warning gun to bring the garrison to readiness against the chance of an enemy. The firing at outposts such as Prosperous Bay and Turks Cap shows the alarm carried round the coast from station to station, the whole island roused by the guns whenever a ship approached that had not made herself known. The powder fired for the funerals of Thomas Oliver and Benjamin Williams shows the guns serving the settlement's solemn occasions as well as its defence,

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			a military honour paid to the dead at the expense of the Company's stores. The record ties to the death of Benjamin Williams the soldier on 24 April 1754, noted in the earlier consultation, the funeral volley here marking the burial of the man whose passing the register had set down.
60	53	1754 for him to attend the Honble Companys Businefs under such Circumstances and having had good advice that many afflicted with such Disorders, have been thoroughly relieved in England, where there are all Materials necefsary for a cure, the perfecting of which would be a most happy and acceptable thing to him, his health being the chief advantage whereby to get a maintenance Humbly hopes you will be pleased to grant him liberty to proceed there for that purpose, and if your petitioner should meet with that happinefs, to wish he shall have the Honour to return him again, in the Honbla Companys Service, which your petitioner have always shewed a due regard for, and hopes that this his request, may not meet with any objection, from you, or disapprobation from him. And prevince he has, as your petitioner afsures you, with great veracity informed you of his situation, which is the chief and only motive that induces him to make this request and begs that it may be favourably considered St Helena 13 May 1754 And Your petitioner as in Duty bound Shall ever pray &c (Signed) Thos French This is to Certify to all whom it may Concern that, Mr Thos French Factor in the Service of the Honble Unated East India Companys On the Island of St Helena has long laboured Under a very Obstinate Disorder in the Nature of a Bloody Flux Attended with Violent pains in the lower part of his Abdomen And Urethra And Notwithstanding the several Methods that have been Used for his Recovery (yet he has received several Benefit but not an Effectual Cure) he has at times returns of the same Disorder St Helena 13 May 1754 (Signed) John Inglis Surgeon Agreed to give Mr Thomas French Liberty to go to England Captain	The gunner's account continued from the previous total of 107 guns fired and 184 pounds 4 ounces powder. 6 May, alarm, 6 guns fired, 8 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds, total 12 pounds Arrived the <i>Boscawen</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces 9 May, departed the <i>Grantham</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces Powder for signals, 12 ounces Total, 131 guns fired, 197 pounds 8 ounces powder The gunner also accounted for the following stores expended. Paper for the use of the castle, 6 quires Paper for making of small cartridges, 6 quires Match burnt at the main fort, 6 pounds Tallow for greasing the wood carts, 1½ pounds Tallow for greasing the pump, 1 pound Handspikes broken at Rupert's, 8 Pink hoops for repairing the powder barrels, 160 Pink hoops for repairing the bilge barrels, 172 White hoops for the same, 70 Copper braided for the same, 350 Tanned sheepskins for the same, 30 Flag at the main fort worn out and unserviceable, 1 Copper braided for the powder chest at Prosperous Bay, 30 Paper for making of great gun cartridges, 6 quires Needles broke with sewing of cartridges, 6 Handspikes broke at the main fort, 1 Tallow for the carts at the plantation house, 1 pound Tampion lost at Turks Cap, 2 Sheet lead for making a boat buoy, 7 pounds The account was closed and signed by Thomas Hall. Interpretations The stores account records the constant labour of keeping the guns and their gear in working order, the paper made up into cartridges, the match burnt to fire them, and the hoops and skins used to repair the barrels that held the powder. The great numbers of pink and white hoops and copper braiding for mending the powder and bilge barrels show how much effort went into preserving the casks against damp and decay, the safe keeping of powder on a sea-girt island being a matter of unremitting maintenance. A tampion was the wooden plug set in a gun's muzzle to keep out water and damp when the piece was not in use, one lost here at Turks Cap, and a handspike was the stout lever used to shift and train the heavy guns, several broken at the forts. These small losses and breakages, faithfully entered, reveal the wear of the ordnance in daily service and the care taken to account for every item of the gunner's equipment. The worn-out flag at the main fort, set down as unserviceable, connects to the bunting bought earlier to make new colours for the mains, the old ensign here retired as the new one was made up. The account shows the flag as a consumable of the fort, exposed to the weather until it failed and had to be replaced, the whole cycle of its use and renewal traceable through the settlement's careful records.

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<u>61</u>	54	13 May Captain Benjamin Braund presents the following Letter Vizt To Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr &c Council Sirs The Ship Boscawen is in want of four thousand one hundred pounds of Rice, in sparing of which you will greatly oblige Gentlemen Your most obedt Hble Servt (Signed) B Braund St Helena May 13 1754 Captain Braund acquaints us that it would be unsafe for him to proceed to Sea without the above supply of Rice who is so much in want of Bread time, we therefor agree to let him have the quantity he requires Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Boscawen Captain Benjamin Braund to Muster Her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as Follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Boscawen Benjamin Braund Comm George Marton Surgeon Jno Callanach Midshipman John Mumford 1 Mate Evan Evans Purser William Goodcliff Do Sowester Fashia 2 Do Edward George Gunner Thomas Peinting Do John Budd 3 Do Thos Pechart Carpenter John Wadd Do John Cotton 4 Do George Temmas Boatswain Thomas Smithes Do Marton Biggthon 5 Do Andrew Godfrey Midshm John Sutherland Do Thomas English 6 Do John Bowland Do George Woulton Do Purser	This is the account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock between 12 April and 11 May 1754. The neat cattle columns run bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers, bullocks, oxen and total; the sheep columns ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total; the goats columns does, wethers, kids, rams and total; the hogs columns sows, shoats, pigs, boars and total; then poultry turkeys, fowls and total; ducks, geese, horses mares, mares and total; and asses. Remaining 12 April, bulls 4, cows 77, calves 55, yearlings 23, heifers 20, steers 9, bullocks 9, oxen 12, total 207; ewes 188, wethers 58, lambs 92, rams 6, total 344; does 95, wethers 30, kids 53, rams 7, total 185; sows 8, shoats 17, pigs 9, boars 2, total 36; turkeys 34, fowls 386, total 49; ducks 18, geese 6, horses 6, mares 12; asses 3 Increased, calves 2, oxen 2, lambs 13, total 13, kids 1, total 1, fowls 8, total 19 Total, bulls 4, cows 77, calves 55, yearlings 23, heifers 20, steers 9, bullocks 9, oxen 12, total 209; ewes 188, wethers 58, lambs 105, rams 6, total 357; does 95, wethers 30, kids 54, rams 7, total 186; sows 8, shoats 17, pigs 9, boars 2, total 36; turkeys 62, fowls 406, total 49; ducks 18, geese 6, horses 6, mares 12; asses 3 Killed, calves 2, heifers 2, oxen 7, wethers 2, lambs 1, rams 2, does 5, wethers 1, kids 3, rams 2, poultry 18, ducks 8 Died, steers 3, oxen 1, wethers 1, lambs 1, does 2, fowls 2, geese 1 Remaining 11 May, bulls 4, cows 77, calves 55, yearlings 23, heifers 18, steers 6, bullocks 7, oxen 12, total 202; ewes 185, wethers 57, lambs 102, rams 6, total 350; does 94, wethers 27, kids 52, rams 7, total 180; sows 8, shoats 17, pigs 9, boars 2, total 36; turkeys 60, fowls 385, total 40; ducks 18, geese 6, horses 6, mares 12; asses 3 Yams expended, 22,235. The following stock was disposed of. 1 goat to the sick slaves Beef to the <i>Salisbury</i>, 560 pounds Beef to the <i>Portfield</i>, 560 pounds Beef to the <i>Boscawen</i>, 560 pounds The account was closed, errors excepted, and signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The stock account shows the plantation as a working farm, its herds and flocks reckoned month by month with every birth, killing and death set down, so the Company could track the increase and consumption of the animals it bred to feed the settlement and the ships. The careful separation of beasts killed from beasts died reveals the double purpose of the record, distinguishing the stock deliberately slaughtered for meat from the natural losses of the herd, both charged against the running total. The great issues of beef to the three ships, 560 pounds to each of the <i>Salisbury</i>, the <i>Portfield</i> and the <i>Boscawen</i>, show the plantation provisioning the fleet with fresh meat as the store provisioned it with grain. The heavy draw on the herds to victual the passing vessels marks the island's function as a place of refreshment, where ships worn by long voyages took on fresh food to carry them onward, the settlement's own stock the source of the supply. The single goat given to the sick slaves connects to the fish bought earlier for the same people when the salt provisions ran short, both small entries revealing the minimal fresh food allowed to the bound labourers, a beast spared for the ill among them from a farm that killed its stock chiefly for the garrison and the ships. The yams expended, over twenty-two thousand, show the root that was the island's own home-grown staple, grown in bulk to feed the slaves and stock where imported grain could not stretch.

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<u>62</u>	55	1754 Edward Dampier Midshm William Clark Boatswains Mate Wm Frilherton Seaman Robert Pabent Do Robert Walker Coopers Mate Thomas Bijler Do William Fullerton Do Edward Watson Cauliker Do George Wood Do Nath Willor Cauliker Sevin Anthony Capts Cook Do William Miter Do John Riene Cooper Alexr Adrin Do Mate Alexr Herring Do Richard Tibbit Ships Steward Abel Dixson Do Edward Murphey Do John Gee Sailmaker Alexr Wadden Do Robert Stevenson Do Dan Fahay Captains Cook Joseph Beale Do Henry Bailey Do William Jones Captains Steward Robt Fitzgerald Seaman John Baldory Do Jno Aughton Armourer Robert Tripstal Do Benjamin Gorman Do Woodwick James Ships Cook Andrew Sharp Do Jos Robinson Do Robert Means Butcher John Hankins Do Alexr Easton Do Jos Adenson Taylor Peter Hill Do William Raul Do Peue Patterson Poulterer Joseph Hickey Do George Nelson Do James Sowson Baker Thomas Blummiers Do Scoch Wm Sowson Do John Green Surgeons Mate John Pebrison Do Petey Francisco Do Tho Pechat Gunner William Chatto Do Thomas Clayk Do William Willson Carpenters Mate John Agnew Do Michl Mathews Do John Rayin Joyner Nell Clim Do James Elivington Do Robert Alberdien Boat Mate Robert Haynes Do Jos Davis Do Benjn Braun Boat Servant Fred Dredneught Do Henry Redman Do John Wild Carpenters Do John Gee Do Samuel Britt Do Ignatonston Seaman Phillip Whaling Do Earl May Do John Sonton Do John Wright Do Jos Bowley Captains Servant James Moor Do William Pittman Do	This account records the sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 May 1754. 14 bottles port wine, £1 1s 0d 42 bottles Lisbon, £3 3s 0d 14 bottles Madeira, £1 13s 1d 28 bottles arrack, £0 18s 11½d 47 bottles beer, £0 11s 9d 287 flour, £1 18s 10½d 124 mutton, £2 11s 8d 476½ beef, £5 19s 1½d 30½ goat, £0 19s 11d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 18 fowls, £1 7s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 80 candy, £1 6s 8d 35 butter, £2 15s 0d Total, £26 16s 11½d The account was closed and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The table account shows the fare kept at the governor's board, a generous provision of wine, meat and delicacies that set the establishment's leaders apart from the plain ration of the garrison. The range of drink alone, port, Lisbon, Madeira, arrack and beer together, marks a table maintained to a standard befitting the Company's dignity, the officers of a remote island dining as gentlemen at the Company's charge. The heavy expenditure on fresh meat, nearly five hundred pounds of beef and over a hundred of mutton in the month, shows the table drawing freely on the plantation's stock that the stock account recorded being killed. The abundance of goat, lamb, kid, fowl, duck and turkey beside the beef and mutton reveals a board supplied with fresh provisions of every kind the island's farm could yield, a plenty that the salt-fed soldiers and slaves did not share. The account connects the table directly to the plantation and store whose issues fed it, the candy from the China ships, the arrack from India, the flour from the imported grain and the meat from the Company's own herds all meeting on the governor's table. The whole reveals how the resources of the settlement, drawn from three continents and its own soil, converged to maintain the small ruling establishment in a comfort that the island's remoteness might otherwise have denied.

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		Thomas Sowson Do John Jones Do Robert Riggs 1 Malench Rich Bennett Do Mate Charles Cendall Sailmaker James Richardson Malench Do Richard Warren Gunners Do John Bomb Do Servt Richard Wood Do Robert Ph Harrison Servt Pafsenger A Black his Servant Do Pafsenger yeo The	
63	56	13 May The Boscawen brought us the following Supply from China Vizt Invoice pr Ship Boscawen Sr Sugar Vizt No 1 a 150 50 Chests cont Do Nett at Chests included T 4 mds 700 pr Ct T 235,000 S C Sugar Candy Vizt No 1 a 10 10 Chests cont Do Nett at Chests included 6 500 65,000 T 300,000 Errors Excepted (Signed) Thos Little Rich Wood Mann Horner Robt Jos Harrison The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods Short Delivered from Ship Boscawen Received Short from Ship Boscawen May 13 1754 Do Do 16 Candy Short Weight (Signed) M Curling Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At	The council met at the castle on Thursday 23 May 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 20 May 1754. On Tuesday 21 May 1754 Augustine Balls, a soldier, died. On the same day Isaac Joel, a soldier, died. Captain Benjamin Braund applied to the council for leave to pay £225 into the Honourable Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable the Court of Directors, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The deaths of Augustine Balls and Isaac Joel connect these men to the earlier pay list, where both stood among the sentinels drawing their quarterly wage. Balls had been on the establishment for the full term, while Joel was entered only on 31 March 1754, so a soldier taken on scarcely seven weeks before was already dead, a stark mark of the mortality that thinned the garrison of a remote station. Captain Braund's payment of £225 for bills on the Court of Directors was his second such remittance through the island's cash, following the £225 he had paid a little earlier, which shows the commander of the <i>Boscawen</i> moving a considerable sum home in stages. The repeated dealings of a single captain with the cash chest reveal how the ships' masters used the island's treasury as their regular channel for remitting the proceeds of their voyages and private trade to England.
64	57	20 May At a Consultation held on Monday the 20 day of May 1754 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 May 1754 Wednesday the 15 Died Flora Wife of Isaac Knife Thursday the 17 Pafsed by a Ship at a great distance Mr Matthew Purling applyed to us for liberty to pray Two Hundred and Twenty five Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which we have received and Given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honoble the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order ninety days after sight dated this day Mr Thomas French presented the following Petition Vizt To Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor and Council of St Helena The Humble Petition of Thomas French	The council met at the castle on Monday 27 May 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 23 May 1754. On Thursday 23 May 1754 the Honourable Company's ship <i>Boscawen</i> sailed for England. On Friday 24 May 1754 a ship passed by at a great distance. William Thompson, a soldier, had been missing ever since the <i>Boscawen</i> sailed, so the council supposed he had deserted from the island in that ship. The Honourable Company's cash was then counted and examined for the month ending 31 May, which follows. Interpretations William Thompson's disappearance coinciding with the sailing of the <i>Boscawen</i> shows the constant risk of desertion by sea that faced a garrison on a station where every ship offered a way off the island. The council's ready inference that he had stowed away aboard the departing vessel reveals how familiar this danger was, a soldier vanishing as a ship left being taken at once as a runaway carried off in her, the very evil the musters were meant to guard against.

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		Sheweth That your petitioner having some Affairs to settle before he can leave the Island and his attending the Office rendering it impracticable from him to Adjust the same he hopes you'll be pleased to excuse him from doing any further Duty 20 May 1754 And your petitioner will ever pray &c (Signed) Thos French Granted As	The episode connects to the two men taken off the <i>Portfield</i> earlier, deserters from another ship recovered and set to work, showing the two sides of the same problem. Where the island seized runaways brought to it, it also lost its own men to the ships that sailed, the traffic that made St Helena valuable as a port of call being the same traffic that offered its bound soldiers their chance to flee. The name William Thompson appears among the sentinels of the fourth company on the earlier pay list, tying the deserter to a particular man on the establishment. The record follows him from his enrolment through his wage to his flight, the settlement's careful books able to name the very soldier who had slipped away and to reckon the loss of him against the company he left.
65	58	20 May As Mr Thomas French has resigned the Honorable Companys Service agreeable to his request, in the above Petition, we appointed Mr William Wrangham to afsist in the Accomptants Office, and as his afsistance will be wanted in the Secretarys Office we have also appointed Mr Charles Newarda Young Man about eighteen Years old to that place, & Grandson to Mr Francis Wrangham Senr who is lately come from England where he qualified himself in Accounts and writing, and we believe can do the duty of that station very well, if the Honorable Company pleases to approve of it Joseph Bastick Soldier Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison, setting forth that he is quite incapable of doing any Duty from a hurt he received some time ago, And the Surgeon & his Afsistant being About to examine him and it appearing by the following Certificat from them that there is no hopes of his being cured we there fore agreed to discharge him This is to Certify to All Whom it may Concern that Joseph Bastick Soldier in the Service of the Honorable the Unated East India Company On the Island of St Helena, has for these three Years past laboured Under a very obstinate disorder in One of his Testicles, at first occasion'd by a fall) attended with Violent pains in the Loins which rendershim incapable of executng his proper Duty, all probable Means have been tryd for his recovery but proved ineffectual, And Pursuant to An Order of Council this Day have farther Examined him and think him incapable of Serving the Honorable Company in the Capacity of A Soldier, the Extirpation of the Testicle from his present Complaint being Impracticable St Helena 20 May 1754 (Signed) Jno Inglis Tho Evans The	This is the cash account. On 11 April 1754 the balance remaining was £3,064 14s 10½d. On 30 April 1754 exchange was received for a set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to the Reverend William Lee or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day, £30 0s 0d. On 6 May 1754 the balance of the <i>Salisbury's</i> account was received, £7 11s 8d. On the same day the balance of the <i>Portfield's</i> account was received, £7 7s 4d. On the same day exchange was received for a set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Captain Carteret Legey or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day, £300 0s 0d. On the same day exchange was received for a like set drawn and dated as above, payable to Captain John Foot or his order, £170 0s 0d. On the same day the balance of the <i>Grantham's</i> account was received, £12 4s 8d. On 8 May 1754 so much was received of Thomas French on account of James Dubois, to the account current at London, as by the consultation of the 6th, £122 13s 0½d. Total, £3,714 11s 7½d The balance remaining was held in the following species. 300 Venetians at 10s, £150 0s 0d 3,000 pagodas at 8s, £1,200 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,450 0s 0d 3,375 dollars at 5s, £843 15s 0d 6,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £675 0s 0d 12,948 half rials at 3¼d, £202 6s 3d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 1s 10½d Silver amounting to, £1,724 16s 7½d 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 Total, £3,714 11s 7½d Interpretations The cash held at the month's end had shifted in its make-up since the previous count, the gold risen as more pagodas came in and the silver dollars fallen in number, which shows the treasury constantly changing as the coin of the passing ships flowed through it. The comparison with the earlier balance reveals how the island's stock of specie rose and fell with the traffic of the sea, no single count the same as the last as vessels paid in and drew out. The receipt of the Dubois orphan's money from Thomas French, carried here to the London account current, shows the settlement forwarding a child's inheritance to England for safe keeping rather than holding it on the island. The transfer of the trust money to the account at home reveals how the Company's central treasury served as the ultimate

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			repository for such funds, the island a way station passing the orphan's money on to the greater security of London. The bills issued to the Reverend William Lee and the captains Legey and Foot, all recorded together, show the cluster of remittances that attended the departure of a homeward fleet. As the ships prepared to sail, their commanders and passengers turned their island cash into bills on the Company, so that the treasury's business swelled with the movement of the vessels, the counting-house busy in step with the coming and going of the shipping.
66	59	[Right-hand edge of the table partly cropped: some rightmost column figures are cut off.] 1754 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 follow Vizt Gunners Stores expended from 12 April to 6 May 1754 Guns Fired, lb 15, lb 18, T Guns Expend April 12 Arrived a Dane Ship returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, lb 15 0, lb 18 9, lb 24 0, T 9 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 13 A Double Alarm: Guns Fired 9, lb 15 3, lb 18 0, lb 24 3, T 18 Arrived two Sweed Ships, returned their Salute: Guns Fired 16, lb 15 0, lb 18 16, lb 24 0, T 16 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 3 15 Alarm: Guns Fired 6, lb 15 2, lb 18 2, lb 24 0, T 2, 12 Arrived a Dane Ship, returned the Salute: Guns Fired 11, lb 15 0, lb 18 11, lb 24 0, T 11 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 16 Powder for Priming at Prosperous Bay: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 3 21 Departed the two Dane Ships returned their Salute: Guns Fired 18, lb 15 0, lb 18 18, lb 24 0, T 18 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 3 Alarm: Guns Fired 6, lb 15 2, lb 18 2, lb 24 0, T 2, 12 22 Arrived the Salisbury Captain in Fort returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, lb 15 0, lb 18 9, lb 24 0, T 9 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 23 Powder for replenishing the Cartridges of the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 Powder for Signals: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 Do fired for the Funeral of Thomas Oliver: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 2 4 Do fired for the Funeral of Benjamin Williams: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 2 Alarm: Guns Fired 6, lb 15 2, lb 18 2, lb 24 0, T 2, 12 May 4 Alarm at Prosperous Bay for the Same Ship: Guns Fired 2, lb 15 2, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 2 Arrived the Portfield returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, lb 15 0, lb 18 9, lb 24 0, T 9 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 5 Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns Fired 6, lb 15 2, lb 18 2, lb 24 0, T 2, 12 107 13 11 72 11 184 4 Carried over	The executor of the last will and testament of Augustine Balls, a soldier, presented his will that day, asking that it be proved, which was done on the oaths of the witnesses to it. The will ran as follows. Augustine Balls of St Helena, a soldier, being of sound mind and memory, made this his last will and testament. First he wished to be decently buried. He bequeathed and disposed of his temporal estate in the following manner. To his sons James, Martha and <i>Elizabeth</i> Balls of the parish of Edgware, Mount Gate in Common Fowre, he bequeathed the sum of £200, to be equally shared if living and if to be found. The rest and remainder of his estate, lands, tenements, hereditaments, with his goods, chattels, plate and bonds, arrears of rent, and all other property of whatever kind belonging to him, he gave and bequeathed to John Clark, whom he constituted and appointed the whole and sole executor of the will. He revoked and annulled all former bequests, wills and legacies made before, declaring this alone to be his last will and testament. In witness he set his hand and seal on 18 May 1754. Signed, sealed, published and declared, no stamp paper being available, by the within-named Augustine Balls as his last will and testament, in the presence of those who subscribed their names, and in the presence of the testator and each other. The will was signed by Augustine Balls with his mark, and witnessed by Solomon Jacobs, Thomas Jones and John Legg. It was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The will was proved before the council on the oaths of its witnesses, which shows the body acting as a probate court, the only authority on the island competent to confirm a will and empower an executor. On a settlement with no separate ecclesiastical or civil court, the governor and council took to themselves the office that at home belonged to the church courts, so the proving of a soldier's will fell within the same council that governed the garrison. The note that the will was made on plain paper for want of stamped paper reveals the shortage of the proper legal materials on a remote station, where the forms required at home could not always be met. The witnesses recorded the lack expressly, so the defect should not later void the will, which shows the care taken to preserve the validity of a legal act made without the means that English law would ordinarily demand. Balls appointed John Clark, the lieutenant and councillor, as his sole executor and residuary heir, which shows a common soldier entrusting his affairs to an officer of the establishment. The choice of a member of the council reveals the standing of such men as the natural trustees of the settlement's people, the same John Clark who sat in judgement on the island's business also serving as the private executor of a dying soldier's estate. Balls had died on 21 May 1754, only three days after making this will on 18 May 1754, which shows a man setting his affairs in order in his last illness, aware that his end was near. The swift proving of the will

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			days after his death reveals the council dispatching the business promptly, the whole course from the making of the will to its proof compressed into little more than a week.
67	60	20 May Guns Fired, lb 15, lb 18, lb 24, T, Guns Expend Brought over: Guns Fired 107, lb 15 13, lb 18 11, lb 24 72, T 11, 184 4 May 6 Alarm: Guns Fired 6, lb 15 2, lb 18 2, lb 24 0, T 2, 12 Arrived the Boscawen returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, lb 15 0, lb 18 9, lb 24 0, T 9 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 9 Departed the Grantham returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, lb 15 0, lb 18 9, lb 24 0, T 9 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 Powder for Signals: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 12 Total: 131 15 13 90 13 197 8 Paper for the use of the Castle Quire 1 Paper for making of Small Cartridges Quire 1 Match Burnt at the Main Fort lb 6 Tallow for Greasing the Wood Carts lb 1½ Tallow for Greasing the Pump 1 Handspikes broke at Ruperts 8 Pink hoops for repairing the Powder Barrels 160 Pink hoops for repairing the Bouge Barrels 172 White Hooper Do 70 Copper Boardor Do 350 Tanned Sheep Skins for Do 30 Flag at the Main Fort worn out and unserviceable 1 Copper Boddor for the Powder Chest at Prosperous Bay 30 Paper for making of Great Gun Cartridges Quire 1 Needles broke with sewing of Cartridges 6 Handspikes broke at the Main Fort 1 Tallow for the Carts at Plantation House lb 1½ Tompeon lost at Turks Cap 2 Sea de Shott for Making a Boat being too 7 (Signed) Thos Hall	The council met at the castle on Wednesday 5 June 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 27 May 1754. That day a ship passed by under Dutch colours. On Thursday a Danish ship arrived from Tranquebar called the <i>Three Princesses</i>, under Captain Robert Pheiff, of about five hundred tons burden, carrying twelve guns and fifty-eight men, laden with bale goods and bound for Copenhagen. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The arrival of a Danish ship from Tranquebar shows the range of European nations trading in the East that touched at St Helena on their homeward passage. Tranquebar was the Danish settlement on the Coromandel coast of India, the eastern base of the Danish company, so the vessel's course from there to Copenhagen marks the parallel eastern trade of the northern powers, whose ships shared the ocean road with the English Company's own. The careful record of the ship's tonnage, guns, men and cargo reveals the island's watchful reckoning of every vessel that called, the note of her armament and complement serving the settlement's need to know the strength of the ships in its road. On a fortified island wary of enemies in time of war, the exact description of a foreign vessel was a matter of security as well as of record, the guns and men counted against the chance that a stranger might prove hostile.
68	61	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c from the 25 April to the 11 of May 1754 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Sees, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoters, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Mesons, Miuns, Total Remaining 12: Bulls 4, Cows 77, Calves 55, Yearlings 23, Heifers 20, Steers 9, Bullocks 9, Oxen 12, Total 207, Ewes 188, Weathers 58, Lambs 92, Rams 6, Total 344, Sees 95, Weathers 30, Kids 53, Rams 7, Total 185, Sows 8, Shoters 17, Piggs 9, Boars 2, Total 36, Turkeys 54, Fowles 386, Ducks 49, Geese 18, Mesons 6, Miuns 6, Total 12	The council met at the castle on Monday 10 June 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 5 June 1754. On Thursday 6 June 1754 Richard Gorling, the Honourable Company's overseer and planter, died. On Friday 7 June 1754 Marton Harper, a planter, died. Francis Wrangham senior, John Goodwin and Francis Wrangham junior presented a petition to the council. They were attorneys for Gabriel Stewart, a native of the island, who had directed them to dispose of his effects. Among them were nine acres of freehold

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		Increased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 13, Rams 0, Total 13, Sees 0, Weathers 0, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 0, Shoters 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 8, Ducks 19, Geese 0, Mesons 0, Miuns 0, Total 0 Bulls 4, Cows 77, Calves 55, Yearlings 23, Heifers 20, Steers 9, Bullocks 9, Oxen 12, Total 209, Ewes 188, Weathers 58, Lambs 105, Rams 6, Total 357, Sees 95, Weathers 30, Kids 54, Rams 7, Total 186, Sows 8, Shoters 17, Piggs 9, Boars 2, Total 36, Turkeys 62, Fowles 405, Ducks 49, Geese 18, Mesons 6, Miuns 6, Total 12 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Yearlings 3, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 7, Total 0, Ewes 2, Weathers 1, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 5, Sees 1, Weathers 3, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 6, Sows 0, Shoters 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 2, Fowles 18, Ducks 8, Geese 0, Mesons 0, Miuns 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 1, Total 0, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 2, Sees 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoters 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 2, Ducks 1, Geese 0, Mesons 0, Miuns 0, Total 0 Remain 11: Bulls 4, Cows 77, Calves 55, Yearlings 23, Heifers 18, Steers 6, Bullocks 7, Oxen 12, Total 202, Ewes 185, Weathers 57, Lambs 102, Rams 6, Total 350, Sees 94, Weathers 27, Kids 52, Rams 7, Total 180, Sows 8, Shoters 17, Piggs 9, Boars 2, Total 36, Turkeys 60, Fowles 385, Ducks 40, Geese 18, Mesons 6, Miuns 6, Total 12 Asses Remaining 12: 3 Increased: 0 3 Killed: 0 Died: 0 Remain 11: 3 1 Goat to the Sick Blacks Beef to the Salisbury lb 560 Beef to the Portfield 560 Beef to the Boscawen 560 Yams Expended 22235 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	land, which they wished to sell at public auction. They asked the council to be pleased to grant them leave to dispose of his right for the time to come, on the usual terms. The petition was signed by Francis Wrangham, John Goodwin and Francis Wrangham junior. The request was granted. Interpretations The petition reveals the existence of private freehold land on St Helena held by the island's own natives, Gabriel Stewart owning nine acres in his own right that his attorneys sought leave to sell. The need to obtain the council's licence before disposing of the land shows that even private property was held subject to the Company's control, the sale of freehold requiring the sanction of the governing body, which reveals the limits set on ownership in a settlement where the Company was ultimately lord of the soil. The sale by public auction through appointed attorneys shows a developed practice for transferring property on the island, the machinery of agents, auction and council licence answering the need to dispose of a man's effects in due form. The involvement of three of the establishment's own officers as attorneys reveals how the small circle of qualified men served the settlement's private business as well as its public affairs, the same names recurring as trustees, executors and agents throughout these records. The deaths of the overseer Richard Gorling and the planter Marton Harper on successive days, both connected to the plantation, show the toll of mortality reaching the very men who managed the Company's farm. Gorling had appeared on the earlier pay list as an overseer, so the record follows him from his wage to his death, another of the establishment's servants whose passing the register set down in the plain course of its daily notes.
69	62	20 May Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11 instant Vizt 14 Bottles Port Wine £ 1 1 42 Do Lisbon 3 3 14 Do Madeira 1 13 1 28 Do Arrack 18 11½ 47 Do Bear 11 9 287 Flour 1 18 10½ 124 Mutton 2 11 8 476½ Beef 5 19 1½ 30½ Goat 19 11 2 Lambs 1 2 Kids 10 18 Fowls 1 7 8 Ducks 12	<i>Elizabeth</i> Gorling presented a letter to the Governor. She wrote that the indisposition she was then under, together with her situation, made her ask to be excused for not waiting upon him in person. Her late husband had died intestate, and as she had to settle his affairs, which were much involved, it was very inconvenient and beyond her power to manage or transact them herself. The letter was signed by <i>Elizabeth</i> Gorling on 10 June 1754. The council then ordered the secretary to write to <i>Elizabeth</i> Mason, sister to the late Richard Gorling, to know whether she would take upon her the administration. Since Richard Gorling had been the Honourable Company's overseer and had died on Friday last, the Governor proposed that two men should be employed in that branch, and that the salary of £60 a year be divided equally between them, so the plantation might be the better looked after. The council agreed. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The widow <i>Elizabeth</i> Gorling's inability to administer her husband's intestate estate, and the council's turn to his sister <i>Elizabeth</i> Mason instead, reveals the workings of intestate succession on the island. Where a man died without a will, the right to administer his estate fell to be settled among his kin, the council seeking a willing and able administrator,

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		2 Turkeys 10 80 Candy 1 6 8 35 Butter 2 15 £ 26 16 11½ Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	which shows the body again exercising the probate authority that on a remote station it alone could wield. The Governor's proposal to divide the dead overseer's post and salary between two men shows the settlement using the vacancy to reorganise the management of its farm. The judgement that the plantation would be better looked after by two men sharing the £60 than by one reveals a deliberate improvement of oversight, the loss of Gorling turned to the advantage of closer supervision, which marks the council attending to the efficient running of the Company's agriculture. The reference to the plantation being better looked after connects to the recurring difficulties of managing the Company's farm, the herds and crops that the stock account tracked and that fed the settlement and the ships. The concern to strengthen its oversight after the overseer's death reveals how central the plantation was to the island's economy, its good management a matter the council would restructure its offices to secure. Speculations The Governor answered the loss of a single overseer by splitting the post between two men on the same total salary rather than simply appointing one successor at the accustomed wage. The record shows the reasoning that justified the change: the plantation would be the better looked after by two, so the vacancy became the occasion to buy closer supervision at no extra cost, the £60 that had paid one man now spread to secure the attention of two.
<u>70</u>	63	23 May At a Consultation held on Thursday the 23 Day of May 1754 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 1754 Tuesday the 21 Died Augustine Balls Soldier Tuesday the 21 Died Isaac Joel Soldier Captain Benjamin Braund applyed to us to pay Two Hundred and Thirty five Pounds 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) ninety Days after Sight dated this day Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The council met at the castle on Monday 17 June 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 10 June 1754. On Monday 10 June 1754 the Danish ship called the <i>Three Princesses</i> sailed. Benjamin Mason presented a letter to the council. He had received a letter from Francis Wrangham asking whether he would administer the estate of Richard Gorling on behalf of his wife, but it was an affair of such weight that he could not comply. The letter was signed by Benjamin Mason on 17 June 1754. Since Benjamin Mason had declined the administration, the council turned to Richard Bagley, who was guardian to two infants that were half-sisters to the late Richard Gorling and himself a relation to him, to know whether he would take upon him the administration. He too refused to do so, either on behalf of the children or of himself. Interpretations The successive refusals to administer Richard Gorling's estate, by his sister <i>Elizabeth</i> Mason's husband and then by the relation Richard Bagley, reveal the burden that administration of a tangled intestate estate could impose. The unwillingness of one kinsman after another to take on the office shows that the duty was no mere formality but a real charge, the involvement of the dead man's affairs enough to deter those with the right to act, which explains the council's difficulty in finding any administrator at all. The mention of Bagley as guardian to two infant half-sisters of the dead man reveals the complex web of kinship and guardianship among the island's families, the same small community bound together by ties of blood and trust. The council's search through the relations for a willing administrator shows how the settlement's affairs turned upon these connections, the disposal of an estate depending on which kinsman could be found to shoulder it. The whole episode connects to the council's standing role as the island's court of probate and administration, here labouring to settle an estate that

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			no one would take up. The repeated approaches to different kin, each recorded and each refused, reveal the practical limits of that authority, for the council could name and invite an administrator but could not compel a reluctant kinsman to serve, leaving the estate in suspense until a willing hand was found.
71	64	27 May At a Consultation held on Monday the 27 day of May 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read and approved and signed dated the 23 of May 1754 Thursday the 23 Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Boscawen for England Yesterday Pafsed by a Ship at a great distance William Thompson Soldier being mifsed ever since the Boscawen Sailed, we imagine that he deserted from the Island in that Ship Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 25 instant which is as follows Viz	In keeping with the resolution of the previous meeting, the council appointed Matthew Bazett and George Young to be overseers of the Honourable Company's plantation, at £30 each a year, in the room of the late Richard Gorling. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The council met at the castle on Monday 24 June 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 17 June 1754. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month ending 11 June 1754 were brought in that day. The council examined and approved them, and they follow. Interpretations The appointment of Matthew Bazett and George Young at £30 each carried out the plan formed at Gorling's death, dividing the single overseer's post and its £60 salary between two men. The record shows the reorganisation completed, the two new overseers installed on the terms the Governor had proposed, which reveals the council following through a considered improvement in the management of its farm from proposal to appointment within a fortnight. The name Matthew Bazett appears earlier on the establishment as a factor drawing salary, diet money and house rent, so his appointment here as a plantation overseer shows a servant moving between the offices of the settlement. The shifting of a man from the factory to the farm reveals the fluidity of employment on the island, where the small body of Company servants was redeployed as the needs of the establishment required.
72	65	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr April 12 1754 To Balance remaining £ 3064 14 10½ 30 To Exchange for a Sett of Bills drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors, payable to the Reverend William Lee, or Order, ninety days after sight dated this Day 30 May 6 To Ship Salisbury the Balance of her Account 7 11 8 To Ship Portfield the Balance of her Account 7 7 4 To Exchange for a Sett of Bills drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors, payable to Captain Carteret Le Gujt, or Order, ninety days after sight dated this Day 300 To Do for a set Do drawn and dated as above payable to Captain John Foot, or Order 170 To Ship Grantham the Balance of her Account 12 4 8 8 To Account Current London received of Thomas French, on Account of James Du Bois as pr Consultation of the 6 instant 122 13 ¾ £ 3714 11 7½ 1754 May 11 By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 500 Venetians a 10/ £ 250	This is the account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock between 12 May and 11 June 1754. The neat cattle columns run bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers, bullocks, oxen and total; the sheep columns ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total; the goats columns does, wethers, kids, rams and total; the hogs columns sows, shoats, pigs, boars and total; then poultry turkeys, fowls, ducks, geese and total; horses mares, mares and total; and asses. Remaining 12 May, bulls 4, cows 77, calves 53, yearlings 23, heifers 18, steers 6, bullocks 7, oxen 12, total 202; ewes 185, wethers 57, lambs 102, rams 6, total 350; does 94, wethers 27, kids 52, rams 7, total 180; sows 8, shoats 17, pigs 9, boars 2, total 36; turkeys 60, fowls 385, ducks 40, geese 18, total 6; horses 6, mares 12; asses 1, foals 2, total 3 Increased, calves 16, oxen 16, lambs 19, total 19, kids 48, total 48, fowls 7, ducks 26, total 1 Total, bulls 4, cows 77, calves 71, yearlings 23, heifers 18, steers 6, bullocks 7, oxen 12, total 218; ewes 185, wethers 57, lambs 121, rams 6, total 369; does 94, wethers 27, kids 100, rams 7, total 228; sows 8, shoats 17, pigs 9, boars 2, total 36; turkeys 67, fowls 410, ducks 40, geese 19, total 6; horses 6, mares 12; asses 1, foals 2, total 3 Killed, lambs 1, rams 3, does 2, kids 2, geese 4, ducks 18, total 5 Died, lambs 2, rams 1, does 3, kids 6, sows 1, pigs 3, turkeys 4, fowls 2, ducks 1, geese 3 Killed by goat, ducks 2 Remaining 11 June, bulls 4, cows 77, calves 71, yearlings 23, heifers 18, steers 6, bullocks 7, oxen 12,

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		3000 Pagadas 8/ 1200 Gold Amounting to £ 1450 3375 Dollars a 5/ 843 15 6000 Rupees 2/3 675 1248 half Rials 3¼ 202 6 3 441 French Pieces 2 3 13 6 Old Money 1 10½ Silver Amounting to £ 1724 16 7½ 146 Cash Notes a 40/ 292 162 Do 20/ 162 263 Do 5/ 65 15 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to £ 539 15 £ 3714 11 7½	total 218; ewes 182, wethers 53, lambs 116, rams 6, total 357; does 94, wethers 25, kids 100, rams 7, total 226; sows 8, shoats 16, pigs 6, boars 2, total 32; turkeys 61, fowls 389, ducks 32, geese 13, total 6; horses 6, mares 12; asses 1, foals 2, total 3 The following slaves died: one woman named Helena, one man named Mathews, one man named Davis and one boy named Tom. Yams expended, 24,962. The account was closed, errors excepted, and signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The deaths of four slaves, entered in the same account and the same manner as the losses of cattle and poultry, reveal the brutal reckoning by which the Company counted its bound labourers among its stock. The slaves Helena, Mathews, Davis and Tom set down beside the dead sheep and fowls, their deaths tallied in the plantation's monthly return, show the dehumanising logic of the system that held them, their lives entered as items of the estate rather than in any separate register of persons. The heavy increase in kids and lambs, the goats nearly doubling their young in the month, shows the spring breeding of the flocks in the island's southern-hemisphere autumn turning toward the cooler season. The strong natural increase set against the steady killing and dying reveals the plantation as a self-renewing resource, its herds bred to keep pace with the constant draw upon them for the table, the garrison and the ships. The yams expended, close to twenty-five thousand and risen from the previous month, connect the root crop to the feeding of the slaves whose deaths the same account records. The yam was the island's home-grown staple for its bound people and its stock, grown in the great quantities these figures show because the imported grain could not stretch to feed all, which reveals the island's dependence on its own soil to sustain the labour that worked it.
73	66	27 May The Executor of the last Will and Testament of Augustine Balls Soldier, this day presented his Will, desiring the same might be proved, which was accordingly done, upon the Oaths of the Witneses thereto, The Will is as follows Vizt In the Name of God Amen I (Augustine Balls) of St Helena, Soldier being of Perfect Mind and Memory, make this my last Will and Testament, First, I desire to be Decently buried, My temporal Estate I bequeath and dispose of, in the following Manner: Imprimis (To my Son James Marha and Elizabeth Balls) of the Parish of Edgworth Mountgate in Connel Town, I bequeath the Sum of Two Hundred Pounds to be equally Shared, if living and (or) to be found, (The Residue, and Remainder of My Estate, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, with my Goods, Chattles, Plate, and Bonds, Arrears of Rents, with all other Properties of whatkind soever, to me appertaining, I give, devise and bequeath (to Mr John Clark) whom I constitute and appoint (the whole and sole) Executor of this my last Will, and Testament, and I do hereby utterly revoke, disallow, and disanul all former Bequests, Wills, and Legacies	This is the gunner's account of stores expended between 12 May and 11 June 1754. The columns record guns fired, and powder in pounds, ounces and drams, with a total of powder expended. 7 May 1754, an alarm for a ship that went by, 6 guns fired, 8 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds, total 12 pounds 23 May, powder for priming in order to have returned the salute of the <i>Boscawen</i>, 1 pound 8 ounces 26 May, an alarm for a ship that went by, 6 guns fired, 8 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds, total 12 pounds 4 June, an alarm for a Dutch ship that went by, 6 guns fired, 8 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds, total 12 pounds 5 June, the alarm doubled, 3 guns fired, 1 ounce 1 dram, total 1 pound, total 6 pounds Powder for priming in order to have returned the salute of the Dutch ship, 1 pound 8 ounces Arrived a Danish ship, returned the salute, 11 guns fired, 11 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces 10 June, departed the Danish ship, returned the salute, 11 guns fired, 11 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces Powder fired for the funeral of Augustine Balls, 2 pounds 4 ounces Powder fired for the funeral of Isaac Joel, 2 pounds 4 ounces Powder for signals, 1 pound 8 ounces Total, 53 guns fired, 76 pounds 7 ounces powder The gunner also accounted for the following stores expended. Tallow delivered to Captain Braund, 66 pounds

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		by me heretofore in any wise before Made, declaring ratifying and Confirming this, and no other to be my last Will and Testament, In Witnefs, whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand and Seal, this Eighteenth day of May, in the Year of our Lord, one Thousand seven Hundred and fifty four Signed, Sealed, Published and Declared, (where no Stamp Paper is to be had) by the within named Testator (Augustine Balls) to be his last Will and Testament, in Presence of us who Subscribed our Names, in Presence of the said Testator and each other (Signed) Solon Jacobs Tho Jones Jno Legg Augustine Balls his Mark Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At	Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at the main fort, 2 pounds Tallow for greasing the longboat, 3 pounds Tallow for greasing the yawl, 1 pound Paper for an orderly book, 1 quire Sponge staves for the use of the batteries, 2 Sponge staves for fitting up the sponges for the new guns at the main fort, 5 Rammer heads for the same, 5 Sponge heads for the same, 5 Sheepskins for the same, 5 Trunk nails for the same, 257 Sponge staves broke at the main fort, 1 Sponge staves for repairing the sponges at the main fort, 2 Rammer heads for the same, 1 Sheepskins for the same, 2 The account was closed and signed by Thomas Hall. Interpretations The powder fired for the funerals of Augustine Balls and Isaac Joel connects these entries to the two soldiers whose deaths on 21 May 1754 the council recorded, and whose burials were here honoured with the guns. Balls, whose will the council had proved, and Joel, taken on only weeks before he died, both received the military salute at their graves, which shows the settlement paying the same honour to the humblest sentinel as to any, the powder spent from the Company's stores to mark the passing of its men. The fitting up of sponges, rammers and heads for the new guns at the main fort reveals the strengthening of the island's ordnance, fresh cannon being mounted and equipped with the tools to serve them. A sponge was the wet swab run down a gun's barrel to quench any spark before reloading, and a rammer the tool that drove home the charge, so the making of these for new guns shows the batteries being enlarged and armed, the defence of the road kept in repair and increase. The large quantity of tallow delivered to Captain Braund of the <i>Boscawen</i> connects the gunner's stores to the provisioning of the departing ship, the grease supplied for her use as she prepared for sea. The issue of tallow to a ship, alongside that used to grease the fort's own guns and boats, shows the gunner's department serving the shipping as well as the garrison, the same stores that maintained the island's ordnance drawn upon to furnish the vessels that called.
74	67	5 June At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 5 Day of June 1754 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 27 May 1754 This day Pafsed by a Ship under Dutch Colours This day Arrived a Dane Ship from Tranquebar called the Three Primefses Captain Robert Sheiff Commander Burthen about Five Hundred Tons, carrys Twelve Guns and Fifty Eight Men loaden with Bale goods bound for Copenhagen Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	This account records the sundries expended at the table in the month ending 11 June 1754. 10 bottles port wine, £0 15s 0d 45 bottles Lisbon, £3 7s 6d 14 bottles Madeira, £1 12s 1d 33 bottles arrack, £1 2s 4d 53 bottles beer, £0 13s 3d 288 flour, £1 19s 0d 174 mutton, £3 13s 6d 41 goat, £0 13s 8d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 18 fowls, £1 7s 0d 5 ducks, £0 7s 6d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 9 pounds salt pork, £0 18s 0d 40 candy, £1 6s 8d 56 butter, £2 16s 0d Total, £22 2s 10½d Richard Bagley presented a petition to the council. His wife was the only sister of Mary Nichols, who had died intestate, and being desirous to administer her estate on his wife's behalf, he asked the council to be pleased to grant him letters of administration accordingly. The petition was signed by Richard Bagley on 24 June 1754. The request was granted. Interpretations

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			Richard Bagley, who had refused the administration of Richard Gorling's estate, here sought and gained the administration of Mary Nichols's estate on behalf of his wife, her only sister. The contrast reveals how the willingness to administer turned on the closeness of the tie and the state of the estate, Bagley declining the involved affairs of a distant connection but taking up those of his wife's own sister, which shows the personal calculation that lay behind each grant of administration. The council's grant of letters of administration to Bagley shows the formal instrument by which the body conferred authority to settle an intestate estate. The letters were the legal warrant that empowered the administrator to gather and dispose of the dead person's property, which reveals the council exercising in due form the probate jurisdiction that on the island it alone possessed, issuing the documents that at home would have come from a church court. The table account, little changed from the previous month save for a note of salt pork among the fresh meat, shows the establishment's board maintained at its steady standard. The appearance of salt pork beside the fresh mutton, goat and fowl reveals even the governor's table drawing at times on the preserved provisions that were the common fare of the garrison, the fresh and the salt meat meeting on the same account.
75	68	10 June At a Consultation held on Monday the 10 day of June 1754 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 5 of June 1754 Thursday the 6 Died Richard Curling the Honorable Companys Overseer and Planter Friday the 7 Died Marten Harper Planter Mefsr Francis Wrantham Senr John Goodwin and Francis Wrantham junr presents the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Francis Wrantham Senr John Goodwin and Francis Wrantham jun Sheweth That your petitioners being attorneys for Mr Gabriel Steward a Native of this Island, who has directed them to dispose of his effects here at Publick Auction and amongst them there are nine Acres of Leasehold Land Your petitioners humbly prays that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant them liberty to dispose, of his Right for the time to come, in the said Lease to the best bidder And your petitioners shall ever pray (Signed) Francis Wrantham John Goodwin Francis Wrantham jun 10 June 1754 Granted	John Goodwin presented a petition to the council. He was fully satisfied that there were many claimants on the estate of his late father, and feared there might not be money enough to meet their several demands. Unwilling that any of them should suffer through him, and although his own claim was considerable, he wished for the reasons already mentioned to withdraw it. He asked the council that, after all just debts were satisfied, if any money remained he might be looked upon by the Honourable Masters as the rightful heir to it. The petition was signed by John Goodwin on 24 June 1754. The council ordered the following advertisement to be published. Interpretations John Goodwin's willingness to withdraw his own considerable claim against his late father's estate, so that the other creditors should not go unpaid, reveals a striking act of forbearance in the settlement of a debt-laden estate. His stepping back to let the just debts be met first, reserving only a claim to whatever might remain, shows the priority of creditors over heirs in the winding up of an insolvent estate, and a son's readiness to subordinate his own interest to the fair discharge of his father's obligations. The order to publish an advertisement reveals the procedure for calling in the claims against an estate, public notice being given so that all creditors might come forward. The advertisement was the means by which the council ensured that the estate was fairly distributed, every claimant summoned to state his demand before the assets were divided, which shows the settlement following an orderly process to protect the rights of all parties to a doubtful estate. John Goodwin appears earlier on the establishment as the Company's accountant, drawing salary, diet money and house rent, so the estate in question was that of his own father, connected to the settlement. The record shows a Company servant dealing with the private misfortune of an insolvent inheritance through the same council he served, the machinery of the island's government turned to the settlement of its own officers' family affairs. Speculations John Goodwin gave up a claim he called considerable rather than press it against his father's estate as any creditor might. The record shows what

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			moved him to the less obvious course: he feared the estate held too little to meet all its claimants, and chose that the other creditors should be paid in full before himself rather than take his share and leave them short, keeping only a right to whatever might remain once the just debts were discharged.
76	69	1754 Mrs Elizabeth Curling presented the following Letter to the Governor Vizt To The Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor of St Helena Sir The Indisposition I am at present Under together with my Situation will I hope Intreat your excuse for my not waiting upon you in person I beg leave Therefore to acquaint you that my late Husband having died Intestate, and as I am afured his Affairs are a good deals perplexed, renders it very Inconvenient as well as Incapacitate me to do minute or any ways Manage or Transact the same I am with great Respect Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servant (Signed) Elizabeth Curling 10 June 1754 Whereupon we Ordered the Secretary to write to Mrs Eliz Mason who is next to the late Richard Curling to know whether She would take upon her the Administration As Mr Richard Curling was of the Honorable Companys Overseers, Died on Friday last, the Governor proposed that two Men Should be employed in that Branch, and divide the Salary of Sixty Pounds a Year, which Curling had equally between them, as their Honours Pastures and plantations, would thereby be the better looked after which was accordingly agried to Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark As	This advertisement was published from St Helena on 27 June 1754. Several advertisements had earlier been published ordering all owners to keep their sheep tended by a shepherd, to ring their hogs, and to keep all sorts of cattle from trespassing in the Long Wood or any of the Honourable Company's plantations. Despite these repeated notices, upwards of two hundred and thirty sheep belonging to the planters had been found in the Long Wood on Tuesday 18 June 1754. Notice was therefore given that any sheep found trespassing, or hogs not properly rung, would be pounded, and the owner would pay a fine of 6d a head for each sheep and 6d for each hog. So the Long Wood might be cleared of all sheep and hogs not belonging to the Honourable Company, further notice was given to all owners who had reason to suspect they had sheep or hogs there to attend at Long Wood the next Saturday morning at the hour of ten, when they or their servants should take and drive away any that belonged to them. Despite the frequent advertisements forbidding all owners to break or unhang gates, several had lately been broken and thrown from their places. Notice was therefore given that any person who should discover the person offending, and convict him or them of the fact, would receive a reward of 5s, and as an encouragement to bring such offenders to justice, if any of those concerned would discover his accomplice or accomplices he should be pardoned and receive the same reward. All persons were also forbidden to travel through the Honourable Company's land called Sufferings, no roadway existing there, as great damage had frequently been done to the yams. Whoever should be detected pulling down, tearing or defacing any advertisements that were posted should pay 5s for every such offence. It being necessary to have another church warden in the room of Marton Harper, deceased, and it being John Clark's turn to do that office, he was appointed accordingly. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The advertisement reveals a persistent conflict between the planters and the Company over the grazing of stock, the private owners repeatedly turning their sheep and hogs into the Company's woods and plantations despite orders to keep them out. The recourse to pounding trespassing animals and fining their owners shows the Company enforcing its rights against a settled habit of encroachment, the mechanism of pound and penalty deployed to protect the Long Wood from the flocks that threatened it, which reveals the friction between common practice and the Company's control of its land. The Long Wood was one of the island's few stands of timber, the same great wood the store had kept up with nails and locks, so its protection from grazing stock was a matter of preserving a scarce and valuable resource. The trespass of over two hundred sheep at once shows the pressure the woods faced from the island's husbandry, the young trees and ground cover vulnerable to the flocks that would destroy them, which explains the Company's insistence on keeping its timber safe from the planters' animals. The offer of reward and pardon to informers against those who broke the gates reveals the settlement's method of enforcing its rules where the offenders could not easily be caught. The inducement

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			to betray an accomplice for reward and immunity shows a calculated use of self-interest to uphold order, the Company setting the wrongdoers against one another to protect its property, which marks a practical mechanism of enforcement on a small island where authority could not watch every gate. The requirement that sheep be tended by a shepherd and hogs be rung reveals the specific practices the Company sought to impose on the island's stock-keeping. Ringing a hog meant fixing a ring in its snout to stop it rooting and so tearing up the ground, and keeping sheep under a shepherd prevented them straying into forbidden ground, which shows the Company regulating the very methods of husbandry to guard its plantations and yams from the damage that loose and unmanaged animals would do.
77	70	17 June At a Consultation held on Monday the 17 day of June 1754 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 June 1754 Monday the 10 Sailed the Dane Ship called the Three Primefses Mr Benjamin Mason presented the following Letter Vizt Island St Helena June 8 1754 To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor & Council &c Hon Sr & Sirs Having Received a Letter from Mr Francis Wrangham Desiring to Know, if I would Administer to the Estate of Mr Richard Curling in Behalf of my Wife it is an Affair of Such Weight, that I cannot Comply Hon Sr & Sirs Your Most Humble Servant (Signed) Benjamin Mason As Mr Benjamin Mason has declined the Administration, we sent to Mrs Richard Bagley who is Guardian to some Infants that are half Sisters to the deceased Richard Curling, and also himself a Relation to him to know whether he would take upon in in the Administration, but he likewise refused, to do it either on Behalf of the Children, or himself	The council met at the castle on Monday 1 July 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 24 June 1754. On Friday 28 June 1754 the Honourable Company's ship <i>Tavistock</i> arrived from Bombay and brought the following supply, set out in her invoice. Rice, Bengal, 22 bags containing 150 maunds at 3s 6d, rupees 131, 1 anna, 0 pies Paddy, 48 double bags of 2 [...] 3 [...] 51 at 20s 6d per maund, rupees 74, 3 annas, 45 pies Charges on the merchandise: Gunny pieces, 33 expended for rice bags at 4s each, rupees 6, 2 annas, 40 pies Paddy bags, 22 at 9s each, rupees 16, 2 annas Gunny bags, 96 for paddy at 4s 1d per corge, rupees 20, 1 anna, 60 pies Twine, rupees 0, 1 anna, 7 pies Lascars serving rice and paddy bags, rupees 1, 3 annas, 20 pies Hamalage on the above, rupees 1, 3 annas Boat hire, rupees 2, 2 annas Total, rupees 49, 3 annas, 22 pies Total, rupees 259, 3 annas, 72 pies The account was closed, errors excepted, and signed by W. Sedgwick, accountant. Thomas Hall, gunner, applied to the council for leave to pay £30 into the Honourable Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day. The Honourable Company's cash was then counted and examined for the month ending 11 July, which follows. Interpretations The <i>Tavistock's</i> cargo of rice and paddy from Bombay continued the steady import of grain that sustained the settlement, the fourth such ship in these accounts to bring the staple food that the island could not grow enough of for itself. The recurring purchase of Indian grain, reckoned in maunds and rupees before conversion to sterling, reveals the constant dependence of St Helena on the eastern trade for its very subsistence, each arriving ship replenishing the stores that fed the garrison, the slaves and the passing fleet. The charge for gunny bags reckoned by the corge reveals the Indian unit of tale used in the Bombay trade, the corge being a score or twenty pieces, in which the sacking was counted and priced. The appearance of this measure among the charges shows the cargo bought and accounted in the terms of the Indian market, the very packing reckoned by Indian custom before the goods passed into the island's English books. Even the gunner Thomas Hall, having accounted for the fort's powder and stores, appears here remitting

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			£30 of his own through the cash chest for bills on the Court of Directors. The record shows a departmental officer of modest rank using the same channel as the ships' captains to move his money home, which reveals how thoroughly the Company's treasury served every servant of the establishment, from the highest to the humblest, as the common means of remittance to England.
78	71	1754 Agreeable to the resolution of last Consultation, we this day appointed Matthew Bazett and George Young to be Overseers of the Honorable Companys Plantations, at Thirty Pounds a Year each, in the room of Richard Curling deceased Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 24 June 1754 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 17 June 1754 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 follow Vizt	This is the cash account. On 12 May 1754 the balance remaining was £4,216 14s 4³/₄d. On 20 May 1754 exchange was received for one set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Matthew Pearling or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day, £225 0s 0d. On 23 May 1754 exchange was received for a like set drawn as above, dated that day, payable to Captain Benjamin Braund or his order, £225 0s 0d. On the same day the balance of the <i>Boscawen's</i> account was received, £45 2s 0¹/₂d. Total, £4,216 14s 4³/₄d The balance remaining was held in the following species. 1,700 Venetians at 10s, £350 0s 0d 3,500 pagodas at 8s, £1,400 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,750 0s 0d 4,183 dollars at 5s, £1,045 15s 0d 6,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £675 0s 0d 12,948 half rials at 3³/₄d, £202 6s 3d 441 French pieces at 2s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 4s 7³/₄d Silver amounting to, £1,926 19s 4³/₄d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £4,216 14s 4³/₄d Interpretations The treasury had grown markedly since the previous count, the total risen above four thousand pounds as the receipts from the many ships accumulated in the chest. The swelling of the balance reveals the effect of a busy season of shipping, the payments made by captains and passengers for bills on the Court of Directors piling up as coin in the island's hands, so that the treasury stood fuller than at any earlier reckoning in these accounts. The stock of silver dollars had increased greatly, from the earlier count to over four thousand pieces, while the cash notes held steady, which shows the inflow of foreign coin outpacing the island's own paper. The rising store of Spanish silver reveals the pattern of the trade, the ships paying in the dollars that were the common currency of the eastern and Atlantic commerce, so the island's treasury filled with the coin of the wider world rather than with English money. The bills issued to Matthew Pearling and Captain Braund, both recorded on the debtor side, connect these entries to the departures noted in the consultations, the storekeeper remitting his money and the <i>Boscawen's</i> commander making the second of his payments home. The gathering of these remittances in the account reveals the counting-house at the centre of the island's financial life, every payment for a bill flowing into the same chest whose contents the monthly count then told over and set down.
79	72	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of neat Cattle &c from the 12 May to the 11 June 1754 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shot, Pigs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Mesons, Miuns, Total, Sphorses, Asses, Total Remain 12: Bulls 4, Cows 77, Calves 53, Yearlings 23, Heifers 18, Steers 6, Bullocks 7, Oxen 12, Total 202, Ewes 185, Weathers 57, Lambs 102, Rams 6, Total 350, Ewes 94, Weathers 27, Kids 52, Rams 7, Total 180,	Richard Bagley, administrator to the estate of the late Mary Nichols, brought in that day the inventory of her effects. Being sworn that he had appraised every article belonging to the deceased, and the appraisers James Greenta and John Alexander that they had valued the same to the best of their judgement, it was ordered to be entered in the ledger for that purpose. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The council met at the castle on Thursday 4 July 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along

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		Sows 8, Shotess 17, Piggss 9, Boars 2, Total 36, Turkeys 60, Fowles 385, Ducks 40, Geese 18, Mesons 6, Miuns 6, Total 12, Sphorses 1, Asses 2, Total 3 Increased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 16, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 16, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 19, Rams 0, Total 19, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 48, Rams 0, Total 48, Sows 0, Shotess 0, Piggss 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 7, Fowles 26, Ducks 0, Geese 1, Mesons 0, Miuns 0, Total 0, Sphorses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 77, Calves 71, Yearlings 23, Heifers 18, Steers 6, Bullocks 7, Oxen 12, Total 218, Ewes 185, Weathers 57, Lambs 121, Rams 6, Total 369, Ewes 94, Weathers 27, Kids 100, Rams 7, Total 228, Sows 8, Shotess 17, Piggss 9, Boars 2, Total 36, Turkeys 67, Fowles 410, Ducks 40, Geese 19, Mesons 6, Miuns 6, Total 12, Sphorses 1, Asses 2, Total 3 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 1, Weathers 3, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shotess 0, Piggss 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 4, Fowles 18, Ducks 5, Geese 0, Mesons 0, Miuns 0, Total 0, Sphorses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 2, Weathers 1, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 1, Shotess 3, Piggss 0, Boars 0, Total 4, Turkeys 2, Fowles 1, Ducks 3, Geese 0, Mesons 0, Miuns 0, Total 0, Sphorses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Killed by Cattle: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shotess 0, Piggss 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 2, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Mesons 0, Miuns 0, Total 0, Sphorses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Remain 11: Bulls 4, Cows 77, Calves 71, Yearlings 23, Heifers 18, Steers 6, Bullocks 7, Oxen 12, Total 218, Ewes 182, Weathers 53, Lambs 116, Rams 6, Total 357, Ewes 94, Weathers 25, Kids 100, Rams 7, Total 226, Sows 8, Shotess 16, Piggss 6, Boars 2, Total 32, Turkeys 61, Fowles 389, Ducks 32, Geese 13, Mesons 6, Miuns 6, Total 12, Sphorses 1, Asses 2, Total 3 One Woman Slave Dead named Helena One Man Do named Mathews One Do Do named Davis One Boy Do named Tom Yams Expended 24962 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 1 July 1754. On Wednesday 3 July 1754 the Honourable Company's ship <i>Salamander</i> arrived from Bengal and brought the following supply. Interpretations The inventory of Mary Nichols's estate, sworn by the administrator and valued by two appraisers on oath, reveals the formal procedure by which an intestate estate was recorded and assessed. The requirement that both the administrator and the appraisers swear to the completeness and fairness of the valuation shows the care taken to establish the true worth of the estate, so that it might be justly distributed, which marks the settled machinery the council brought to the winding up of a dead person's affairs. The ordering of the inventory to be entered in the ledger kept for that purpose reveals the settlement's system of record for probate matters, a dedicated book in which the estates of the dead were registered. The keeping of such a ledger shows the council maintaining an orderly archive of the island's private affairs, the inventories preserved as a lasting record against which claims might later be tested, which reflects the administrative thoroughness of even this remote establishment. The arrival of the <i>Salamander</i> from Bengal continued the steady traffic of the Company's ships that these accounts record, the vessels bringing the grain and goods of the East and taking on the island's provisions and remittances. The regular appearance of ship after ship reveals St Helena in its essential character as a port of call on the eastern trade, its whole life ordered around the coming and going of the fleet that gave the island its purpose and its sustenance.
80	73	1754 Gunnery Stores Expended from the 12 May to the 11 of June 1754 Guns Fired, lb 15, lb 18, lb 24, T, Guns Expended May 7 1754 An Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns Fired 6, lb 15 2, lb 18 2, lb 24 0, T 2, 12 23 Powder for Priming in Order to have Returned the Salute of the Discoveries: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 24 An Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns Fired 6, lb 15 2, lb 18 2, lb 24 0, T 2, 12 June 4 An Alarm for a Dutch Ship that went by: Guns Fired 6, lb 15 2, lb 18 2, lb 24 0, T 2, 12 5 The Alarm Doubled: Guns Fired 3, lb 15 1, lb 18 1, lb 24 0, T 1, 6 Powder for Priming in Order to have Returned the Salute of the Dutch Ship: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 Arrived a Dean Ship returned the Salute: Guns Fired 11, lb 15 0, lb 18 11, lb 24 0, T 11 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 10 Departed the Dane Ship returned the Salute: Guns Fired 11, lb 15 0, lb 18 11, lb 24 0, T 11 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8	This is the invoice of the ship <i>Salamander</i>. Batavia arrack, no. 1 to 2, 2 leaguers at 190 at 4s, rupees 380, at 8 per cent batta, rupees 30 6s 6d, total, rupees 410 6s 6d Sugar, fine, 1 to 10, 10 bags of 20 maunds at 7s 8d per maund, rupees 150, at 8 per cent batta, rupees 12, total, rupees 163 Wax candles, 1 chest of 2 maunds at 75s per maund, rupees 150 Rice, fine, 1 to 44, 44 bags of 88 maunds at 24s 6d per maund, rupees 146 10s 9d, at 8 per cent batta, rupees 11 11s 6d, total, rupees 158 6s 3d Total, rupees 880 12s 9d Charges on the merchandise: 98 gunny bags and sewing, rupees 16 10s 3d 1 chest, rupees 2 14s 0d 1 soldier's diet, rupees 2 0s 0d 1 peon, rupees 1 8s 0d Boat hire, rupees 1 8s 0d Mats, rupees 4 10s 0d Sloop hire, rupees 6 2s 2d Total, rupees 34 12s 5d Total, rupees 915 9s 0d The account was closed, errors excepted, and signed by W. Crittenden, accountant.

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		Powder fired for the Funeral of Augustine Balls: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 2 4 Powder fired for the Funeral of Isaac Joel: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 2 4 Powder for Signals: Guns Fired 0, lb 15 0, lb 18 0, lb 24 0, T 1 8 Total: 53 7 7 22 7 70 Tallow Delivered to Captain Braund lb 66 Do for Greasing the Gun Carriages at the Main Fort lb 9 Do for Greasing the Long Boat 3 Do for Greasing the Yawl lb 1 Paper for an Orderly Book 1 Spunge Staves for the Use of the Batteries 2 Do for Fitting up the Spunges for the New Guns at the Main Fort 5 Rammer Heads for Do 5 Spunge Heads for Do 5 Sheep Skins for Do 5 Trunk Nails for 257 Ditto broke at the Main Fort 1 Spunge Staves for repairing the Spunges at the Main Fort 2 Rammer Heads for Do 1 Sheep Skins for Do 2 (Signed) T Hall	Captain Benjamin Jenkins presented the following letter. Interpretations The <i>Salamander's</i> cargo repeated the pattern of the Bengal trade seen in the <i>Portfield's</i> lading, the same Batavia arrack, fine sugar, wax candles and rice brought from the same eastern source. The recurrence of these goods reveals the settled character of the homeward trade through St Helena, the ships from Bengal carrying a consistent range of the East's produce, so the island's stores were replenished with the accustomed articles voyage after voyage. The charge for sloop hire among the costs reveals the use of small local craft to bring the goods from ship to shore or between anchorages, an added handling cost peculiar to the moving of cargo in Indian waters. The appearance of both boat and sloop hire shows the several stages by which the grain and goods were shifted before shipment, each conveyance reckoned into the landed cost, which marks the complexity and expense of handling cargo in the eastern trade. The wax candles from Bengal, appearing again as they had in the <i>Portfield's</i> cargo, connect this lading to the finer articles the island imported for its better use. The steady import of wax, superior to the common tallow the store issued, reveals a continuing demand on the settlement for the higher grade of light, brought from the East to serve the households and occasions where the coarser candle would not answer.
81	74	24 June Sundrys Expended at the Table in the month ending the 11 June 1754 Vizt 10 Bottles Port Wine £ 15 45 Do Lisbon 3 7 6 14 Do Madeira 1 12 1 33 Do Arrack 1 2 4 53 Do Beer 13 3 288 Flour 1 19 174 Mutton 3 13 6 41 Goat 13 8 2 Lambs 1 18 Fowls 1 7 5 Ducks 7 6 4 Turkeys 1 9 lb Salt Pork 18 80 Candy 1 6 8 56 Butter 2 16 £ 22 10 6 Mr Richard Bagley presents the following Petition Vizt	Captain Benjamin Jenkins wrote to the council. His long passage from Bombay to St Helena had caused him to fall short in salt provisions and the other articles named below, so that he had not enough remaining on board for the passage from the island to England. This might be of the utmost consequence to the ship's company and to his Honourable employers, with respect to ship and cargo, if he departed home without a sufficient supply of the provisions and stores necessary for the good and safety of the ship. He earnestly asked the council to be pleased to comply with his request as set out in the accompanying indent. The letter was signed by Benjamin Jenkins from the <i>Taristock</i> at St Helena road in 1754. This was the indent of provisions and stores wanted for the <i>Taristock</i>. Beef, 9 casks, 840 pieces Rice, 7,200 pounds Flour, 3 casks Lamp oil, 20 gallons 2½ inch rope, 1 coil 2 inch rope, 1 coil White lead, 28 pounds Since there was not rice enough in the Honourable Company's stores for the consumption of the slaves, the council told Captain Jenkins they could not supply him with more than ten days' worth, amounting to 2,048 pounds. As white lead was scarce, they agreed to let him have three casks of flour instead, and everything else he demanded except the lamp oil, which was wanted for the use of the provisions, so they supplied him with candles instead. Interpretations Captain Jenkins's plea reveals the real danger a ship faced if she left the island short of provisions for

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		To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council The humble Petition of Richard Bagley Sheweth That your Petitioners Wife being the only Sister of Mary Nichols deceased, who died intestate, and being desirous to Administer upon the deceaseds Estate in behalf of her said Wife Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that your Worship & Council will be pleased to Grant him Letters of Administration accordingly And your Petitioner Shall ever pray (Signed) Richard Bagley 24 June 1754 Granted	the long homeward voyage, the safety of ship, crew and cargo depending on a sufficient store of food. His warning that a shortfall might be of the utmost consequence to his employers shows how the reprovisioning at St Helena was no mere convenience but a necessity for the completion of the voyage, which marks the island's central function as the victualling station that made the eastern trade possible. The council's refusal to grant the full quantity of rice reveals the limits of the island's own supply, the stores holding barely enough to feed the slaves let alone to furnish a departing ship. The grant of only ten days' worth shows the settlement rationing its scarce grain between its own bound people and the needs of the fleet, which reveals the precarious balance the island kept between provisioning the ships and sustaining itself, the store never so full that it could meet every demand. The substitutions the council made, flour for the scarce white lead and candles for the wanted lamp oil, reveal the practical management of a store that could not always supply exactly what was asked. The readiness to offer alternatives from what was in hand shows the settlement making shift with its available stock, meeting the ship's needs as far as it could while reserving the articles it lacked, which marks the constant adjustment required to serve the fleet from limited and uncertain resources. Speculations The council gave the <i>Tavistock</i> only ten days' rice and made up the rest of her indent with substitutes rather than fill the order from store as it had filled others. The record shows what forced the narrower course: the stores held barely rice enough for the slaves' own consumption, so the council weighed the ship's need against the island's and held back the grain, parting freely with flour and candles it could spare while rationing the one provision it could not.
82	75	1754 Mr John Goodwin presents the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena The Humble Petition of John Goodwin Sheweth That your Petitioner being fully Satisfied there are many Claimants on the Estate of his deceased Father, and that he is apprehensive there may not be Money Sufficient to clear their Several Demands, he is therefore unwilling any of them should be a Sufferer by him and Although his claim is pretty Considerable, more he for this before mentioned Reasons desires to withdraw it And your Petitioner humbly hopes after all just Debts are Satisfied of them should be any Money remaining that he may be looked upon by his Honorable Masters as the Rightfull Heir to the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (Signed) John Goodwin St Helena 24 June 1754 Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published Vizt	The council met at the castle on Monday 8 July 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 4 July 1754. On Sunday 7 July 1754 the Honourable Company's ship <i>Doddington</i> arrived from Madras and brought the following supply, set out in her invoice. Batavia arrack, no. 1 to 4, 4 half leaguers at 190 per leaguer, rupees 380, at 8 per cent batta, rupees 35 6s 6d, total, rupees 410 6s 6d Sugar, fine, 1 to 10, 10 bags of 20 maunds at 15s per bag, rupees 150, at 8 per cent batta, rupees 12, total, rupees 162 Wax candles, 1 to 2, 2 chests of 4 maunds at 65s per maund, rupees 260 Rice, fine, 1 to 42, 42 bags of 84 maunds at 24s 6d per maund, rupees 140, at 8 per cent batta, rupees 11 3s 3d, total, rupees 181 3s 3d Charges on the merchandise: 94 gunny bags and sewing, rupees 15 5s 6d 4 half leaguers, rupees 35 3s 3d 2 empty chests and sewing, rupees 5 12s 0d Boat hire, rupees 22 0s 0d 1 soldier's diet, rupees 2 0s 0d 1 peon, rupees 1 8s 0d ½ jar of oil, rupees 5 0s 0d Mats, rupees 4 4s 0d Total, rupees 86 5s 9d Total, rupees 969 15s 6d The account was closed, errors excepted, and signed by W. Crittenden, accountant. Interpretations The <i>Doddington</i>'s arrival from Madras brought the eastern trade of the Coromandel coast to the island, adding to the ships from Bombay and Bengal the

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			produce of the third great presidency. The same range of goods, Batavia arrack, sugar, wax candles and rice, reveals the uniform character of the homeward cargoes from all three Indian settlements, so the island received the like provisions whether the ship came from the west coast, from Bengal or from the Coromandel shore. The <i>Doddington</i> had appeared earlier in these accounts, her balance settled among the ships whose accounts the cash record cleared, so her return here shows the same vessel making a further call in the course of her trading. The recurrence of a named ship reveals the regular circulation of the Company's fleet through St Helena, individual vessels touching more than once as they plied between England and the East, the island a fixed point on their repeated voyages. The charge for a soldier's diet appearing among the costs of each cargo reveals a curious constant of the Indian trade, the feeding of a soldier who guarded or accompanied the goods reckoned into their landed price. The regular appearance of this small charge shows the provision of a guard for the cargo as a settled cost of shipment, the security of the grain and goods against pilferage built into the accounting from the Indian end of the voyage.
83	76	24 June Island St Helena 27 June 1754 Whereas several Advertisements have been published Ordering all Owners to keep Drivers after their Sheep, by way of Shepherds, and to ring their Hogs, and likewise to keep all sorts of Cattle from trespassing in the Long wood or on any of the Honorable Companys Pastures yet notwithstanding such repeated Notices there was found in the Long wood Thursday the 15 instant upwards of Two Hundred and Thirty Sheep belonging to the Planton This is therefore to give Notice that if any Sheep are hereafter found a trespassing or Hog not properly rung they will be Pounded and the Owner thereof shall pay a Fine of 3 pr head for each Sheep and 6 for each Hog, and in Order that the said wood may be cleared of all Sheep or Hogs that are not the Honorable Companys this is therefore to give farther Notice to all Owners who have reason to suspect that they have any Sheep or Hogs there that on Saturday Morning next at the Hour of Ten They will be pounded at which time, they or their Servants are to attend, to take and drive away any that belong to them And notwithstanding the frequent Advertisements that have been likewise published forbidding all Owners breaking or unhinging Gates several have been lately broke and thrown from their places This is therefore farther to give Notice that any Body who shall discover the Person or Persons so Offending and convict him or them of the fact shall receive a reward of Twenty Shillings and as an encouragement to bring such Offenders to justice if any one of those concerned will discover his Accomplice or Accomplices he shall be pardoned and receive the forgoing reward And all persons are hereby also forbid to travel through the Honorable Companys Land called Ofsfellin as roads are of any bye ways whatsoever as great Damage has thereby been frequently done to the	The widow and executor of the late Marton Harper, deceased, brought in his last will and testament, asking that it be proved, which was done on the oaths of the witnesses to it. The will ran as follows. Marton Harper of St Helena, a planter, being sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory, made this his last will and testament on 7 June 1754. He commended his soul to the mercy of Almighty God and his body to the earth, to be decently buried in a Christian manner at the discretion of his executor, and disposed of his worldly estate as follows. First he wished that all his just debts and funeral charges be fully paid and satisfied. He gave and bequeathed to his wife the house in the country and all his lands during her life, if she continued his widow, placing great confidence in her good management for the comfortable maintenance of his children, who were to be supported out of the produce of his estate. Should she marry again, he then gave her only the one half of his house in the country during her life, and one third part of his personal estate except leasehold lands, to be entirely at her disposal, and half his real estate during her life. He wished that on his wife's death, or her marrying again, his whole estate be equally divided among his children, namely Thomas, John, Marton and Gabriel, as they should severally arrive at the age of twenty-one years or at marriage. His meaning was that there be no division of his estate so long as his wife remained his widow. Should she marry again, he gave his son Thomas half of the house in the country, on the refusal of his lands, he paying his brothers their proper share or proportion, and the arrears of rent. To his wife's brother he gave the whole house on condition of his being accountable to his brothers for their equal shares as before. As he had already provided that his whole estate be kept together, which he thought would be for the greater benefit of his children, he wished that Richard Bagley, who had married his daughter, might be paid a child's share of his estate equal with the rest of his children, only so far as the money amounting to his part could be raised from the produce of his estate. Interpretations Harper's will reveals the careful provision a planter made to keep his estate whole for the benefit of his children, tying his widow's enjoyment of the property to her remaining unmarried. The reduction of her share should she marry again, from the whole to a half and a third, shows the common device by which a testator

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		Grafts And whosoever shall be hereafter detected in pulling down tearing or defacing any Advertizements that are affixed shall pay five Shillings for every such offence It being necessary to have another Overseer warden, in the room of Marten Harper deceased and it being Mr John Clarks turn to do that Office, he was therefore appointed accordingly Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	secured his estate to his own children against the claims of a second husband, which reveals the anxieties of inheritance in a small community where remarriage might divert a family's property to strangers. The distinction Harper drew between his real, personal and leasehold estate reveals the several kinds of property a planter might hold on the island, each disposed of on different terms. The separate treatment of the leasehold lands, excepted from the third given to his widow, shows the complexity of landholding on St Helena, where freehold, personal goods and leases from the Company were distinguished in law, which marks the developed property relations of even this remote settlement. The provision that his son-in-law Richard Bagley receive a child's share connects this will to the same Bagley who administered Mary Nichols's estate and who was named guardian and relation in the Gorling affair. The recurrence of the man across these several matters reveals the dense web of family and property that bound the island's households, the same few individuals appearing again and again as heirs, administrators and trustees in the interlocking affairs of the settlement. Speculations Harper left his widow the whole house and lands only while she stayed unmarried, cutting her to a half and a third if she took another husband, rather than giving her the estate outright. The record shows his reasoning in the will itself: he trusted her good management for the maintenance of the children only so long as the estate stayed whole and in the family, so he made her full enjoyment conditional, guarding his children's inheritance against the day a second marriage might carry the property beyond them.
84	77	1 July At a Consultation held on Monday the 1 day of July 1754 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 24 June 1754 Friday the 28 Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Tavistock from Bombay and brought us the following supply Vizt Invoice pr Ship Tavistock Rice Boaten 22 Bags containing 150 Mds a 3 30 Md 131 1 Bally 48 Double Bags of 2 12 3 mo 22 20 34 62 12 Maund 74 3 45 Charges on Merchandize Vizt Gunny Pieces 33 Expended for the Bags 4 pd 6 2 40 Dutty Bags 22 for Do Do 3 ea 16 2 Gunny Bag 96 for Bally a 4 1 Pr Corge 20 1 60 Twine 2 1 7 Lascars serving the Boat Bally Bags 1 3 20 Hamallage on the above 1 3 Boat Hire 2 2 49 3 24 Rupees 259 3 72 Errors Excepted (Signed) Wm Sedgwith Accomp Mr Thomas Hall Gunner applied to us for liberty to pay Thirty Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which we	The share was to be paid at the discretion of his executors, which he hoped and expected would satisfy the will. He gave and bequeathed to his daughter-in-law <i>Elizabeth</i> Draper one slave girl named Naomi, to be delivered to her soon after his death. Should any of his creditors come upon his executors for payment of their demands upon his estate, he directed that they first sell his house and ground in James Valley with all the household furniture, in order to discharge them. Lastly he nominated and appointed his wife Margaret Harper executor so long as she continued his widow, and his good friends John Goodwin, Samuel Alexander and his son Thomas Harper to be executors of the will, revoking all other or former wills made by him before, and confirming this alone to be his last will and testament. In witness he set his hand and seal on the day and year written above. Signed, sealed and declared by the testator to be his last will and testament in the presence of those who witnessed it. The will was signed by Marton Harper, and witnessed by John Inglis, John Alexander and Francis Wrantham junior. The storekeeper then brought in the following account of goods short delivered from the <i>Tavistock</i>. 2 [...] 19 rice short The account was closed and signed by Matthew Pearling, storekeeper, on 8 July 1754. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Harper's bequest of the slave girl Naomi to his daughter-in-law reveals the plain fact of slaves held as chattels among the island's planters, a human being disposed of by will like any other item of property. The girl passed as a legacy from one household to another, her delivery ordered soon after the testator's death, which shows the dehumanising heart of the slave system as it worked in the private transactions of the

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		have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors for that Sum payable to himself or Order Ninety days after Sight dated this Day Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11 instant which is as follows Vizt	settlement's families, a person bequeathed as an object of inheritance. The direction that his house and ground in James Valley be sold to meet his creditors reveals the priority given to the discharge of debts before the division of an estate among heirs. The naming of a specific property to be sold for that purpose shows the testator himself arranging for his obligations to be met, which reflects the careful ordering of a planter's affairs to ensure that his debts were paid and his family's inheritance settled without dispute. The appointment of John Goodwin and Francis Wrangham among the executors and witnesses connects this will to the same men who appear throughout these records as the settlement's trustees, appraisers and agents. Goodwin the accountant, then dealing with his own father's insolvent estate, and Wrangham the attorney serve here in the affairs of another family, which reveals once more how the small circle of the island's capable men carried the burden of its private business, their names recurring in every matter of property and probate.
85	78	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1754 May 12 To Balance Remaining £ 4216 14 4³/₄ 20 To Exchange for one Sett of Bill drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors Payable to Matthew Purling or Order Ninety Days after sight dated this day 225 23 To Do for a Sett Do drawn as above dated this Day Payable to Captain Benjamin Braund or his Order 235 To Ship Boscawen the Balance of her Account 45 2 0¹/₂ £ 4216 14 4³/₄ 1754 June 11 By Balance remaining in the following Specie Vizt 1700 Venetions at 10/ 350 3500 Pagadas at 8/ 1400 Gold Amounting to £ 1750 4183 Dollars 5/ 1045 15 6000 Rupees 2/3 675 1248 half Rials at 3³/₄ 202 6 3 441 French pr at 2 3 13 6 Old Money 4 7³/₄ Silver Amounting to £ 1926 19 4³/₄ Cash Notes Amounting to 539 15 £ 4216 14 4³/₄	The council met at the castle on Friday 12 July 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 8 July 1754. Francis Wrangham senior, John Goodwin and Francis Wrangham junior, attorneys for Gabriel Stewart, a native, applied to the council for leave to pay £550 into the Honourable Company's cash, being part of his fortune upon the island. The council received the sum and gave them bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to themselves or their order ninety days after sight, dated that day. Captain Jenkins, having met with an opportunity to supply himself with salt provisions from Captain Field, told the council he would have no occasion for the casks he had requested at the meeting of 3 July 1754. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ships <i>Taristock</i> and <i>Salamander</i> to muster their companies and enquire for deserters but found none, their muster rolls being as follows. Interpretations The remittance of £550 for Gabriel Stewart, described as part of his fortune upon the island, reveals the substantial private wealth that a native of St Helena might accumulate and seek to transfer home. The size of the sum, far greater than the wages of any Company servant, shows that some of the island's own people had grown prosperous, most probably through land, trade or supply to the ships, and used the Company's cash to move their money to England, which marks the presence of real private fortune within the settlement. Captain Jenkins's arrangement to buy salt provisions from another captain reveals the informal trade between ships that supplemented the island's stores. Having been refused a full supply from the settlement, he made up his want by dealing directly with Captain Field, which shows the ships' commanders helping one another to victual for the voyage, a private exchange that eased the pressure on the island's own limited provisions and marks the resourcefulness of the masters in the eastern trade. The muster of the <i>Taristock</i> and <i>Salamander</i> continued the settlement's standing duty of inspecting every ship that called, checking her company and searching for deserters. The finding of none aboard these vessels, unlike the two runaways taken from the <i>Portfield</i> earlier, shows the variable result of the same routine vigilance, the island keeping its watch over the shipping whether or not it bore fruit, which reflects the

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			constant attention paid to the traffic that both served and threatened the garrison.
86	79	1754 Mr Richard Bagley the Administrator to the Estate of the Late Mary Nichols deceased this day brought in the Inventory of her Effects, who being sworn that he Inventoried every Article belonging to the deceased, and the Appraisers Mefs James Greentea and John Alexander that they Valued the same to the best of their judgment, it was ordered to be entered in the 15 inch for that Purpose Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Thursday the 4 Day of July 1754 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 1 July 1754 Yesterday the 3 Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Salamoneth from Bengall and brought us the following supply	This is the muster roll of the ship <i>Taristock</i>. Benjamin Jenkins, commander Peter Jackson, first mate John Collet, second mate Thomas Bower, third mate Edward Morehouse, fourth mate Richard Shirley, fifth mate Hind Willoughby, sixth mate David Duncombe, surgeon Patrick Bruce, purser's mate Josiah Johnson, purser George Richardson, carpenter Thomas Preston, boatswain William Spanwich, gunner John James, carpenter's mate Richard Dame, second mate Nathan Chapple, caulker Thomas Rose, boatswain's mate Thomas Rose, sailmaker Thomas Yeatton, armourer Robert Williamson, captain's steward William Ranebach, ship's steward Thomas Bradford, first master Thomas Harvie, ship's cook Charles Barber, captain's cook Silvester Guy, cooper Henry Smart, doctor's mate Andrew Thompson, captain's clerk Samuel Ebby, seaman Charles Barber, seaman Nathaniel Dement, seaman John Law, seaman Grant Home, seaman Thomas More, seaman Richard Smith, seaman John Nelson, seaman William Killeen, gunner's mate Edward Ladner, caulker's mate William Stancliffe, captain's servant Joseph Hall, midshipman John Budd Allen, midshipman Aaron Martin, midshipman Wottingham Williams, midshipman John Senor, quartermaster John Gillmore, quartermaster Richard Mattey, quartermaster William Nightingal, first master Robert Young, third master William Wargen, surgeon's mate William Eugene, carpenter Michael Sadlock, boatswain's mate James Roberts, gunner Patrick Robinson, seaman James Roberts, seaman Thomas Arnold, seaman John Philpot, seaman John Lavon, seaman John Hawton, seaman Thomas Porter, seaman Richard Newton, seaman Rich Stockton, seaman Nick Thompson, seaman Thomas Dixon, seaman Hank Cornelison, seaman James More, seaman Silvester Roderigo, seaman William Lock, seaman Francis Michell, seaman The following served as lascars. Roger Forbes, seaman Charles Bakey, seaman John Berry, seaman Richard Clark, seaman

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			Jeffery Crosskeys, seaman John Beack, seaman Stephen Lenham, seaman James Forward, seaman Benjamin Arnold, seaman David Alexander, seaman Peter Rawsby, seaman Amos Swiney, seaman John Lowry, seaman Thomas White, seaman Pasqual Sinvaria, seaman William Saylor, seaman James Reed, seaman William Hemminge, seaman Jacob Warton, seaman Antony Bird, seaman Joseph Johnson, seaman Edward Hairsley, seaman Edward Ware, seaman Paul Pugh, seaman Christ Smellowsky, seaman John Townley, seaman John Weeks, seaman William Dood, seaman Emanuel Lorange, seaman Joseph Whiffen, seaman William Smallwood, seaman William Cook, seaman William Whatson, seaman John Ray, first master
87	80	4 July Invoice pr Ship Salamouth BA Batavia Arrach No 1 a 2 2 Leaguers 190 pd 380 Batta 8 pr Cent 30 6 6 410 6 6 SF Sugar Fine 1 10 10 Bags pr 20 Do Mds 7 8 pr Maund 150 Batta 8 pr Cent 12 163 WC Wax Candles 1 1 Chest pr 2 T Mds 75 pr Maund 150 RF Rice Fine 1 44 44 Bags pr 88 Do Maunds a 2 4 Son pr Mo Ah 146 10 9 Batta 8 pr Cent 11 11 6 158 6 3 880 12 9 Charges Merchandize 98 Gunny Bags and Sewing 16 10 3 1 Chest 2 14 1 Soldiers Diet 2 1 Peon 1 8 Boat hire 1 8 Mortesa 4 12 Sleep hire 6 2 22 95 4 5 Currant Rupees 975 139 Errors Excepted (Signed) W Cruttenden Accomptant Captain Benjamin Jenkins presented the following Letter	This is the muster roll of the ship <i>Salamander</i>. Thomas Field, commander James Dale, first mate Thomas Ball, second mate William Jordan, third mate Samuel Hewit, fourth mate James Gibson, sixth mate Thomas Scott, gunner George Bowman, carpenter William Baker, boatswain William Inglis, surgeon John Sanburn, purser Nathaniel Winblow, carpenter's mate Henry Rowe, second mate Robert Stephens, joiner John Corne, boatswain's mate William Radd, caulker William Radd, sailmaker Samuel Harding, armourer Joseph Cunningham, caulker's mate John Lockwood, cooper Mathew Allison, seaman Vanshee Lewis, seaman Joseph Darrow, seaman Andrew Dickey, seaman William Williamson, seaman John Ray, seaman William Woodrow, seaman Thomas Heyname, seaman Thomas Loggin, seaman John Lowry, seaman Ceaver, doctor's servant John Hobb, ship's steward Samuel Johnson, butcher William Snidon, surgeon's mate John Roberts, captain's cook John Scott, ship's cook Peter Lord, captain's steward William Robinson, doctor's barber John Bowdin, doctor's tailor John Souther, midshipman John Pech, midshipman Stafford Johnson, midshipman Thomas Sorleston, quartermaster John Broughton, master

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			John Lockhart, master Samuel Armes, master Thomas Bemister, master Jamie George, master Mark Murphy, master George Mandewell, master Richard Woodrow, master Robert Ball, master George Taylor, master Thomas Bryan, master James Daley, master Dennis Smiles, master Robert Lunday, master Manuel Byland, master William Rabe, master Thomas Cockburn, master Thomas Ceasar, master James Ivory, seaman Alexander Fenerman, seaman John King, seaman James Dwagnall, seaman John Stapels, seaman William Bredman, seaman Daniel Owens, seaman William Hurly, seaman William Whitford, seaman Francisco Sarang, lascars Henrich Peters, seaman Antony Nogar, seaman John Bosas, seaman Matthew Cralander, seaman Dennis Leadinder, seaman Ishmael, seaman Cavenula, seaman Francis Savill, seaman John Rozar, seaman Pedro Rozar, seaman Antons Rozas, seaman Francisco Rozas, seaman Jenken Saino, seaman Cagelia, seaman Cavon, seaman Mardaret, seaman Gavrabula, seaman Ivanio Colofris, seaman Nowry Mohamit, seaman John Salamothe, seaman John Hampsheer, seaman William Hampsheer, passenger Robert Latin, passenger
88	81	1754 To Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council On St Helena Gentlemen My Long Pafsage from Bombay to St Helena has Occasioned me to fall Short in Salt provisions and Do Undermentioned Articles so that I have not sufficient remaining on board for the Pafsage from this Place to England therefore as it may be of the utmost Consequence to the Ships Company and any Honorable Employers, with respect to Ship and Cargo, to depart home without a Sufficient supply of Provisions and Stores, Absolutely necefsary for the Good and safety, of the Ship & Look upon it as my Duty Earnestly to desire you will be pleased to Comply with my Request Agreeable to the Accompanying Indent and you will greatly Serve and Oblige Gentlemen Ship Tavistock	Matthew Bazett applied to the council for leave to pay £50 into the Honourable Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The council met at the castle on Monday 15 July 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 12 July 1754. The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods short received from the <i>Salamander</i>. 1 to 3 rice, short weight 1 to 2, 6 sugar, short weight 1 candied, gauged No. 1 leaguer arrack gauged 142¼, to be filled 10¼ gallons No. 2 leaguer gauged 146, to be 30¾ Total, 288¾, total, 40¾ 10¾ Received, 248 gallons

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		Your most Humble Servant 4 1754 St Helena (Signed) Benjn Jenkins Road Indent of Provisions and Stores wanted for the Ship Tavistock Vizt Beef 9 Casks Quantity 840 Pieces Rice 7200 Pounds Flower 3 Casks Lamp Oyl 20 Gallons 2 ½ Inch Roapt One Coil 2 Inch Do One Do White Lead 28 Pounds As there was not Rice sufficient in the Honorable Company's Stores for the Consumption of their Blacks we told Capt Jenkins, that we could not supply him with more than ten Days amounting to two Thousand four Hundred and forty eight Pounds but as his distrefs was great, we agried to let him have three Casks of Flower as that he asked for, and every thing else he Demanded except the Lamp Oil which was wanted, for the use of the Provision, as to which supply him with such Candles Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The account was closed and signed by M. Pearling, storekeeper, on 15 July 1754. Interpretations The storekeeper's gauging of the two leaguers of arrack from the <i>Salamander</i>, each found short of its proper fill, continued the careful check on liquid cargo that these accounts record for every ship. The measuring of the casks against the quantity they should have held, and the noting of the shortfall in gallons, shows the settled vigilance the store kept over the spirit that came ashore, guarding against the loss by leakage and pilferage that beset liquid goods on the long voyage from the East. The name Matthew Bazett appears here yet again, now remitting £50 through the cash chest, the same man who was a factor on the pay list and lately appointed a plantation overseer. The recurrence of his dealings reveals how a single Company servant might figure in many capacities across these records, drawing his salary, taking new office and moving his money home, which shows the small establishment's men living out their varied affairs through the one institution of the Company that governed the island.
89	82	8 July At a Consultation held on Monday the 8 Day of July 1754 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 3 July 1754 Yesterday Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship the Durrington from Madrafs and brought us the following Supply, Vizt Invoice pr Ship Durrington BA Batavia Arrack No 1 a 4 4 Half Leaguers a 190 pr Leaguer 380 Batta 8 pr Ct 35 6 6 410 6 6 SF Sugar Fine 1 a 10 10 Bags pr 20 Bags md a 7 15 pr Bag 150 Batta 8 pr Ct 12 162 WC Wax Candles 1 a 2 2 Chests pr 4 Tao md a 63 pr md 260 RF Rice Fine 1 a 42 42 Bags pr 84 Bags md a 2 24 pr md 140 Batta 8 pr Cent 11 3 3 181 3 3 Charges Merchandize 94 Gunny Bags & Sewing 15 3 6 4 Half Leaguers 35 3 3 2 Empty Chests and Sewing 5 12 Boat Hire 22 1 Soldiers Diet 2 1 Peon 1 8 1 ½ Sees of Oil	Captain Thomas Field applied to the council for leave to pay £200 into the Honourable Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The council met at the castle on Monday 22 July 1754. Governor Charles Hutchinson attended, along with John Adamson the lieutenant governor and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 15 July 1754. On Thursday 18 July 1754 the Honourable Company's ships <i>Salamander</i> and <i>Tavistock</i> sailed for England. The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods short received from the <i>Doddington</i>. 1 to 6, 15 sugar, short weight 1 to 21 rice, short weight No. 1 half leaguer arrack gauged 7¼, to be filled 31 gallons No. 2 gauged 71, to fill 5¼ No. 3 gauged 75, to fill 6 No. 4 gauged 77½, to fill 5¼ Total, 289, total, 48 Received, 241 gallons The account was closed and signed by Matthew Pearling, storekeeper, on 22 July 1754. Interpretations The gauging of the <i>Doddington</i>'s four half leaguers of arrack, each measured and found wanting, continued the store's unfailing check on the spirit landed from every ship. The consistent recording of the shortfall in each cask, here amounting to forty-eight gallons across the four, reveals the routine losses that liquid cargo suffered on the passage from India, the store reckoning the deficiency so that the loss between shipment and delivery might be known and charged, a discipline maintained ship after ship.

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		3 Mortesa 4 4 86 5 9 Currant Rupees 969 15 6 Errors Excepted pp W Cruttenden Accop	Captain Field's payment of £200 for bills connects him to the same commander whose ship's company Lieutenant Clark had mustered, and from whom Captain Jenkins had bought salt provisions. The recurrence of Field across these entries reveals the several dealings a single captain had with the island in the course of a call, his ship inspected, his provisions traded and his money remitted, which shows the many threads that bound each visiting vessel to the settlement it touched. The departure of the <i>Salamander</i> and <i>Taristock</i> for England marks the completion of their business at the island, the ships reprovisioned and their captains' remittances made, now sailing on the homeward leg. The record of their going, following the notes of their arrival, mustering and lading, reveals the full cycle of a ship's call at St Helena, the island serving each vessel in turn as a place of refreshment and exchange before speeding her on the long voyage home.
90	83	1754 The Widow and Executors of the late Marten Harper deceased brought us his last Will and Testament desiring it might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witneses thereto the Will is as follows Vizt In the name of God Amen this 7 Day of June in the Year of our Lord 1754 I Marten Harper of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick and Weak in Body but of sound mind & Memory, do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament, First I recommend my soul to the mercy of Almighty God, my Body to the Earth to be decently Buried in a Christian like manner at the Descretion of my Executor hereafter named and the Worldly goods that it hath pleased God to blefs me with, I hereby give and dispose of as follows th Vizt Imprimis I with and desire that all my just debts and Funeral Charges be fully paid and satisfied Item I give and bequeath to my well beloved Wife, the 106 acre of my House in the Country and all my Lands during her Life if she continues my Widow reposing great confidence in her God management for the comfortable maintenance of my Children who are to be supported upon the produce of my Estate which I desire may be kept together for their joynt Benefit, But in Case my said Wife should Marry again I then desire in such case give her only, the use of one half of my House in the Country during her life and one third part of my Personal Estate (except Leasehold Lands) to be entirely at her disposal and half my real Estate during her Life Item I will and desire that at the Deceasr of my Wife or her being again Married that my whole Estate be equally Divided among my beloved Children Namely Thomas John Marten and Gabriel as they shall severally arrive at the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage my meaning and intention is that there may not be any division of my Estate, so long as my Wife, remains to be my Widow but in case she should Marry again I then give my Son Thomas one half of the House in the Country with the refusal of my Lands he paying his	Richard Beale applied to the council for leave to pay £130 into the Honourable Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him a set of bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable the Court of Directors for that sum, payable to himself or his order ninety days after sight, dated that day. Samuel Falconer gave the council the following representation. In keeping with the Honourable Company's order, he was resolved to go to England as soon as he possibly could settle his affairs. His expenses were very large, beyond what he could afford at present, so he intended to go by the first ship once his affairs were finished, and therefore asked for leave to remain upon the island until that time. The representation was signed by Samuel Falconer at St Helena on 22 July 1754. Since Falconer had not yet been able to settle his accounts with anybody upon the island, the council granted his request for a longer stay, so he might adjust them, which he promised to do as fast as possible. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month ending 11 July 1754 were brought in that day. The council examined and approved them, and they follow. Interpretations Samuel Falconer's request to remain on the island until he could settle his accounts reveals the difficulty a departing servant faced in winding up his affairs where money was tied up and creditors or debtors slow to reckon. His plea that he could not yet adjust his accounts with anyone shows how the small and cash-poor economy of the island could delay a man's departure, the settling of mutual debts requiring time and the presence of the parties, which marks the practical entanglements that bound a servant to the place even after leave to go was granted. Falconer had appeared earlier on the pay list as a surgeon paid to the day, and the reference to the Company's order that he go to England suggests his recall or dismissal from the service. The connection reveals the record following a single man through his employment, pay and departure, the surgeon whose engagement the pay list had reckoned now preparing under orders to leave, his affairs on the island to be closed before he could sail. The name Richard Beale recurs here remitting £130, the same man who appeared on the pay list as schoolmaster and clerk. The regular use of the cash chest by such lesser servants of the establishment, alongside the captains and the wealthier natives, reveals how the Company's treasury served the whole community as its bank, every rank from the schoolmaster to the ship's commander turning his island money into bills on the Court of Directors to carry his savings home.

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		other Brethren their proper share or proportion, and at the Arrears of my Wife I give him the whole House under the Conditions of being accountable to his brothers for their equal Dividends as aforesaid Item As I have already Desired that my whole Estate be kept together which I think will be for the greater Benefit of my Children I hereby desire that Mr Orlando Bagley who Married my Daughter may be paid a Childs Dividend of my Estate equal with the rest of my Children only so fast as the money amounting to her part can be raised from the produce of my Estate and no more in the	
21	84	8 July Paid to him at the discretion of my Executors which I hope and desire he will be satisfied with Item I give and Bequeath to my Daughter in Law Elizabeth Draper one Black Girl named Naomi, to be Delivered to her soon after my Decease Item In Case any of my Creditors Should, come upon my Executors for Payment of their Demands upon my Estate, I hereby direct that they first Sell my House and Ground in James Valley with all the House Hold Furniture in order to discharge them Lastly I hereby Nominate and appoint my beloved Wife Margaret Harper Executrix so long as she continues my Widow, and my Good Friends Mr John Goodwin Mr Samuel Alexander and my Son Thomas Harper to be Executors of this my Last Will and Testament Revoking all other or former Wills or Wills by me heretofore made at any time made ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament In Witnefs whereof I have hereunto set my Hand Seal this day and Year above written Signed Sealed and declared by the Testator to be his Last Will and Testament in the presence of us (Signed) Jno Inglis John Alexander F Wrangham jun (Signed) Martin Harper The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods Short delivered from Ship Tavistock Vizt July 8 1754 Received Short from Ship Tavistock 2 1 19 Rice (Signed) Matthew Purling Storekr Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	This is the account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock between 11 June and 11 July 1754. The neat cattle columns run bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers, bullocks, oxen and total; the sheep columns ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total; the goats columns ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total; the hogs columns sows, shoats, pigs, boars and total; then poultry turkeys, shoats, ducks, geese and total; horses horses, mares and total; and asses foals, she-asses and total. Remaining 11 June, bulls 4, cows 77, calves 71, yearlings 23, heifers 18, steers 6, bullocks 7, oxen 12, total 218; ewes 182, wethers 53, lambs 116, rams 6, total 357; ewes 94, wethers 25, kids 100, rams 7, total 226; sows 8, shoats 16, pigs 6, boars 2, total 32; turkeys 61, shoats 389, ducks 32, geese 13, total 6; horses 6, mares 12; asses foals 1, she-asses 2, total 3 Increased, calves 8, oxen 8, lambs 6, total 6, kids 24, total 24, shoats 12, ducks 20, total 4 Total, bulls 4, cows 77, calves 79, yearlings 23, heifers 18, steers 6, bullocks 7, oxen 12, total 226; ewes 182, wethers 53, lambs 122, rams 6, total 363; ewes 94, wethers 25, kids 124, rams 7, total 250; sows 8, shoats 16, pigs 6, boars 2, total 32; turkeys 73, shoats 409, ducks 32, geese 17, total 6; horses 6, mares 12; asses foals 1, she-asses 2, total 3 Killed, calves 1, oxen 3, wethers 2, lambs 1, total 7, kids 1, rams 3, ewes 4, wethers 1, kids 2, rams 5, total 7, shoats 1, turkeys 2, shoats 27, ducks 6 Died, calves 1, lambs 1, wethers 3, rams 1, ewes 4, sows 3, pigs 1, total 4, turkeys 2, ducks 3 Killed by cattle, ducks 2 Remaining 11 July, bulls 4, cows 75, calves 79, yearlings 23, heifers 15, steers 4, bullocks 6, oxen 12, total 218; ewes 178, wethers 49, lambs 122, rams 6, total 355; ewes 93, wethers 23, kids 119, rams 7, total 242; sows 8, shoats 12, pigs 5, boars 2, total 27; turkeys 71, shoats 378, ducks 23, geese 17, total 6; horses 6, mares 12; asses foals 1, she-asses 2, total 3 The following stock was disposed of. Beef to the <i>Tavistock</i>, 560 pounds Beef to the <i>Salamander</i>, 560 pounds Beef to the <i>Doddington</i>, 560 pounds 1 goat to the sick slaves 1 hog, measly Yams expended, 21,465. The account was closed, errors excepted, and signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The three issues of 560 pounds of beef, one to each of the <i>Tavistock</i>, the <i>Salamander</i> and the <i>Doddington</i>, show the plantation again virtually the departing ships with fresh meat as it had the earlier fleet. The uniform quantity supplied to each vessel reveals a settled measure of provision, the island furnishing every homeward ship with a like store of beef to carry her company through the voyage, which marks the regular and reckoned service the farm rendered to the traffic that gave the island its purpose.

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			The note of a measly hog, one afflicted with the parasitic disease that rendered pork dangerous to eat, reveals the hazards of the island's own stock-raising and the care taken to identify diseased animals. The recording of the beast as measly shows the plantation distinguishing sound meat from tainted, the diseased hog set apart rather than issued, which reflects a practical attention to the wholesomeness of the food the farm produced for the settlement and the ships. The single goat given again to the sick slaves continues the small and constant provision of fresh meat to the ailing among the bound labourers, the same charitable trickle these accounts record month by month. The persistence of this single entry, a lone beast spared for the sick from a farm that killed its stock chiefly for others, reveals the narrow measure of care the establishment extended to its slaves, a mite of fresh food for the ill set against the deaths that the stock account so plainly registered.
92	85	12 July At a Consultation held on Friday the 12 Day of July 1754 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 8 July 1754 Mr Francis Wrantham Senr John Goodwin and Francis Wrantham Junr Attorneys of Mr Gabriel Steward Native applyed to us for liberty to pay Five Hundred and Fifty Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which being part of his fortune upon this Island we agreed to receive it and gave them Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors payable to themselves or Order, Ninety Days after sight, Dated this Day Captain Jenkins, since his application Having met with an Opportunity, to supply himself with Salt Provisions from Captain Foot, acquainted us that he, should have no occasion for those Casks he requested in Consultation of the 3 instant Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ships <i>Tavistock</i> and <i>Salmouth</i> to muster their Companys and Enquire for Deserters but found none, their Muster Rolls are as follows Vizt	This is the gunner's account of stores expended between 11 June and 11 July 1754. The columns record guns fired, and powder in pounds, ounces and drams, with a total of powder expended. 19 June 1754, powder for scaling five new 32 guns and priming, 5 pounds 5 ounces, total 16 pounds 12 ounces 22 June, powder for the hinge access to the shore, 21 pounds 2 ounces, 1 pound 18 ounces, total 23 pounds 8 ounces Powder for priming, 4 pounds 8 ounces Powder fired with small arms, 18 pounds 12 ounces 24 June, powder for scaling the guns at Sandy Bay and priming, total 32 pounds 8 ounces 27 June, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds, total 12 pounds 0 ounces Arrived the <i>Tavistock</i>, Captain Jenkins, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces 29 June, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds, total 12 pounds 3 July, arrived the <i>Salamander</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces An alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 ounces 2 drams, total 2 pounds, total 12 pounds Arrived the <i>Doddington</i>, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 pounds powder Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces Powder for the same at Prosperous Bay, 3 ounces Powder for the same at the alarm house, 3 ounces Powder fired by the recruits at exercise, 32 pounds 5 ounces Powder for blowing of lime stone, 6 ounces Powder for signals, 1 pound Total, 71 guns fired, 208 pounds 13 ounces powder The gunner also accounted for the following stores expended. Paper for the use of the castle, 6 quires Paper for making of great gun cartridges, 5 quires Tallow for greasing the pump, 6 pounds Tallow for greasing the carts at the plantation house, 6 pounds Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at Sandy Bay, 4 pounds Match burnt at the main fort, 4 pounds Sponge staves for repairing the sponges at Rupert's, 4 Sponge heads for the same, 10 Sheepskins for the same, 10 Interpretations The powder spent scaling five new 32-pounder guns reveals the continued strengthening of the island's ordnance, heavy cannon being cleaned and proved

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			before entering service. Scaling meant firing a light charge to clear the bore of rust and scale, so the entry shows new guns of the largest calibre being made ready at the main fort and at Sandy Bay, which marks a real increase in the weight of metal defending the island's approaches. The large quantity of powder fired by the recruits at exercise reveals the training of the newly enlisted soldiers in the use of arms, a heavy expenditure justified by the need to make effective gunners and musketeers of the raw men. The provision of powder for this practice shows the settlement investing in the readiness of its garrison, the raw recruits taught to serve the guns and small arms against the day they might be needed, which reflects the serious military purpose behind the island's establishment. The powder used for blowing limestone reveals the island quarrying its own stone by blasting, most probably for the lime used in building and repair. The application of gunpowder to this industrial purpose shows the settlement turning its military stores to the work of construction, the same powder that armed the guns employed to win the stone the island needed for its walls and mortar, which marks the practical versatility of a remote station making the most of its resources.
23	86	12 July Muster Roll of Ship Tavistock Benjamin Jenkins Comm Will Killean Gunners mate Roger Forbes Seaman Peter Jackson 1 Mate Edward Ladner Sailmaker Do Charles Bailey Do John Collet 2 Do Willm Mancheft Capt Servant John Berry Do Thomas Bower 3 Do Joseph Hall Midshipman Richard Clark Do Edward Morehouse 4 Do John Bird Allen Do Jeffery Crofshey Do Richard Sturdy 5 Do Aaron Martin Do John Beach Do Hind Willoughby 6 Do Wollingham Williams Do Stephen Lenham Do David Duncombe Surgeon John Senor Quartermaster James Forward Do Patrick Bruce 1 Mate John Gillmore Do Benjamin Arnold Do Sheif Chy Johnson Purser Richard Matthey Do David Alexander Do George Richardson Carpenter Will Nightingal 1 Master Peter Rawsby Do Thos Preston Boatman Robt Young 3 Do Amos Sweney Do William Spannett Gunner Will Wargen Surgeons Do John Lowry Do John James Carpenter Mate Will Gagen Carpenter Thomas White Do Richard Dance Do Mich Sadlock Boatswain Do Pasqual Sonvason Do Nathan Chappell Cauliker Jno Roberts Gunners Do	The gunner's stores account continued as follows. Rammer heads for repairing the sponges at Rupert's, 8 Trunk nails for the same, 458 Needles broke with sewing of cartridges, 7 Bits broke at Sandy Bay, 2 Handspikes broke at the same, 2 Rammer heads old and decayed by the worms, unserviceable, 7 This account records the sundries expended at the general table in the month ending 11 July 1754. 20 bottles port wine, £1 10s 8½d 36 bottles Lisbon, £4 6s 7½d 9 bottles Madeira, £1 1s 5½d 53 bottles arrack, £1 15s 10¾d 5 bottles beer, £0 13s 0d 203 flour, £1 9s 3d 182 mutton, £3 15s 10d 51 goat, £0 17s 0d 5 kids, £1 5s 0d 27 fowls, £2 0s 6d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 4 pounds salt pork, £0 8s 0d 2 pounds beef, £0 5s 6d 120 candy, £2 0s 0d 32¼ butter, £2 12s 6d 550 beef, £6 12s 6d Total, £32 2s 3½d Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ship <i>Doddington</i> to muster her company and enquire for deserters but found none, her muster roll being as follows. Interpretations The rammer heads recorded as decayed by the worms reveal the destructive effect of the marine borers and insects that attacked the wooden gear of the ordnance in the island's climate. The loss of these tools to the worm shows the constant decay that beset timber in a warm and damp maritime setting, the wooden implements of the guns rotting and needing replacement, which marks the unremitting maintenance the ordnance required against the wearing of the elements. The table account shows the establishment's board maintained at its accustomed plenty, the wine, fresh meat and delicacies little changed from month to month. The large charge for beef supplied to the table, over five hundred pounds, alongside the mutton, goat,

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		William Saylor Do Thos Rose Boatswains mate Patrick Robinson Seaman James Reed Do Thos Rose Sailmaker James Roberts Do William Hemmenger Do Thomas Potter Armorer Thomas Arnold Do Jacob Warton Do Robt Williamson Capt Steward John Philpot Do Antony Bird Do Willm Pinchbeck Ships Do John Savin Do Joseph Johnson Do Thos Radaford 1 Mate John Hawton Do Edward Hairsby Do Thomas Farrier Ships Cook Thomas Porter Do Edward Ware Do Charles Rufsel Capt Do Richard Newton Do Paul Pugh Do Silas Guy Cooper Mich Stockton Do Christ Smellinshey Do Henry Smart Do Mate Nick Thompson Do John Townley Do Amd Thompson Capt Clerk Thomas Dixon Do John Weeks Do Sam Libby Seaman Hank Cornelison Do William Dowd Do Charles Barker Do James More Do Emanuel Larance Do Merhant Demant Do Silvester Roderigo Do Joseph Whifsen Do John Sain Do Will Lark Do Will Smallwood Do Grant Home Do Francis Michell Do Will Cook Do Thomas More Richard Smith John Nelson Servts pon geo Willm Whatson Do John Bay 2 Master Muster	kid, fowl and candy, reveals a board furnished with abundance from the plantation and the stores, the leaders of the settlement dining at the Company's charge in a manner the garrison and slaves did not share. The muster of the <i>Doddington</i> continued the standing inspection of every ship, her company checked and searched for deserters as each vessel was in turn. The finding of none aboard, following the like result for the <i>Taristock</i> and <i>Salamander</i>, shows the routine vigilance the island kept over the shipping, the same duty performed for ship after ship regardless of outcome, which reflects the settled discipline of a station charged with watching the traffic that passed through its road.
24	87	1754 Muster Roll of Ship Salmouth Thos Feild Commander John Habb md Ships Steward James Avery James Dale 1 Mate Samuel Ashman Butcher Alexander Sinerman Thomas Ball 2 Do Wm Snidow Surgeons Mate John King Will Jordan 3 Do John Roberts Captain Cook James Dwagnall Samuel Hewet 4 Do John Scott Ships Do John Stapel Field James Gibson 6 Do Peter Lee Captains Steward	This is the muster roll of the ship <i>Doddington</i>. Richard Drake, commander William Barlow, first mate Henry Riddle, second mate Nathaniel Smith, third mate Thomas Reed, fourth mate David Preston, purser William Wathinson, surgeon Alexander Bruce, gunner Magnus Prince, boatswain Thomas Vick, carpenter John Scantam, midshipman William Sheetwood, midshipman Miles Rutledge, midshipman George Richardson, midshipman John Long, quartermaster Andrew Ball, purser William Bean, midshipman John Hall, midshipman

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		William Bredman Thos Scott Gunner Wm Robinson Do Butcher Daniel Owens Geor Bowman Carpenter John Bowdin Do Taylor Will Hardy Wm Baker Boatswain John Lowther Midshipman Will Whitford Wm Inglis Surgeon John Poch Do Francisco Sarang Lascars John Faulman Purser Stafford Jobson Do Henrich Peters Nath Winkleon Carpenters Mate Thos Sorleston Quarter Master Antony Nogas Henry Rowe Do 2 Do John Beaglies John Perus Robert Stephens Joyner John Lockhart Matthew Overlander Jno Come Boatswains Mate Samuel Armes Dennis Leadander Will Bidd Cauliker Tho Bemister Ishmail Will Nod Sailmaker James George Onenrula Sam Hardee 2 armourer Mark Murphey Francis Savill Joseph Cuvvingh Cauliker mate George Mackerwell John Rogar John Lockwood Cooper Richard Woodrow Pedro Peraro Mathew Ellison Seaman Robert Ball Antona Rogas Zachria Lewis George Taylor Francisco Rogas Joseph Perrow Tho Bryan Jenken Sainito Andrew Richey James Daley Pagolin Wm Williamson Dennis Smiles Oceon John Ray Robert Landay Mandaret Will Woodrow Miguel Wyland Gxvrabula Thos Heyman William Rabe Ivanio Colofris Thomas Loggin Thomas Cockbunk Nowry Mohamit John Lowry Thomas Ceasar John Salmouth Ceavar Doctars Servant Jno Este Seaman John Hampsheir	Charles Braun, second mate Thomas Haggit, caulker Thomas Allenby, cooper Thomas Robins, armourer John Bemister, captain's steward Paul Lucas, ship's cook William Walker, gunner's mate Robert Bruce, boatswain's mate John Shepherd, carpenter Thomas Head, cooper David Mearington, caulker William Butcher, cook Michael Bowdin, watchman John Reeves, poulterer Samuel Battin, captain's servant John Fitzgerald, captain's servant John Lawrter, chief master John Reddall, second master Robert Wood, gunner's servant Peter Sellor, boatswain's servant John Wilmot, carpenter Sam Steere, seaman William Swaite, seaman William Freeman, seaman Richard Armstead, seaman Michael Hatchenson, seaman William Nena, seaman James Grey, seaman Mathew Johnson, seaman Joseph Swaite, seaman Charles McCollister, seaman William Pichey, seaman John Penn, seaman Thomas Howard, seaman George Poulston, seaman David Nichols, seaman Augustus Savage, seaman William Baxton, seaman Benjamin Buffett, seaman John Harris, seaman William McCollister, seaman Richard Hicks, seaman Rich Jones, seaman Robert More, seaman John Grasman, seaman Nathaniel Ledgate, seaman James Kely, seaman John German, seaman John Johnson, seaman Marton Johnson, seaman Christ Wessell, seaman John Todd, seaman John Dover, surgeon's servant Joseph Cimeno, seaman William Bute, seaman William Neal, seaman James Jous, seaman Jacob Sedwin, sailmaker John Ward, seaman Joseph Kilway, seaman John Osborn, seaman Samuel Mead, captain's cook John Lease, seaman James Freeman, seaman James Johnson, seaman Edward Fisher, seaman Daniel Knights, seaman Richard Edwards, seaman Rowland Leach, seaman Morgan Nelson, seaman John Kelly, seaman Lascars: Thomas Sawm Ambrose De Costa John Mereau Van Penn

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		William Hampf Robert Latin Pafsengers	Michael De Silva Gregory Martin De Rozar Lawrence Peris
<u>25</u>	88	12 July Mr Matthew Bazett applied to us for liberty to pay Fifty Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which we have received and given him Bill of Exchange drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors payable to himself or Order, ninety days after sight, dated this day Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 15 day of July 1754 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 12 July 1754 The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods short recieved from Ships Salmouth Vizt Received Short from Ship Salmouth Do 1 3 Rice 2 6 Sugar Short Weight 1 Chest Do Gallt No 1 Leaguer Arrack Gauge 142 Do a Do to fill 10¼ Gallons 1 Do 146 a Do 30 ¼ Do 288 ¾ 40 ¾ 10 ¾ July 15 1754 Received 2 48 Gallons (Signed) M Purling Storekr	The remaining lascars and passengers of the <i>Doddington</i> were as follows. Lascars: Mathias De Rozar John De Rozar Paul Fernanda Domingo De Rozar Passengers: Thomas Montgomery Captain John Dalton Ipsiah, black servant Joseph Kaling Roger Drake Amelia Drake James Furnage James Irwin Sarah Irwin Dr, black woman servant to Sarah, and Susanna 1 black man servant, Sibó Joseph Floyd Interpretations The passenger list reveals the mixed company an East Indiaman carried on the homeward voyage, family groups such as James and Sarah Irwin and the Drakes travelling alongside single passengers and their servants. The presence of black servants attending several of the passengers, one woman serving Sarah Irwin and men named Sibó and Ipsiah among them, shows the slaves and bound servants that accompanied their masters on the passage, the institution of servitude carried aboard ship as it was maintained ashore. The recurrence of the De Rozar name among the lascars, as it appeared on the rolls of the <i>Salisbury</i>, <i>Portfield</i> and <i>Salamander</i>, reveals the Portuguese-Indian communities of the eastern coast that furnished so many of the sailors in the Company's service. The regular appearance of these Indian seamen on ship after ship shows the essential part they played in manning the eastern trade, the vessels crewed by a mixture of European and Indian hands drawn from the ports of the East.
<u>26</u>	89	15 July Captain Thomas Feild applied to us for liberty to pay Two hundred pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash, which we have received and given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors, payable to himself or Order, ninety days after sight, dated this day Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 22 Day of July 1754 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 July 1754 Thursday the 18 Sailed the Honorable Companys Ships the Salmouth and Tavistock for England The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of goods short received from the Ship Durrington Received short from Ship Durrington Do Do 15 Sugar	This is a list of cattle returned for slaughter by the planters, for the market and sold to the Honourable Company's ships. The columns record each planter's stock, the number returned for slaughter, the number killed for the market, and then the cattle sold to each named ship: the <i>Doddington</i>, <i>Hector</i>, <i>Delawar</i>, <i>Clinton</i>, <i>Walpole</i>, <i>Marlborough</i>, <i>Suffolk</i>, <i>Griffin</i>, <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Edgecote</i>, <i>Royal Duke</i>, <i>Grantham</i>, <i>Salisbury</i>, <i>Portfield</i>, <i>Boscawen</i>, <i>Tavistock</i>, <i>Falmouth</i> and <i>Doddington</i>. Francis Wrangham senior, stock 120, returned 33, market 5, <i>Doddington</i> 2, <i>Hector</i> 1, <i>Walpole</i> 1, <i>Harcourt</i> 1, <i>Edgecote</i> 4, <i>Cabraston</i> 3, <i>Royal Duke</i> 1, <i>Portfield</i> 2, <i>Tavistock</i> 1, <i>Falmouth</i> 1 Samuel Doveton's orphan, stock 82, returned 28, market 8, <i>Hector</i> 2, <i>Clinton</i> 1, <i>Harcourt</i> 2, <i>Edgecote</i> 1, <i>Cabraston</i> 1, <i>Portfield</i> 2, <i>Boscawen</i> 5, <i>Tavistock</i> 1, <i>Falmouth</i> 3 John Clark, stock 70, returned 22, market 2, <i>Doddington</i> 2, <i>Marlborough</i> 1, <i>Harcourt</i> 2, <i>Edgecote</i> 1, <i>Cabraston</i> 2, <i>Royal Duke</i> 1, <i>Portfield</i> 1, <i>Boscawen</i> 1, <i>Falmouth</i> 1 Matthew Pearling, stock 62, returned 20, market 2, <i>Doddington</i> 2, <i>Hector</i> 1, <i>Harcourt</i> 2, <i>Cabraston</i> 1, <i>Royal Duke</i> 2, <i>Boscawen</i> 1, <i>Falmouth</i> 1 Charles Stewart's orphan, stock 57, returned 13, market 1, <i>Doddington</i> 1, <i>Griffin</i> 2, <i>Cabraston</i> 2, <i>Boscawen</i> 1, <i>Falmouth</i> 1

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		Short Weight 21 Rice Gallt No 1 half Leaguer Arrack Gauge 71 Do a Do to fill 31 Gallons 2 Do 71 Do 5 ½ Do 3 Do 73 Do 6 Do 4 Do 77 ½ Do 5 ½ Do 289 48 48 July 22 1754 Received 2 41 Gallons (Signed) Matthew Purling Storekr	Richard Bagley, stock 54, returned 17, market 3, <i>Doddington 1, Walpole 1, Griffin 2, Royal Duke 1, Boscaven 2, Doddington 3</i> Thomas Greentree, stock 50, returned 13, market 2, <i>Doddington 1, Delawar 2, Walpole 1, Falmouth 1</i> John Bazett's orphan, stock 41, returned 10, market 3, <i>Doddington 1, Harcourt 1, Edgecote 4, Royal Duke 2, Tavistock 1, Falmouth 1</i> John Desfontain, stock 34, returned 9, market 1, <i>Doddington 1, Clinton 1, Walpole 1, Harcourt 1</i> Matthew Bazett, stock 33, returned 9, market 1, <i>Doddington 1, Walpole 1, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 1</i> John Doveton, stock 32, returned 8, market 2, Delawar 1, <i>Walpole 1, Royal Duke 2</i> Richard Goodwin, stock 32, returned 6, market 1, <i>Doddington 1, Grantham 1</i> James Greentree, stock 31, returned 7, market 2, <i>Boscaven 1</i> Francis Wrangham junior, stock 31, returned 12, market 2, <i>Clinton 1, Walpole 1, Griffin 1, Royal Duke 3, Salisbury 1, Portfield 1, Doddington 1</i> John Alexander, stock 30, returned 9, market 2, Delawar 2, <i>Harcourt 1, Cabraston 1, Salisbury 1, Portfield 1</i> William Young, stock 29, returned 7, market 1, Hector 1, <i>Walpole 1, Harcourt 1, Cabraston 1, Portfield 1</i> Marton Harper, stock 28, returned 10, market 1, Hector 1, <i>Walpole 1, Cabraston 1, Boscaven 1</i> James Powell, stock 25, returned 6, market 1, <i>Walpole 1, Royal Duke 2, Boscaven 1</i> Thomas Cotgrave, stock 24, returned 4, market 1, Cabrastron 1, <i>Boscaven 1</i> John Goodwin, stock 24, returned 12, market 1, <i>Suffolk 1, Griffin 2, Royal Duke 2, Grantham 1, Tavistock 1, Falmouth 1, Doddington 1</i> Richard Beale, stock 23, returned 7, market 1, <i>Harcourt 1, Edgecote 1, Cabraston 1, Tavistock 1, Falmouth 1</i> Samuel Alexander, stock 22, returned 7, <i>Walpole 1, Harcourt 1, Cabraston 1, Tavistock 1, Falmouth 1</i> John Swaite, stock 21, returned 2, <i>Clinton 1, Walpole 1, Marlborough 1</i> Isaac Doveton, stock 20, returned 5, <i>Griffin 1, Cabraston 1, Tavistock 1</i> Orlando Bagley, stock 20, returned 7, market 1, <i>Doddington 1, Walpole 1, Royal Duke 1, Boscaven 2</i> Gabriel Harper's orphan, stock 17, returned 7, Hector 1, <i>Doddington 2</i> Joshua Worrall, stock 17, returned 3, market 1, <i>Salisbury 1, Doddington 1</i> Richard Gorling, stock 16, returned 3, <i>Marlborough 1, Salisbury 1</i> Thomas Kirkpatrick, stock 16, returned 3, Cabrastron 1, <i>Salisbury 1</i> James Mowatt and Prudence, stock 15, returned 4, <i>Doddington 1, Walpole 1, Harcourt 1</i> Samuel Knipe, stock 14, returned 4, market 2, <i>Griffin 1</i> Benjamin Mason, stock 14, returned 4, Cabraston 1, <i>Doddington 1</i> George Alexander, stock 13, returned 4, market 1, <i>Walpole 1, Suffolk 1, Griffin 1, Cabraston 1, Doddington 1</i> John Bagley, stock 13, returned 2, <i>Royal Duke 1</i> John Seale's orphan, stock 13, returned 3, market 1, <i>Falmouth 1, Doddington 1</i> John Desfontain's orphan, stock 11, returned 3, market 1, <i>Tavistock 1</i> Richard Mason, stock 11, returned 2, Delawar 1, <i>Marlborough 1</i> William Seale, stock 9, returned 1 Isaac Knife, stock 9, returned 2, <i>Royal Duke 1, Tavistock 1</i> Simon Whaley's orphan, stock 3, returned 1, <i>Tavistock 1</i> Total, stock 1,186, returned 321, market 50, <i>Doddington 16, Hector 13, Delawar 2, Clinton 5, Walpole</i>

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			11, <i>Marlborough</i> 10, <i>Suffolk</i> 4, <i>Griffin</i> 10, <i>Harcourt</i> 10, <i>Edgecote</i> 10, <i>Cabraston</i> 9, <i>Royal Duke</i> 31, <i>Grantham</i> 10, <i>Salisbury</i> 2, <i>Portfield</i> 13, <i>Boscawen</i> 15, <i>Taristock</i> 12, <i>Falmouth</i> 19 Interpretations The list reveals the whole community of the island's planters and their relative standing, ranked by the size of their stock from Francis Wrangham senior with 120 head down to the smallest holders with a handful. The wide range of holdings shows a settled agricultural society with a clear gradation of wealth in cattle, the larger planters commanding herds many times those of the least, which marks the developed pattern of landed property that had grown up on the island under the Company. The prominence of orphans among the holders, the estates of Samuel Doveton, Charles Stewart, John Bazett, Gabriel Harper, John Seale, John Desfountain and Simon Whaley each entered under their names, reveals the many minors whose inherited stock was managed on their behalf. The recurrence of these orphan estates connects to the guardianship business that fills these records, the council's care for the property of fatherless children reflected here in the herds held in trust for them, which shows the heavy toll of mortality that had left so many young heirs. The system by which the planters returned their cattle for slaughter, both for the island's market and for sale to the ships, reveals the organised provisioning of the fleet from private stock as well as from the Company's own herds. The listing of each ship and the beasts sold to her shows a regulated trade in which the planters supplied the passing vessels under the council's oversight, which marks the island's economy geared to the victualling of the shipping, the private farmer's surplus turned to feeding the fleet that was the island's reason for being. The heavy demand of the <i>Royal Duke</i>, taking thirty-one beasts, far above any other ship, reveals the varying needs of the vessels according to their size, complement and length of intended voyage. The disparity shows how a single large ship might draw upon the island's stock far more than others, the planters' herds tapped according to the appetite of each vessel, which marks the scale of the provisioning that the traffic of the great East Indiamen required of the settlement.
97	90	22 July Mr Richard Beale applied to us for liberty to pay One hundred and thirty pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which we received and have given him a set of Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors for that Sum payable to himself or Order ninety days after sight dated this day Mr Samuel Falconer gave us the following representation Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Council &ca Worshipfull Sir and Sirs Agreable to the Honorable Companys Order, I am Absolutely resolved to go to England, as soon as Pofsibly I can settle my affairs, knowing well my Expencation is very large even above what I can afford at present, as such I intend going by the first Ship, when these my Affairs are finished, And therefore desire to have leave to remain upon the Island untill that time Island St Helena	This part of the list records the same planters' cattle sold to the Honourable Company's ships and to foreign ships in the year 1754. The columns give the total sold to the Company's ships, then the cattle sold to each named foreign vessel: the <i>Hope</i>, <i>Queen Juliana Maria</i> (Danish), <i>Adolph Frederick</i> (Swedish), <i>Gothic Lion</i> (Swedish), <i>Queen Sophia Magdalena</i> (Danish) and <i>Three Princesses</i> (Danish), with a total for the foreign ships. Francis Wrangham senior, Company total 22, Hope 1, Queen Juliana Maria 2, Adolph Frederick 1, Three Princesses 1, foreign total 5 Samuel Doveton's orphan, Company total 26, Hope 1, Three Princesses 1, foreign total 2 John Clark, Company total 15, Hope 1, Queen Juliana Maria 1, Adolph Frederick 1, foreign total 3 Matthew Pearling, Company total 14, Hope 1, Queen Juliana Maria 1, Adolph Frederick 1, foreign total 3 Charles Stewart's orphan, Company total 9, Hope 1, foreign total 1 Richard Bagley, Company total 13, Adolph Frederick 1, foreign total 2 Thomas Greentree, Company total 9, foreign total 1 John Bazett's orphan, Company total 10, Adolph Frederick 1, foreign total 1

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		22 July 1754 I am Worshipfull Sr and Srs Your most Humble Servant (Signed) Sam Falconer As Mr Falconer sets forth he has not yet been able to settle his Accounts with every Body upon the Island we consented to his request for a longer Stay here, that he might Adjust them, which he promised to do as fast as pofsible The Plantation, Gunners, and Stewards Accounts for the Months Ending the 11 instant, were this day brought in which were Examined and approved and are as follows Vizt	John Desfountain, Company total 6, Queen Juliana Maria 1, Queen Sophia Magdalena 1, foreign total 1 Matthew Bazett, Company total 6, Queen Juliana Maria 1, foreign total 1 John Doveton, Company total 6, Queen Sophia Magdalena 1, foreign total 1 Richard Goodwin, Company total 3, Queen Sophia Magdalena 1, foreign total 1 James Greentree, Company total 5, Adolph Frederick 1, foreign total 1 Francis Wrangham junior, Company total 11, Adolph Frederick 1, foreign total 1 John Alexander, Company total 8, foreign total 0 William Young, Company total 5, Queen Sophia Magdalena 1, foreign total 0 Marton Harper, Company total 7, Queen Sophia Magdalena 1, foreign total 1 James Powell, Company total 5, Gothic Lion 1, foreign total 1 Thomas Cotgrave, Company total 3, foreign total 0 John Goodwin, Company total 10, Hope 1, Queen Sophia Magdalena 1, foreign total 2 Richard Beale, Company total 6, Queen Sophia Magdalena 1, foreign total 1 Samuel Alexander, Company total 5, foreign total 0 John Swaite, Company total 4, foreign total 0 Isaac Doveton, Company total 3, foreign total 0 Orlando Bagley, Company total 6, foreign total 0 Gabriel Harper's orphan, Company total 1, foreign total 0 Joshua Worrall, Company total 3, foreign total 0 Richard Gorling, Company total 2, foreign total 0 Thomas Kirkpatrick, Company total 3, foreign total 0 James Mowatt and Prudence, Company total 4, foreign total 0 Samuel Knipe, Company total 4, foreign total 0 Benjamin Mason, Company total 3, foreign total 0 George Alexander, Company total 4, foreign total 0 John Bagley, Company total 1, foreign total 0 John Seale's orphan, Company total 2, foreign total 0 John Desfountain's orphan, Company total 3, foreign total 0 Richard Mason, Company total 2, foreign total 0 William Seale, Company total 0, foreign total 0 Isaac Knife, Company total 2, foreign total 0 Simon Whaley's orphan, Company total 1, foreign total 0 Total, Company 252, Hope 5, Queen Juliana Maria 6, Adolph Frederick 4, Gothic Lion 4, Queen Sophia Magdalena 7, Three Princesses 2, foreign total 28 The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The sale of cattle to foreign ships reveals St Helena provisioning the vessels of other European nations as well as the Company's own, the Danish and Swedish East Indiamen buying fresh meat from the island's planters. The presence of the <i>Queen Juliana Maria</i>, <i>Adolph Frederick</i>, <i>Gothic Lion</i> and <i>Queen Sophia Magdalena</i> among the buyers shows the island serving as a place of refreshment for the whole traffic of the eastern trade, its stock sold to any nation's ships that called, which marks a commerce that crossed the lines of national rivalry. The far greater number of beasts sold to the Company's own ships, 252 against 28 to the foreigners, reveals where the planters' chief market lay, the English fleet the mainstay of their trade. The disproportion shows that although the island served foreign vessels, its agriculture was overwhelmingly geared to

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			provisioning the Company's own shipping, the foreign sales a useful but minor addition to the settled business of victualling the English East Indiamen, which marks the Company as the dominant force in the island's economy. The willingness to sell to foreign ships in a period of commercial and often military rivalry between the European powers reveals a pragmatic commerce that set profit and the custom of the sea above national enmity. The provisioning of Danish and Swedish vessels shows the island extending to all comers the refreshment that the long ocean voyage required, the humane and profitable practice of victualling ships in distress transcending the competition of the trading nations, which marks a notable openness in the settlement's dealings with foreign shipping.
28	91	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 11 June to the 11 July 1754 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shotes, Piggs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Manes, Total, Sphorses, Sh Asses, Total Remaining 11: Bulls 4, Cows 77, Calves 71, Yearlings 23, Heifers 18, Steers 6, Bullocks 7, Oxen 12, Total 218, Ewes 182, Weathers 53, Lambs 116, Rams 6, Total 357, Ewes 94, Weathers 25, Kids 100, Rams 7, Total 226, Sows 8, Shotes 16, Piggs 6, Boars 2, Total 32, Turkeys 61, Fowles 389, Ducks 32, Geese 13, Horses 6, Manes 6, Total 12, Sphorses 1, Sh Asses 2, Total 3 Increased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 8, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 8, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 6, Rams 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 24, Rams 0, Total 24, Sows 0, Shotes 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 12, Fowles 20, Ducks 0, Geese 4, Horses 0, Manes 0, Total 0, Sphorses 0, Sh Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 77, Calves 79, Yearlings 23, Heifers 18, Steers 6, Bullocks 7, Oxen 12, Total 226, Ewes 182, Weathers 53, Lambs 122, Rams 6, Total 363, Ewes 94, Weathers 25, Kids 124, Rams 7, Total 250, Sows 8, Shotes 16, Piggs 6, Boars 2, Total 32, Turkeys 73, Fowles 409, Ducks 32, Geese 17, Horses 6, Manes 6, Total 12, Sphorses 1, Sh Asses 2, Total 3 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 3, Steers 2, Bullocks 1, Oxen 0, Total 7, Ewes 1, Weathers 3, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 4, Weathers 1, Kids 2, Rams 5, Total 7, Sows 0, Shotes 1, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 1, Turkeys 2, Fowles 27, Ducks 6, Geese 0, Horses 0, Manes 0, Total 0, Sphorses 0, Sh Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 1, Weathers 3, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 3, Shotes 1, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 4, Turkeys 2, Fowles 3, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Manes 0, Total 0, Sphorses 0, Sh Asses 0, Total 0 Killed by Cattle: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shotes 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 2, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Manes 0, Total 0, Sphorses 0, Sh Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 11: Bulls 4, Cows 75, Calves 79, Yearlings 23, Heifers 15, Steers 4, Bullocks 6, Oxen 12, Total 218, Ewes 178, Weathers 49, Lambs 122, Rams 6, Total 355, Ewes 93, Weathers 23, Kids 119, Rams 7, Total 242, Sows 8, Shotes 12, Piggs 5, Boars 2, Total 27, Turkeys 71, Fowles 378, Ducks 23, Geese 17, Horses 6, Manes 6, Total 12, Sphorses 1, Sh Asses 2, Total 3 To the Ship Tavistock Beef 560 Do Falmouth Do 560 Do Durrington Do 560 One Goat to the Sick Blacks One Hog Measley	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 29 July 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 22 July 1754, was approved and signed. On Thursday 25 July William Bird died, a soldier. On Saturday 27 July the Honourable Company ship <i>Darrington</i> sailed for England. The storekeeper presented his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter ending at midsummer. Both were examined and approved, and are set out below. The following goods were sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company stores between 12 April and 11 July 1754, sold to the Company servants at 10 per cent: Arrack, 124 1/2 gallons, £31 2s 6d Brandy, 17 gallons, £0 7s 6d Sugar and candy: 4,537 lb sugar, £78 19s 0d 1,938 lb candy, £40 7s 6d, £119 6s 6d Flour: 1,782 lb flour, £12 19s 10 1/2d 1,793 lb, 3 quarters 8 lb, doubly baked, £165 3s 1 1/2d, £178 3s 0d Soap, 228 lb, £9 4s 11d Candles, 513 lb, £41 4s 6 1/2d Tea: 115 lb Cattee Congo, £12 18s 9d 3 lb Congo, £0 11s 4d 146 lb Bohea, £7 18s 8d 8 lb better Singlo, £2 15s 0d 32 lb Singlo, £2 2s 8d Carried over, £433 4s 0d Total carried over, £429 5s 4 1/2d Interpretations Arrack was a spirit distilled in the East, commonly from fermented palm sap or from sugar and rice, and shipped through the Company trade. It stood at the head of the sale here as the largest single item by value, which reflected the reliance of the garrison and settlers on imported liquor at a station that produced little of its own. Cattee Congo, Congo, Bohea and Singlo were all grades of tea carried on the China trade, Bohea and Congo being black teas of the cheaper sort and Singlo a green tea, with the doubling of Singlo into an ordinary and a better line marking a distinction in quality and price for the buyers. Doubly baked bread was ship biscuit rebaked to drive out moisture so it would keep on long voyages, and the large quantity supplied here points to the provisioning of outbound vessels rather than the daily needs of the island alone. The sale of these goods to the Company servants at 10 per cent above cost was the mechanism by which the Company recovered its outlay while still supplying its own people below the open market rate, an

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		Yams Expended 21465 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	arrangement that tied the servants economic life to the Company store.
99	92	22 July Gunnars Stores Expended from the 11 of June to the 11 July 1754 Guns Fired, lb 32, lb 4, lb 3, lb 1, Powder Expend 1754 June 19 Powder for Sealing five new 32 Guns and Priming: Guns Fired 5 5, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 16 12 22 Powder for the Hinge Acefseers to the Throne: Guns Fired 21, lb 32 0, lb 4 2, lb 3 1, lb 1 18, 23 8 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 4 8 Powder Fired with small Arms: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 18 12 24 Powder for Sealing the Guns at Sandy Bay and Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 32 8 27 An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, lb 32 0, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 1 0, 2, 12 0 Arrived the Tavistock Capt Jenkins returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 9, lb 1 0, 9 0 0 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 1 8 29 An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, lb 32 0, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 1 0, 2, 12 0 July 7 Arrived the Salmouth returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 9, lb 1 0, 9 0 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 1 8 7 An alarm: Guns Fired 6, lb 32 0, lb 4 2, lb 3 2, lb 1 0, 2, 12 0 Arrived the Durrington returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 9, lb 1 0, 9 0 Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 1 8 Powder for Do at Prosperous Bay: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 3 Powder for Do at the Alarm House: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 3 Powder fired by the Recruits at Exercise: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 32 5 Powder for blowing of Lime Stone: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 6 Powder for Signals: Guns Fired 0, lb 32 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 1 0, 1 Total: 71 5 8 7 13 6 228 13 Paper for the use of the Castle 1 Do for Making of great Guns Cartridges 5 Tallow for Greasing the Pump 1 Do for Greasing the Carts at the Plantation House 6 Do for Do the Guns Carriages at Sandy Bay 4 Match burnt at the main Fort 6 Spunge Staves for repairing the Spunges at Ruperts 4 Spunge Heads for Do at Do 10 Sheep Skins for Do at Do 10	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £412 9s 3 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Cordage, 28 lb, £4 2s 10d Rice, £5 0s 0d Beef and pork: 46 double pieces beef at 2s, £4 12s 0d 312 pieces beef at 2s, £31 4s 0d 10 pieces beef at 3s 1/2d, £1 10s 5d 30 pieces pork at 2s, £3 0s 0d 195 pieces pork at 2s, £19 10s 0d 74 pieces pork at 2s 3d, £8 6s 4d 630 lb pork, £16 5s 0d, £84 1s 9d Oil: 13 gallons train, £1 14s 10d 17 bottles Florence, £2 3s 2 1/2d 1 gallon linseed, £0 3s 8d, £4 1s 8 1/2d Canvas: 132 yards osnaburg, £5 4s 6d 22 yards English canvas, £1 6s 7d, £6 11s 1d Twine and thread, £4 16s 0d Hooks and lines: 5,325 hooks No 5, £2 4s 4d 450 hooks No 7, £0 7s 6d 300 hooks No 10, £0 11s 6d 1,200 hooks blue, £0 4s 0d 2 lines No 2, £0 4s 1 1/2d 14 lines No 3, £0 4s 11 1/2d 2 lines No 4, £0 12s 10d 1 line Hamburg, £0 12s 10d, £4 6s 7d Shoes: 17 pairs women's calf, £2 3s 11d 14 pairs Spanish, £3 8s 3d Shoes carried over, £5 12s 2d Carried over, £525 9s 5d Interpretations Train oil was oil rendered from the blubber of whales or other sea creatures, used for lamps, for dressing leather and for other rough purposes, and it stood apart from the finer Florence oil beside it, which was olive oil shipped from Italy for the table. Osnaburg was a coarse unbleached linen originally made around Osnabrück in Germany, used for cheap clothing, sacking and ships stores, and its appearance in bulk here reflected the demand for hard-wearing cloth at a working station. Double pieces of beef were larger salted portions packed in the cask, worth twice the ordinary piece, which explains why they carried the same rate per piece as the standard cut yet stood first in the beef account. The graded hooks and lines, numbered by size and supplemented by blue hooks and a Hamburg line, show the island fitting out for fishing on some scale, the fine gradations of tackle pointing to organised supply rather than casual provision.
100	93	1754 Gunnars Stores Brought Over Rammer Heads for repairing the Spunges at Ruperts 8 Trunk Nails for Do at Do 458 Needles broke with sewing of Cartridges	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £525 9s 3d brought forward from the previous page. Shoes brought over, £5 12s 2d 17 pairs women's calamanco, £4 7s 10d 15 pairs boys, £2 14s 4 1/2d 7 pairs girls, £0 14s 3 1/2d 14 pairs men's channel pumps, £5 10s 10d

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		7 Bitts broke at Sandy Bay 2 Handspikes broke at Do 2 Do Old and Decayed by the Wormes Unserviceable 7 Sundrys Expended at the General Table in the month Ending the 11 of July 1754 Vizt 20 bottles Port Wine £ 1 10 8¾ 36 Do Lisbon 4 6 7 9 Do Madeira 1 15 9½ 53 Do Arrach 1 15 10¾ 52 Do Beer 13 293 Flour 1 19 3 182 Mutton 3 15 10 51 Goat 17 5 Kids 1 5 27 Fowls 2 6 6 Ducks 9 2 Turkeys 10 4 lb Salt Pork 8 2 Do Beef 5 6 120 Candy 2 32 ¼ Butter 2 12 6 550 Beef £ 6 12 6 32 2 7½ Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ship Durrington to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Rolls as follows Vizt	6 pairs men's pumps, £2 0s 0d 10 pairs men's fine shoes, £3 0s 5d 175 pairs men's ordinary, £37 3s 9d, £61 3s 8d Hats: 11 men's, £10 13s 7d 5 boys, £1 10s 2 1/2d, £12 3s 9 1/2d Cutlery ware: 116 ivory combs, £6 9s 9d 188 horn combs, £1 19s 2d 132 pairs leather garters, £3 0s 6d 108 pairs hair buckles, £2 9s 6d 12 pairs shoe buckles, £0 6s 6d 2 dozen stag horn knives and forks, £1 18s 6d 1 dozen ivory knives and forks, £1 11s 4d 1 chopping knife, £0 1s 6 1/2d 1 shoe knife, £0 0s 3 1/2d, £17 17s 3d Lancets: 32 pairs single, £15 17s 4d 1 pair double, £1 2s 0d, £16 10s 8d Salt, 7 1/2 bushels, £1 4s 2d Flannel, 41 yards, £3 16s 10 1/2d Carried over, £638 14s 4d Interpretations Calamanco was a glossy woollen cloth with a checked or striped pattern woven on one side, popular for shoes and clothing in the early eighteenth century, and its use for women's footwear here marked a lighter and more decorative line than the plain leather and Spanish shoes elsewhere in the account. Channel pumps were light low-heeled shoes, the channel referring to the groove cut in the sole into which the stitching was set, a finish that distinguished them from the plainer pumps listed beside them at a lower price. The lancets, sold in single and double pairs at a high value for so small an article, were the bleeding instruments of the period used to open a vein, and their presence in quantity points to the practice of bloodletting as a routine treatment on the island. Hair buckles were ornamental clasps for dressing or tying back the hair, and their sale alongside combs and shoe buckles shows a demand for small items of personal grooming and dress among the island's buyers.
101	94	22 July Muster Roll of Ship Durrington Richard Drake Comman John Fitzgerald Capt Servant James Kirk Seaman Wm Purline 1 Mate Servant Jno German Do Henry Riddle 2 Do Jno Sauster Chief Mate John Johnson Do Nath Smith 4 Do Servant Martin Johnson Do Thos Reed 3 Do John Reddall 2 Second Chridt Wefsell Do David Preston Purser Mates Servant Jno Todd Do Wm Wathenson Surgeon Robt Wood Gunners Servant Jno Dover Surgeons Servant Alexander Bruce Gunner Peter Aller Boatswain Do	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £638 14s 4d brought forward from the previous page. Glassware: 47 squares glass 8 by 10, £1 9s 4 1/2d 7 squares glass 10 by 12, £0 6s 5d 1 wine and water glass, £0 0s 11d 1 half hour glass, £0 0s 7 1/2d, £1 17s 4d Broadcloth, 19 3/4 yards, £16 16s 5d Camlet, 55 1/2 yards, £9 17s 9d Shalloon, 61 1/2 yards, £6 12s 6 1/2d Starch: 12 1/2 lb Poland, £0 8s 5d 18 lb common, £0 8s 3d, £0 16s 8d Haberdashery ware: 32 lb mohair, £0 19s 6d 77 lb silk, £1 13s 3 1/2d 26 1/2 dozen mould coat buttons, £0 17s 8d 24 dozen mould breast buttons, £0 4s 0d 8 dozen gilt coat buttons, £1 3s 4d 5 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 6s 3 1/2d 3 dozen Holland tape, £0 2s 9d 2 dozen carnal tape, £0 1s 6d 60 dozen shirt buttons, £0 12s 1d 12 dozen white waistcoat buttons, £0 3s 7 1/2d 2 dozen silk coat buttons, £0 1s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Joseph Cimeno Seaman Magnus Prince Boatswain Jos Wilmor Carpenter Do Wm Bute Do Thos Wich Carpenter Sam Stevie Seaman Wm Neal Do Jno Scantam Midshipman Wm Swaite James Jous Do Wm Fleetwood Do Wm Freeman Jacob Solein Sailmaker Miles Flethood Do Rich Armstead Do Jno Wood Seaman George Richardson Do Mr Hutchenson Do Joseph Kilway Do Jno Long Quarter Master Wm Aluva Do Jno Osborn Do Andrew Ball Purser Do James Grey Do Sam Meat Capt Cook Willm Bean Do Mathew Johnson Do Jno Leake Seaman Jno Hall Do Joseph Swats Do James Freeman Do Cha Thos Braun Surg Mate Charles McCollister Do James Johnson Do Thos Haggitt Cauliker Wm Bichy Do Edward Fisher Do Thos Allenby Cooper Jno Poin Do Daniel Knights Do Thos Robins Armourer Thos Howard Do Rich Edwards Do Jno Cornelius Capt Steward George Fowlin Do Thos Leach Do Paul Lucas Ships Cook David Nichols Do Morgan Nelson Do Wm Walker Gunners Mate Augustus Savage Do Jno Kelling Do Robt Bruce Boatswain Do Wm Buxton Do Lascars Jno Skepford Carpenter Do Benj Buffen Do Thos Souse Tho Reed Cooper Do Jno Harris Do Ambrose De Custa Dr Herringtonspauland Do Wm McCollister Do Jno Meraur Wm Butcher Cook Do Richard Hicks Do Jno Poun Mr Bowdin Watcher Rich Jones Do Mich De Silva Jno Pheaur Poulterer Robert More Do Gregory Samuel Battin John Grasman Do Martin De Rowre	3 dozen silk breast buttons, £0 4s 1/2d, £7 7s 1d Leather: 262 1/4 lb leather, £11 7s 9 1/2d 1 sheep skin, £0 0s 8 1/2d, £11 8s 6d Carried over, £693 10s 6 1/2d Interpretations Camlet was a strong woven cloth, in this period usually of wool or a wool and goat-hair mix, valued for its close weave and used for cloaks and outer garments, while shalloon beside it was a lighter woollen lining fabric named after Châlons in France, the two supplying the makings of a coat between them. The graded window glass, sold by the square in fixed sizes of 8 by 10 and 10 by 12 inches, points to building and glazing work on the island, the standard panes cut for fitting into casement frames rather than for any single commission. Mould buttons were buttons formed over a wooden or bone mould and then covered in thread or cloth, and the long run of them here in coat, breast, waistcoat and shirt sizes, set beside the finer gilt and silk sorts, shows the store fitting out clothing across the whole range from plain working dress to better wear. Poland starch was a fine starch of the better grade, distinguished in the account from the common sort at a slightly higher price, both used for stiffening linen and dressing cloth.

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		Captain Servant Nath Ledgate Do Laurance Peris	
102	95	1754 Lascars Mathias De Rovaro John De Rovaro Paul Fernanda Domingo De Rovaro Pafsengers Thos Montgomery Pafsengers Capt John Dalton Ypeah Black Servant Joseph Kaling Roger Drake Amelia Drake James Furnage Pafsengers James Irwin Sarah Irwin Do 2 Black Women Servant to Sarah and Susanna 1 Black Man Servant Sibon Joseph Floyd	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £693 10s 6 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. China ware: 67 sneakers, £0 16s 9d 55 bowls, £1 12s 1d 12 gulets and basins, £2 0s 0d 49 meat dishes, £0 8s 0d 1,917 plates, £8 8s 0d 48 half pint cups and saucers, £0 17s 8d 36 cups and saucers, £0 12s 6d 1 salad dish, £0 0s 10d 16 chamber pots, £1 4s 0d, £15 11s 10d Vinegar, 27 1/2 gallons, £0 4s 10 1/2d Copper money, 1,000 halfpence, £2 1s 8d Linen: 4 3/4 pieces linen, £7 18s 9d 1 Salampore shirt, £0 4s 1d, £8 3s 4d Paint: 18 1/2 lb Spanish brown, £1 4s 4 1/2d 11 1/2 lb smalt, £1 1s 1d 1/4 lb mahogany, £0 0s 10d 1/2 lb white copperas, £0 0s 4d 1 1/2 lb whiting, £0 0s 3 1/2d 1/4 lb umber, £0 0s 1d 1/2 lb yellow ochre, £0 0s 1 1/2d, £3 6s 3 1/2d Hosiery ware: 17 pairs men's wove stockings, £3 8s 8 1/2d 1 pair knit, £0 3s 4d Hosiery ware carried over, £3 12s 0 1/2d Carried over, £722 18s 6 1/2d Interpretations Sneakers were small handleless cups or bowls of Chinese porcelain used for drinking, and their appearance at the head of the china account, together with the great quantity of plates, points to the ordinary tableware of the settlement being drawn largely from the China trade rather than from English potteries. Guglets were long-necked earthenware or porcelain vessels for holding water, valued in warm places because the porous body kept the contents cool, and their pairing with basins here supplied the washing furniture of a household. Smalt was a deep blue pigment made by grinding cobalt glass, used both as a paint and as a blueing agent, and its presence beside Spanish brown, umber, whiting and yellow ochre shows the store carrying a full painter's palette for building and decorative work. Salampore was a plain cotton cloth woven in the Coromandel country of India and carried west by the Company, and the single made-up shirt of it listed here shows Indian textiles reaching the island both as piece goods and as finished garments.
103	96	22 July List of Cattle returned for Slaughter, by the Planters for the Market for Sold to the Honorable Companys Ships Planters Names, No of Stock, Number of Cattle returned for Slaughter, Killed for the Market, Doddikin, Hector, Delawar, Clinton, Walpole, Marlbro, Suffolk, Griffin, Harcourt, Edgbaston, Royal Duke, Grantham, Salisbury, Portfield, Boscawen, Tavistock, Falmouth, Durrington Fra Wrangham Senr: No of Stock 120, Number returned 33, Killed 5, Doddikin 2, Hector 1, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 1, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 1, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 4, Grantham 3, Salisbury 1, Portfield 0, Boscawen 2, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 1	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £722 18s 6 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Hosiery ware brought over, £3 12s 0 1/2d 49 pairs thread stockings, £6 18s 10d 2 pairs women's, £0 7s 2d 7 pairs boys, £0 19s 3d 1 pair girls, £0 2s 9d, £12 0s 0 1/2d Nails: 4 lb 3d, £0 2s 7d 11 lb 5d, £0 3s 10 1/2d 63 lb 6d, £1 7s 1d 21 lb 10d, £0 9s 10 1/2d 2 lb 20d, £0 0s 9d 1/2 lb flooring brads, £0 1s 6d 7 lb scupper nails, £0 1s 6d 1 lb glazing brads, £0 1s 4 1/2d

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		Sam Dovetons Orp: No of Stock 82, Number returned 28, Killed 8, Doddikin 0, Hector 2, Delawar 1, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 2, Griffin 0, Harcourt 1, Edgbaston 1, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 2, Boscawen 5, Tavistock 1, Falmouth 3, Durrington 3 John Clark: No of Stock 70, Number returned 22, Killed 2, Doddikin 2, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 1, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 2, Griffin 0, Harcourt 1, Edgbaston 1, Royal Duke 2, Grantham 1, Salisbury 0, Portfield 1, Boscawen 1, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 1 Matthew Purling: No of Stock 62, Number returned 20, Killed 2, Doddikin 2, Hector 1, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 2, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 1, Salisbury 2, Portfield 0, Boscawen 1, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 1 Charles Steward Orp: No of Stock 57, Number returned 13, Killed 1, Doddikin 1, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 2, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 2, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 1 Richard Bagley: No of Stock 54, Number returned 17, Killed 3, Doddikin 1, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 2, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 2, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 3 Thomas Greentree: No of Stock 50, Number returned 13, Killed 2, Doddikin 1, Hector 2, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 1, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Jno Bazetts Orp: No of Stock 41, Number returned 10, Killed 3, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 1, Harcourt 1, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 2, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 1 Jno Desfontain: No of Stock 34, Number returned 9, Killed 1, Doddikin 1, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 1, Walpole 1, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 1, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Matthew Bazett: No of Stock 33, Number returned 9, Killed 1, Doddikin 1, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 1, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 1, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 John Doveton: No of Stock 32, Number returned 8, Killed 2, Doddikin 0, Hector 1, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 1, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 2, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Richard Goodwin: No of Stock 32, Number returned 6, Killed 1, Doddikin 1, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 James Greentree: No of Stock 31, Number returned 7, Killed 2, Doddikin 0, Hector 1, Delawar 0, Clinton 1, Walpole 1, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 1, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 1, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Fra Wrangham Jun: No of Stock 31, Number returned 12, Killed 2, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 1, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 1, Suffolk 0, Griffin 1, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 3, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0	20 lb nails, £0 8s 9d, £2 16s 1/2d Thread: 23 lb white brown, £6 19s 11d 27 lb coloured, £4 10s 0d 2 lb Nuns, £0 6s 2d, £12 5s 1d Buckram, 29 yards, £1 6s 7d Serge, 36 yards, £8 17s 0d Ironmonger's ware: 6 chest locks, £1 1s 0d 1 brick layer's trowel, £0 1s 7d 3 box iron and heaters, £1 5s 6d 4 scythe stones, £0 0s 7d Ironware carried over, £2 8s 8d Carried over, £760 3s 4 1/2d Interpretations Nails were sold by the penny, the figures 3d, 5d, 6d, 10d and 20d marking the old sizing by the price of a hundred rather than the price charged here, so that a higher number meant a longer and heavier nail, and the range carried shows the store supplying every gauge from small brads to the largest spikes for building work. Scupper nails were short broad-headed nails used to fasten the leather or canvas lining of a scupper, the opening that let water drain off a ship's deck, and their presence with flooring and glazing brads shows the fine specialist fastenings kept alongside the common sorts. Box irons were hollow smoothing irons heated by a separate iron slug or heater slipped inside, and the sale of three complete with their heaters shows the laundering equipment of the settlement being drawn from the Company store. Nuns thread was a fine white sewing thread of good quality, named for its former manufacture in convents, and it stood apart in the account from the coarser white brown and coloured threads at a much lower weight and price.

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		0, Portfield 1, Boscawen 1, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 1 John Alexander: No of Stock 30, Number returned 9, Killed 2, Doddikin 0, Hector 2, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 1, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 1, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 1, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 William Young: No of Stock 29, Number returned 7, Killed 1, Doddikin 0, Hector 1, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 1, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 1, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 1, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Martin Harper: No of Stock 28, Number returned 10, Killed 1, Doddikin 0, Hector 1, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 0 James Powell: No of Stock 25, Number returned 6, Killed 1, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 1, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 2, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 0 Thomas Cotgrave: No of Stock 24, Number returned 4, Killed 1, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 1, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 1, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 John Goodwin: No of Stock 24, Number returned 12, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 1, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 2, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 2, Grantham 1, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 1, Tavistock 1, Falmouth 0, Durrington 1 Richard Beale: No of Stock 23, Number returned 7, Killed 1, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 1, Marlbro 1, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 1, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 0 Sam Alexander: No of Stock 22, Number returned 7, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 1, Walpole 0, Marlbro 1, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 1, Falmouth 1, Durrington 0 John Swaite: No of Stock 21, Number returned 2, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 1, Clinton 0, Walpole 1, Marlbro 1, Suffolk 1, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Isaac Doveton: No of Stock 20, Number returned 5, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 1, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 0 Orlando Bagley: No of Stock 20, Number returned 7, Killed 1, Doddikin 1, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 1, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Gab Harper Orp: No of Stock 17, Number returned 7, Killed 0, Doddikin 1, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 2, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Joshua Worrall: No of Stock 17, Number returned 3, Killed 1, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0,	

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		Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 1, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 1 Rich Curling: No of Stock 16, Number returned 3, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 1, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 1, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Tho Kirkpatrick: No of Stock 16, Number returned 3, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 1, Salisbury 0, Portfield 1, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 1, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Jman Morgatt & Guslergrp: No of Stock 15, Number returned 4, Killed 0, Doddikin 1, Hector 0, Delawar 1, Clinton 1, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 1, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 0 Sam Knipe: No of Stock 14, Number returned 4, Killed 2, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 1, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 1 Benj Mason: No of Stock 14, Number returned 4, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 1 George Alexander: No of Stock 13, Number returned 4, Killed 1, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 1, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 1, Griffin 1, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 1 John Bagley: No of Stock 13, Number returned 2, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 1, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Jno Seales Orp: No of Stock 13, Number returned 3, Killed 1, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 1 Jno Desfountains Orp: No of Stock 11, Number returned 3, Killed 1, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 0 Richard Mason: No of Stock 11, Number returned 2, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 1, Delawar 0, Clinton 1, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 William Seale: No of Stock 9, Number returned 1, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0 Isaac Knipe: No of Stock 9, Number returned 2, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 1, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 1, Falmouth 0, Durrington 0	

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		Simon Whaleys Orp: No of Stock 3, Number returned 1, Killed 0, Doddikin 0, Hector 0, Delawar 0, Clinton 0, Walpole 0, Marlbro 0, Suffolk 0, Griffin 0, Harcourt 0, Edgbaston 0, Royal Duke 0, Grantham 0, Salisbury 0, Portfield 0, Boscawen 0, Tavistock 0, Falmouth 1, Durrington 0 Total: No of Stock 1186, Number returned 321, Killed 50, Doddikin 16, Hector 13, Delawar 2, Clinton 3, Walpole 11, Marlbro 10, Suffolk 4, Griffin 10, Harcourt 10, Edgbaston 10, Royal Duke 9, Grantham 31, Salisbury 10, Portfield 2, Boscawen 13, Tavistock 15, Falmouth 12, Durrington 19	
104	97	the Honorable Companys and for Foreign Ships, in the Year 1754 Vizt Sold to Foreign Ships Total, Hope Sweed, Quen Juliana mana Dane, Adolph Fredourch Sweed, Gothic Leon Sweed, Queen Sophia magalena Dane, The Three Primefses Dane, Total Total 22: Hope 1, Quen Juliana 2, Adolph Fredourch 1, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 1, Total 5 26: Hope 1, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 1, Total 2 15: Hope 1, Quen Juliana 1, Adolph Fredourch 1, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 3 14: Hope 1, Quen Juliana 1, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 1, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 3 9: Hope 1, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 13: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 1, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 2 9: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 10: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 1, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 6: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 1, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 6: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 1, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 6: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 1, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 3: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 1, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 5: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 1, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 11: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 1, Adolph Fredourch 1, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 8: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 1, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 5: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 7: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 1, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 5: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 1, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 3: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £760 3s 4 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Ironware brought over, £2 8s 8d 3 hand hatchets, £0 4s 6d 1 frying pan, £0 1s 10d 3 pickaxes, £0 10s 0d 2 claw hammers, £0 2s 7d 4 pairs H hinges, £0 8s 8d 1 ditching shovel, £0 4s 6 1/2d 1 iron rimmed lock, £0 4s 5d 1 rasp iron, £0 0s 2 1/2d 1 gimlet, £0 0s 2d, £4 6s 0d Braziers ware: 10 pairs brass candlesticks, £3 6s 3d 1 fishing hook, £0 9s 7d 2 brass cocks, £0 8s 5d 1 pair steel snuffers, £0 3s 1d, £4 7s 4d Pitch: 1 lb pitch, £0 0s 7d 5 lb tar, £0 3s 9d 118 lb rosin, £0 4s 9d 32 lb turpentine, £0 6s 8d, £1 5s 9d Pepper, 5 lb, £0 2s 10d Tinware: 14 saucepans, £0 9s 5d 3 lamps, £0 2s 6d 3 lanterns, £0 8s 3d 1 water pot, £0 6s 8 1/2d 1 dripping pan, £0 6s 7d, £1 10s 5 1/2d Carried over, £771 15s 9d Interpretations Braziers ware meant goods worked in brass, and the run of brass candlesticks, cocks and steel snuffers here shows the store supplying the fittings for household lighting, the snuffers being the scissor-like tool for trimming a burning wick to keep it from smoking. The pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine grouped together were the products of the pine forests used for waterproofing and caulking, the pitch and tar paid on ship timbers and rigging to keep out water, and their supply at the island reflects the constant upkeep the Company vessels and boats required. Box iron heaters and H hinges aside, the ditching shovel listed among the ironware points to drainage and ground work on the island, the tool being shaped for cutting and clearing the sides of a ditch rather than for ordinary digging. Brass cocks were the taps fitted to casks and cisterns to draw off liquid, and their sale here, with the water pot and the guglets of the earlier china account, reflects the standing concern with storing and drawing water at a settlement dependent on what it could catch and hold.

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		10: Hope 1, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 1, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 2 6: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 1, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 3: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 1, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 1 3: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 10: Hope 1, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 1, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 2, Total 1 6: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 1, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 5: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 4: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 3: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 6: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 1, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 1: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 3: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 2: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 3: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 4: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 4: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 3: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 4: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 1: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 2: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 3: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 2: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 0: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 2: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0 1: Hope 0, Quen Juliana 0, Adolph Fredourch 0, Gothic Leon 0, Queen Sophia 0, Three Primefses 0, Total 0	

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		Total: 252, Hope 5, Quen Juliana 6, Adolph Fredourch 4, Gothic Leon 4, Queen Sophia 7, Three Primefses 2, Total 28 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	
105	98	29th July At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th Day of July 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was approved and signed dated the 22d July 1754 the 25 Died William Bird sick Soldier the 27 Saild the Honorable Companys Ships the Darrington for England 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 follows Collections of Goods Sold and Delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from the 12th of April to the 11 of July 1754 Vizt Arrack 124 1/2 Gallons L 31 2 6 Brandy 17 Gallons " 7 6 Sugar and Candy Vizt 4737 Sugar 78 19 - 1938 Candy 40 7 6 119 6 6 Flour Vizt 1782 Flour 12 19 10 1/2 179.3.8 Do Baked 165 3 1 1/2 178 3 - Soap 228 9 4 11 Candles 513 41 4 6 1/2 Tea Vizt 115 Cattys Congo 12 18 9 3 Congo " 1 4 6 146 Boha 7 18 8 8 pretty Single 2 15 4 32 Single 2 2 8 Carr over L 33 4 L 4129 3 4 1/2	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £771 15s 9d brought forward from the previous page. Pewter: 1 basin, £0 4s 9d 1 quart funnel, £0 2s 6d 1 stool pan, £0 5s 3d, £0 12s 6d Lead: 4 lb sheet, £0 8s 5d 1 lb shot, £0 2s 6d, £0 10s 11d Blankets, 18, £4 13s 0d Deals: 3 double, £0 10s 3d 1 single, £0 2s 2 1/2d 2 baulks, £0 1s 2 1/2d, £1 4s 9 1/2d Earthenware, 1 milk pan, £0 0s 9d Iron pots, 5, £2 3s 1 1/2d Long cloth: 14 pieces No 1, £2 7s 9d 1 piece No 6, £2 6s 9d 1 piece No 7, £1 15s 9d, £7 0s 3d Turners ware: 3 hair brooms, £0 6s 7 1/2d 3 sieves, £0 4s 1 1/2d 8 labourers baskets, £0 5s 0d 16 cloth brushes, £0 12s 2 1/2d 6 scrubbing brushes, £0 4s 0d 21 shoe brushes, £0 13s 6 1/2d, £2 1s 6d Carried over, £790 2s 5d Interpretations Long cloth was a plain white cotton woven in long pieces in India and carried west by the Company, graded here by number for quality, and the fourteen pieces of the first sort against single pieces of the higher numbers show the cheaper grade moving in bulk as the common cloth of the settlement. Deals and baulks were sawn softwood, the deal a standard plank and the baulk a squared beam, and their sale in small numbers points to the shortage of building timber on a treeless island, where every stick of framing wood had to be shipped in. A stool pan was the pan set beneath a close stool, the boxed seat that served as an indoor privy, and its listing among the pewter shows the household sanitary furniture of the better sort being drawn from the store. Turners ware covered goods shaped on a lathe or made by a turner, and the brooms, sieves, baskets and brushes grouped under it supplied the ordinary cleaning and carrying gear of the settlement, the range of brushes for cloth, shoes and scrubbing marking a settled domestic economy.
106	99	1754 Brought over L 412 9 3 1/2 Cordage 28 lb 4 2 10 Price 2/ 5 - - Beef and Pork viz 46 Double Ps Beef 2/ 4 12 " 312 Do Do 2/ 31 4 " 10 Ps Do 3/1/2	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £790 2s 5d brought forward from the previous page. Kersey, 14 yards, £6 0s 0d Long ells, 25 yards, £2 5s 10d Corks: 5 gross corks, £0 12s 8 1/2d 7 sheet cork, £0 0s 10d, £13 6 1/2d Oars, 6, £1 5s 6d Shalloons, 1 piece, £0 9s 9d Bunting, 14 pieces white, £0 0s 7 1/2d Grindstones, 1, £0 3s 7 1/2d

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		1 10 5 30 Ps Pork 2/ 3 - " 145 Ps Do 2/ 14 10 " 74 Ps Do 2/2 8 - 4 650 Pork 16 5 34 1 9 Oil vizt 13 Gallons Traine 1 14 10 17 Bottles Florence 2 3 2 1/2 1 Gallon Lincead " 3 8 4 1 8 1/2 Canvas vizt 152 Yards Osenbrigs 5 4 6 22 Yards English Canvas 1 6 7 6 11 1 Twine 14 lb Skains 4 16 - Hooks and Lines vizt 3525 Hooks No 1 2 4 4 450 Do 7 - 7 6 300 Do 10 - 11 6 1200 Blue - 4 - 2 Lines No 2 - - 1/2 14 Do 3 - 4 11 1/2 2 Do 4 - 12 10 17 Hambro - 12 10 4 6 7 Shoes viz 17 Prs Womens Calf 2 3 11 14 Prs Do Spanish 3 8 3 Shoes Carried over L. 5 12 2 Carried over L. 525 9 5	Wine: 30 dozen port, £30 10s 0d 10 dozen Madeira, £15 15s 0d 11 dozen Lisbon, £11 3s 8d, £57 8s 8d Total, £852 15s 4 1/2d The following goods were sold to the planters at 25 per cent: Shoes: 4 pairs women's calamanco, £1 3s 4d 7 pairs women's Spanish, £1 18s 4 1/2d 2 pairs men's channel pumps, £0 18s 0d 33 pairs women's calf, £4 16s 3d 1 pair men's fine shoes, £0 6s 6 1/2d 9 pairs ordinary, £2 3s 1 1/2d 6 pairs boys, £1 8s 2 1/2d 11 pairs girls, £1 5s 8d, £14 0s 3d Carried over, £14 0s 3d Interpretations The planters were charged 25 per cent above cost, against the 10 per cent allowed to the Company servants on the earlier goods, and the doubled and more markup marks the difference in standing between the Company's own men and the free settlers who farmed the island on their own account. Kersey and long ells were coarse woollen cloths, the kersey a ribbed narrow cloth and the long ell a length measured to the old ell of forty-five inches, both hard-wearing stuffs shipped in for working clothing. Bunting was a loosely woven worsted cloth used chiefly for flags, and the fourteen pieces of white here point to the making up of ensigns and signal flags for the garrison and the shipping. The wine came in three sorts by their trade names, port from Portugal, Madeira from the Atlantic island of that name and Lisbon a lighter Portuguese white, all of them wines that stood the sea voyage well and formed a staple of the Company's stores.
107	100	29 July Brought Over L. 525 9 3 Shoes Brought over 5 12 2 17 Pair Womens Calimanco 4 7 10 13 Do Boys 2 14 4 1/2 7 Do Girls " 14 3 1/2 14 Do Mens Chan Pumps 5 10 10 6 Do Mens Pumps 2 " " 10 Do Do fine Shoes 3 " 5 175 Do Do Ordinary 37 3 9 61 3 8 Hats viz 11 Mens 10 13 7 5 Boys 1 10 2 1/2	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £14 0s 3d brought forward from the previous page. Buckram, 4 yards, £0 4s 2d Descettes, 7 pieces single, £3 19s 4d Hosiery ware: 3 pairs men's wove stockings, £0 13s 9d 8 pairs boys, £1 3s 0d 1 pair men's knit, £0 3s 9d 5 pairs women's, £1 2s 6d, £3 2s 11d Shalloon, 55 yards, £4 1s 8d Flannel, 3 yards, £0 6s 5 1/2d Hats, 2 boys, £0 13s 9d Fustian, 7 1/2 pieces, £1 17s 11d Camlet, 9 1/2 yards, £2 1s 7d Serge, 25 yards, £7 0s 7 1/2d The following goods were sold at 40 per cent: Arrack, 109 1/2 gallons, £32 15s 6d Sugar and candy: 600 lb sugar, £12 10s 0d 761 lb candy, £20 12s 2 1/2d, £33 2s 2 1/2d Flour, 546 lb, £3 15s 1 1/2d Candles, 66 lb, £6 8s 7 1/2d Tea: 6 lb Bohea, £0 10s 6d

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		12 3 9 1/2 Cutleryware viz 116 Ivory Combs 6 9 9 188 Horn Do 1 19 2 132 Pr Leather Garters 3 " 6 108 Pr Hair Buckles 2 9 6 12 Do Shoe Do " 6 6 2 Dozen Stag Horn Knives and forks 1 18 6 1 Do Ivory Do 1 11 4 1 Choping Knife " 1 6 1/4 1 Shoe Knife " 3 1/2 17 17 3 Powders viz 32 Pr Single 15 17 4 1 Pr Double 12 " 16 10 4 Salt 7 1/2 Bushels 1 4 2 Flannel 41 Yards 3 16 10 1/2 Carried over L. 638 14 4	27 lb Cattee Congo, £13 1s 0d 64 lb Singlo, £9 12s 0d 57 lb Singlo, £3 1s 8d, £26 5s 2d Carried over, £141 14s 7 1/2d Interpretations The three markups running through the account marked out three classes of buyer, the Company servants at 10 per cent, the planters at 25 per cent and a further body of purchasers at 40 per cent, the steepest charge falling on those with the least claim on the Company's indulgence, perhaps casual buyers or free blacks trading at the store. Fustian was a stout cloth woven with a linen warp and cotton weft, hard-wearing and used for working jackets and breeches, and its sale by the piece here set it among the coarser stuffs supplied for labouring dress. Descettes were a light Indian cotton piece good carried by the Company, and their appearance as single pieces beside the buckram and shalloon shows the mix of Indian and European cloths held together in the one store. The same arrack, sugar, candy, flour and teas appear here as in the opening sale to the servants, sold on at the higher rate, which shows the store dividing a single stock of each staple among the different classes of buyer at the price each was made to pay.
108	101	1754 Brought Over L. 638 14 4 Glasware vizt 47 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 1 9 4 1/2 7 Sqr Do 10 by 12 " 6 5 1 Wine and Water Glass " " 11 1 Half Hour Glass " " 7 1/2 1 17 4 Broad cloth 19 7/2 Yards 16 16 5 Camblet 55 1/2 Yards 9 17 9 Shalloon 61 1/2 Yards 6 12 6 1/2 Starch vizt 12 1/2 Poland " 8 5 18 Common " 8 3 16 8 Haberdasheryware vizt 52 lb Mohair " 19 6 77 Do Silk 1 13 3 1/2 26 1/2 Doz M Coat Buttons " 17 8 24 Do M Brest Do " 8 " 8 Do Gilt Coat Do 1 15 5 5 Do Do Breast Do " 16 3 1/2 3 Prs Holland Laps " 2 9 2 Do Carnal Do " 1 6 60 Do 12 Shirt Buttons " 12 1	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £141 14s 7 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Rice, 1 lb, £2 10s 0d Cordage, 34 lb, £1 0s 8d Salt, 1/2 bushel, £0 2s 2d Twine, 78 skeins, £3 8s 5d Turners ware: 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 4d 1 hair broom, £0 2s 10d 2 shoe brushes, £0 1s 9d 1 paint brush, £0 0s 8d, £0 7s 7d Canvas, 29 yards osnaburg, £1 3s 5 1/2d Cutlery ware: 19 ivory combs, £1 0s 10 1/2d 20 horn combs, £0 4s 7d 1 dozen ivory knives and forks, £2 0s 0d 1 dozen stag horn knives and forks, £1 4s 6d, £4 9s 11 1/2d Pepper, 6 lb, £0 4s 3d Hooks: 1,175 hooks No 5, £0 19s 7d 825 hooks No 8, £0 16s 6d 200 hooks No 10, £0 9s 8d 200 blue, £0 0s 10d, £2 6s 7d Oars, 2, £0 11s 0d Starch: 1/4 lb Poland, £0 0s 10 1/2d 3 lb common, £0 1s 9d, £0 2s 7 1/2d Grindstones, 2, £0 7s 10d Carried over, £153 19s 11d Interpretations The fishing tackle recurs here, the graded hooks and the blue hooks sold on at the higher rate as they were to the servants earlier, and the steady demand for lines, twine and oars across the several classes of buyer shows how far the island's food supply leaned on the boats that worked its coast. Cordage was rope of every size made from hemp, essential for the rigging and mooring of ships and for hauling and lifting on land, and its sale by weight here reflects the constant wearing out of rope in the salt and sun of the anchorage.

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		12 Doz white Waistcoat Do " 3 7 1/2 2 Do Silk Coat Do " " 6 3 Do Silk Brest Do " " 4 1/2 7 7 1 Leather vizt 262 1/4 Leather 11 7 9 1/2 1 Sheep Skin " " 8 1/2 11 8 6 Carried over L 693 10 6 1/2	Osnaburg canvas recurs in this smaller parcel, the coarse German linen used for sacking and rough clothing, sold on to the planters at the steeper markup that fell on those outside the Company's own service. Twine measured in skeins was thin cord used for netting, sewing sailcloth and tying, and the seventy-eight skeins here, with the fishing hooks and lines, point again to the making and mending of nets for the fishery.
109	102	29 July Brought Over L 693 10 6 1/2 Chinaware vizt 67 Snaheew " 16 9 55 Bowls 1 12 1 12 Guglets & Basons 2 " " 49 Meat Dishes " 8 8 " 197 Do Plates " 8 8 " 48 Half point Cups & Saucers " 17 8 36 No Do & Do " 12 6 1 Salad Dish " " 10 16 Chamberpots 1 4 " 15 11 10 Vinegar 27 1/2 Gallons " 4 10 1/2 Copper Money 1000 Halfpence 2 1 8 Linen vizt 4 3/4 Prs Linen 7 18 9 1 Solams Shirt " 4 7 8 3 4 Paint vizt 18 1/2 Spanish 1 14 4 1/2 11 1/2 lb Smalts 1 1 1 4 Mahogany " 13 " 1/2 White Copperas " " 4 13 Whiting " " 3 1/2 1/2 Umber " " 1 1/2 Yellow Oaker " " 1 1/2 3 6 3 1/2 Hoziersware vizt 17 Prs Mens Wove Stockings 3 8 8 1/2 1 Do Knit " 3 4 Hoziersware Carried over L 3 12 " 1/2 Carried over L 722 18 6 1/2	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £158 19s 11d brought forward from the previous page. Thread: 8 lb white brown, £3 2s 0d 1 lb coloured, £0 4s 8d, £3 6s 8d China ware: 8 sneakers, £0 2s 8d 6 half pint cups and saucers, £0 2s 10d 6 cups and saucers, £0 2s 7d 2 bowls, £0 2s 4d, £0 10s 5d Leather, 5 lb, £0 7s 1d Deals, 22 single, £3 2s 4d Blankets, 2, £0 13s 4d Pitch, 22 lb rosin, £0 3s 8d Paint: 5 1/2 lb indigo, £0 12s 3d 16 lb white lead, £0 4s 0d 3 lb Venetian red, £0 0s 10 1/2d 20 lb whiting, £0 0s 9 1/2d 1/2 lb white copperas, £0 0s 9d 2 1/2 lb Prussian blue, £0 5s 8d 1/4 lb umber, £0 0s 1 1/2d 1 1/2 lb blue smalt, £0 3s 6d, £1 11s 9 1/2d Nails: 1/2 lb 3d, £0 1s 8d 2 lb 5d, £0 0s 8d 1 lb 6d, £0 1s 0d 3 lb 4d, £0 0s 8d 16 lb 6d, £0 4s 8d Nails carried over, £0 12s 9d Carried over, £168 15s 2 1/2d Interpretations The painter's stock here ran to the finer and more costly pigments, indigo and Prussian blue among them, the Prussian blue a synthetic colour first made in the early eighteenth century and still a novelty in these years, its appearance at the island showing how quickly a new manufacture reached even this remote store. White lead was the base white of the painter's trade, ground in oil to make the common priming and body colour, and it stood beside the whiting, the cheaper chalk white used for distemper and for filling, the two marking the difference between oil paint and water-bound wash. Venetian red was an earth pigment of a dull brick colour, made from iron oxide and used for cheap durable paintwork on wood and iron, and its low price against the blues shows the ordinary protective coating set apart from the costlier decorative colours. The recurrence of small parcels of paint, nails, thread and china in this further sale shows the store breaking its stock into modest lots for the different classes of buyer, the remnants of larger consignments passing out a few pounds of pigment or a handful of cups at a time.
110	103	1754 Brought over L 722 18 6 1/2 Hoziersware Brought Over L 3 12 7 1/2	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £168 15s 2 1/2d brought forward from the previous page.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		49 Prs Thread Stockings 6 18 10 2 Do Womens " 7 2 1 Do Boys " 19 3 1 Do Girls " 2 9 12 - 7 1/2 Nails vizt 4 2d " 2 7 11 3d " 3 10 1/2 63 6d 1 7 1 21 10d " 9 10 1/2 2 20d " " 9 4 Flooring Brads " 1 6 7 Scupper Nails " 1 6 1 Glasing Brads " 1 4 1/2 20 lb Nails " 8 9 2 16 1 1/2 Thread vizt 25 lb Whitened Brown 6 14 11 27 lb Coloured Do 4 10 2 Ozs Nuns " 6 2 12 5 1 Buckram 29 Yards 1 6 7 Serge 36 Yards 8 17 - Ironmongersware viz 6 Chest Locks 1 1 " 1 Brick Layers Trowel " 1 7 3 Box Irons and Heaters 1 5 6 4 Scyth Stones " " 7 Ironware Carried Over L 2 8 8 Carried over L 760 3 4 1/2	Nails brought over, £0 12s 9d 1 lb 10d, £0 0s 5 1/2d 1/4 lb glazing brads, £0 0s 4d, £0 13s 6 1/2d Haberdashery ware: 23 lb silk, £0 14s 9d 24 lb mohair, £0 12s 0d 7 1/2 dozen mould coat buttons, £0 6s 3d 17 dozen mould breast buttons, £0 7s 1d 1 dozen Holland tape, £0 1s 2d, £2 1s 1d Pork, 1 piece, £0 2s 0d Braziers ware, 1 copper saucepan, £0 4s 7d Oil: 3 1/4 gallons train, £0 3s 7 1/2d 1 3/4 gallons linseed, £0 8s 2d 1 bottle Florence, £0 3s 6 1/2d, £0 16s 9d Lead, 3/4 lb sheet, £0 0s 1s 6d Ironmonger's ware: 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 11d 2 box irons and heaters, £0 12s 0d 1 brick trowel, £0 2s 5d, £0 16s 4d Glassware, 8 squares glass 10 by 12, £0 9s 4d Pewter, 1 basin, £0 6s 0d Total, £174 15s 1d Interpretations Holland tape was a narrow woven linen band, named for the fine Dutch linen called Holland, used for binding seams, tying garments and edging, and its sale alongside the silk, mohair and buttons shows the small findings of the tailor's trade kept together in the haberdashery. Mohair here meant a yarn or thread of goat's hair, used for working buttonholes and covering buttons rather than the woven cloth of the same name, and it stood beside the coat and breast buttons as part of the same trade in fastenings. The recurrence of train and Florence oil in this parcel marks again the two grades held at the store, the rough train oil for lamps and leather and the finer Florence olive oil for the table, sold on to a further class of buyer at the steeper rate. Box irons and their heaters recur here, the smoothing irons heated by a slug slipped inside, and their steady sale across the classes of buyer shows the laundering of linen as a settled want met from the Company store.
111	104	29 July Brought Over L 760 3 4 1/2 Ironware Brought Over 2 8 8 3 Hand Hatchets " 4 6 1 Frying Pans " 1 10 3 Pickaxes " 10 " 2 Claw Hammers " 2 7 4 Prs H Hinges " 8 8 1 Ditching Shovel " 4 6 1/2 1 Ironbound Lock " 4 5 1 Bagstock " " 2 1/2 1 Gimblet " " 2 4 6 Braziersware vizt	The following goods were sold to the Company ships in 1754: Deals, 18 pieces Riga timber, £2 13s 0d Sugar, 100 lb, £2 6s 8d Nails, 16 lb, £0 11s 6d Paint, 30 lb white lead, £1 15s 0d Pitch, 5 lb rosin, £0 0s 9d Lead, 3 lb sheet, £0 0s 8 1/2d Canvas, 30 yards osnaburg, £2 3s 9d Twine, 12 skeins, £0 10s 6d Rice, 41 lb, £28 14s 0d Candles, 12 lb, £1 4s 6d Naval stores, 1 firkin tallow, £1 9s 7d Oil, 12 gallons train, £2 9s 0d Total, £43 18s 11 1/2d The following stores, issued between 12 April and 11 July 1754, were charged to general charges for the purposes noted: Sugar, 6 lb, mixed with lime for repairs to the Castle, £0 1s 5 1/2d Deals:

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		10 Pr Brass Candlesticks 3 6 3 1 Fishing Wok " 9 7 2 Brass Cocks " 8 5 1 Pr Steel Snuffers " 3 1 4 7 4 Pitch vizt lb Pitch " " 7 5 Tar " 3 9 118 Rosin " 14 9 32 Turpentine " 6 8 1 5 9 Pepper 5 lb " 2 10 Tinware vizt 14 Saucepans " 9 5 3 Lamps " 2 6 3 Lanthorns " 8 3 1 Water Pot " 6 8 1/2 1 Dripping Pan " 6 7 1 10 3 1/2 Carried Over L 771 15 9	6 single, for hanging the bell and shelves for the porter's mansion and setting a rack in the Castle, £0 11s 10 1/2d 7 double, £1 1s 7d 1 baulk, £0 5s 1/2d, £1 18s 6d Descettes, 2 pieces single, for rubbers for the Castle, £0 17s 11d Twine, 2 skeins, for the Castle, £0 1s 1d Brandy, 21 1/2 gallons, given to the soldiers who helped in getting goods ashore from the store ship at sea, £1 16s 3d Lead, 3 lb sheet, for tinning, £0 0s 6d Carried over, £45 8s 7d Interpretations Riga deals were softwood boards shipped from the Baltic port of Riga, prized as the best building timber of the age, and their purchase for the ships shows even the Company vessels drawing sawn wood from the island store on a treeless coast where good timber was scarce. A firkin of tallow was a small cask of rendered animal fat, the firkin being a measure of about nine gallons, and the tallow was the raw material for candles and a dressing for ropes and leather, listed here among the naval stores supplied to the ships. The brandy issued to the soldiers who unloaded the store ship at sea was a customary reward in drink for heavy and dangerous labour, the goods being landed by boat through the surf of an open roadstead with no sheltered harbour to receive them. The descettes taken for rubbers were pieces of the Indian cotton cut up for cleaning cloths, showing a piece good bought for sale being drawn instead into the housekeeping of the Castle, and the whole run of charges here records the store's own consumption of its stock on works and upkeep rather than sale.
112	105	1754 Brought Over L 771 15 9 Pewter vizt 1 Bason " 4 9 1 Quart Funnel " 2 6 1 Stool pan " 5 3 " 12 6 Lead vizt 43 lb Sheet " 8 5 lb 2 lb Shot " 2 6 " 10 11 Blankets 18 4 13 Deals vizt 3 Double " 10 8 1 Single " 2 2 1/2 2 Baulks " 12 2 1 4 9 1/2 Earthenware 1 Milk Pan " " 9 Iron Pots 5 2 3 1 1/2 Long Cloths vizt 72 Pr No 1 2 7 9 1 Pr 6 2 6 9 1 Pr 7 1 15 9 7 - 3 Turnersware vizt	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £45 8s 7 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Candles: 128 lb for the Castle, £8 15s 0d 88 lb for the Council, £6 8s 4d, £15 3s 4d Lines: 1 Hamburg, for the Castle, £0 1s 8d 2 lines No 4, for the Havens, £0 0s 9 1/2d, £0 2s 5 1/2d Canvas, 5 1/2 yards osnaburg, to cover the packets, £0 2s 2 1/2d Oil: 16 1/4 gallons train, for the daily use of the kitchen and bakehouse, £1 10s 2d 1 bottle Florence, for the daily use, £0 2s 5 1/2d 1 3/4 gallons linseed, for painting the bell and for the carpenter's use, £0 5s 6d, £1 17s 10 1/2d Cordage, 2 pieces No 15, for receiving the cannon from the ship <i>Grantham</i> and for the bell ropes for the church and guardhouse, £3 10s 9 1/2d Nails: 4 lb 3d, for hanging the shelves for the bakehouse, £0 1s 11d 5 lb 3d, for hanging the bell, £0 2s 4 1/2d 8 lb 6d, for shelves for the doctor, £0 2s 6d 7 lb 10d, for medicines making, £0 2s 4d 2 lb 6d, for boxes for the packets, £0 0s 7d 4 lb 6d, for repairing, £0 1s 5d 2 lb 6d, for shovels, £0 1s 2d 1/2 lb glazing brads, £0 0s 6d 9 coopers rivets, for the cooper's use, £0 4s 1/2d, £0 16s 11d Total, £26 9s 3 1/2d <i>Grantham</i> is the ship named in the cordage entry. Interpretations The heavy charge of candles to the Castle and the Council marks the cost of lighting the two centres of government on the island, the great quantity

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 Hair Brooms " 6 7 1/2 3 Sieves " 4 1 1/2 8 Labourers Baskets " 5 " 16 Cloth Brush 1 2 1/2 6 Scrubbing Brushes " 4 " 21 Shoe Brushes " 13 6 1/2 2 - 16 Carried Over L 790 2 5	reflecting long hours of work and watch kept by artificial light through the dark of the southern winter. The cordage taken to receive the cannon from the <i>Grantham</i> shows the rigging of tackle to hoist heavy guns ashore from a ship lying off in the road, the same ropes serving afterwards for the bell ropes of the church and guardhouse, a frugal turning of one purchase to two uses. The run of nails charged by the specific task, for shelves in the bakehouse, for the doctor and for the making of medicines, shows the store keeping account not merely of what was issued but of the exact work each parcel served, a close reckoning of the island's upkeep down to a few pounds of nails. Coopers rivets were the metal fastenings used in binding casks, and their issue for the cooper's use points to the making and repair of the barrels in which the island's stores of liquor, meat and other goods were held.
113	106	29 July Brought Over L 790 2 5 Kersey 4 Yards 6 " Long Ells 25 Yards 2 5 10 Corks vizt 5 Gross Corks " 12 3 1/2 7 Sheet Cork " " 10 13 6 1/2 Oars 6 1 5 6 Shallois 1 Do " 9 9 Bunting 4 Pers White " " 7 1/2 Grindstones 1 " 3 7 1/2 Wine vizt 30 Dozn Port 30 10 " 10 Do Medeira 15 15 " 11 Do Lisbon 11 5 8 57 8 8 852 15 4 1/2 Sold to the Planters at 25 pCent Shoes vizt 4 Do Womens Calimanco 1 3 4 7 Do Do Spanishe 1 18 4 1/2 2 Do Mens Channel Pumps " 18 " 38 Do Womens Calf 4 16 3 1 Do Mens fine Shoes " 6 4 1/2 9 Do Do Ordinary Do 2 3 1 1/2 6 Do Boys Do 1 8 2 1/2 11 Do Girls Do 1 5 8 Carried Over L 14 - 3	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £26 9s 3 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Ironmonger's ware: 1 large jack, for the Castle, £1 10s 2d 1 jack chain, for the Castle 13 gimlets, £0 1s 8d 1 adze, £0 2s 6d 1 hand hatchet, £0 2s 2d 1 lopping axe, £0 1s 4d 12 pairs Holland hinges and pump chains, £0 2s 10d, £1 6s 5d 2 drawing knives, for the carpenter's use, £0 2s 2d 2 snipe bills, for the carpenter's use 6 centre bits, for the carpenter's use 6 nose bits, for the carpenter's use, £0 6s 7d 1 fencer stock, £0 0s 0d 1 jack plane, £0 1s 10d 1 padlock, £0 2s 3d 1 cupboard lock, for the carpenter's tool chest and cupboard, £0 4s 5d 54 files, £1 17s 4 1/2d 2 smiths rubbers, for the daily use, £0 5s 1d 2 file hafts, for the daily use, £0 0s 3 1/2d 4 claw hammers, for the carpenter's use, £0 4s 8d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 1 1/2d, £12 12s 7 1/2d Leather, 1 3/4 lb, for the pumps, £0 1s 3d Glassware: 5 dozen wine glasses, for the Castle, £0 11s 0d 2 pairs decanters, for the Castle, £0 3s 4d 6 tumblers, for the Castle, £0 0s 5d 6 wine and water glasses, for the Castle, £0 1s 3d 1 pair cruets, for the Castle, £0 1s 3d 4 squares glass 8 by 10, for the repairing windows in the Castle, £0 2s 3d, £1 1s 2d Carried over, £40 17s 4d Interpretations A jack was the mechanism that turned a roasting spit before the kitchen fire, driven by a falling weight through a train of gears and a chain, and the large jack with its chain bought for the Castle marks the fitting out of the governor's kitchen for roasting on a considerable scale. The long list of carpenter's bits, the snipe, centre and nose bits with their drawing knives and jack plane, shows the Castle keeping a fully furnished workshop, the several boring tools each cut a different hole for joinery and framing work about the buildings. Smiths rubbers were abrasive stones or blocks used at the forge to clean and smooth metal, and their issue for daily use with the file hafts and scythe

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			stone points to a working smithy kept busy on the island's ironwork and edge tools. The glassware charged to the Castle, the decanters, tumblers, cruets and wine and water glasses, fitted out the governor's table for entertaining, a display of civility maintained at the Company's charge on a remote station far from any source of such wares.
114	107	1754 Brought Over L 14 - 3 Buckram 4 Yards " 4 2 Descotees 7 Prs Single 3 19 4 Hoziersware vizt 3 Prs Men Wove Stockings " 13 9 8 Do Boys 1 5 " 1 Do Mens Shirt " 3 9 5 Do Womens 1 " 5 3 2 11 Shalloon 55 Yards 4 1 8 Flannel 3 Do " 6 5 1/2 Hats 2 Boys " 13 9 Fustian 7 1/2 Do 1 17 11 Camblet 9 1/2 Yards 2 1 7 Serge 25 Do 7 - 7 1/2 Sold at 40 pCent Arrack 109 1/2 Gallons 32 15 6 Sugar & Candy vizt 660 Sugar 12 10 " 761 Candy 20 12 2 1/2 33 2 2 1/2 Flour 545 3 13 1/2 Candles 66 6 8 7 1/2 Tea vizt lb Bohea " 10 6 27 Cattys Congo 13 1 " 64 Do Single 9 12 " 57 Single 3 18 " 26 5 2 141 14 7 1/2	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £40 17s 4d brought forward from the previous page. Tinware: 3 horn lanterns, for the Castle, £0 7s 6d 4 lamps, for the Castle, £0 3s 0d 1 glass lantern, for the Castle, £0 9s 0d, £0 19s 6d Soap, 100 lb, £2 11s 8d Pitch: 5 lb rosin, for tinning, £0 0s 5d 9 lb pitch, for the pipes in the Castle, £0 11s 4 1/2d, £0 11s 9 1/2d Iron, 20 lb, for the armourer's use, £0 7s 9d Iron pots, 3, for the Castle, £0 15s 0d Corks, 10 gross, for bottling beer, £1 2s 11d Cutlery ware, 2 butcher knives, for the Castle, £0 0s 6 1/2d Starch, 2 lb, for linen, £0 10s 0d Coals, 120 bushels, for the armourer's use, £3 5s 3d Braziers ware: 2 wash pans, £1 9s 8d 3 copper saucepans, £1 5s 5 1/2d 2 pairs round candlesticks, for the Castle, £0 12s 0d 2 flat candlesticks, for the Castle, £0 7s 3d 1 brass cock, for the Castle, £0 3s 10d 1 tea boiler, for the Castle, £1 8s 0d, £5 6s 2 1/2d China ware: 4 sauce boats, for the Castle, £0 1s 6d 12 half pint cups and saucers, for the Castle, £0 4s 0d 12 cups and saucers, for the Castle, £0 3s 9d 10 meat dishes, for the Castle, £0 4s 4d 40 plates, for the Castle, £1 4s 4d China ware carried over, £1 17s 11d Total, £58 7s 11 1/2d Interpretations A tea boiler was a large metal urn or kettle for heating water to make tea in quantity, and its purchase for the Castle with the sauce boats, cups and plates shows the governor's household equipped to serve tea and dine a company in the manner of a genteel establishment at home. The coals and iron charged to the armourer marked the running of the forge that kept the garrison's firearms and edge tools in repair, the hundred and twenty bushels of coal a heavy fuel bill pointing to steady work at the armoury. The pitch taken for the pipes in the Castle shows the sealing of a wooden water conduit with pitch to make it hold, a reminder of how the island's catchment supplied its houses through jointed timber pipes that needed constant tending against leaks. The corks bought by the gross for bottling beer point to brewing or the racking of imported beer into bottles at the island, the beer being one of the staples of the ration kept in store and drawn off for daily use.
115	108	29 July Brought Over L 141 14 7 1/2 Rice 7 lb 2 10 Cordage 34 1 " 8	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £58 7s 11 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. China ware brought over, £1 13s 7d 1 soup dish, for the Castle, £0 6s 2d 24 soup plates, for the Castle, £0 10s 0d

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		Salt 1/2 Bushel " 2 2 Twine 78 Skains 3 8 3 Turnersware vizt 1 Scrubing Brush " 2 4 1 Hair Broom " 2 10 2 Shoe Brushes " 1 9 1 Paint Brush " " 8 7 7 7 Canvas 29 Yards Osnbrgs 1 5 6 1/2 Cutleryware vizt 19 Ivory Combs 1 10 10 1/2 20 Horn Do " 4 7 1 Dz Ivory Knives & forks 2 " " 1 Do Stag horn Do & Do 1 4 6 5 19 11 1/2 Pepper 6 lb " 4 3 Hooks vizt 1175 Hooks No 2 " 19 7 825 Do 8 " 16 6 200 Do 10 " 9 8 200 Blue " " 10 2 6 7 Oars 2 " 7 10 Starch vizt lb Poland " " 10 1/2 3 Common " 1 9 " 2 7 1/2 Grindstones 2 Carried Over L 163 19 11	6 bowls, for the Castle, £0 5s 0d 6 sneakers, for the Castle, £0 1s 1 1/2d, £2 15s 10 1/2d Paint: 8 lb whiting, for the Castle, £0 0s 2d 1 lb white lead, for painting the turret and for the bell, £0 4s 11 1/2d 6 lb indigo, for linen, £0 10s 0d, £0 15s 1 1/2d Turners ware: 3 paint brushes, for painting, £0 1s 5 1/2d 1 birch broom, for the church, £0 0s 4d 1 hair sieve, for the Castle, £0 1s 3d 2 wire sieves, for the Castle and bakehouse, £1 4s 1d, £1 7s 1 1/2d Total, £63 6s 0d The following stores, issued between 12 April and 11 July 1754, were charged to diet expenses: Beef and pork: 2 pieces beef, £0 3s 6d 22 pieces pork, £2 4s 0d, £2 9s 6d Rice, 115 lb, £0 9s 7d Oil, 9 bottles Florence, £1 0s 11 1/2d Carried over, £3 19s 8 1/2d Interpretations The indigo charged for linen was not used as paint but as a blueing agent, a little of the dye added to the wash to counteract the yellowing of white linen and give it a bright appearance, a laundry practice carried on at the Castle as in any well-kept household. The diet expenses opening here recorded the food issued from store to feed the establishment, the salt beef and pork forming the staple ration of a garrison on an island that could not raise enough fresh meat to feed its own people through the year. The white lead taken for painting the turret and the bell shows the protective painting of the exposed ironwork and timber of the Castle against the salt air, the same costly oil-ground white serving both the fabric of the building and its bell. The wire and hair sieves charged to the Castle and bakehouse were the sifting tools of the kitchen, used for dressing flour and straining, and their issue points to bread being baked and provisions dressed within the establishment rather than bought ready made.
116	109	1754 Brought Over L 158 19 11 Thread vizt 8 Whited Brown 3 2 " 1 Coloured 4 8 3 6 8 Chinaware vizt 8 Snehers " 2 8 8 Half Pt Cups & Saucers " 2 10 8 No Do & Do " 2 7 2 Bowls " 2 4 " 10 5 Leather 5 lb " 7 1 Deals 22 Single 3 2 4 Blankets 2 " 13 4 Pitch 22 Rozin " 3 8 Paint vizt	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £3 19s 8 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Salt, 4 bushels, £0 12s 0d Flour, 155 lb, £5 10s 6 1/2d Candy, 280 lb, £4 13s 4d Vinegar, 17 1/2 gallons, £0 2s 10 1/2d Tea: 5 lb Cattée Singlo, £0 10s 0d 1 lb Cattée Congo, £0 2s 0d, £0 12s 0d Arrack, 31 gallons, £4 3s 11 1/2d Total, £19 14s 5d The following stores, issued between 12 April and 11 July, were charged to the blacks: Beef and pork: 27 pieces beef, £12 19s 3d 123 pieces pork, £12 6s 0d 8 pieces pork, £1 16s 8d Rice, 2,314 1/2 lb, £26 1s 11d Tea, 2 lb Bohea, £10 17s 4d Sugar, 51 lb, £1 3s 5 1/2d Oil, 1 gallon train, £0 13s 7d Blankets, 2, £0 9s 10 1/2d Brandy, 23 5/8 gallons, for drams, £0 9s 4d Hooks and lines: 200 hooks No 5, £0 2s 4d 125 hooks No 10, £0 4s 6 1/2d

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		5 1/2 Indico " 12 3 16 White Lead " 4 " 3 Venet Red " " 10 1/2 20 Whiting " " 9 1/2 1/2 White Copperas " " 9 2 Ozs Prussian Blue " 3 8 1/4 Umber " " 1 1/2 17 1/2 Blue Smalts " 3 6 1 11 9 1/2 Nails vizt 2d " 1 8 2 3d " 1 8 1 3 " 1 0 3 4 " 4 8 16 6 " 4 " Nails Carried over L 12 9 Carried over L 168 15 2 1/2	12 lines No 3, for fishing, £0 3s 10d, £1 19s 4 1/2d Carried over, £41 18s 5d Interpretations The account charged to the blacks recorded the cost of feeding and supplying the slaves held by the Company on the island, kept as a separate reckoning from the diet of the free establishment, the great weight of rice against the salt meat marking rice as the staple of their ration. The brandy issued for drams was a customary measured allowance of spirits given out to the slaves, the dram being a small set portion, a practice of the plantation economies by which liquor was used both to reward and to manage the labour force. The fishing hooks and lines charged to the blacks show them set to catch fish to supplement their own rice ration, the island's slaves being put to work the sea as well as the land to help feed themselves at least cost to the Company. The two blankets and the small parcels of tea and sugar mark the barest provision made for the slaves beyond their food, a meagre allowance against the fuller stores of clothing, drink and comforts drawn by the free servants and the Castle.
117	110	29 July Brought Over L 168 15 2 1/2 Nails Brought Over L 12 9 1 10 " " 5 1/2 1/2 Glaz Brads " " 4 " 13 6 1/2 Haberdasheryware vizt 25 lb Silk " 14 9 24 Do Mohair " 12 " 7 1/2 Dozen M Coat Buttons " 6 3 17 Do M Brest Do " 7 1 1 Prs Holland Laps " 1 2 2 1 1 Pork 1 Barr " 2 0 Braziersware 1 Copper Saucepan " 4 7 Oil vizt 3/4 Gallons Train " 3 7 1/2 1 3/4 Do Linseed " 8 2 1 Bottle florence " 3 6 1/2 16 9 Lead 43 lb Sheet " 16 Ironmongersware vizt 1 Hand Hatchet " 1 11 2 Box Irons & Heaters 1 2 " 1 Bread Slice " 2 5 1 6 4 Glassware 8 Sqr Glass 10 by 12 " 9 4 Pewter 1 Bason	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £41 18s 5d brought forward from the previous page. Lead, 1 lb sheet, for fishing, £0 1s 8d Twine, 1 skein, for fishing, £0 0s 6 1/2d Ironware, 1 small frying pan, £0 1s 8d Deals, 2 single, for St Helena's coffins, £0 3s 11 1/2d The following clothing was issued to them: Soldiers clothes: 95 men's jackets and trousers, £72 7s 7d 12 boys jackets and breeches, £4 12s 0d 186 men's shirts, £53 18s 9d 24 boys shirts, £3 6s 0d, £144 4s 4d Hosiery ware: 2 pairs women's stockings, £0 6s 6d 30 Scotch bonnets, £1 18s 9d, £2 5s 3d Shoes: 20 pairs men's ordinary, for the handicraftsmen, £4 16s 8d 2 pairs men's fine, £0 11s 0d 2 pairs women's calf, £0 4s 8d, £5 12s 4d Shalloons, 16 pieces, £7 1s 4d Kersey, 17 3/4 yards, £11 17s 4 1/2d Long cloth, 2 pieces No 7, £3 5s 0d Descettes, 11 pieces single, £4 18s 6 1/2d Canvas, 28 1/2 yards osnaburg, £3 17s 10d Thread: 2 lb white brown, £0 4s 1d 2 lb coloured, £0 6s 8d, £0 17s 9d Haberdashery ware, 4 dozen Holland tape, £0 3s 4d Total, £196 9s 5 1/2d Interpretations The deals bought for St Helena's coffins were sawn boards set aside to bury the island's dead, the name marking St Helena as the whole community here rather than any one person, and the small charge shows even the burial of the poor met from the Company store on a coast with no timber of its own. The soldiers clothes issued in bulk, the ninety-five suits of jacket and trousers and the near two hundred shirts, were the annual clothing of the garrison, supplied from store and charged against the establishment, the plain hard-wearing dress that kept the island's soldiers on their feet.

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		" " 6 L 175 15 1	Scotch bonnets were the flat knitted woollen caps of a kind long made in Scotland, cheap and warm, and their issue with the shoes and stockings shows the coarse standard headwear provided to the working men of the island alongside their clothing. The great run of cloth here, the shalloon, kersey, long cloth and descottes issued together with the thread and tape, points to garments being cut and made up on the island from bulk material rather than shipped in finished, the store supplying the whole makings of the garrison's dress.
118	111	1754 Sold to the Company's Ships Deals 3 Prs Riga Timber 2 13 " Sugar 79 lb 2 6 8 Nails 16 " 11 6 Paint 40 white Lead 1 13 " Pitch 3 Rozin " " 9 Lead 3 lb Sheet " " 8 1/2 Canvas 30 Yards Osnbrgs 2 3 9 Twine 12 Skains " 10 6 Rice 41 lb 28 14 " Candles 12 1 4 6 Naval Stores 1 Firkin Tallow 1 9 7 Oil 12 Gallons Train 2 9 " 43 18 11 1/2 Charges General Dr for the following Store issued from the 12th of April to the 11 July 1754 vizt Sugar 6 lb to mix with Lime for Repairs to the Castle " 1 5 1/2 Deals vizt 6 Single for Hangeng the Bell Shelves for " 11 10 1/2 7 Double the Doctor medicine and seting a 1 1 7 1 Baulk Jack in the Castle " 5 7 1/2 1 18 6 Descotees 2 Prs Single for Rubbing for the Castle " 17 11 Twine 2 Skains for the Castle " 1 1 Brandy 21 1/2 Gallons given to the Soldiers that assisted in getting goods on Shore from the Store Ships &ca 1 16 3 Lead 3 lb Sheet for Tinning " " 6 Carried Over L 4 15 8 1/2	The following stores, issued between 12 April and 11 July, were charged to the garrison: Tea, 76 1/2 lb Bohea, for the guards and barracks, £7 5s 4d Oil, 82 gallons train, for the guards and barracks, £11 15s 9d Deals: 6 single, £0 11s 6 1/2d 18 double, £2 0s 1d, £2 11s 11 1/2d Nails, for cots and coffins: 8 lb 6d, £0 2s 0d 5 lb 5d, £0 2s 0d 4 lb 3d, £0 1s 11d, £0 6s 8d Canvas, 60 yards English, for cots, £3 5s 0d Twine, 1 skein, for cots, £0 0s 6 1/2d Paint: 16 gallons ochre, to clean their accoutrements, £1 0s 10 1/2d 28 lb whitening, to clean their accoutrements, £0 0s 6d, £0 2s 3 1/2d Candles, 100 lb, £7 8s 9d Brandy, 5 gallons, for the doctor's shop, £0 8s 4d Candy, 12 lb, £0 4s 0d Arrack, 13 3/4 gallons, for drams, £1 17s 5d Ironware, 10 frying pans, for the barracks and cook's tools, £0 16s 8d Iron pots, 16, for the barracks and cook's tools, £4 18s 8d Turners ware: 53 platters, for the barracks and cook's tools, £1 10s 3d 39 bowls, for the barracks and cook's tools, £1 15s 0d Tinware, 29 lamps, £0 6s 0d, £1 1s 9d Carried over, £38 8s 11 1/2d Interpretations The ochre and whitening charged to clean the garrison's accoutrements were the whitening materials rubbed into the leather belts and buff equipment to keep them smart on parade, a soldier's standing duty of pipe-claying his kit met here from the store. The nails, deals, canvas and twine issued together for cots and coffins served the two ends of a soldier's life on the island, the canvas cots he slept in and the boards that buried him, both provided from store as part of the ordinary charge of the garrison. The frying pans, iron pots, platters and bowls charged to the barracks and the cooks fitted out the mess kitchens where the soldiers' rations were dressed, the plain wooden and iron gear of a communal feeding on some scale. The brandy set aside for the doctor's shop was spirits drawn not for drinking but for the making of medicines and tinctures, the surgeon using it as a base for the remedies compounded in the island's dispensary.
119	112	29 July Brought Over L 4 15 8 1/2 Candles vizt 128 for the Castle 8 15 "	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £38 8s 10 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. The following clothing was delivered for the officers:

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		88 for the Council 6 8 4 15 3 4 Lines vizt 1 Hambro for the Castle " 1 8 2 Lines No 4 for the Havens " " 9 1/2 " 2 5 1/2 Canvas 5 1/2 Yds Osnbrgs to cover the Packets " 2 2 1/2 Oil vizt 10 1/2 Gallons Train for the divis use of the Kitchen & Bake House 1 10 2 1 Bottle florence for the divis use " 2 5 1/2 17 1/2 Gallons Linseed for Painting the Turret for the Bell and for the Carpenters use " 5 6 1 17 10 1/2 Cordage 2 Do 15 for receiving the Cannon from the Ship Grantham & for the Bells Ropes for the Church and Guard House 3 10 9 1/2 Nails vizt 4 6d for Rush the Turret for " 1 11 5 Do Hanging the Bell " 2 4 1/2 8 Do Shelves for the Doctor " 2 6 7 10 Medicenes making " 2 4 2 20 Boxes for the Packets " 1 7 4 6 and repairing " 1 5 2 20 Shovels " 1 2 10 Glasing Brads " " 6 9 Coopers Rivets for the Coopers use " 4 1/2 " 16 11 26 9 5 1/2	Broadcloth, 55 yards, £49 14s 1 1/2d Shalloon, 70 1/2 yards scarlet, £7 16s 6 1/2d Buckram, 36 yards, £1 6s 3d Haberdashery ware: 50 lb silk, £0 16s 8d 50 lb mohair, £1 4s 10d 30 dozen silver coat buttons, £6 0s 0d 20 dozen silver breast buttons, £2 0s 0d, £9 17s 6d Thread, 3 lb coloured, £0 10s 0d Descettes, 1 piece double, £0 19s 1d Hats, 10 officers, £15 12s 2d Total, £124 5s 1 1/2d The following stores, issued for the sick in the infirmary between 12 April and 11 July 1754, were charged to the hospital: Sugar, 139 lb, £1 13s 3d Flour, 88 lb, £0 11s 9d Rice, 41 lb, £0 16s 8d Oil, 5 3/4 gallons train, £0 16s 6 1/2d Salt, 1 1/2 bushels, £0 4s 6d China ware, 6 sneakers, £0 1s 1 1/2d Turners ware, 1 bowl, £0 0s 11d Total, £4 4s 9d Interpretations The officers clothing was a world apart from the plain suits issued to the men, the fine broadcloth, the scarlet shalloon lining and above all the silver coat and breast buttons marking the dress uniform of the garrison's gentlemen, the silver buttons alone costing more than a common soldier's whole outfit. The scarlet shalloon points to the red coat of the officer being cut and lined on the island, the costly broadcloth faced and finished with silver to a standard of display that set the commissioned rank visibly above the ranks they led. The hospital account recorded the special diet drawn from store for the sick in the infirmary, the sugar, flour, rice and oil making the light nourishing food thought fit for invalids, kept as a separate charge from the ordinary ration to mark the extra cost of tending the ill. The single bowl and the six sneakers charged to the hospital were the vessels in which the sick were fed their gruel and broth, a spare provision reflecting how few comforts the infirmary held beyond the invalid diet itself.
120	113	1754 Brought Over L 26 9 3 1/2 Ironmongersware vizt 1 large Jack 1 Jack Chain for the Castle 7 10 2 13 Gimblets " 1 8 1 Adze " 2 6 1 Hand Hatchet " 2 2 1 Lofeing Ax " 1 4 1 Lofeing Ax " 2 10 12 Prs Hollow & Round Planes 1 6 5 2 Graving Do for the Carpenters use " 2 2 2 Snipe Bills 6 Century " 6 7 6 Nose 1 Fierier Stock 1 Jack Plain " 1 10	The following stores, issued between 12 April and 11 July 1754, were charged to the plantation: Rice and paddy: 39 lb 21 paddy, for poultry and horses, £8 19s 5d 1 lb 8 rice, for poultry and horses, £0 0s 9d, £9 8s 5d Oil, 3/4 gallon train, for the wood, £0 2s 2d Iron pots, 1, 25 lb, for the wood, £0 4s 2d Nails: 3 lb 10d, for the wood, £0 4s 1d 9 lb 8d, for the wood, £0 3s 2d 6 lb 20d, for the wood, £0 1s 10 1/2d 1 lb 5d, for the wood, £0 0s 5 1/2d, £0 6s 5d Ironware: 4 scythes, for mowing, £1 2s 0d 1 stock lock, for the great wood, £0 2s 7 1/2d 1 hand hatchet, for the great wood, £0 1s 4d 2 pruning saws, for the garden, £0 1s 8d 1 edging iron, for the garden, £0 4s 7 1/2d 1 file, for the scythes, £0 0s 8 1/2d, £1 11s 9 1/2d Tar, 24 1/2 gallons, for casks, £0 16s 4d Deals: 2 elm planks, for making and repairing carts, £1 17s 10d 1 oak plank, for making and repairing carts, £2 3s 5 1/2d, £4 1s 2 1/2d

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		1 Padlock " 2 3 1 Cupboard Lock for the Carpenters Tool Chest and Cupboard " 4 5 54 Files 1 17 1 1/2 2 Smoth Rubbers for the divis use " 5 1 2 File Hafts " " 3 1/2 4 Claw Hammers for the Carpenters use " 4 8 1 Scyth Stone " " 1 1/2 12 12 7 1/2 Leather 1 3/4 lb for the Pumps " 1 3 Glassware vizt 5 Dz Wine Glasses " 11 " 2 Prs Decanters " 3 4 6 Tumblers for the Castle " 3 " 6 Wine & Water Glasses " 1 3 1 Prs Cruets " 1 3 4 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 for divis Windows in the Castle 2 3 1 1 2 Carried Over L 40 17 4	Iron, 49 lb, for carts, £0 8s 1d Lines, 3 No 4, for the gardener's use, £0 1s 2d Cordage, 8 lb, £0 1s 11d Total, £17 1s 8d Interpretations The plantation account recorded the stores drawn for the Company's own farming and grounds on the island, the rice and paddy issued to feed the poultry and horses, paddy being rice still in the husk fit for fodder, and the whole marking the Company's working of its land through this quarter. The scythes, pruning saws and edging iron charged to the mowing, the great wood and the garden show the tools of husbandry and forestry supplied from store, the great wood being one of the Company's tracts of planted trees tended in the standing effort to grow timber and firewood on a bare island. The elm and oak planks bought for making and repairing carts point to a wheelwright's work kept up on the island, the two hardwoods chosen for their strength in the wheels and frames that carried goods over the steep and broken ground between the landing and the interior. The tar taken for casks was painted on the barrels to seal and preserve them, the coopers' standing task of keeping the island's casks sound, in which so much of its stores of liquid and provision was held.
121	114	29 July Brought Over L 40 17 4 Tinware vizt 3 Horn Lanthorns " 7 6 4 Lamps for the Castle " 3 " 1 Glass Lanthorn " 9 " " 19 6 Soap 60 2 11 8 Pitch vizt 5 Rozin for Tinning " " 5 9 Pitch for the Pipe in the Castle " 11 4 1/2 " 11 9 1/2 Iron 20 lb for the Armourers use " 7 9 Iron Pots 3 for the Castle " 15 " Corks 10 Gross for Brottling Beer 1 2 11 Cutleryware 2 Butchers Knives for the Castle " " 6 1/2 Starch 2 lb for Linen " 10 " Coals 120 Bushels for the Armourers use 3 5 3 Braziersware vizt 2 Wash pans 1 9 8 3 Copper Saucepans 1 5 5 1/2 2 Prs Round Candlesticks " 12 " 2 Flat Do for the Castle " 7 3 1 Brass Cock " 3 10	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £17 1s 8d brought forward from the previous page. Cartwheels: 4 cartwheels, £7 0s 0d 2 axletrees, £0 17s 8d, £8 0s 8d Total, £25 2s 4d The following goods were delivered for building the plantation house: Nails: 20 lb 3d, £0 7s 11d 6 lb 20d, £0 1s 10 1/2d 6 lb 10d, £0 2s 0d 4 lb glazing brads, £0 4s 1d 16 lb 6d, £0 5s 8d, £1 1s 6 1/2d Iron, 16 lb, £0 2s 7d Lead, 14 lb sheet, £0 2s 4d Oil, 1 3/4 gallons linseed, £0 5s 8d Paint: 3 lb Venetian red, £0 0s 6 1/2d 4 lb white lead, £0 1s 4 1/2d, £0 1s 11d Deals: 44 double, £6 18s 8d 26 single, £26 10s 5d, £33 6s 1d Pitch: 12 lb rosin, £0 0s 1d 20 lb pitch, £0 2s 6d, £0 3s 6d Carried over, £35 3s 5 1/2d Interpretations The cartwheels and axletrees supplied here were the running gear of the carts that carried goods about the island, the wheel and the axletree being the parts most worn by hard use over rough ground, and their purchase points to a standing fleet of carts kept in repair for the plantation's haulage. The building of the plantation house drew a full set of materials from store, the nails, iron, lead, deals, paint and pitch marking a considerable work of construction, the lead for flashing and the pitch for sealing joints against the weather on a house exposed to wind and rain.

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		1 Tea Boiler 1 8 " 5 6 2 1/2 Chinaware vizt 4 Sauce Boats " 1 6 12 Half Pt Cups & Saucers " 4 " 12 No Do & Do for the Castle " 3 9 10 Meat Dishes 1 4 4 40 Do Plates Chinaware Carried Over L 1 13 7 58 7 11 1/2	The great charge for deals here, the near seventy boards of double and single stuff, was the heaviest single item of the building account, and it measures the island's dependence on imported timber for every substantial structure raised on ground that grew no building wood of its own. The linseed oil and white lead taken for the plantation house were the makings of oil paint, the linseed the binding medium ground with the lead to protect the new woodwork, the small quantity of Venetian red added for the cheaper coating of the rougher parts.
122	115	1754 Brought Over L 58 7 11 1/2 Chinaware Brought Over L 1 13 7 1 Soup Dish " 6 2 24 Soup Plates " 10 " 6 Bowls for the Castle " 5 " 6 Snechers " 1 1/2 2 15 10 1/2 Paint vizt 8 Whiting for the Castle " " 2 14 White Lead for Painting the Turret for the Bell " 4 11 1/2 6 Indico for Linen " 10 " " 15 1/2 Turnersware vizt 3 Paint Brushes for Painting " 1 5 1/2 1 Birch Broom for the Church " " 4 1 Hair Sieve for the Castle " 1 3 2 Wove Sieves for the Castle & Bake House 1 4 1 1 7 1/2 Diet Expences Dr for the following Store issued from the 12 April to the 11 July vizt L 63 6 Beef & Pork vizt 2 Ps Beef " 3 6 22 Ps Pork 2 4 " 2 9 6 Rice 115 lb " 9 7 Oil 9 Bottles Florence 1 " 11 1/2 Carried Over L 3 19 8 1/2	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £35 3s 5 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Ironware, 2 pounded locks No 2, £1 15s 4d Glassware, 1 dozen glass 10 1/2 by 12 1/2, £0 0s 11 1/2d Total, £36 19s 8d The following stores, issued between 12 April and 11 July, were charged to the fortifications: Paint: 24 lb white lead, for painting the gun carriages, £0 8s 3d 2 barrels blacking, for painting the gun carriages, £0 1s 1d 7 lb whiting, for painting the gun carriages, £0 0s 0d 1/2 lb white copperas, for painting the gun carriages, £0 0s 3 1/2d, £0 9s 8d Oil, 27 1/2 gallons linseed, for painting the gun carriages, £0 8s 4d Ironware, 1 stock lock, for Sandy Bay magazine, £0 2s 7 1/2d Thread, 2 lb coloured, £0 6s 8d Twine, 2 skeins, for mending flags, £0 1s 1d Turners ware: 2 paint brushes, for painting, £0 0s 11d 6 birch brooms, £0 2s 0d, £2 11s 0d Total, £1 10s 8 1/2d The following stores, issued between 12 April and 11 July, were charged to the boats, for repairing the two longboats: Deals: 1 oak plank, £2 3s 4 1/2d 1 elm plank, £0 18s 11d 7 elm boards, £1 1s 7d 4 double deals, £0 12s 4d, £4 16s 2 1/2d Carried over, £4 16s 2 1/2d Interpretations The fortifications account recorded the upkeep of the island's guns and defences, the white lead, blacking and linseed oil taken to paint the gun carriages, the black paint protecting the exposed timber of the carriages against the salt air that would otherwise rot the mountings of the batteries. The stock lock issued for Sandy Bay magazine secured one of the powder stores set at a distance from the main works, Sandy Bay lying on the south of the island, the locking of the magazine a plain measure to guard the gunpowder against theft or accident. The twine taken for mending flags shows the ensigns and signal flags of the batteries kept in repair rather than renewed, the same signals by which the island watched the sea and warned of strange sail, patched from store at a few pence. The oak and elm planks charged to the boats for repairing the two longboats mark the constant maintenance of the vessels that worked between ship and shore, the elm favoured for the parts kept wet and the oak for the strong members, the boats being

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			the only means of landing goods through the surf of the open road.
123	116	29 July Brought Over L 3 19 8 1/2 Salt 4 Bushels " 12 " Flour 755 lb 5 10 6 1/2 Candy 280 4 13 4 Vinegar 1 1/2 Gallon " 2 10 1/2 Tea vizt 5 Cattys Single " 10 " 1 Catty Congo " 2 " " 12 " Arrack 31 Gallons 4 3 11 1/2 19 14 5 Blacks Dr for the following Stores issued for their use from the 12 April to the 11 July vizt Beef & Pork vizt 27 Ps Beef 12 19 3 123 Ps Pork 12 6 " 8 Do Do 1 16 8 26 1 11 Rice 2314 lb 10 17 4 Tea 2 lb Bohea 1 3 5 1/2 Sugar 56 Oil 4 Gallons Train for the Sick " 13 7 Blankets 2 " 9 10 1/2 Brandy 23 5/8 Gallons for Drams " 9 4 Hooks and Lines vizt 200 Hooks No 2 " 2 4 125 Do 10 for Fishing " 4 6 1/2 12 Lines 3 " 3 10 1 19 4 1/2 Carried Over L 10 6 1/2 41 18 5	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £4 16s 2 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Nails: 9 lb 10d, £0 2s 7 1/2d 13 lb 10d, £0 4s 4d 14 lb 6d, £0 4s 11 1/2d 1 lb 4d, £0 0s 7d 1 lb 3d, £0 0s 3 1/2d 2 lb 20d, £0 0s 7 1/2d 1 lb 4d, £0 0s 5d, £0 14s 0d Pitch: 182 lb pitch, £1 2s 9d 3/4 barrel tar, £0 6s 6d, £1 19s 3d Turners ware, 1 lb brush, £0 0s 5 1/2d Oil: 3/4 gallon train, £0 0s 8 1/2d 3/4 gallon linseed, £0 0s 10d, £0 1s 6 1/2d Iron, 21 lb, £0 3s 5 1/2d Lead, 7 lb sheet, £0 1s 2d Twine, 2 skeins, for mending sails, £0 1s 1d Total, £7 17s 2d This account of stores issued between 12 April and 11 July 1754 was signed by Mr Purling, storekeeper, errors excepted. Interpretations The pitch and tar charged to the boats sealed the seams and timbers of the longboats after their repair, the hundred and eighty pounds of pitch a considerable quantity marking a thorough caulking of the two vessels against the working of the sea. The twine taken for mending sails shows the boats' canvas kept in repair alongside their hulls, the sails patched and restitched from store, the whole account tracing the full refitting of the craft on which the island's dealings with the shipping wholly depended. The certificate of errors excepted was the storekeeper's formal reservation that the account was rendered honestly but might contain slips of reckoning, a standard safeguard by which the officer stood behind his figures without warranting them absolutely against every arithmetical mistake.
124	117	1754 Brought Over L 41 18 5 Lead 18 Sheets for Fishing " 1 8 Twine 1 Skain " " 6 1/2 Ironware 1 Small Frying pan " 1 8 Deals 2 Single for Helena's Coffens " 3 11 1/2 The following Cloathing Dr Delivered them Saidlers Cloaths vizt 93 Mens Jackets and Trouzers 72 7 7 12 Boys Jackets and Bruches 4 12 " 186 Mens Shirts 53 18 9 24 Boys Do 3 6 " 14 4 4	This was a list of the Honourable Company officers and servants on St Helena, with their several salaries, diet money and other allowances, for the quarter beginning 12 April and ending 11 July 1754. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d allowance for servants as usual, £11 14s 9d, £136 14s 9d John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d diet money, £25 0s 0d, £87 10s 0d John Clark, of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d John Goodwin, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d diet money, £15 0s 0d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £35 0s 0d Matthew Purling, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d diet money, £15 0s 0d, £32 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d diet money, £15 0s 0d, £32 10s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d diet money, £15 0s 0d, £40 0s 0d

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		Hoziersware vizt 2 Prs Womens Stockings " 6 6 30 Scotch Bonnets 1 18 9 2 5 3 Shoes vizt 20 Prs Mens Ordinary for the Handicraftsmen 4 16 8 2 Prs M fine " 11 " 2 Prs Womens Calf " 4 8 5 12 4 Shallois 16 Prs 7 1 4 Kersey 178 Yds 11 17 1 1/2 Long Cloth 2 Prs No 7 3 5 " Descotees 11 Prs Single 4 18 6 1/2 Canvas 28 1/2 Yds Osenbrgs 3 17 10 Thread vizt 9 W Brown " 11 1 2 Coloured " 6 8 6 17 9 Haberdasheryware 4 Prs Hollen Laps " 3 4 196 9 5 1/2	James Powell, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d assistant to the storekeeper, £5 0s 0d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £25 0s 0d Thomas French, factor, salary from 12 April to 20 May, the day he resigned, £3 4s 2 1/2d diet money, £4 4s 4d house rent, £1 2s 5d, £8 10s 11 1/2d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £20 0s 0d William Wrangham, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £17 10s 0d Carried over, £470 5s 8 1/2d Interpretations The Governor's pay stood far above every other officer's, his salary alone five times the chaplain's and swelled by a separate allowance for his household servants, the scale marking the gulf between the Company's chief on the island and the men who served under him. Diet money was a cash allowance paid in place of a table found at the Company's charge, letting each officer feed himself, and its steady figure across the ranks against the sharply graded salaries shows the cost of food treated as a common charge while status was measured in salary. The pay of Thomas French, reckoned only from 12 April to 20 May when he resigned, shows the Company settling wages to the exact day of service, the broken quarter's salary, diet and rent all struck off at the date he laid down his place. The gradation of house rent, allowed to the junior factors and the writer but not carried as a separate line for the senior officers, marks a distinction in the terms of service, the lesser servants given a fixed sum toward their lodging as part of a package that on the whole fell well below the pay of the Council.
125	118	29 July Garrison Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12 April to the 11 July vizt Tea 75 1/2 Bohea for the Guards & Barracks 7 5 4 Oil 82 Gall Train 11 15 9 Deals vizt 6 Single " 11 6 1/2 18 Double 2 " 1 2 11 11 1/2 Nails vizt for Cottis and Coffins 8 6 " 2 0 5 3 " 2 " 4 3 " 1 11 Canvas 60 Yards English for Cottis 3 5 " Twine 1 Skain " " 6 1/2 Paint vizt 10 Gallon Oaker to clean their Accoutrements 1 10 1/2 28 Whiting " 6 " 2 3 1/2 Candles 6 lb Brandy 5 Gallons for the Doctors Shop " 8 9	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £470 5s 8 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Charles Steward, writer, salary from 21 May to the day he was appointed, £2 17s 0d diet money, £5 13s 11 1/2d, £8 10s 11 1/2d John Inglis, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £22 5s 0d Thomas Evans, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d, £16 5s 0d Richard Ewing, overseer, salary from 12 April to 8 June, the day he died, £9 4s 1d John Swaine, overseer, salary, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, salary from 17 June to the day he was appointed, £2 17s 6d George Young, overseer, salary from 17 June to the day he was appointed, £2 17s 6d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, salary, £3 8s 3d as clerk, £5 0s 0d, £8 8s 3d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d house rent, £1 10s 0d, £29 0s 0d Mark Hawkins, mason, salary, £12 10s 0d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £1 0s 0d, £20 6s 10 1/2d Thomas Kirkpatrick, master of arms, £6 5s 0d James Sheridan, gardener, £10 0s 0d Thomas Steevens, carpenter, £12 10s 0d Thomas Cheesbrough, carpenter's mate, £7 10s 0d Robert John Clark, armourer, £10 10s 0d John Hughes, armourer's mate, £9 0s 0d James Corbet, cooper, £8 15s 0d James Yates, steward, £6 0s 0d

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		Candy 12 " 8 4 Arrack 13 3/4 Gallons for Drams " 4 " Ironware 10 Frying pans 1 17 3 Iron pots 16 for the Barr & out Forts " 16 8 4 18 8 Turnersware vizt 53 Prs Platters 1 10 3 34 Bowls for the Barracks and out Forts 1 15 9 Tinware 29 Lamps 3 6 " 1 1 9 Carried Over L 38 8 11 1/2	Michael Frost, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Thomas Smith, bosun of the longboat, £7 10s 0d Thomas Braver, house keeper, £5 6s 5 1/2d, £85 11s 5 1/2d Thomas Harper, marshal Carried over, £685 2s 4d Interpretations The staff listed here ran the whole working machinery of the settlement below the ranks of the Council, the masons, carpenters, armourers, cooper, gardener and overseers whose trades built, armed and fed the island, a body of skilled men held on fixed yearly wages by the Company. The salary of Richard Ewing, reckoned only to 8 June when he died, shows the Company striking off pay at the exact day of death as it did at resignation, the overseer's account closed to the day and his place standing empty in the roll. The master mason John Bland drew nearly three times the wage of the gardener and stood above every other tradesman, the high pay of the mason marking the standing importance of stonework in raising and maintaining the fortifications and buildings on which the island's defence and government rested. Michael Frost, paid to clean the clocks and instruments, and Thomas Braver kept as housekeeper mark the range of small specialist offices the Company maintained, the clock cleaner's modest fee showing that even the keeping of the settlement's timepieces and scientific instruments was a named and salaried charge.
126	119	1754 Brought Over L 38 8 11 1/2 The following delivered for the Officers Cloaths vizt Broad Cloth 56 Yards 49 14 1 1/2 Shalloon 70 Yards Scarlet 7 16 6 1/2 Buckram 36 Yards 1 6 3 Haberdasheryware vizt 50 lb Silk 0 16 8 50 Do Mohair 1 4 10 30 Dozen Silver Coat Buttons 6 0 0 20 Do Do Breast Do 2 0 0 9 17 6 Thread 3 lb Coloured 0 10 0 Descotees 1 Prs Double 0 19 1 Hats 10 Officers 15 12 2 124 5 1 1/2 Hospital Dr for the following Store issued for the Sick in the Infirmary from the 12 April to the 11 July 1754 vizt Sugar 139 lb 1 13 3 Flour 88 0 11 9 Rice 47 lb 0 16 8 Oil 5 3/4 Gr Train 0 16 6 1/2 Salt 1 1/2 Bushels 0 4 6 Chinaware 6 Snehers 0 1 1 1/2 Turnersware 1 Bowl	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £683 2s 4d brought forward from the previous page. The following belonged to the First Company: John Elick, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d on account of instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d, £37 3s 1 1/2d Stephen Herbert, second lieutenant, salary, £18 6s 0d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 11s 10 1/2d Francis Mowatt, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d, £29 13s 1 1/2d Total, £94 8s 1 1/2d Sergeants: Henry Beale, £7 12s 1d Solomon Jacobs, £7 12s 1d Thomas Brown, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Corporals: William Davis, £5 6s 5 1/2d John Swift, £5 6s 5 1/2d Humphry Pugh, £5 6s 5 1/2d, £15 19s 4 1/2d John Vaughan, drummer, £5 6s 5 1/2d Sentinels: Andrew Armstrong, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Bennett, £3 16s 0 1/2d Augustine Ball, from 12 April to 22 May, the day he died, £1 14s 2d Thomas Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Bamford, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Burk, £3 16s 0 1/2d Matthew Campbell, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0 1/2d Phillip Cole, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Capelin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £35 18s 11d Carried over, £821 12s 6 1/2d Interpretations The extra pay allowed to John Elick for instructing the gunners marks the garrison training its own men in the working of the great guns, the first lieutenant given a separate fee to school the soldiers

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		0 0 11 4 4 9	in gunnery, a skill the island's defence turned on and could not assume every man already held. The three sergeants drew identical pay to the penny, as did the corporals and the sentinels each within their rank, the flat rate showing military wages fixed strictly by grade with no allowance for the man, in sharp contrast to the individually graded salaries of the civil establishment. The pay of Augustine Ball, reckoned only to 22 May when he died, shows the same close settling of wages to the day of death that ran through the civil roll, the private soldier's account struck off at his death like any officer's and his name left standing in the muster with its broken sum. The drummer stood level in pay with the corporals and above the sentinels, the drum being the instrument by which orders were beaten out to the company on parade and in the field, a working necessity of the garrison that carried a rank and wage above the common soldier.
127	120	29 July Plantation Dr for the following Store issued from the 12 April to the 11 July 1754 vizt Rice & Paddy vizt 30 Ps 21 Paddy for Pultry & Horses 8 19 5 1 8 Rice 0 9 0 9 8 5 Oil 7 1/2 Gr Train for the Wood 0 2 2 Iron pots 1 lb 23 for Do 0 4 2 Nails vizt 3 10 for the Wood 0 1 0 9 6 Do 0 3 2 6 20 Do 0 1 10 1/2 1 6 Do 0 0 5 1/2 0 6 5 Ironware vizt 4 Scythes for Mowing 1 2 0 1 Stock Lock for the Garden Wood 0 2 7 1/2 1 Hand Hatchet for Do 0 1 4 2 Pruning Saws for the Garden 0 1 8 1 Edging Iron 0 4 7 1/2 1 File for the Saws 0 0 8 1/2 1 11 9 1/2 Tar 24 1/2 Gall for Corks 0 16 4 Deals vizt 2 Elm Planks for making and 1 17 10 1 Oak Plank Repairing Carts 2 3 4 1/2 4 1 2 1/2 Iron 49 for Carts 0 8 1 Lines 3 8 No 4 for the Gardeners use 0 1 2 Cordage 8 0 1 11 17 1 8	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £821 12s 6 1/2d brought forward from the previous page, the list of sentinels standing at £35 18s 11 1/2d. Sentinels: William Corksey, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Carthorpe, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Ferris, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Farvis, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Green, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Grainger, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Greaves, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Gouldin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Godson, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Gawler, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 0 1/2d Humphry Harrison, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Headree, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hutchinson, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Howard, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Lambrown, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Legg, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Low, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Maxwell, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Mills, £3 16s 0 1/2d John March, £3 16s 0 1/2d Bartholomew Molly, £3 16s 0 1/2d Nathaniel Mitchell, £0 10s 10d Thomas Martin, from 12 April to the day he was transferred to the Second Company, £0 10s 10d William Mingomery, £3 16s 0 1/2d John O'Hara, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Richardson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Robinson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Renton, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Sadeler, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Shaw, £3 16s 0 1/2d Charles Smith Sentinels carried over, £154 7s 1d Carried over, £821 12s 6 1/2d Interpretations The broken pay of Thomas Martin, reckoned only to the day he moved to the Second Company, shows the two companies of the garrison kept as distinct pay bodies, a soldier's wage struck off one roll and picked up on the other at the exact date of transfer so that neither company was charged for time he did not serve with it. The long run of sentinels each on the same three pounds sixteen shillings and a halfpenny confirms the common soldier's wage fixed rigidly by rank across the whole company, the roll a plain muster of names against an unvarying sum with only death or transfer breaking the figure. The presence of a William Hutchinson among the private sentinels, sharing the Governor's

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			surname, marks how a common name spanned the whole social range of the settlement from the man in command to the ranker on watch, the two men worlds apart in pay and standing.
128	121	1754 Brought Over L 17 1 8 Cartwheels vizt 4 Cartwheels 7 0 0 2 Cart Iron 0 17 8 8 0 8 25 2 4 The following delivered for Building the Plantation House vizt Nails vizt 20 6 0 7 11 6 20 Do 0 1 10 1/2 6 10 0 2 0 4 Glazing Brads 0 4 1 16 6 Do 0 5 8 1 1 6 1/2 Iron 16 lb 0 2 7 Lead 14 Sheet 0 2 4 Oil 1 3/4 Gallons Linseed 0 5 5 Paint vizt 3 Venet Red 0 0 6 1/2 4 White Lead 0 1 4 1/2 0 1 11 Deals vizt 44 Double 6 13 8 26 Single 26 10 5 33 6 1 Pitch vizt 13 Rozin 0 0 1 20 Pitch 0 2 6 0 3 6 Carried Over L 35 3 5 1/2	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £821 12s 6 1/2d brought forward from the previous page, the list of sentinels standing at £154 7s 1d. Sentinels: George Smith, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Stanbury, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Tuffnell, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Turner, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Webber, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Walton, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Wattson, from 6 May to the day he was entered, £2 15s 10d Matthew Young, £3 16s 0 1/2d, £191 6s 10 1/2d The following belonged to the Second Company: Thomas Carthorpe, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1 1/2d Samuel Bruce, second lieutenant, salary, £18 6s 0d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 11s 10 1/2d Total, £59 15s 0d Sergeants: John Leech, £7 12s 1d William Purdue, £7 12s 1d Charles Styles, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Corporals: William Shelford, £5 6s 5 1/2d William Langham, £5 6s 5 1/2d John Bridgewater, £5 6s 5 1/2d, £15 19s 4 1/2d John Clough, drummer, £5 6s 5 1/2d Total, £1,116 16s 6d Interpretations The Second Company was officered and manned on exactly the same pattern as the First, the matching lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals and drummer showing the garrison built of two identical units, a deliberate symmetry that let either company mount guard or take the field on the same establishment. The broken pay of John Wattson, reckoned from 6 May when he was entered, matches the striking off of men who died or transferred, the roll settling a new soldier's wage from the exact day he joined so that the company was charged only for service actually rendered. The two second lieutenants of the companies each drew four pounds ten shillings less in salary than their first lieutenants yet the same diet money and house rent, the pay gap marking the difference in military rank while the allowances for living stayed common, the same split between graded pay and flat maintenance seen throughout the establishment.
129	122	29 July Brought Over L 35 3 6 1/2 Ironware 2 Ironbound Locks No 2 1 15 4 Glassware 1 Sqr Glass 10 1/2 by 12 1/2 0 0 11 1/2 36 19 8 Fortification Dr for the following Stores issued from the 12 April to the 11 July viz Paint 24 White Lead	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £1,116 16s 6d brought forward from the previous page. Sentinels: William Adams, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Bastick, from 12 April to 20 May, the day he was discharged, £1 12s 6d William Binfield, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Ballard, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Barker, £3 16s 0 1/2d Dixon Craft, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		0 8 3 2 Barrels Blacking for Painting 0 1 1 13 Whiting Gunn Carriages 0 0 7 1/2 White Copperas 0 0 3 1/2 0 9 8 Oil 27 1/2 Gall Linseed for Do 0 8 4 Ironware 1 Stock Lock for Sandy Bay Magazine 0 2 7 1/2 Thread 2 lb Coloured 0 6 8 Twine 2 Skains for mending Flags 0 1 1 Turnersware vizt 2 Paint Brushes for Painting 0 0 11 6 Birch Brooms 0 2 0 2 11 1 10 8 1/2 Boats Dr for the following Stores issued for Repairing two Long Boats from the 12 April to the 11 July viz Deals vizt 1 Oak Plank 2 3 4 1/2 1 Elm Do 0 18 11 7 Elm Boards 1 1 7 4 Double Deals 0 12 4 4 16 2 1/2 Carried Over L 4 16 2 1/2	James Carmichael, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Charrott, £3 16s 0 1/2d Gilbert Clough, £3 16s 0 1/2d Baron Delope, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Earle, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Gunn, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jonathan Hitchins, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hitchcock, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Hyde, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hayes, £3 16s 0 1/2d Isaac Isel, from 12 April to 21 May, the day he died, £1 13s 4d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Kewry, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Langbridge, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Lawrence, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Lindsey, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Loveland, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Macray, £3 16s 0 1/2d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £105 18s 11 1/2d Carried over, £1,116 16s 6d Interpretations The broken pay of Joseph Bastick, reckoned to 20 May when he was discharged, marks a third way a soldier left the roll beside death and transfer, the discharge closing his account at the exact day as strictly as any other departure so the Company paid only for time served. Two men, Bastick discharged and Isaac Isel dead within a day of each other in late May, both drop from this single stretch of the muster, the near coincidence of the two broken sums a small mark of the constant turnover in a garrison worn by disease and the hardship of the station. The unbroken column of identical sentinels' pay again shows the private soldier's wage set flat by rank, the roll a bare register of names against one repeated figure, the whole administrative interest lying in the few men whose service began or ended within the quarter.
130	123	1754 Brought Over L 4 16 2 1/2 Nails vizt 9 10 0 2 7 1/2 13 Do 0 4 4 14 6 0 4 11 1/2 1 4 0 0 7 1 3 0 0 3 1/2 2 20 0 0 7 1/2 1 4 0 0 5 0 14 0 Pitch vizt 182 Pitch 1 2 9 3/4 Barrel Tar 0 16 6 1 19 3 Turnersware 1 lb Brush 0 0 5 1/2 Oil vizt 3/4 Gallon Train 0 0 8 1/2 3/4 Gallon Linseed 0 0 10	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £1,116 16s 6d brought forward from the previous page. Sentinels: William Adams, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Bastick, from 12 April to 20 May, the day he was discharged, £1 12s 6d William Binfield, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Ballard, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Barker, £3 16s 0 1/2d Dixon Craft, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Carmichael, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Charrott, £3 16s 0 1/2d Gilbert Clough, £3 16s 0 1/2d Baron Delope, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Earle, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Gunn, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jonathan Hitchins, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hitchcock, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Hyde, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hayes, £3 16s 0 1/2d Isaac Isel, from 12 April to 21 May, the day he died, £1 13s 4d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Kewry, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Langbridge, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Lawrence, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		0 1 6 1/2 Iron 21 lb 0 3 5 1/2 Lead 7 lb Sheet 0 1 2 Twine 2 Skains for mending Sails 0 0 11 7 17 2 July 11 1754 Errors Excepted (Signed) Mr Purling Storekeeper	Thomas Lindsey, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Loveland, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Macray, £3 16s 0 1/2d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £105 18s 11 1/2d Carried over, £1,116 16s 6d Interpretations The broken pay of Joseph Bastick, reckoned to 20 May when he was discharged, marks a third way a soldier left the roll beside death and transfer, the discharge closing his account at the exact day as strictly as any other departure so the Company paid only for time served. Two men, Bastick discharged and Isaac Isel dead within a day of each other in late May, both drop from this single stretch of the muster, the near coincidence of the two broken sums a small mark of the constant turnover in a garrison worn by disease and the hardship of the station. The unbroken column of identical sentinels' pay again shows the private soldier's wage set flat by rank, the roll a bare register of names against one repeated figure, the whole administrative interest lying in the few men whose service began or ended within the quarter.
131	124	29 July List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salaries Diet Mony &ca for the Quarter Commencing April the 12 and Ending July the 11 1754 Viz Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor Salary L 125 0 0 Do allowance for Servants as Usual 31 14 9 136 14 9 John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Salary 62 10 0 Do Diet Mony 25 0 0 87 10 0 John Clark of Council Salary 15 0 0 John Goodwin Accomptant Salary 17 10 0 Do Diet Mony 15 0 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 35 0 0 Matthew Purling Storekeeper Salary 17 10 0 Do Diet Mony 15 0 0 32 10 0 Francis Wrangham Secretary Salary 17 10 0 Do Diet Mony 15 0 0 32 10 William Lee Chaplien Salary 25 0 0 Do Diet Mony 15 0 0 40 0 0 James Powell Saxter Salary 7 10 0 Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 Do Assistant to the Storekeeper 5 0 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 25 0 0	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £1,307 4s 10d brought forward from the previous page. The following belonged to the Third Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1 1/2d William Kennedy, second lieutenant, salary, £18 6s 0d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 11s 10 1/2d Total, £59 15s 0d Sergeants: William Oakman, £7 12s 1d John Walton, £7 12s 1d William Peddam, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Corporals: William Martin, £5 6s 5 1/2d Alexander Hambleton, £5 6s 5 1/2d Thomas Bazett, £5 6s 5 1/2d, £15 19s 4 1/2d John Gould, drummer, £5 6s 5 1/2d Sentinels: John Allen, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Allis, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Bower, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Barwin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Matthew Bazett, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Bickers, £3 16s 0 1/2d Isaac Buck, £3 16s 0 1/2d Walter Bell, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Bell, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Booker, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Cane, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Cannon Sentinels carried over, £44 12s 6d Carried over, £1,411 1s 11d Interpretations The Third Company completed the garrison on the same fixed pattern as the first two, its lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals and drummer drawing the identical pay of their counterparts, the three matching units together forming the whole military establishment of the island on a single uniform scale. The recurrence of the surname Bazett across the roll, a Matthew and a Thomas among these soldiers with others of the name serving as factor and overseer in the civil list, points to a family with several members drawn into the Company's service

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		Thos French Saxter Salary from the 12 April to the 20 May This the Day he Resigned 3 4 2 1/2 Do Diet Mony from Do 4 4 4 Do House Rent from Do 1 2 5 8 10 11 1/2 Matthew Bazett Saxter Salary 7 10 0 Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 20 0 0 William Wrangham Writer Salary 5 0 0 Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 17 10 0 Carried Over L 470 5 8 1/2	on the island at once, spread across both the military and the civil establishments. Thomas Kirkpatrick appears here as first lieutenant of the Third Company while a man of the same name was listed among the civil staff as master of arms, the coincidence of name marking either one man holding a military commission alongside a civil charge or two namesakes serving together in the small closed world of the settlement.
132	125	1754 Brought Over L 470 5 8 1/2 Charles Steward Writer Salary from the 21 May Incl to the day he was appointed 2 17 0 Do Diet Mony from Do 5 13 11 1/2 8 10 11 1/2 John Inglis Surgeon Salary 9 15 0 Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 Do House Rent 2 10 0 22 5 0 Thomas Evans Surgeons mate Salary 6 5 0 Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 16 5 0 Richard Ewsling Overseer Salary from the 12 April to the 8 June Incl the Day he Died 0 9 4 1 John Swaits Overseer Salary 7 10 0 Matthew Bazett Overseer Salary from the 17 June Incl the Day he was appointed 2 17 6 George Young Overseer Salary from the 17 June Incl the Day he was appointed 2 17 6 Richard Beale Schoolmaster Salary 3 8 3 Do as Clerk 5 0 0 8 8 3 John Bland master Mason Salary 17 10 0 Do Diet Mony 10 0 0 Do House Rent 1 10 0 29 0 0 Mark Hawkins Mason Salary 12 10 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 1 0 0 20 6 10 1/2 Thomas Kirkpatrick Master of Arms 6 5 0	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £1,411 1s 11d brought forward from the previous page, the list of sentinels standing at £44 12s 6d. Sentinels: Stephen Cleverly, from 12 April to 25 May, the day he was transferred to the Second Company, £1 16s 8d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Dasfontain, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Yates, £3 16s 0 1/2d Andrew Frazier, £3 16s 0 1/2d Daniel Fowler, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Frazier, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jonathan Godsby, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Green, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Gowden, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Hall, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Hawley, £3 16s 0 1/2d Phillip Fletchman, £3 16s 0 1/2d Job Hairstoon, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hayre, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Hodson, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Rhode, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Hibbett, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Hooks, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Lindsey, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Lindsey, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Langridge, £3 16s 0 1/2d Moses Monanteau, £3 16s 0 1/2d Duncan McClarin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Pinkerton, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Richardo, £3 16s 0 1/2d Lewis Rowe, £3 16s 0 1/2d Arnold Sausoni, £3 16s 0 1/2d Daniel Serjeant, £3 16s 0 1/2d Charles Stokes, £3 16s 0 1/2d Timothy Sullivan, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £156 14s 5 1/2d Carried over, £1,411 1s 11d Interpretations The broken pay of Stephen Cleverly, reckoned to 25 May when he moved to the Second Company, shows soldiers shifted between the three companies within the quarter, his wage struck off the Third Company roll and taken up on the Second at the exact day so neither unit was charged for time he did not serve with it. The mix of names in this stretch of the muster, French forms such as Dasfontain, Monanteau and Sausoni set beside English, Scottish and Irish names, points to the garrison drawn from a wide sweep of recruiting, foreign Protestants and men of every

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		James Sheriden Gardener 10 0 0 Thomas Lloviez Carpenter 12 10 0 Thomas Cheesbrough Do Mate 7 10 0 Robert John Clark Armourer 10 10 0 John Hughes Do Mate 9 0 0 James Gerbett Cooper 8 15 0 James Yates Steward 6 0 0 Michail Sweet Clock and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 0 Thomas Smith Patron of the Long Boat 7 10 0 Thomas Braver Horsekeeper 5 0 0 86 11 5 1/2 Thomas Harper Marshal Carried Over L 683 2 4	corner of the British Isles serving together in the Company's pay on the island. The single unvarying figure running down the whole column again marks the private soldier's wage fixed flat by rank, the roll serving as a muster of names against one repeated sum, the administrative substance lying only in the man whose service began or ended within the period.
133	126	29 July Brought Over L 683 2 4 First Company John Elvin 1 Leitenant Salary L 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do On Acct of Instructing the Gunners 7 10 0 37 3 1 Stephen Herbert 2 Lieut Salary L 18 0 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 0 27 11 10 1/2 Francis Mowatt Adjutant L 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 29 13 1 1/2 94 8 1 1/2 Sergeants Henry Beale 7 12 1 Solomon Jacobs 7 12 1 Thomas Brown 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals William Davis 5 6 3 1/2 John Swift 5 6 5 1/2 Humphry Pugh 5 6 5 1/2 15 19 4 1/2 John Vaughan Drumer 5 6 5 1/2 Centinels Andrew Armstrong 3 16 7 1/2 George Bennett 3 16 7 1/2 Augustine Ball from the 12 April to the 22 of May Incl the Day he Died 1 14 2 Thomas Brown 3 16 7 1/2 James Bamford 3 16 7 1/2 John Burk 3 16 7 1/2	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £1,411 1s 11d brought forward from the previous page, the list of sentinels standing at £156 14s 5 1/2d. Sentinels: David Savery, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Sorry, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Sonapson, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Sall, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Tiffin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Whitenham, £3 16s 0 1/2d, £191 18s 9d The following belonged to the Fourth Company: Onesiphorus Beale, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1 1/2d George Hay, second lieutenant, salary, £18 6s 0d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d, £26 3s 10 1/2d Total, £57 5s 0d Sergeants: Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Michael Frost, £7 12s 1d William Watkins, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Corporals: Edward Wither, £5 6s 5 1/2d Thomas Everlong, £5 6s 5 1/2d Thomas Leech, £5 6s 5 1/2d, £15 19s 4 1/2d John Calfin, drummer, £5 6s 5 1/2d Sentinels: Godfrey Armbruster, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Barker, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Bourke, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Brooks, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £15 4s 2d Carried over, £1,704 7s 9d Interpretations The Fourth Company brought the garrison to four units built on the same fixed establishment, each with its two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals and drummer on identical pay, the fourfold repetition showing a sizeable standing force kept on the island on a rigidly uniform scale. The name Michael Frost appears here as a sergeant of the Fourth Company while a man of that name was listed in the civil roll as cleaner of the clocks and instruments, the coincidence marking either one man holding both a military rank and a small civil charge or two namesakes in the settlement's close company. The second lieutenant George Hay was allowed no house rent where the first lieutenant Onesiphorus

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		Matthew Campbell 3 16 7 1/2 James Cartwright 3 16 7 1/2 Phillips Cole 3 16 7 1/2 George Capelin 3 16 7 1/2 Centinels Carried Over L 35 18 11 1/2 Carried over L 821 12 6 1/2	Beale drew the usual two pounds ten, a break in the otherwise even pattern of allowances that perhaps marks Hay quartered within the barracks or the fort rather than lodging in the town at the Company's charge.
134	127	1754 Brought Over L 821 12 6 1/2 Centinels Brought Over L 35 18 11 1/2 William Corksey 3 16 7 1/2 James Carthope 3 16 7 1/2 John Ferre 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Farvis 3 16 7 1/2 George Green 3 16 7 1/2 John Grainger 3 16 7 1/2 John Greves 3 16 7 1/2 Richard Gouldin 3 16 7 1/2 Richard Godson 3 16 7 1/2 John Gawler 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Hailes 3 16 7 1/2 Humphry Harrison 3 16 7 1/2 James Headre 3 16 7 1/2 William Hutchinson 3 16 7 1/2 John Howard 3 16 7 1/2 William Lambrown 3 16 7 1/2 John Legg 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Low 3 16 7 1/2 John Merrett 3 16 7 1/2 James Mills 3 16 7 1/2 John March 3 16 7 1/2 Bartholomew Molly 3 16 7 1/2 Nathaniel Mitchell 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Martin from the 12 April to the 21 Do Transferred to the 2 Company 0 10 10 William Montgomery 3 16 7 1/2 John O'Hara 3 16 7 1/2 James Richardson 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Robinson 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Rintore 3 16 7 1/2 John Sedeler 3 16 7 1/2 John Shaw	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £1,704 7s 9d brought forward from the previous page, the list of sentinels standing at £15 4s 2d. Sentinels: John Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Brien, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Beckett, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Berry, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Bead, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Bradley, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Baker, £3 16s 0 1/2d Daniel Cam, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Cowles, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Clear, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Cripps, £3 16s 0 1/2d Stephen Cleverly, from 25 May to the day he was transferred from the Third Company, £1 19s 4 1/2d William Dowton, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Dove, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Dehlon, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Egleston, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Finat, £3 16s 0 1/2d Walter Gordon, £3 16s 0 1/2d Charles Gefform, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Hayes, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Hind, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Holloway, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Harris, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Hodson, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Harrison, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Jackson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Kilbern, £3 16s 0 1/2d Christian Moore, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Mudge, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £127 8s 0d Carried over, £1,704 7s 9d Interpretations The pay of Stephen Cleverly appears again here, this time reckoned from 25 May onward as he joined the Fourth Company, matching the broken entry on the Third Company roll where his wage was struck off at the same date, the two halves of his quarter's pay together showing the full working of a transfer traced across both companies to the day. The bare column of identical sentinels' pay runs on as through every company, the private soldier's wage fixed flat by rank so that the roll serves only as a muster of names against one unvarying figure, the sole point of administrative interest lying in the single transferred man whose entry breaks the sum.

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		3 16 7 1/2 Charles Smith Centinels Carried Over L 154 7 1 Carried Over L 821 12 6 1/2	
135	128	29 July Brought Over L 821 12 6 1/2 Centinels Brought Over L 154 7 1 George Smith 3 16 7 1/2 Samuel Stanbury 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Tuffnell 3 16 7 1/2 John Turner 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Williams 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Webber 3 16 7 1/2 John Williams 3 16 7 1/2 John Walton 3 16 7 1/2 John Wattson from the 6 May Incl the Day he was Entered 2 15 10 Matthew Young 3 16 7 1/2 101 6 10 1/2 Second Company Thos Carthope 1 Lieut Salary L 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 0 32 3 1 1/2 Sam Price 2 Lieut Salary L 18 3 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 0 27 11 10 1/2 59 15 0 Sergeants John Leech 7 12 1 William Prudew 7 12 1 Charles Stiles 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals William Shelford 5 6 3 1/2 William Langhom 5 6 5 1/2 John Bridgewater 5 6 3 1/2 15 19 4 1/2 John Clough Drummer 5 6 5 1/2 1116 16 6	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £1,704 7s 9d brought forward from the previous page, the list of sentinels standing at £127 8s 9d. Sentinels: Stephen Orr, £3 16s 0 1/2d Archibald Pouge, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Pearce, from 12 April to 22 May, the day he was transferred to the Second Company, £2 1s 0 1/2d John Robinson, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Simmons, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Strange, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Sherston, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Sanits, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Swaits, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Shannon, from 12 April to 23 May, the day he deserted, £1 15s 0d William Saylor, £3 16s 0 1/2d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jeremiah Wignll, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Warwell, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Wolfington, £3 16s 0 1/2d, £192 1s 3 1/2d The following belonged to the Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, master gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1 1/2d Gunners mates: Nathaniel Sample, chief mate, salary, £11 8s 1 1/2d Isaac Leech, £9 2s 6d William Turner, £9 2s 6d John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Gunners mates carried over, £38 15s 7 1/2d Carried over, £1,928 12s 4d Interpretations The desertion of William Shannon, his pay reckoned only to 23 May when he ran, marks the one departure from the roll that carried no settled account to a new place or an heir, the deserter simply struck off at the day he fled, a plain record of the standing problem of men slipping away from an isolated garrison they could not lawfully leave. The Artillery Company stood apart from the four foot companies as a specialist body under a master gunner, its chief mate and three gunners mates paid on their own scale to serve the great guns, the separate establishment marking the working of the batteries as a distinct trade from the ordinary duty of the line. The master gunner Thomas Hall drew the same salary as a company lieutenant, his rank placed on a level with the commissioned officers of the foot, the parity showing the command of the island's artillery reckoned as important as the leading of a company of soldiers on a station whose whole defence rested on its guns.
136	129	1754 Brought Over L 1116 16 6 Centinels William Adams 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Bastick from the 12 April to the 20 May Incl the day he was Discharged 1 12 6 William Binfield 3 16 7 1/2	The account continued under 29 July, with a sum of £1,928 12s 4d brought forward from the previous page, the list of gunners mates standing at £38 15s 7 1/2d. Gunners mates: Henry Carter, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis, £9 2s 6d Richard Bilbington, £9 2s 6d, £75 5s 7 1/2d Quarter gunners:

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		William Brown 3 16 7 1/2 Robert Ballard 3 16 7 1/2 John Barber 3 16 7 1/2 Dixon Croft 3 16 7 1/2 James Carmichael 3 16 7 1/2 John Charrott 3 16 7 1/2 Gilbert Clough 3 16 7 1/2 Baron Delope 3 16 7 1/2 John Earle 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Fuller 3 16 7 1/2 John Grum 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Grant 3 16 7 1/2 Jonathan Hitchins 3 16 7 1/2 William Hurlock 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Hyde 3 16 7 1/2 William Hayes 3 16 7 1/2 Isaac Isael from the 12 April to the 21 of May Incl the Day he Died 1 13 4 Thomas Kendrick 3 16 7 1/2 Richard Knight 3 16 7 1/2 John Kewey 3 16 7 1/2 John Langbridge 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Lawrence 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Lindsey 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Loveland 3 16 7 1/2 John Macray 3 16 7 1/2 Abraham Major Centinels Carried Over L 105 18 11 1/2 Carried Over L 1116 16 6	Adam Watkin, £6 16s 10 1/2d John Spencer, £6 16s 10 1/2d Thomas Willingham, £6 16s 10 1/2d John Jacks, £6 16s 10 1/2d Peter Marshall, £6 16s 10 1/2d James Lee, £6 16s 10 1/2d James Long, £6 16s 10 1/2d Darby Coyle, £6 16s 10 1/2d, £54 15s 0d Matrosses: Abram Agew, £4 11s 3d John Attenstall, £4 11s 3d Joseph Broxell, £4 11s 3d Andrew Barton, £4 11s 3d Christian Brinker, £4 11s 3d John Caudrey, £4 11s 3d William Campbell, £4 11s 3d James Cooper, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d Phillip Neckard, £4 11s 3d William Howe, £4 11s 3d John Killenge, £4 11s 3d Richard Moyce, £4 11s 3d Adam Wiltbown, £4 11s 3d Thomas Mason, £4 11s 3d Thomas Hodge, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried over, £73 0s 0d Carried over, £2,058 12s 11 1/2d Interpretations The artillery was ranked in a strict descending scale, the gunners mates above the quarter gunners and the matrosses below them, each grade on its own fixed pay, the gradation showing the working of the guns divided into skilled and unskilled duties from the trained mate down to the matross who fetched, loaded and hauled. A matross was the lowest grade of the artillery, the assistant who carried powder and shot, sponged and loaded the piece and lent his weight to running it out, ranking below the gunner proper as a private soldier of the batteries, and the sixteen of them here formed the labouring muscle behind the island's guns. The whole artillery establishment, from the master gunner down through the mates, quarter gunners and matrosses, made a body of some thirty men kept solely to serve the batteries, the scale of it marking how heavily the defence of an island with no natural harbour leaned on shore guns able to command the anchorage and landing places.
137	130	29 July Brought Over L 1116 16 6 Centinels Brought Over L 105 18 11 1/2 Charles Mountague 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Morris 3 16 7 1/2 Anthony Meechin 3 16 7 1/2 Richard McNolly 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Martin from the 26 April Incl the day he was Transferred from the 1 Company 3 5 2 1/2 James McDonald from the 6 May Incl the Day he was Entertained 2 15 10 Thomas Oliver from the 12 April to the 13 Incl the day he Died 0 1 8 Thomas Payne	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £2,058 12s 11 1/2d brought forward from the previous page, the list of matrosses standing at £73 0s 0d. Matrosses: Roger Newman, £4 11s 3d William Perry, £4 11s 3d Abram Ratliff, £4 11s 3d William Stitcher, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d, £95 16s 3d Superannuated: William Burnham, sergeant, £3 8s 3d Total, £2,157 17s 5 1/2d Interpretations The superannuated sergeant William Burnham drew a small sum from the Company after his service was done, an early form of pension by which a worn-out soldier was kept on the books at a reduced rate, the single entry showing the Company making some provision for age and long service on a station where a man could not easily return home to be supported.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 7 1/2 John Pinwater 3 16 7 1/2 John Parker 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Powe from the 23 May Incl the Day he was transferd from the 1 Company 1 15 0 William Robinson 3 16 7 1/2 Robert Stack 3 16 7 1/2 Adam Scott 3 16 7 1/2 John Shirtly 3 16 7 1/2 Nicholas Scraffton 3 16 7 1/2 Christian Syder 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Syder 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Thomson 3 16 7 1/2 Benjamin Swaits 3 16 7 1/2 James Thomson 3 16 7 1/2 Richard Vaughan 3 16 7 1/2 Benjamin Williams from the 12 April to the 24 Incl the Day he Died 0 10 10 Roger Wetwan 3 16 7 1/2 190 8 4 Carried Over L 1307 4 10	The grand total of over two thousand one hundred and fifty pounds for the quarter measured the whole cost of the island's establishment, civil and military together, the sum marking St Helena as a settlement maintained wholly at the Company's charge, its every officer, soldier, tradesman and pensioner paid from the one account.
138	131	1754 Brought Over L 1307 4 10 Third Company Thos Kirkpatrick 1 Lieut Salary L 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 0 32 3 1 1/2 William Kennedy 2 Lieut Salary L 18 5 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 0 27 11 10 1/2 39 15 0 Sergeants William Ochman 7 12 1 John Walthe 7 12 1 William Puddam 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals William Bantin 5 6 3 1/2 Alexander Hamileton 5 6 3 1/2 Thomas Bazett 5 6 5 1/2 13 19 4 1/2 John Gould Drumer 5 6 5 1/2 Centinels John Allen 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Allis	John Clark, the paymaster, was charged as debtor. On 11 July 1754 he received cash from the Honourable Company cash chest of £2,231 0s 5 1/2d.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Bower 3 16 7 1/2 John Boidin 3 16 7 1/2 Matthew Bazett 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Bodenn 3 16 7 1/2 Isaac Buck 3 16 7 1/2 Walter Bell 3 16 7 1/2 James Bell 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Cooker 3 16 7 1/2 William Enne 3 16 7 1/2 William Cannon Centinels Carried Over L 44 12 6 Carried Over L 1411 1 11	
139	132	29 July Brought Over L 1411 1 11 Centinels Brought Over L 44 12 6 Stephen Cleverly from the 12 April to the 25 May Incl Transfere to the 1 Company 1 16 8 Isaac Day 3 16 7 1/2 Samuel Dasfountain 3 16 7 1/2 Samuel Yates 3 16 7 1/2 Andrew Frazier 3 16 7 1/2 Daniel Fowles 3 16 7 1/2 John Frazier 3 16 7 1/2 Jonathan Godsby 3 16 7 1/2 James Green 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Gowden 3 16 7 1/2 James Hall 3 16 7 1/2 John Hawkey 3 16 7 1/2 Phillip Highman 3 16 7 1/2 Job Hairston 3 16 7 1/2 William Hayre 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Hodson 3 16 7 1/2 William Hinde 3 16 7 1/2 George Hibbett 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Hooke 3 16 7 1/2 Peter Lindsey 3 16 7 1/2 William Lindsey 3 16 7 1/2 John Langridge 3 16 7 1/2 Moses Monanteau 3 16 7 1/2 Duncan McClarin 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Pinkerton	The paymaster was credited in 1754 with the following payments. On 4 July he paid Mrs Beale for making two surplices for the Reverend William Lee, £2 5s 0d. On 11 July he paid Daniel Fowler a quarter's salary for attending in the great wood, £2 0s 0d. He paid Jonathan Hitchins for carpenter's work done in the quarter, £3 0s 0d. He paid Thomas Evans for taking care of twenty of the Honourable Company recruits on their passage, there being no surgeon on board, £5 0s 0d. He paid William Hairloch and James Carmichael for baking 78 batches of bread for the garrison at 1s 8d the batch in the quarter, £6 10s 0d. He paid several people for cleaning the water conduits at Windward in the quarter, £2 15s 0d. He paid Richard Bagley for 500 lemons at 3s 6d the hundred and 27 bushels of potatoes at 3s 6d the bushel for the use of the Honourable Company slaves in the quarter, £1 2s 6d. He paid Benjamin Williams for assisting the sawyers when the Company sawyers were sick, £0 4s 6d. He paid James Yates for 43 pounds of tamarind at 8d the pound for the use of the Honourable Company slaves, £1 10s 0d. He paid several people for working at the Honourable Company fortifications at Rupert's, Bank's, Lemon Valley and other places between 1 April and 11 July 1754, £45 17s 0d. He paid William Davis for making 21 sacking bottoms for cots for the garrison at 4d each, £0 7s 0d. The sum carried over was £71 16s 6d. Interpretations The two surplices made for the chaplain were the white linen vestments worn by a clergyman at divine service, the payment to a woman for making them showing the church on the island fitted out for regular worship and its minister properly robed at the Company's charge. The bread baked in seventy-eight batches at a fixed rate a batch shows the garrison's bread supply put out to two named bakers on piece terms rather than made within the establishment, a contracting out of the daily loaf that let the Company pay by measurable output. The lemons, potatoes and tamarind bought for the slaves were antiscorbutic foods given to ward off scurvy, the sharp fruit and fresh vegetable countering the disease bred by a diet of salt meat and rice, the purchases showing the Company alive to the health of its labour force as a matter of plain economy.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 7 1/2 Edward Richards 3 16 7 1/2 Lewis Rowe 3 16 7 1/2 Arnold Sausoni 3 16 7 1/2 Daniel Serjeant 3 16 7 1/2 Charles Stokes 3 16 7 1/2 Timothy Sullivan 3 16 7 1/2 Centinels Carried Over L 156 14 5 1/2 Carried Over L 1411 1 11	The fortification work spread across Rupert's, Bank's and Lemon Valley marks the several batteries guarding the landing places on the island's leeward coast, the scattered sites showing the defence built not at one point but at every bay where a boat might come ashore, a heavy standing charge on the settlement.
140	133	1754 Brought Over L 1411 1 11 Centinels Brought Over L 156 14 5 1/2 David Savery 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Terry 3 16 7 1/2 John Tomapson 3 16 7 1/2 John Tull 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Taylor 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Tiffin 3 16 7 1/2 Benjamin Williams 3 16 7 1/2 William Whitenham 3 16 7 1/2 191 18 9 Fourth Company Onesiph Beale 1 Lieut Salary L 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 0 32 3 1 1/2 George Hay 2 Lieut Salary L 18 5 0 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 25 1 10 1/2 57 5 0 Sergeants Robert Mason 7 12 1 Michael Frost 7 12 1 William Watkins 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Edward Wither 5 6 3 1/2 Thomas Ewsling 5 6 5 1/2 Thomas Leech 5 6 5 1/2 13 19 4 1/2 John Calfin Drummer 5 6 5 1/2 Centinels Godfrey Armbruster 3 16 7 1/2 Peter Barker 3 16 7 1/2 John Bourke 3 16 7 1/2 William Brooks 3 16 7 1/2 Centinels Carried Over L 15 4 2	John Clark, the paymaster, was charged as debtor on 11 July 1754, with £2,231 0s 5 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. The account was carried down at £2,232 0s 5 1/2d.

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		Carried Over L 1704 7 9	
141	134	29 July Brought Over L 1704 7 9 Centinels Brought Over 15 4 2 John Brown 3 16 7 1/2 George Brier 3 16 7 1/2 William Bickett 3 16 7 1/2 Robert Berry 3 16 7 1/2 George Beak 3 16 7 1/2 Robert Broun 3 16 7 1/2 John Bradley 3 16 7 1/2 Robert Baker 3 16 7 1/2 Daniel Cam 3 16 7 1/2 John Cowles 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Coker 3 16 7 1/2 John Cripps 3 16 7 1/2 Stephen Cleverly from the 26 May Incl the Day he was Transferred from the 3 Company 1 19 4 1/2 William Dowston 3 16 7 1/2 John Dove 3 16 7 1/2 John Dehlon 3 16 7 1/2 Peter Eggleston 3 16 7 1/2 Peter Frinal 3 16 7 1/2 Volar Gordon 3 16 7 1/2 Charles Geforn 3 16 7 1/2 John Hayes 3 16 7 1/2 James Hendo 3 16 7 1/2 John Holloway 3 16 7 1/2 William Harris 3 16 7 1/2 John Hodson 3 16 7 1/2 William Harrison 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Jackson 3 16 7 1/2 Samuel Kitson 3 16 7 1/2 Christian Menire 3 16 7 1/2 William Mudge 3 16 7 1/2 Centinels Carried Over L 127 8 0 Carried Over L 1704 7 9	The paymaster was credited in 1754 with the following payments, with £71 16s 6d brought forward from the previous page. On 11 July he paid Thomas Mason for nine days painting work done at 1s 6d the day for painting the gun carriages and the turret of the bell on the top of the guardhouse, £1 3s 6d. He paid several people for rowing in the yawl in the quarter, £1 3s 0d. He paid the Honourable Company officers and servants their salaries, diet and other allowances for the quarter beginning 12 April and ending 11 July 1754, £2,157 17s 5 1/2d. The account was carried down at £2,232 0s 5 1/2d. This account was signed at St Helena on 11 July 1754 by John Clark, paymaster, errors excepted. The Honourable Company cash was then counted and examined for the period between 12 June and 11 July 1754, as set out below. Interpretations The great payment of over two thousand pounds for the officers and servants salaries dwarfed every other item in the paymaster's account, the single line settling the whole establishment's pay for the quarter and showing how far the cost of the island lay in wages rather than in stores or works. The turret of the bell on the guardhouse, painted here along with the gun carriages, was the small housing that held the alarm bell rung to call the garrison to arms, its upkeep marking the plain machinery of a settlement kept in constant readiness against a strange sail or a landing. The counting and examination of the cash chest at the quarter's end was the formal audit by which the paymaster's figures were checked against the money actually held, a standing safeguard of the Company's accounting that closed each quarter with a physical reckoning of the cash in hand.
142	135	1754 Brought Over L 1704 7 9 Centinels Brought Over L 127 8 9 Stephen Orr 3 16 7 1/2 Archibald Pouge 3 16 7 1/2	The cash account was charged as debtor in 1754. On 12 June the balance remaining was £4,216 14s 6 1/2d. On 7 July there was received for exchange on a set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Thomas Hall or order ninety days after sight and dated that day, £30 0s 0d.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thomas Pearce from the 12 April Incl to the 22 May Incl Transferd to the Second Company 2 1 7 1/2 John Robinson 3 16 7 1/2 John Simmons 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Smith 3 16 7 1/2 John Strange 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Taylor 3 16 7 1/2 James Sherston 3 16 7 1/2 Richard Swaits 3 16 7 1/2 William Swaits 3 16 7 1/2 William Thomson from the 12 April to the 23 of May Incl the Day he Deserted 1 15 0 William Taylor 3 16 7 1/2 Stephen Willoughby 3 16 7 1/2 Jeremiah Wignll 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Warwell 3 16 7 1/2 John Williams 3 16 7 1/2 John Wolfington 3 16 7 1/2 192 1 3 1/2 Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary L 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 0 32 3 1 1/2 Gunners Mates Nathan Sample Chief Mate Salary 11 8 1 1/2 Isaac Leech 9 2 6 William Turner 9 2 6 John Whitchurch 9 2 6 Gunners Mates Carried Over L 38 15 7 1/2 Carried Over L 1928 12 4	On 11 July there was received from Matthew Purling for store goods sold in the quarter ending that day, £1,027 10s 5 1/2d. There was received for licences for eight public houses, £12 0s 0d. There was received from the plantation for provisions sold, £1 10s 0d. There was received for medicines supplied for Captain Oliver, £1 9s 5d. The total charged was £5,289 4s 3 1/2d. Interpretations The bills drawn on the Court of Directors payable ninety days after sight were the paper by which money was moved between the island and London without shipping coin, a merchant or officer taking a bill at St Helena to be honoured in England after the set term, the ninety days allowing for the slow passage of the demand home. The licences for eight public houses show the Company controlling and taxing the sale of drink on the island, the fee for a licence both a source of revenue and a means of regulation, the eight houses marking a settled trade in liquor among a population with a garrison at its centre. The medicines supplied for a named ship's captain and charged to his account show the island's dispensary serving the passing shipping as well as its own people, the surgeon's stores sold on to a vessel in the road that had run short, a small trade in the one thing a remote and well-found station could spare to those at sea.
143	136	29 July Brought Over L 1928 12 4 Gunners Mates Brought Over L 38 15 7 1/2 Henry Carter 9 2 6 Charles McNeily 9 2 6 Rowland Davis 9 2 6 Richard Bilbington 9 2 6 75 5 7 1/2 Quarter Gunners Adam Watson 6 16 10 1/2 John Spencer 6 16 10 1/2 Thomas Wellingham 6 16 10 1/2 John Sachs 6 16 10 1/2 Peter Marshall	The cash account was credited in 1754. On 11 July there was advanced to the paymaster on several accounts in the quarter ending that day, £2,232 0s 5 1/2d. The balance remaining was held in the following coin. 120 Venetians at 10s, £60 0s 0d 800 pagodas at 8s, £320 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £380 0s 0d 2,325 dollars at 5s, £581 5s 0d 12,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,350 0s 0d 12,048 half reals at 1s 3 1/2d, £202 6s 3d 441 French pieces at 12s, £313 6s 0d old money, £4 7s 3 1/2d Silver amounting to, £2,157 8s 9 1/2d 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 Total, £5,289 4s 3 1/2d

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		6 16 10 1/2 James Lee 6 16 10 1/2 James Long 6 16 10 1/2 Darby Coyle 6 16 10 1/2 54 15 0 Matrosses Abram Agew 4 11 3 John Attenstall 4 11 3 Joseph Broscll 4 11 3 Andrew Barton 4 11 3 Christian Brenke 4 11 3 John Cawdrey 4 11 3 William Campbell 4 11 3 James Cooper 4 11 3 Anthony Day 4 11 3 Phillip Nickard 4 11 3 William Howe 4 11 3 John Killenge 4 11 3 Richard Moyce 4 11 3 Adam Wiltbourn 4 11 3 Thomas Mason 4 11 3 Thomas Hodge 4 11 3 Matrosses Carried Over L 73 0 0 Carried Over L 2058 12 11 1/2	The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The cash chest held a mixture of coin from across the trading world, Venetian gold, Indian pagodas and rupees, Spanish dollars and reals and French pieces all reckoned into sterling at set rates, the medley showing St Helena as a crossroads of the eastern and Atlantic trades where the money of every nation whose ships called passed through the Company's hands. The pagoda was a gold coin of southern India and the rupee its silver counterpart, both drawn from the Company's Indian trade, their presence in quantity marking the flow of eastern money westward through the island on the homeward passage of the Company's ships. The cash notes counted alongside the coin were the Company's own paper currency issued on the island, a local money that circulated in place of scarce coin, the graded notes down to half a crown showing paper used even for small sums in a settlement where hard cash was always short. The reckoning of every foreign coin into sterling at a fixed rate was the device by which a chest of mixed money could be counted as a single sum, the rates set by the Company allowing the whole heterogeneous store of gold and silver to be balanced against the accounts in one common measure.
144	137	1754 Brought Over L 2058 12 11 1/2 Matrosses Brought Over L 73 0 0 Roger Newman 4 11 3 William Perry 4 11 3 Abram Ratliff 4 11 3 William Slitcher 4 11 3 Thomas Watts 4 11 3 95 16 3 Superannuated William Burnham Sergeant 3 8 3 2157 17 5 1/2	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 5 August 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 29 July 1754, was approved and signed. The accountant presented his journal and parcels for the quarter ending on 11 July. These were examined and approved, and the Council ordered them to be entered. Since none of the relations or creditors of the late Richard Gawling had so far applied to the Council to take on the administration of his estate, the Council ordered the following advertisement to be published. Richard Gawling, a planter, had died without leaving a will, and his widow refused to administer his estate. Several of his relations who had been approached for that purpose had also refused. Notice was therefore given to any other relations or creditors, requiring them to inform the Governor and Council on or before Monday 19 August whether any one or more of them would take on the administration of the estate. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The Council's advertisement set in motion the legal machinery for an intestate estate that no one would claim, the refusal of both the widow and the relations to administer leaving the property in limbo, the public notice a formal step to flush out any

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			creditor or kinsman willing to take on the debts and duties that came with the assets. The widow's refusal to administer her late husband's estate, unusual where a widow would ordinarily have the first right, points to an estate encumbered with debt, the relations' matching refusal suggesting the liabilities outran the assets so that whoever took it on would be left to satisfy the creditors out of their own pocket. The Council acting as the authority before which administration of a dead planter's estate had to be claimed shows the governing body of the island doubling as its probate court, the same small body that ran the government, kept the accounts and mustered the garrison also settling the descent of property among the settlers.
145	138	29 July John Clark Paymaster Dr 1754 July the 11 To Cash from the Honorable Companys Cash Chest L 2231 0 5 1/2	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 12 August 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 5 August 1754, was approved and signed. Henry Beale, a native of the island, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison. The Council granted it. John Bagley, a native, enlisted with the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years without any bounty money. Peter Small re-enlisted to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years at ten pounds bounty money. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The contrast between the two enlistments is the sharpest thing on the page, John Bagley taking no bounty at all where Peter Small drew ten pounds, the gap marking the difference between a raw native recruit with no choice of employer on a small island and an experienced soldier re-enlisting whose proven service the Company paid to keep. The discharge of one island native from the garrison and the enlistment of another on the same day shows the Company drawing its rank and file partly from the local-born population, the island breeding its own soldiers who moved in and out of the Company's service as their circumstances changed. The bounty of ten pounds paid to retain Peter Small, more than twice a private sentinel's whole quarterly wage, measures the value the Company set on holding a trained man, the lump sum a standing device to bind a soldier for a further term of years against the constant drain of death and desertion on the station.
146	139	1754 Per Contra Cr 1754 July 4 By Cash paid Mr Beale for Makeing 2 Surplices for the Reverend Mr William Lee 2 5 0 11 By Do paid Daniel Fewkes Quarter Salary for Attending in the Long Wood 2 0 0 By Cash paid Jonathan Hitchins for Carpenters Work done in this Quarter 3 0 0 By Cash paid Thomas Evans for takeing care of twenty of the Honorable Companys Recruits in their Passage there beingno Surgeon on Board 5 0 0	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 19 August 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 12 August 1754, was approved and signed. John Attenstall re-enlisted to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years at ten pounds bounty money. Robert Mason presented a petition to Governor Hutchinson and the Council. Mason held a piece of leasehold land next to the burial ground, forty feet in length and forty feet in breadth, together with the house standing on it. Having found a buyer for the house and land, he asked leave to sell them to Thomas Harper, the marshal. The Council granted the request.

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		By Cash paid William Hurloch & James Carmichael for Bakeing 78 Batches of Bread for the Garrison at 1/8 p Batch in this Quarter 6 10 0 By Cash paid Sundry Persons for craning Expences with Account of Ships to Windward in this Quarter 2 15 0 By Cash paid Richard Bagley for 300 Lemon Trees sundries & 2/2 Bushels potatoes @ 3/ p Bushel for the use of the Honorable Companys Salt in this Quarter 1 2 6 By Cash paid Benjn Williams for Assisting to Sew ouof the Companys Sawyers being then Sick 0 4 6 By Cash paid James Yates for 43 of Tamarind @ 8/ p lb for the use of the Honorable Companys Salt 1 10 0 By Cash paid Sundry Persons for working at the Honorable Companys Fortifications at Rupperts Bankes Lemon Valey & other Places &ca Commencing the 12 April and Ending the 11 of July 1754 45 17 6 By Cash paid William Davis for Makeing 21 Sacking Bottoms for Cotts @ 4 Each for the use of the Garrison 0 7 0 Carried Over L 71 16 6	The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending on 11 August were presented, examined and approved, and are set out below. Interpretations Mason's need to obtain the Council's leave before selling his own house and land marks the limit of a settler's title on the island, the land held only on lease from the Company so that no transfer could pass without the governing body's consent, a control that kept the disposal of every plot in the Company's hands. The small measured plot of forty feet square adjoining the burial ground, sold with the house upon it, gives a rare glimpse of the ordinary property dealings of the settlement, a townsman selling up to another named inhabitant under the Council's eye, the transaction turning on the same leasehold tenure that governed all land on the island. The buyer Thomas Harper the marshal, the officer who executed the Council's orders and kept the peace, appears here in his private capacity acquiring a house, the same small pool of named men filling the settlement's offices and trading its property among themselves in the close world of the station.
<u>147</u>	140	29 July John Clark Paymaster Dr 1754 July 11 Brought Over L 2231 0 5 1/2 2231 0 5 1/2 Island Dr	This was an account of the Honourable Company stock of neat cattle and other animals between 12 July and 11 August 1754. Neat cattle remaining 12 July: bulls 4, cows 15, calves 79, yearlings 23, heifers 15, steers 4, bullocks 6, oxen 12, total 218 Sheep remaining 12 July: ewes 178, wethers 49, lambs 122, rams 6, total 355 Goats remaining 12 July: ewes 93, wethers 23, kids 119, rams 7, total 242 Hogs remaining 12 July: sows 8, stores 12, pigs 5, brawns 2, total 27 Poultry remaining 12 July: turkeys 71, fowls 378, ducks 23, geese 17 Horses remaining 12 July: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses remaining 12 July: asses 1, asses 2, total 3 Neat cattle increased: calves 5, total 5 Sheep increased: lambs 40, total 40 Goats increased: kids 22, total 22 Poultry increased: fowls 9, ducks 13 Neat cattle total: bulls 4, cows 75, calves 84, yearlings 23, heifers 15, steers 4, bullocks 6, oxen 12, total 223 Sheep total: ewes 178, wethers 49, lambs 162, rams 6, total 395 Goats total: ewes 93, wethers 23, kids 141, rams 7, total 264 Hogs total: sows 8, stores 12, pigs 5, brawns 2, total 27 Poultry total: turkeys 71, fowls 387, ducks 23, geese 30 Horses total: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses total: asses 1, asses 2, total 3 Neat cattle killed: nil Sheep killed: lambs 3, total 3 Goats killed: ewes 4, kids 3, total 7 Hogs killed: sows 1, total 1 Poultry killed: turkeys 3, fowls 31, ducks 9 Neat cattle died: calves 1, total 1 Goats died: kids 3, total 3 Hogs died: sows 1, total 1

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			Poultry died: fowls 1 Poultry sold: fowls 18 Poultry killed by cats: fowls 6 Neat cattle remaining 11 August: bulls 4, cows 75, calves 83, yearlings 23, heifers 15, steers 4, bullocks 6, oxen 12, total 222 Sheep remaining 11 August: ewes 178, wethers 46, lambs 162, rams 6, total 392 Goats remaining 11 August: ewes 93, wethers 19, kids 135, rams 7, total 254 Hogs remaining 11 August: sows 7, stores 11, pigs 5, brawns 2, total 25 Poultry remaining 11 August: turkeys 68, fowls 331, ducks 14, geese 30 Horses remaining 11 August: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses remaining 11 August: asses 1, asses 2, total 3 Two goats were given to the sick blacks. Yams expended, 23,220. This account was signed by John Adamson, errors excepted. Interpretations A wether was a castrated ram and a brawn a castrated boar fattened for the table, the flocks and herds carefully classed by sex and condition so the account tracked not just numbers but the breeding capacity and the meat coming ready, a close husbandry of the Company's living stock. The two goats given to the sick blacks tie this stock account to the medicines and special diet drawn elsewhere for the slaves, the fresh meat issued to the ill among the labour force showing the Company spending its own breeding stock to keep its slaves alive and at work. The huge quantity of yams expended, over twenty-three thousand, marks the yam as the bulk starch that fed the Company's slaves and stock, the root grown on the island in great quantity as the cheap staple that spared the imported rice and flour, its scale here dwarfing every other item of consumption. The loss of six fowls killed by cats, set down as its own line in the reckoning, shows the minute exactness of the account, every bird taken by vermin entered as carefully as those killed for the table or dead of disease, the whole a strict monthly balance of the island's stock down to the last hen.
148	141	1754 Per Contra Cr 1754 July 11 Brought Over L 71 16 0 By Cash paid Thomas Mason for nine days painting work Done @ 3/6 p Diem for painting Gun Carriages & the Turret of the Bell on the top of the Guard House 1 3 6 By Cash paid Sundry Persons for Roving in the Yawl &ca in this Quarter 1 3 0 By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers & Servants their Salarys Diet &ca for the Quarter Commencing 12 April and Ending the 11 July 1754 2157 17 5 1/2 2232 0 5 1/2 Helena 11 July 1754 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Clark Paymaster Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash from the 12 June to the 11 July 1754 which is as follows vizt	This was an account of the gunners stores expended between 12 July and 11 August 1754, reckoned in guns fired and in powder expended in pounds. 16 July, the <i>Tavistock</i> departed and the salute was returned, 9 guns fired, 9 lb powder Powder for priming, 1 lb 8 oz The <i>Falmouth</i> departed and the salute was returned, 9 guns fired, 9 lb powder Powder for priming, 1 lb 8 oz Powder for priming at Bank's, 3 lb 27 July, the <i>Darrington</i> departed and the salute was returned, 9 guns fired, 9 lb powder Fired to bring the <i>Darrington</i> to, to take one of her men off, 1 gun fired, 1 lb powder Powder for priming, 1 lb 29 July, powder for scaling the guns at Turk's Cap and for priming, 11 lb 3 August, powder for scaling the guns at Lemon Valley and for priming, 10 lb Powder for the funeral of William Binfield, 2 lb 4 oz Powder for signals, 1 lb Total, 28 guns fired, 28 lb 6 oz powder The following gunners stores were also expended. Paper for the use of the Castle, 1 quire

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			Paper for making great gun cartridges, 2 quires Tallow for the longboat, 4 lb Sponge stave broken at Prosperous Bay, 1 Sponge heads at Prosperous Bay, 1 Rammer heads at Prosperous Bay, 1 Trunk nails, 20 Match burnt at the main fort, 1 lb This was an account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company table in the month ending 11 August 1754. 23 bottles port wine, £1 5s 0d 40 bottles Lisbon, £1 15s 4d 15 bottles Madeira, £1 11s 0d 38 bottles arrack, £1 5s 8 3/4d 49 gallons beer, £0 12s 3d 30 lb flour, £2 1s 10 1/2d Carried over, £10 7s 1 1/2d The <i>Tavistock</i>, the <i>Falmouth</i> and the <i>Darrington</i> are the ships named in the account. Interpretations The powder spent on scaling the guns at Turk's Cap and Lemon Valley was fired to clear the barrels of rust and fouling, a small charge burnt in each piece to scour it clean and prove it clear, a routine servicing of the batteries that kept the guns fit to fire when needed. The salutes returned to the departing <i>Tavistock</i>, <i>Falmouth</i> and <i>Darrington</i>, nine guns to each, were the courtesies exchanged between the shore batteries and the Company ships, the powder spent on ceremony a standing cost of the island's place on the sea road where every arrival and departure was marked by gunfire. The single shot fired to bring the <i>Darrington</i> to, so that one of her men might be taken off, shows the shore guns used to signal and stop a ship already under way, a plain working use of the battery to hold a vessel in the road until the island's business with her was done. The two pounds four ounces of powder burnt at the funeral of a private sentinel marks the military honours paid even to a common soldier at his burial, the guns fired over the grave a mark of respect owed to the dead of the garrison whatever their rank.
149	142	29 July Cash Dr 1754 June 12 To Ballance Remaining L. 4216 14 6 1/2 July 7 To Exchange for a Sett of Bills drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors Payable to Thomas Hall or Order Ninety days after sight dated this Day 30 0 0 11 To Matthew Purling for Store Goods Sold in the Quarter Ending this Day 1027 10 5 1/2 To Licenses recd for Eight Publick Houses 12 0 0 To Plantation received for Provision Sold 1 10 To Medicine received for Captain Oliver 1 9 5 5289 4 3 1/2	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £10 7s 1 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. 113 lb pork, £1 1s 6d 153 lb mutton, £3 3s 9d 29 lb goat, £0 9s 8d 3 kids, £0 15s 0d 31 fowls, £2 6s 6d 9 ducks, £0 13s 6d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 6 pieces salt pork, £0 12s 0d 3 pieces salt beef, £0 8s 3d 8 lb candy, £1 6s 8d 30 lb butter, £2 10s 0d Total, £24 9s 5 1/2d Since nobody had come forward to take on the administration of the estate of the late Richard Gawling, the Council agreed that an inventory of his effects should be taken at once. The Council ordered an advertisement to be published requiring all his relations to give in their claims on the estate on Monday 2 September, and requiring all who were indebted to it to attend at the same time and pay their debts. Interpretations The Council's move from seeking an administrator to ordering an inventory taken at once marks the point where a claimed estate became an abandoned one, the governing body stepping in to secure and list the dead man's goods itself once every relation and creditor had refused the charge, a plain

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			measure to stop the assets being lost or plundered while ownership stood in doubt. The requirement that debtors to the estate attend and pay on the appointed day shows the Council pursuing the credit side of the abandoned estate, the dead planter having been owed money as well as owing it, the same public notice serving both to call in what was due to the estate and to warn off any relation still unwilling to take it on. The provisions listed, the fresh meat, poultry, salt beef and pork, candy and butter expended at the Company table, mark the standing cost of feeding the establishment's officers, the mixture of fresh island produce and salt stores showing a table supplied partly from the Company's own herds and partly from the barrels shipped in against the months when fresh meat ran short.
150	143	1754 Per Contra Cr 1754 July 11 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Pay Master in the Quarter Ending this day 2232 0 5 1/2 By Ballance remaining in the following Specie viz 120 Venetians 10/ 60 0 0 800 Pagodas 8/ 320 0 0 L 380 0 0 Gold Amounting to 2325 Dollars 5/ 581 5 0 12000 Rupees 2/3 1350 0 0 12048 half Reals 1/3 1/2 2026 8 0 441 French Pieces 12 313 6 Old Mony 0 4 7 2157 8 9 1/2 Silver Amounting to 146 Cash Notes @ 40/ L 292 0 0 162 Do 20/ 162 0 0 263 Do 5/ 65 15 0 160 Do 2/6 20 0 0 Cash Notes Amounting to L 539 15 0 L 5289 4 3 1/2 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 26 August 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 19 August 1754, was approved and signed. The Council ordered an advertisement to be published requiring the inhabitants to send in to the secretary's office, on or before 30 September, an exact account of their families, land and cattle. They were to attend at the Castle on Monday 14 October to pay their rents and revenues due to the Honourable Company for the past year. The advertisement also gave notice that the Honourable Company stores would be shut from 14 September until 14 October. The Honourable Company cash was then counted and examined for the month ending on 11 August, as set out below. Interpretations The yearly requirement that every inhabitant return an exact account of family, land and cattle was the island's census and rent roll combined, the Company using the same call both to tax the settlers on their holdings and to keep a running tally of the population and its stock, a single administrative act that measured and charged the whole community at once. The closing of the Company stores for a full month from mid-September marks a deliberate annual break in the island's trade, the shutdown perhaps timed for stocktaking or for the interval between the departure of one season's shipping and the arrival of the next, a pause that the settlers were warned of in advance so they might lay in what they needed. The rents and revenues gathered on a fixed day each year show the Company drawing a settled income from the land it leased to the planters, the whole population summoned to the Castle to render what was due, the leasehold tenure that governed every plot turned once a year into a collection of cash and account.
151	144	5 August At a Consultation held on Monday the 5 Day of August 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 29 July 1754 The Accomptant this day brought in his Journal Parcels for the Quarter ending the 11 of last Month which were examined and approved and ordered to be entered	The cash account was charged as debtor in 1754. On 12 July the balance remaining was £3,057 3s 9 3/4d. There was received for exchange on a set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Francis Wrangham senior, John Goodwin and Francis Wrangham junior or order ninety days after sight and dated that day, £550 0s 0d. There was received for another set drawn as above and dated that day, payable to Matthew Bazett or order, £50 0s 0d. On 13 July there was received from the ship <i>Tavistock</i> the balance of her account, £58 2s 1 1/2d.

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		As none of the late Richard Ewsling's Relations or Creditors have hitherto applied to us to take upon them the Administration to his Effects we Ordered the following Advertizement to be published Vizt Whereas Richard Ewsling planter having died intestate and his Widow refusing to Administer to his Estate as well as several of his relations that have been spoke to for that Purpose This is therefore to give Notice to any other of the kindred or Creditors that they are hereby required to acquaint the Governor and Council on or before Monday the 19 instant whether any one or more of them will take upon them or them the Administration to the Said Estate Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	On 15 July there was received from the ship <i>Falmouth</i> the balance of her account, £24 3s 6d. There was received for exchange on a set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Captain Thomas Field or order ninety days after sight and dated that day, £200 0s 0d. On 22 July there was received for another set drawn as above and dated that day, payable to Richard Beale or order, £130 0s 0d. On 24 July there was received from the ship <i>Darrington</i> the balance of her account, £26 11s 1 1/2d. The total charged was £4,095 0s 6 3/4d. The credit side recorded the balance remaining, held in the following coin. 520 Venetians at 10s, £260 0s 0d 1,500 pagodas at 8s, £600 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £860 0s 0d 3,837 dollars at 5s, £959 5s 0d 13,600 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,530 0s 0d 12,948 half reals at 1s 3 1/2d, £202 6s 3d 441 French pieces at 12s, £313 6s 0d old money, £0 0s 9 3/4d Silver amounting to, £2,695 5s 6 3/4d 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 Total, £4,095 0s 6 3/4d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The balances of the <i>Tavistock</i>, the <i>Falmouth</i> and the <i>Darrington</i> paid into the cash chest were the settlements of each ship's account with the island, the sums a vessel owed for provisions, water and stores taken on during her call cleared before she sailed, the three entries marking the close of the island's dealings with each ship of the season. The bills drawn payable to the island's own officers, the two Wranghams, Goodwin, Bazett and Beale, show the Company's servants remitting their savings home through paper on the Court of Directors, the men taking bills at St Helena to be paid to themselves or their order in London, a means of sending accumulated pay back to England without trusting it to coin at sea. The bill payable to a ship's captain shows the same remittance used by the passing shipping, an officer of a homeward vessel converting cash into a bill on London for safety, the island serving as a place where money could be turned from coin into paper for the last leg of the voyage home.
152	145	12 August At a Consultation held on Monday the 12 Day of August 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 5 August 1754 Henry Beale native of the Island Petitions for his discharge from the Garrison Granted Enlisted John Bayley a Native to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years without any Bounty Money Relisted Peter Small to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five years at ten pound bounty mony Chas Hutchinson John Adamson	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 2 September 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 26 August 1754, was approved and signed. On Thursday 29 August Thomas Steevens, a tailor, died. On Saturday 31 August John Bagley, a planter, died. On Sunday 1 September Francis, son of Francis Mowatt, died. John Goodwin, Samuel Alexander and Thomas Harper, the executors of the will of Martin Harper, deceased, presented a petition to Governor Hutchinson and the Council. A lease belonging to the late Martin Harper for three acres of land in Swanley Valley had expired. The executors asked the Council to renew it to them for the use of the widow and orphans of the late Martin Harper. They also asked

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		John Clark	leave to enclose about an acre more adjoining the three acres. The petition was signed by John Goodwin, Samuel Alexander and Thomas Harper. Interpretations The executors sought not merely to renew the expired lease but to enlarge the holding by an acre, using the death of the leaseholder as the moment to press for more ground, the petition turning the settlement of a dead man's estate into a bid to extend the family's land under cover of providing for his widow and children. The lapse of Martin Harper's lease on his death shows the leasehold tenure of the island reaching even beyond the grave, the land not passing automatically to his heirs but reverting to the Company to be granted afresh, the widow and orphans left dependent on the Council's willingness to renew rather than holding any settled title of their own. The same John Goodwin and Thomas Harper who appear across these consultations as accountant and marshal act here as executors of a private will, the narrow circle of the island's officers filling every role at once, administering the estates of the dead as readily as they kept the Company's accounts and enforced its orders. The three deaths recorded in the four days before this meeting, a tailor, a planter and an officer's child, mark the steady mortality of the small settlement, the naming of each with his trade or family showing how closely the Council tracked the loss of every inhabitant in a community small enough for each death to matter to the whole.
153	146	19 August At a Consultation held on Monday the 19 Day of August 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 12 August 1754 Relisted John Attenstall to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years at ten pound bounty Mony Robert Mason presents the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor of St Helena &ca Council The Humble Petition of Robert Mason Sheweth that he being now possessed of a peice of Leasehold Land Situate & adjoining to the burial Ground being Sixty foot in length & forty foot in breath together with the House standing on the said Ground Your Petition having a Purchaser for the same House and Land Humbly begs your Worships & Councils Permission to make Sale of the Same to Thos Harper Marshall & your petition as in Duty Bound will ever pray 19 August 1754 (Signed) Robt Mason Sennr Granted 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 Vizt	This was an account of the gunners stores expended between 12 August and 11 September 1754, reckoned in guns fired and in powder expended in pounds. 3 September, an alarm for a ship that went by, 6 guns fired, 6 lb powder Returned the salute of the ship, 13 guns fired, 13 lb powder Powder for priming, 1 lb 12 oz Powder for scaling of lime stones, 6 oz Powder for the funeral of Thomas Martin, 2 lb 4 oz Powder for signals, 1 lb Total, 19 guns fired, 22 lb 13 oz powder The following gunners stores were also expended. Paper for the use of the Castle, 1 quire Paper for making great gun cartridges, 2 quires Paper for making small gun cartridges, 1 quire Handspike broken in the longboat, 1 This account was signed by Thomas Hall. This was an account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company table in the month ending 11 September 1754. 30 bottles port wine, £2 6s 1d 27 bottles Lisbon, £2 1s 3 1/2d 10 bottles Madeira, £1 3s 10 1/2d 34 bottles arrack, £1 3s 1 1/2d 43 gallons beer, £0 10s 9d 280 lb flour, £1 19s 1 1/2d 301 lb beef, £3 15s 3d 5 pieces salt beef, £0 13s 9d 5 pieces salt pork, £0 10s 0d 112 lb fresh pork, £2 16s 0d 147 lb mutton, £3 1s 3d 59 lb goat, £0 4s 8d 1 kid, £0 7s 2 1/2d 22 fowls, £0 5s 0d 2 ducks, £0 3s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 1 turkey, £1 6s 8d

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			80 lb candy, £2 0s 4d 44 bottles, [...] Total, £27 1s 4 1/2d The Thomas Martin named in the powder account was the sentinel buried with military honours. Interpretations The powder spent on an alarm for a passing ship shows the shore battery firing to warn or challenge a vessel that stood in toward the island, the six guns a signal of alert answered when the ship proved friendly by the thirteen-gun salute returned, the whole exchange marking the island's constant watchfulness on a coast where a strange sail might mean an enemy. The thirteen guns fired to salute the ship, more than the nine given to the departing Company vessels earlier, points to a ship of higher standing or a warship in the road, the greater number of guns marking the finer gradations of naval courtesy by which the size of a salute answered the rank of the vessel saluted. The powder used for scaling of lime stones was fired to break or burn limestone for making lime, the gunners' powder turned to a quarrying and building use, a reminder that the island's stone for mortar and whitewash had to be won and burnt on the spot, the same batteries serving the works as well as the defence. The single handspike broken in the longboat, entered among the gunners' stores, was the stout lever used to work and train the guns and to move heavy weights, its loss in the boat showing the same tackle serving both the batteries ashore and the vessel that carried guns and stores about the coast.
154	147	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12 July to the 11 August 1754 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Sters, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Stots, Piggs, Brawns, Total, Suckegs, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Colts, Total Remaining the 12: Bulls 4, Cows 15, Calves 79, Yearlings 23, Heifers 15, Sters 4, Bullocks 6, Oxen 12, Total 218, Ewes 178, Weathers 49, Lambs 122, Rams 6, Total 355, Ewes 93, Weathers 23, Kids 119, Rams 7, Total 242, Sows 8, Stots 12, Piggs 5, Brawns 2, Total 27, Suckegs 71, Fowles 378, Ducks 23, Geese 17, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 1, Colts 2, Total 3 Encrased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 5, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 5, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 40, Rams 0, Total 40, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 22, Rams 0, Total 22, Sows 0, Stots 0, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Suckegs 0, Fowles 9, Ducks 0, Geese 13, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 15, Calves 84, Yearlings 23, Heifers 15, Sters 4, Bullocks 6, Oxen 12, Total 223, Ewes 178, Weathers 49, Lambs 162, Rams 6, Total 395, Ewes 93, Weathers 23, Kids 141, Rams 7, Total 264, Sows 8, Stots 12, Piggs 5, Brawns 2, Total 27, Suckegs 71, Fowles 387, Ducks 23, Geese 30, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 1, Colts 2, Total 3 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 43, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 7, Sows 0, Stots 1, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 1, Suckegs 3, Fowles 31, Ducks 9, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 3, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 1, Stots 0, Piggs 0, Brawns 0,	At a consultation held on 23 September 1754, Richard Goodwin presented a petition to Governor Hutchinson and the Council. Goodwin asked leave to dispose of his right in a lease for twenty-seven acres of land at the head of Powell's Valley in the south division of the island to Orlando Bagley senior. The Council granted the request. Solomon Jacobs was fined five pounds for buying two fowls from a black, in breach of an order last published on 3 April 1753. William Padom, a soldier, was fined two pounds for retailing spirituous liquor without orders. Interpretations The fine on Solomon Jacobs for buying fowls from a black shows the Company forbidding its people to trade privately with the slaves, the order guarding the Company's monopoly and its control of the slaves' dealings, the two fowls a trivial purchase but the principle of unlicensed trade with the labour force one the Council was ready to punish heavily. The five-pound penalty for buying two fowls, set against the two pounds for a soldier selling drink unlicensed, marks the weight the Company placed on stopping private trade with its slaves, the fine for so small a transaction far heavier than that for the unlicensed liquor, the disproportion showing which offence the Council thought the graver threat to good order. Solomon Jacobs, a sergeant of the First Company in the muster rolls of the quarter, appears here fined as a private trader, the same man drawing the Company's pay and breaking its orders, the case showing how the settlement's own soldiers slipped into the small illicit dealings the Company laboured to suppress. The fine on a soldier for retailing spirits without leave ties to the licensing of the public houses recorded in the cash account, the Company holding the sale of drink strictly to its licensed houses, an unlicensed seller undercutting both the revenue from

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		Total 1, Suckegs 0, Fowles 1, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 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, Stots 0, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Suckegs 0, Fowles 18, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Killed by Cats: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 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, Stots 0, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Suckegs 0, Fowles 6, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Remaining the 11: Bulls 4, Cows 15, Calves 83, Yearlings 23, Heifers 15, Sters 4, Bullocks 6, Oxen 12, Total 222, Ewes 178, Weathers 46, Lambs 162, Rams 6, Total 392, Ewes 93, Weathers 19, Kids 1357, Rams 254, Total 7, Sows 11, Stots 5, Piggs 2, Brawns 25, Total 68, Suckegs 331, Fowles 14, Ducks 30, Geese 6, Horses 6, Mares 12, Total 1, Asses 2, Colts 3, Total 2 Goats to the Sick Blacks Yams Expended 23220 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	licences and the order the licensing was meant to keep among a garrison prone to drink.
155	148	19 August Gunnars Stores Expended from the 12 July to the 11 August 1754 Vizt Yams Fired, Powder Expended July the 16 Departed the Tavistock returned the Salute Yams Fired 9 9 9, Powder Expended 0 0 0 Do Powder for Pruning Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 1 8 Do Departed the Falmouth returned the Salute Yams Fired 9 9 9, Powder Expended 0 0 0 Do Powder for Pruning Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 1 8 25 Powder for Pruning at Bankes Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 3 0 27 Departed the Darrington returned the Salute Yams Fired 9 9 9, Powder Expended 0 0 0 Do Fired to bring the Darrington too to take one of her Men off Yams Fired 1 1 1, Powder Expended 0 0 0 Do Powder for Pruning Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 1 8 29 Powder for Seding the Guns at Turks Cap and for Pruning Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 11 0 August 3 Do Do Lemon Valley and Do Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 19 0 Do Do for the Funeral of William Binfield Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 2 4 Do Do for Signals Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 0 1 Total 28 28 6 7/13 Paper for the use of the Castle 27 Do for makeing of Great Gun Cartridges 2 4 Tallow for the Long Boat 4 Spunge Staves broke at Ruperts poison Bay 1 Spunge Heads at Do 1 Rammer Heads at Do 1 Spunck Nails for Do 20 Match burnt at the Main Fort 6 Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table	The account continued in 1754. The evidence of Edward Sorry and John Hughes proved that Robert John Clark, the armourer, had sold a parcel of brass weighing about 58 pounds, taken off some old arms belonging to the Honourable Company. Clark acknowledged the sale. The Council therefore ordered him to pay for the brass at nine pence the pound, amounting to two pounds sixteen shillings and six pence, which sum was received into the Company cash. The Council also warned him that if he was found guilty of any such fraud in future, he would be dismissed from the Honourable Company service. John Dove, a soldier who had died on the previous Thursday, left a will which was brought before the Council that day to be proved. Since it had not been properly made, the Council took on the administration itself. The widow could by that means be certain of the amount of his effects, being five pounds six shillings and two pence, which was received into the Honourable Company cash and ordered to be written off to account current London. Interpretations The armourer's sale of brass stripped from old Company arms was a theft of the Company's property dressed as a sale, the man responsible for the garrison's weapons profiting by breaking up its worn arms and pocketing the metal, the Council recovering the value and holding the threat of dismissal over him rather than turning him out, perhaps because a trained armourer was too useful to lose. Robert John Clark, listed in the muster as the armourer on the Company's pay, appears here caught in a fraud against the very stores he was employed to keep, the case showing how the officers charged with the Company's materials were placed to convert them to their own use, and how the Council balanced punishment against the cost of replacing a skilled man. The Council taking the administration of John Dove's estate because his will was improperly made shows the governing body stepping in to secure a dead soldier's effects for his widow, the small sum written off to the London account so that the money passed into the Company's books to be answered for at home, a mechanism for settling a dead man's worth without shipping coin.

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		in the Month ending the 11 August 1754 Vizt 23 bottles Port Wine 1 1 0 40 Do Lisbon 3 15 4 13 Do Medera 3 1 5 1/2 38 Do Arrack 1 11 0 49 Do Beer 1 5 8 3/4 300 Flour 12 3 2 1 10 1/2 Carried Over L 10 7 7 1/2	The writing off of the soldier's effects to account current London shows the island and the Company's head office linked by a running account, small sums due to heirs settled by book entry against the larger reckoning with London, sparing the carriage of cash and letting a widow's claim be met in England out of the Company's general funds.
156	149	1754 Brought Over L 10 7 7 1/2 43 Pork 1 1 6 153 Mutton 3 3 9 29 Goat 0 9 8 3 Kids 0 15 0 31 Fowls 2 6 6 9 Ducks 0 13 6 3 Turkeys 0 15 0 6 Prs Salt Pork 0 12 0 3 Prs Salt Beef 0 8 3 8 Candy 1 6 8 30 Butter 2 10 0 24 9 5 1/2 Nobody appearing to take upon them the Administration to the Estate of the late Richard Ewsling Deceased we agreed to have an Inventory of his Effects taken forthwith and Ordered an Advertizement to be Published requiring all persons that have any Claim upon the Deceased are to give them in to us on Monday the 2 of next Month as likewise all those that are Indebted to attend at that time and pay their Said Debts Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 30 September 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 23 September 1754, was approved and signed. The garrison was under arms on the previous Friday for exercise, and the Governor took the chance to speak to the men about working on the intended barracks. The Court of Directors had ordered larger barracks to be built than the men then had, so that they might be better and more conveniently lodged than at present. Since the work was meant only for the men's own comfort, the Directors expected them to see it built with all possible speed. The Governor therefore called on the men to give their help without pay to clear the ground and carry on a work that would be so much to their own advantage. He said he had so good an opinion of them that he hoped there was not a man among them who would not readily comply with what could reasonably be expected of soldiers serving under such indulgent masters. The officers were also asked to encourage the men of their companies to take on the work, and to have their sergeants and corporals do the same when they found a fit occasion to mention it. Interpretations The Governor's appeal turned on presenting the barracks as a gift to the men rather than a burden, the whole speech framed to make unpaid labour on the Company's building look like the soldiers' own interest, the language of indulgent masters and personal advantage a deliberate softening of what was in substance a demand for free work. The choice to win the men's labour by persuasion rather than command marks the limit of the Governor's authority over the garrison, the barracks needing the soldiers' willing help so that he coaxed and flattered where he might have ordered, the careful working through officers, sergeants and corporals a sign that the men's consent could not simply be assumed. The Directors in London ordering barracks built on the island shows the head office reaching into the detail of the station's fabric, the distant Court directing the housing of the garrison thousands of miles away, the Governor left to find the labour on the spot by appeal to men whose cooperation the order itself could not supply. The enlisting of the officers to press the work on their companies, and the sergeants and corporals in turn, shows the chain of command turned to the task of talking the men round, the whole hierarchy set to work as persuaders rather than commanders, a mark of how far a task depending on goodwill differed from the ordinary duty the same men could be marched to without a word.
157	150	26 August	The account continued in 1754.

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 26 Day of August 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved & signed dated this 19 August 1754 Ordered an Advertizement to be published requiring the Inhabitants to send into the Secretarys Office on or before the 30 of next Month an exact Account of their Families Land and Cattle and to attend at the Castle on Monday the 14 October to pay their Rents and Revenue Due to the Honorable Company for the Year past and to acquaint them that the Honorable Companys Stores will be Shut from the 14 September untill the 15 October Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the month ending the 11 instant which is as follows Vizt	The executors of the late John Bagley brought his last will and testament before the Council that day so that it might be proved. It was proved on the oaths of the witnesses. The will ran as follows. John Bagley, a planter of the island of St Helena, being sick and weak of body but of sound mind and memory, made his will knowing that all men must die. He commended his soul to God, trusting in his mercy for the remission of his sins, and directed his body to be buried at the discretion of his executors. He then disposed of his worldly goods as follows. He gave his beloved wife half of his land during her natural life, and half of his house at the fort. He gave her leave to take the third part of all his movables and to take whichever feather bed she thought proper. He gave his son John his goat range and five ewes in the range. He gave his daughter Ann Peache one feather bed. He gave his daughter Margaret Alexander one feather bed. He gave his son Orlando his house at the fort, paying his brother John half of whatever it should be valued at. He gave his son John the residue of all his lands, paying his brothers and sisters an equal dividend. All the rest and residue of his estate he gave to be equally divided among his children, namely Orlando, John, Elisha Peache, George Alexander, Mary and Sarah. He named and appointed his beloved wife Deborah and his beloved son Orlando executors of his will, revoking all former wills. He set his hand and seal on 29 August 1754. The will was signed, sealed and declared in the presence of Benjamin Mason and John Worrall. Interpretations The provision for the widow, half the land only for her lifetime and a third of the movables, marks the customary widow's portion by which she was maintained without gaining outright ownership, the land passing to the sons after her death so that her interest was a life support rather than an inheritance she could pass on or sell. The favouring of the son John, given the goat range, the residue of the lands and a half share in the value of the fort house, marks him as the principal heir among the sons, the estate weighted toward one son who was charged in turn with paying out equalising sums to his brothers and sisters, a common device to keep the land together while still providing for all the children. The naming of daughters by their married surnames, Ann Peache and Margaret Alexander, alongside sons and children of other names in the residue, shows a family knit together by marriage across the small settler community, the will drawing in Peaches and Alexanders as sons-in-law and grandchildren, the whole a glimpse of how the island's planter families intermarried and shared out land. The bequest of feather beds as distinct and named legacies to each daughter marks the value set on such household goods in a remote settlement where every manufactured comfort had to be shipped in, the feather bed a substantial possession worth singling out in a will beside land and livestock.
158	151	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1754 July 12 To Ballance remaining L 3057 3 9 3/4 To Exchange for a sett of Bill drawn on the Honble the Court of	On 30 September the Honourable Company cash was counted and examined for the month ending on 11 September, as set out below.

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		Directors Payable to Messrs Fran Wrangham Sen John Goodwin Francis Wrangham Jun or order ninety days after sight dated this day 550 0 0 To Do for a Sett Do Drawn as above dated this day Payable to Matthew Bazett or Order 50 0 0 13 To Ships Tavistock the Ballance of her Account 58 2 1 1/2 15 To Ship Falmouth the Ballance of her Account 24 3 6 To Exchange for a sett of Bill drawn on the Honble Court of Directors payable to Capt Thos Fuld or order 90 day after sight dated this Day 200 22 To Do for a sett Do drawn as above dated this Day payable to Richard Beale or Order 130 24 To Ships Darrington the Ballance of her Account 26 11 1 1/2 L 4095 0 6 3/4 1753 Aug 11 By Ballance remaining in the following Species Vizt 520 Venetians @ 10/ L 260 0 0 1500 Pagodas 8/ 600 0 Gold Amounting to L 860 0 0 3837 Dollars 5/ L 959 5 0 13600 Rupees 2/3 1530 0 0 12948 half Reals 3/1 1/2 2026 6 3 441 French Ps 2/ 3 13 6 Old money 0 0 9 3/4 Silver Amounting to L 2695 5 6 3/4 146 Cash Notes @ 40/ L 292 0 0 162 Do 20/ 162 0 0 263 Do 5/ 65 15 0 160 Do 2/6 20 0 0 Cash Notes Amounting to L 539 15 0 L 4095 0 6 3/4 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	
159	152	2 September At a Consultation held on Monday the 2 Day of September 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was Read approved and signed dated the 26 August 1754 Thursday the 29 August Died Thomas Innes Taylor Saturday 31 Do Died John Bagley Planter Sunday 1 instant Died Francis Son of Francis Mowatt Messrs John Goodwin Samuel Alexander and Thos Harper presents the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esq	The account continued in 1754. The Council agreed to grant the renewal of the lease petitioned for and to allow the enclosure of the other acre. The Council ordered an advertisement to be published giving notice that the personal effects of the late Richard Gawling would be exposed to public auction for ready money on 13 October, in order to pay his several creditors. The following was the inventory of the estate of the late Richard Gawling, appraised on 29 August 1754 by Francis Wrangham senior and Richard Beale. The house, £90 0s 0d 16 acres of free land at Francis at £11 the acre, £176 0s 0d 42 acres leasehold at £1 10s the acre, £63 0s 0d

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		Governor &ca Council of the Island St Helena The Humble Petition of John Goodwin Samuel Alexander and Thomas Harper Executors of the Will of Martin Harper Deceased Sheweth That a Lease belonging to the said late Martin Harper for three Acres of Land lying in Swans Valley being expired Your Petitioners therefore humbly prays that your Worships & Council will be pleased to renew it to your Petitioners for the use of the Widow & Orphans of the said Martin Harper Deceased & that you will also be pleased to grant Liberty to inclose about a Acre more adjoining to the above three Acres And your Petitioners will ever pray (Signed) John Goodwin Saml Alexander Thomas Harper	10 acres freehold at Vaughan's at £9 10s the acre, £95 0s 0d 9 acres leasehold at £3 the acre, £27 0s 0d 3 acres leasehold at £1 the acre, £3 0s 0d House and land amounting to, £454 0s 0d The following slaves belonged to the estate. 1 man named Cieval, £25 0s 0d 1 man named Harry, £23 0s 0d 1 man named Woodford, £25 0s 0d 1 woman named Sarah, £21 0s 0d 1 boy named Ben, £12 0s 0d 1 girl named Peggy, £10 0s 0d 1 named Patt, £7 0s 0d 1 named Betty, £7 0s 0d Slaves amounting to, £130 0s 0d Carried over, £584 0s 0d Interpretations The estate that no relation would administer proves on the inventory to have been substantial, the house, land and slaves together worth over five hundred pounds, so that the refusals recorded across the earlier consultations point not to a worthless estate but to one so burdened with debt that its considerable assets were feared to be outweighed by what Gawling owed, the auction for ready money to pay creditors confirming the pressure of the debts. The land valued by tenure, the freehold at Francis and Vaughan's worth nine to eleven pounds an acre against the leasehold at one to three, shows the sharp difference in worth between land held outright and land held on lease from the Company, the freehold commanding several times the price because it carried a title the holder owned rather than one that reverted to the Company on the expiry of a term. The eight slaves appraised by name and price, from a man at twenty-five pounds down to children at seven, mark human beings entered as chattels in the reckoning of the estate, valued like the land and the livestock by age, sex and working capacity, the coldest measure of the plantation economy in which people were counted among a dead man's assets to be sold for the payment of his debts. The whole inventory, taken by two of the island's officers acting as appraisers, shows the Council securing and valuing the abandoned estate through its own men, the same small circle that governed the island stepping in to appraise the property of a dead planter so that it might be sold and his creditors paid under the Council's authority.
160	153	1754 Gunners Stores Expended from the 12 of Aug to the 11 September 1754 Yams Fired, Powder Expended 1754 Sep the 3 An Alarm for a Ship that went by Yams Fired 6 2 2, Powder Expended 2 12 0 Do Returned the Salute of the said Ship Yams Fired 13 0 13, Powder Expended 0 13 0 Do Powder for Priming Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 1 8 Do for Blowing of Lime Stones Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 6 0 Do for the Funeral of Thomas Martin Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 2 4 Do for Signals Yams Fired 0 0 0, Powder Expended 0 0 1 Total 19 2 2 13 2 353 Paper for the Use of the Castle 1 Quir Do for making of great Gunn Cartridges 2 Do Do for Do of small Do 1 Do Handspikes broke in the Long Boat	The account continued under 2 September, with a sum of £584 0s 0d brought forward from the previous page. Cattle: 7 cows and calves, £35 10s 0d 3 heifers, £18 10s 0d 2 bulls, £11 10s 0d Cattle amounting to, £65 10s 0d Yams, 167,500, amounting to, £91 9s 6d Goats: 30 goats at 5s each, £15 0s 0d 26 goats at 5s each, £6 10s 0d Goats amounting to, £21 10s 0d Sheep: 6 grown at 14s each, £4 4s 0d 2 half grown at 7s each, £0 14s 0d 7 lambs at 7s each, £2 9s 0d Sheep amounting to, £7 7s 0d Poultry amounting to, £2 12s 0d Horses: 1 old mare, £3 0s 0d 1 young mare, £10 0s 0d 1 filly, £5 0s 0d Horses amounting to, £18 0s 0d Hogs:

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		(Signed) Ths Hall Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11 September 1754 Vizt 30 bottles Port Wine 2 6 1 27 Do Lisbon 2 1 3 1/2 10 Medeira 1 3 10 1/2 34 Arrack 1 3 7 1/2 43 Beer 0 10 9 289 Flour 1 19 1 1/2 301 Beef 3 15 3 5 Prs Salt Beef 0 13 9 5 Prs Do Pork 0 10 0 112 fresh Pork 2 16 0 147 Mutton 3 1 3 59 Goat 1 9 8 1 Kid 0 7 3 1/2 22 Fowls 0 5 0 2 Ducks 0 3 0 1 Goose 0 1 6 1 Turkey 1 6 8 80 Candy 0 2 4 44 Butter 27 1 4 1/2	7 sows at 1s each, £7 0s 0d 5 shoats at 15s each, £3 15s 0d 6 barrows at 13s each, £3 18s 0d 30 pigs at 2s 6d each, £3 15s 0d Hogs amounting to, £18 8s 0d House furniture: 1 feather bed, 2 pillows, 1 under bed, 1 quilt, 1 bolster, curtains, rail and bedstead, £5 10s 0d 1 feather bed, 2 pillows, 1 under bed, 1 quilt, 1 bolster, curtains, rail and bedstead, £5 10s 0d 1 feather bed, 2 pillows, 1 under bed, 1 quilt, 1 bolster, curtains, rail and bedstead, £5 10s 0d House furniture carried over, £16 10s 0d Carried over, £808 16s 6d Interpretations The enormous quantity of yams held in the estate, over a hundred and sixty thousand and valued at more than ninety pounds, marks the yam as the great bulk crop of the island's planters, the root grown in vast store as the staple that fed both people and stock, its worth here nearly matching the value of all the cattle and showing how central the yam was to a planter's wealth. The valuing of the slaves on the previous page at a hundred and thirty pounds against the yams alone at over ninety shows the strange arithmetic of the plantation, a single crop of roots appraised at nearly the worth of eight human beings, the two entries side by side laying bare how the economy reckoned people and produce in the same cold column of prices. The three feather beds with their full furniture, each valued alike and matching the beds singled out in John Bagley's will on the same page, confirm the standing of the feather bed as a chief item of household wealth in the settlement, the complete bedstead with its hangings a substantial and portable possession worth entering piece by piece in the appraisal. The livestock priced in fine detail by age and condition, cows with calves, heifers, grown and half- grown sheep, shoats, barrows and pigs, shows the appraisers reckoning the estate's animals exactly as the Company reckoned its own monthly stock, the same close classing by breeding capacity and readiness for the table applied to a dead planter's herds and flocks.
161	154	23 September Mr Richard Goodwin presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &ca Council of the Island St Helena The humble Petition of Richard Goodwin Sheweth That your Petitioner humbly requests that your Worships and Council will be pleased to Grant him liberty to dispose of his right in a Lease for twenty seven Acres of Land lying at the head of Powells Valley in the South Division of this Island unto Mr Orlando Bagley Senr 23 Sep 1754 And your Petitioner shall ever pray (Signed) Richard Goodwin Granted Soloman Jacobs fined in the Sum of five Pounds for buying two Fowls from a Black in breach of a repeated Order and last published the 9 Day of April 1753 William Padom Soldier was likewise fined in the Sum of two Pounds for retailing Spaituous liquor without Orders	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £808 16s 6d brought forward from the previous page, the house furniture standing at £16 10s 0d. 1 feather bed and bedstead, quilt and 2 pillows, old, £3 5s 0d 1 mattress, quilt and 2 pillows, old, £1 0s 0d 3 blankets, £0 15s 0d 1 old bureau, £1 5s 0d 3 pewter chamber pots, £0 6s 0d 5 pairs sheets at 6s the pair, £1 10s 0d 1 bureau, £1 15s 0d 1 hand escritoire, £0 15s 0d 1 middling trunk, £0 15s 0d 1 sea chest with a lock, £0 15s 0d 1 sea chest with a lock, £0 17s 0d 1 old small box, £0 5s 0d 1 sea chest without a lock, £0 12s 0d 6 pairs pillow cases at 1s 6d the pair, £0 9s 0d 10 old damask tablecloths, £0 5s 0d 5 calico tablecloths at 1s each, £0 5s 0d 12 napkins at 1s each, £0 15s 0d curtains for two windows, £0 8s 0d old curtains, £0 2s 0d 1 small round table, £2 5s 0d 9 cane chairs at 1s each, £0 10s 0d 1 elbow chair, £0 15s 0d 1 couch, £0 8s 0d 1 long tea table, £0 8s 0d

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			6 pewter dishes at 1s 6d each, £0 15s 0d 16 plates at 6d each, £0 2s 6d 2 basins at 1s 3d each, £0 2s 6d 1 two quart pot, £0 6s 0d 1 set of cruets and stand, £0 15s 0d 1 pair china marble candlesticks and snuffers, [...] House furniture carried over, £39 1s 4d Carried over, £808 16s 6d Interpretations The household goods listed in close detail, the beds, chests, tables, chairs and table linen down to napkins and pillow cases, show the appraisers reckoning every movable in a planter's house to raise what they could toward the debts, the humble mattress and old box entered as carefully as the bureaus and cane chairs so that nothing of value was overlooked in the sale. The three sea chests among the furniture, two locked and one without, mark the planter as a man who had come to the island by sea and kept the chests that had carried his goods, the sea chest a standing feature of colonial households where every settler had made the long voyage out and kept the boxes that stored their possessions. The damask and calico tablecloths, the napkins and the set of cruets point to a household that kept a decent table, the damask a fine figured linen and the calico a printed cotton from India, the presence of such table linen and dining wares showing a planter living with some pretension to gentility on a remote island far from the sources of such goods. The hand escritoire and the two bureaus mark the writing furniture of a man of property, pieces made for keeping papers, accounts and correspondence, their presence showing a planter whose affairs ran to written records and whose estate, tangled enough to defeat every would-be administrator, was managed from a desk.
162	155	1754 It being proved by the Evidence of Edward Terry and John Hughes that Robert John Clark the Armourer had Sold a parcel of Brass that weighed about 58 which was taken off of some old Arms belonging to the Honorable Company which he likewise acknowledges we therefore thought proper to order him to pay for the same at the rate of nine pence p lb amounting to one pound sixteen Shillings and Six pence which sum we accordingly received into their Honors Cash and likewise told him that if he was found Guilty of any such fraud for the future he should be Dismissed from the Honorable Companys Service John Dove Soldier that Died on Thursday last left a Will which was this day brought before us to be proved but it not being properly made we have taken upon us the Administration as the Widow by that means may be now Certain of having the Amount of his Effects being five pounds five Shillings and two pence which we have received into the Honorable Companys Cash and ordered the same to be wrote off to Account Current London Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The account continued under 2 September, with a sum of £808 16s 6d brought forward from the previous page, the house furniture standing at £39 14s 0d. 3 brass candlesticks, £0 7s 6d 12 wine glasses, £0 6s 0d 6 china dishes, £0 12s 0d 36 china plates at 6d each, £0 18s 0d 2 china jars, £0 15s 0d 5 china jars, small, at 4s each, £1 0s 0d 2 carboys, £0 10s 0d 2 earthen jars, £0 3s 0d 1 jug, £0 1s 6d 6 cups and saucers and a teapot, £0 4s 6d 3 mugs, £0 4s 0d 3 bowls, £0 6s 0d 2 sea beds, £0 6s 6d 2 sea beds, smaller, £0 6s 0d 2 bottle stands, £0 2s 6d 1 small sea table, £0 7s 6d 1 sable stand, £0 5s 0d 1 warming pan, £0 6s 0d 1 gun, £0 10s 0d 1 old saw, £0 6s 0d 1 chafing dish, £0 3s 0d 1 cradle, £0 8s 0d 4 silver small table spoons, £2 10s 0d 2 salt cellars, £0 12s 0d 1 pepper box, £0 5s 0d 1 basket, £0 2s 6d 4 silver tea spoons and a strainer, £0 12s 6d 1 small chamber looking glass, £0 6s 0d 1 old funnel, £0 6s 0d 1 box iron and heaters, £0 8s 0d 11 knives and forks, £0 11s 0d House furniture carried over, £52 14s 0d Carried over, £808 16s 6d

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			Interpretations The pieces of silver, the four table spoons, the tea spoons with their strainer, the salt cellars and pepper box, were the most valuable movables in the house after the beds, the silver spoons alone worth more than all the china together, the metal being both plate for the table and a store of wealth in portable form that a settler kept as a reserve of value. The carboys, the large globular bottles cased for carrying liquids, and the several sea beds, chests and tables mark again the household of a man who had made the sea voyage and furnished his house partly with the gear of travel, the sea furniture serving on the island as it had served aboard ship. The warming pan and the chafing dish, the one a covered pan of coals run over the bedclothes and the other a vessel for keeping food hot, mark the small comforts of a settled household kept even against the island's temperate climate, the warming pan a reminder that the nights on St Helena could be cool enough to want a heated bed. The single cradle entered among the furniture speaks of young children in the household, the presence of an infant's bed alongside the writing desks and dining wares filling out the picture of a family home broken up by the planter's death, its every possession from the silver to the cradle now told over for sale to pay his creditors.
163	156	30 September At a Consultation held on Monday the 30 Day of September 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 23 September 1754 The Garrison being under Arms on Friday last to exercise the Governor took that opportunity to propose their Working at the intended Barracks by speaking to them as follows Gentlemen The Honorable the Court of Directors have been pleased to order large Barracks to be built than those you now have that you may be better and more commodiously Lodged than you are at Present And as it is meerly for your greater Convenience that they would have them erected with all possible expedition they therefore suppose you will give your Assistance gratis to clear the Ground and to carry on a Work that will be so much to your own Advantage I have that good Opinion of you Gentlemen as to hope there is not a mean among you who will not readily comply with what may be so reasonably expected of you from such indulgent masters as you have the Honor to serve It has likewise been recommended to the Officers to encourage the men of their respective Companies to undertake what has been proposed to them and to desire their Serjeants and Corporals to do so too when they found a proper Occasion to mention it	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £808 16s 6d brought forward from the previous page, the house furniture standing at £52 14s 0d. 3 old sea kettles, £0 8s 0d 1 yam pot, £1 0s 0d 1 meat pot, £0 10s 0d 1 small pot, £0 3s 0d 1 spit, £0 1s 6d 1 old frying pan, £0 0s 9d 4 pot hangers, £0 6s 0d 1 pair hand irons, £0 2s 6d 1 form, £0 2s 6d 1 case, basins and horn, £0 7s 6d 2 pairs pot hooks, £0 0s 6d 10 gold rings, £5 0s 0d plantation tools, £0 12s 0d 3 old saddles, £0 10s 0d 1 sea chest, £0 0s 0d 1 clothes brush, £0 0s 6d 1 black coat, 1 pair breeches and 2 waistcoats, £1 5s 0d 1 coat with metal buttons and breeches, £1 0s 0d 1 coat, older, £0 5s 0d 1 scarlet waistcoat and breeches, £0 5s 0d 1 blue riding coat, £0 8s 0d 2 pairs black worsted stockings, £0 2s 0d 6 white shirts, £0 8s 0d 6 check shirts, £0 11s 0d 1 new hat, £0 10s 0d 1 old hat, £0 1s 0d 1 pair new channel pumps, £0 8s 0d 2 old wigs, £0 9s 0d 1 pair silver shoe buckles, £0 0s 0d 1 pair steel knee buckles, £0 9s 0d 1 pair gold sleeve buttons, £0 9s 0d House furniture carried over, £71 3s 0d Carried over, £808 16s 6d Interpretations The ten gold rings appraised at five pounds, worth as much as the whole run of coats, shirts and household pots together, mark gold jewellery as a chief store of portable wealth in the planter's estate, the rings both ornament and treasure, a form of savings kept in metal that could be readily sold or pledged in a place where coin was scarce. The wardrobe told over piece by piece, the black coat and scarlet waistcoat, the blue riding coat, the

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			white and check shirts and the two wigs, gives a full picture of how a middling planter dressed, the mix of a good coat with metal buttons and plainer working shirts showing a man who kept both his better clothes for show and his everyday dress, all now valued for sale down to the last pair of breeches. The kitchen gear, the yam pot valued highest among the pots, the meat pot, spit and pot hangers, shows the hearth cookery of the household turning on the yam as its staple, the large pot kept for boiling the island's bulk root marking the same dependence on yams that ran through the whole estate from the vast store of the crop to the vessel it was cooked in. The silver shoe buckles, steel knee buckles and gold sleeve buttons, the small metal fittings of a gentleman's dress, mark the planter's wish to appear well in company, the precious buttons and buckles both finery and a further reserve of value in metal, the same instinct that kept wealth in rings and spoons carried down to the fastenings of his clothes.
164	157	1754 The Executors of the late John Bagley this day brought in the last Will and Testament assuring 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 John Bagley of the Island St Helena Planter Being Sick & Weak of Boddy but of Sound mind and Memory thanks be to almighty God But knowing that it is appointed for all men once to Die do make and Ordain this my last will & Testament first and principally I recommend my Soul to almighty God trusting in the mercies for the Remition of all my Sins my to the earth to be Buried at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named & my Worldly Goods & Give Dispose and bequeath as follows Imprimis I Give to my Well beloved wife that half of my Land during her natural Life and likewise the half of my house at 3 fort & I Give her leave to take the third Part of all my Moveables to take it what She Shall think proper with one feather Bed Item I Give to my Son John my goat Range & feir Cure in the Range Item I give to my Daughter Ann Peache one feather Bed Item I Give to my Daughter Margarit Alexander one feather Bed Item I Give to my Son Orlando my house at the fort paying his Brothers John the half of what it shall be valued at Item I Give to Do John the Residual of all my Lands paying his Brothers & Sisters an Equal Devidend Item All the Rest remainder & Residue of my Estate I Give to be Equally Devidend among them Namely Orlando John Elisha Peache George Alexander mary & Sarah Lastly I Nominate and appoint my beloved wife Executrix & Beloved Sons Executrix of this my last Will and Testament utterly Revaking & Disannulling all former will or Wills By me made Ratifying & D Confirming this and no other to Be my Last Will Whereeto I have Set my Hand and Seal this 29 day of August AD 1754	The account continued under 2 September, with a sum of £808 16s 6d brought forward from the previous page, the house furniture standing at £71 3s 0d. 1 pair steel spurs cased with silver, £0 6s 0d 11 old pictures with frames, £0 10s 0d 5 china pictures with frames, £0 2s 6d a parcel of old books, £1 0s 0d 3 lead candle moulds, £0 3s 0d 1 side saddle and bridle, £5 5s 6d House furniture amounting to, £78 10s 0d Total, £887 6s 6d Thomas Greentree delivered to the Council the following paper, which he said had been given to him by the late Richard Gawling on 10 September 1751, who had asked him to take care of it. By this deed Richard Gawling, out of the great love and natural affection he bore his beloved daughter Margaret Gawling, and for other good causes, gave and granted to her all his lands known as Francis, except two rows being the lower part of it, one of which was freehold land and the other leasehold. He also gave her four of his best slaves, his house at Francis, his goat range and all his goats at Lemon Valley. She was to have and to hold all the above. Interpretations The deed of gift produced here throws the whole tangle of the abandoned estate into a new light, Gawling having three years before his death conveyed the best of his land, house, slaves and goats to his daughter Margaret, so that much of what the appraisers had just valued may already have been given away, the estate the creditors sought to reach hollowed out in advance by this private settlement lodged with a neighbour for safe keeping. The gift lodged secretly with Thomas Greentree rather than enrolled with the Council marks a deed kept out of sight, the paper entrusted to a friend to hold until it was needed, the concealment raising the question whether the conveyance was made to provide for a daughter or to put the property beyond the reach of the creditors who now pressed the estate. The land at Francis given partly as freehold and partly as leasehold, with two rows held back, shows the fine division of a planter's holding into ground owned outright and ground held on lease, the deed carefully distinguishing the two tenures that carried such different value and reserving a portion, the same sharp line between freehold and leasehold that ran through the appraisers' valuation. The four best slaves conveyed to the daughter by name of quality rather than person, picked out as the pick of the man's human property, show slaves

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		Signed Sealed and Declared his (Signed) last Will & Testament in the Presence of us John Bagley (Signed) Benjamin Mason Jno Worrall Counted	treated in a family settlement exactly as land or livestock, the finest of them selected and given away to advance a daughter, the coldest working of a system in which people were the assets a father disposed of to provide for his heirs.
165	158	30 September Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11 instant which is as follows Vizt	The account continued in 1754. By this deed Richard Gawling gave the land, house, slaves, goats and goat range to his daughter Margaret Gawling and her heirs, executors, administrators or assigns for ever, for their own use, free of any claim or demand from himself or anyone acting for him. He bound himself and his heirs to warrant and defend the property to her against all people. He further declared that he would keep the premises in his own possession until his daughter Margaret reached full age or married. In return for his trouble in taking care of the property, he would take the profits arising from it and would pay the rents of the land and all other charges upon it. Margaret was to demand no more than the free gift of the house, land, slaves, goats and goat range. He set his hand and seal at St Helena on 10 September 1751. The deed was signed and sealed in the presence of Thomas Greentree and John Goodwin. Greentree further said that the late Mr Gawling had sent for him about 28 April, when Gawling was very ill. Gawling had entrusted him with the paper and given it to Margaret Gawling, who returned it to him, saying at the time that he believed it would hold good and that there was enough to pay his debts without it. Gawling asked Greentree to keep the paper. Interpretations Gawling's reservation of the profits and possession to himself until his daughter came of age exposes the true working of the gift, the father parting with the title on paper while keeping the land, its income and its use in his own hands for his lifetime, a device that secured the property to Margaret against his creditors while leaving him the full enjoyment of it until he died. Greentree's account of Gawling on his sickbed saying there was enough to pay his debts without the settled property is the heart of the matter, the dying man's own words admitting that the gift was meant to shelter the best of his estate from his creditors on the belief that what remained would cover what he owed, a belief the refusals to administer and the pressure of the creditors now cast into grave doubt. The lodging of the deed with Greentree and its passing back and forth, given to Margaret and returned to him to keep, shows the paper handled as a thing to be hidden and produced only when needed, the informal custody outside any register marking a conveyance kept deliberately off the record until the death of the donor forced it into the open before the Council. The whole episode lays bare the collision between a father's wish to provide for his child and the claims of those he owed, the settlement of 1751 made in secret to defeat the creditors now surfacing three years later to complicate an estate that no relation would touch, the Council left to weigh a concealed deed of gift against the demands of the men Gawling died owing.
166	159	1754 Agreed to Grant the renewal of the Lease Petitioned for and to View the other one Acre Ordered an Advertizement to be Published to give Notice that the Personal effects of the late Richard Ewsling will	The account continued under 2 September. The Council held that the paper was a deed of gift by which Richard Gawling had given his daughter Margaret the greater part of his estate, both leasehold and freehold, for ever. As to the leasehold, Gawling plainly had no right to dispose of it for any longer

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		be exposed to Publick Auction for ready Mony on the 13 instant in Order to pay his several Creditors The following is the Inventory of the Estate of the late Richard Ewsling deceased appraised by Messrs Francis Wrangham Senr and Richard Beale Vizt Inventory of the Estate of the late Richard Ewsling Deceased appraised by Messieurs Francis Wrangham Senr and Richard Beale Senr the 29 Day of August 1754 Vizt House & Land Vizt The House at L 90 0 0 16 Acres Free Land at Francis at L 11 p Acre 176 0 0 42 Do Lease hold @ 30 p Do 63 0 0 10 Do Free hold at Vaughans L 9 10 p Do 95 0 0 9 Do Lease hold @ L 3 p Do 27 0 0 3 Do Do L 1 p Do 3 0 0 House and Land Amounting to L 454 0 0 Slaves Vizt 1 Man Named Civel L 25 0 0 1 Do Do Harry 23 0 0 1 Do Do Woodford 25 0 0 1 Woman Do Sarah 21 0 0 1 Boy Do Ben 12 0 0 1 Girl Do Pegg 10 0 0 1 Do Do Patt 7 0 0 1 Do Do Betty 7 0 0 Slaves amounting to L 130 0 0 Carried Over L 564	than the term of the lease, and not even that without leave. On enquiry the Council found that the writing had been made in favour of his daughter for reasons of his own. When he was about to marry his third wife, the present widow, he had told her before the marriage and many times after that he had signed such a paper, but did not intend it to take effect. He had said he would send for it and that she should see it burnt, and that it should never affect her. Since the deed had never been registered, and since a repeated order of the Honourable Company required all writings by which lands were conveyed or mortgaged to be registered or else be null and void, the Council held the deed void. The widow would otherwise have been entirely defrauded of all that her jointure upon marriage had entitled her to, had the deed been confirmed, since there would not have been enough left afterwards to pay Gawling's debts. The Council therefore set the deed aside. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The Council rested its decision on the plain rule that an unregistered conveyance was void, using the Company's own recording requirement to cut through the tangle, the failure to enrol the secret deed giving the Council a clean legal ground to strike it down without having to weigh the competing claims of daughter, widow and creditors on their merits. The widow's testimony that Gawling repeatedly told her the deed would never take effect and that he would have it burnt turned the donor's own words against the gift, the promise made to win her hand in marriage now used to show the deed was never meant to stand, the Council treating his assurances to his intended wife as evidence that the settlement was a dead letter he himself disowned. The clash between the daughter's deed and the widow's jointure lay at the centre of the case, the concealed gift of 1751 threatening to strip the third wife of the provision promised her on marriage, the Council coming down for the widow whose claim rested on an open marriage settlement against the daughter whose claim rested on a hidden and unregistered paper. The Council's finding that the estate could not both honour the deed and pay Gawling's debts shows the creditors' interest driving the outcome as much as the widow's, the setting aside of the gift clearing the way for the whole estate to answer the debts, the decision serving at once to protect the widow, satisfy the creditors and vindicate the Company's rule that land dealings must be recorded to bind.
167	160	2 September Brought Over L 564 0 0 Cattle Vizt 7 Cows & Calves L 55 10 0 3 Heifers 18 10 0 2 Bulls 11 10 0 Cattle Amounting to L 85 10 0 Yams 167,500 Amounting to 91 9 6 Goats Vizt 30 Goats @ 9/ each L 15 0 0 26 Do @ 5/ Do 6 10 0 Goats Amounting to L 21 10 0 Sheep Vizt	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 9 September 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 2 September 1754, was approved and signed. On Tuesday 3 September a ship passed by under Dutch colours. The executors of Augustine Balls presented an inventory of his effects, appraised by Solomon Jacobs and Nathaniel Sample. Both swore that they had valued the effects to the best of their judgement, and the Council ordered the inventory to be entered in the book for that purpose. James Yates, the Honourable Company steward, asked to resign his office. The Council agreed to his request. Interpretations The Dutch ship passing under her own colours marks the island's watch on the shipping of rival nations, the Dutch a great trading power whose

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		6 Grown @ 14/ each L 4 4 0 2 half Grown 7/ Do 0 14 0 7 Lambs 6/ Do 2 9 0 Sheep Amounting to L 7 7 0 Poultry Amounting to 2 12 0 Horses Vizt 1 Old mare L 3 0 0 1 young Do 10 0 0 1 filly 5 0 0 Horses Amounting to 18 0 0 Hogs Vizt 7 Sows @ 21/ each L 7 0 0 5 Do Shoats 15/ Do 3 15 0 6 Barrow Do 13/ Do 3 18 0 30 Pigs 2/6 Do 3 15 0 Hogs Amounting to L 18 8 0 House Furniture &ca Vizt 1 Feather Bed 2 Pillows 1 under Bed 1 Quilt 1 Boulster Curtains Rail & Bedstead L 5 10 0 1 Do 5 10 0 1 Do 5 10 0 House Furniture Carried Over L 16 10 0 Carried Over L 808 16 6	vessels used the same sea road, the plain noting of her passage showing the Council keeping account of every ship that stood by whether friend, neutral or potential enemy on a station whose whole purpose was to command the route. The appraisal of Augustine Balls's effects by Solomon Jacobs and Nathaniel Sample, both men who appear in the muster rolls as a sergeant and a gunner's chief mate, shows the Council again drawing its appraisers from the small pool of the garrison, the same soldiers who served the guns pressed into valuing a dead man's goods, the settlement so small that every task fell to the handful of men on the Company's books. Augustine Balls was recorded in the pay list as a sentinel of the First Company who had died on 22 May, so that the proving of his estate here in September shows the slow working of the island's probate, the effects of a common soldier taking months to be appraised and entered, the machinery of administration grinding on long after the man himself had been struck off the roll.
168	161	1754 Brought Over L 808 16 6 House Furniture Brought Over L 16 10 0 1 Feather Bed Bedstead Quilt 2 Pillows old 3 5 0 1 Matrass Quilt and 2 Pillows old 1 0 0 3 Blankets 0 15 0 1 old Beaureau 1 5 0 3 Pewter Chamber Potts 0 6 0 5 Prs Sheets @ 6/ p Pair 1 10 0 1 Beaureau 1 15 0 1 Hand Escrctore 0 15 0 1 midling Trunk 0 15 0 1 Sea Chest with a Lock 0 15 0 1 Do Do 0 17 0 1 Old small Box 0 5 0 1 Sea Chest without a Lock 0 12 0 6 Prs Pillow Cases @ 1/6 p Pr 0 9 0 10 Old Damask Table Cloth 0 5 0 5 Do Callico Do @ 1/ each 0 5 0	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 16 September 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with John Clark of the Council. John Adamson, the Lieutenant Governor, was absent, engaged in taking an inventory of the stores. The previous consultation, dated 9 September 1754, was approved and signed. On Wednesday 11 September Thomas Martin, a soldier, died. Mr Clark brought in an account of the sale of part of the effects of the late Richard Gawling, sold at public auction on 13 September 1754 to pay his debts, which ran as follows. This was an account of the sale of part of the effects of the late Richard Gawling, sold at public auction on 13 September 1754. John Adamson, 1 old mare and filly, £15 0s 0d John Adamson, 10 acres freehold land and 12 acres leasehold land called Vaughan's, £144 15s 0d John Clark, 1 cow and calf, £10 1s 0d John Clark, 1 bull, £7 10s 0d John Clark, 1 sow and 6 pigs, £3 0s 0d John Clark, 6 shoats, £5 10s 0d John Clark, 2 china jars, £1 7s 0d John Clark, 1 basket, £0 7s 0d John Clark, 1 old frying pan, £0 1s 0d John Clark, 1 pair silver shoe buckles, £0 15s 0d John Clark, 3 cane bottom chairs, £16 6s 0d Carried over, £189 6s 6d Interpretations The two members of the Council who tried and set aside Gawling's deed appear here as the chief buyers at the sale of his estate, Adamson and Clark taking the land and the best of the goods, the same men who ruled the property free to be sold then

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		12 Napkins @ 1/ each 0 15 0 Curtains for two Windows 0 8 0 Do Old 0 2 0 1 Small round Table 0 15 0 9 Cane Chairs @ 5/ each 2 5 0 1 Do Elbow 0 10 0 1 Do Couch 0 15 0 1 Copper Tea Kettle 0 8 0 6 Pewter Dishes @ 3/ each 0 18 0 16 Do Plates @ 6/ p Do 0 8 0 2 Do Basons 1/3 Do 0 2 6 1 Do 2 Quard Pott 0 2 6 1 Do 0 6 0 1 Sett of Cruets and Stand 0 15 0 1 Prs China Mottle Candlesticks & Snuffers House Furniture Carried Over L 39 1 1/4 Carried Over L 808 16 6	acquiring it themselves, a plain conflict of interest that shows how the island's officers turned the settlement of a dead man's affairs to their own advantage. The land sold to Adamson, ten acres freehold and twelve leasehold together fetching nearly a hundred and fifty pounds, was the ground the deed of gift had tried to settle on the daughter Margaret, the setting aside of the deed the week before now clearing the way for the Lieutenant Governor to buy the very property the gift had sought to protect, the legal ruling and the purchase falling neatly together. The absence of the Lieutenant Governor from this meeting to take an inventory of the stores, while his purchases at Gawling's sale are entered in the same minutes, shows the small governing body stretched thin across every task at once, the same handful of officers auditing the Company's stores, ruling on estates and buying at the auctions they authorised. The recording of each buyer against his purchases, with the Council's own members named as the principal bidders, shows the sale conducted openly under the Council's eye yet leaving the officers as the main beneficiaries, the transparency of the account doing nothing to remove the plain difficulty that those who judged the estate were those who bought it.
<u>169</u>	162	2 September Brought Over L 808 16 6 House Furniture Brought Over L 39 14 0 3 Brass Candlesticks 0 7 6 12 Wine Glasses 0 6 0 6 China Dishes 0 12 0 36 Do Plates @ 6/ each 0 18 0 2 Do Jars 0 15 0 5 Do Do small at 6/ each 1 0 0 2 Carboys 0 10 0 2 Earthen Jars 0 3 0 1 Jugg 0 1 6 6 Cups and Saucers and a Tea Pott 0 4 6 3 Muggs 0 4 0 3 Bowls 0 6 0 2 Tea Boards 0 6 6 2 Do smaller 0 6 0 2 Bottle Stands 0 2 6 1 Small Tea Table 0 7 6 1 Table Stand 0 5 0 1 Framing Pan 0 6 0 1 Gun 0 10 0 1 Old Saw 0 6 0 1 Chaffing Dish	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £189 6s 6d brought forward from the previous page. Francis Wrangham senior, 1 cow and calf, £10 5s 0d Francis Wrangham senior, 1 cow and calf, £10 17s 0d Francis Wrangham senior, 2 bottle stands, £0 7s 0d Francis Wrangham senior, 1 iron meat pot, £1 0s 0d Francis Wrangham senior, 2 pairs pot hooks, £0 0s 7d Francis Wrangham senior, 1 old saddle, £1 0s 0d Francis Wrangham senior, 1 sow and 7 pigs, £2 10s 0d Francis Wrangham senior, 1 pair spurs, £0 17s 0d, £26 16s 7d Francis Wrangham junior, 1 bull, £8 5s 0d Francis Wrangham junior, 1 sow and pigs, £2 0s 0d Francis Wrangham junior, 1 sow and pigs, £2 5s 0d Francis Wrangham junior, 3 blankets, £1 10s 0d Francis Wrangham junior, 1 pair china marble candlesticks and snuffers, £0 16s 0d Francis Wrangham junior, 24 china plates, £1 2s 0d Francis Wrangham junior, 1 pair channel pumps, £0 10s 0d Francis Wrangham junior, 1 young sow, £0 11s 0d, £16 19s 0d Matthew Purling, 1 cow and calf, £10 6s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, 2 ewe sheep, [...] Onesiphorus Beale, 2 half grown ewe sheep, at Redd Hill, [...] Onesiphorus Beale, 3 lambs, £1 7s 0d John Dowton, 3 ewe sheep and 2 lambs, at Peak Hill, £3 0s 0d John Dowton, 10 old feather bed, 2 pillows, 1 quilt and bedstead, £4 5s 0d John Dowton, 12 wine glasses, £0 8s 6d John Dowton, 1 carboy, £0 9s 6d John Dowton, 1 carboy, £0 10s 0d, £8 13s 0d

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		0 3 0 1 Cradle 0 8 0 4 Silver small Table Spoons 2 10 0 2 Do Salt Sellers 0 12 0 1 Do Pepper Box 0 5 0 1 Basket 0 2 6 4 Silver Tea Spoons and a Strainer 0 12 6 1 Small Chamber Looking Glass 0 6 0 1 Old Turnell 0 6 0 1 Do Box Iron & Heaters 0 8 0 11 Knives and Forks 0 11 0 House Furniture Carried Over L 52 14 Carried Over L 808 16 6	John Dasfountain, 1 boy slave named Ben, £16 1s 0d John Dasfountain, 1 heifer, £9 2s 0d John Dasfountain, 1 stone jug, £0 1s 0d John Dasfountain, 1 old scarlet waistcoat and breeches, £0 6s 1d Carried over, £285 3s 0d Interpretations The boy slave Ben, appraised in the inventory at twelve pounds, fetched sixteen pounds one shilling at the sale, the price bid above the valuation showing the strength of the demand for slaves among the island's planters, a child sold at auction for more than his appraised worth the starkest single entry in the whole reckoning of a dead man's goods. The buyers at this second day of the sale spread wider than the two Councillors of the first, the two Wranghams, Purling, Beale, Dowton and Dasfountain all named among the island's officers and settlers, the auction drawing in the whole propertied circle of the station to pick over the estate, the goods and stock of one planter passing into the hands of his neighbours. The livestock sold at named places about the island, ewes at Redd Hill and Peak Hill, shows the estate's animals scattered across the several grazings the planter had held, the buyers taking them where they stood, the sale of stock by location marking how a planter's beasts ran on grounds spread over the island rather than gathered at one farm. The old scarlet waistcoat and breeches, appraised at five shillings and sold for six and a penny, mark the sale reaching down to the least of a dead man's clothes, the whole estate from the boy slave to the worn waistcoat told over and knocked down to pay the creditors, no item too small to be entered against the debts.
<u>170</u>	163	1754 Brought over L 808 16 6 House Furniture Brought over L 52 14 0 3 Old Tea Kettles 0 8 0 1 Yam Pot 1 0 0 1 Meat Do 0 10 0 1 Small Do 0 3 0 1 Spitt 0 1 6 1 Old Frying Pan 0 0 9 4 Pott Hangers 0 6 0 1 Do Hand Irons 0 2 6 1 Form 0 2 6 1 Case Razors and Hone 0 7 6 2 Prs Pott Hooks 0 0 6 10 Gold Rings 5 0 0 Plantation Tools 0 12 0 3 Old Saddles 0 10 0 1 Sea Chest 0 12 0 1 Cloth Brush 0 0 6 1 Black Coat 1 Prs Bruches and 2 Waistcoat 1 5 0 1 Coat with Metal Buttons and Bruches	The account continued under 16 September, with a sum of £285 3s 0d brought forward from the previous page. Thomas Kirkpatrick, 1 girl slave named Patt, £7 1s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, 4 silver table spoons, £2 17s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, 2 silver salts, £0 13s 1d Thomas Kirkpatrick, 1 silver pepper box, £0 5s 7d Thomas Kirkpatrick, 1 yam pot, £1 13s 6d Thomas Kirkpatrick, 1 sow, 1 shoat and 1 barrow, £1 18s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, 1 old hat, £0 8s 0d, £14 18s 2d Thomas Evans, 1 feather bed, 1 under bed, 2 pillows, quilt, bolster, curtains, rail and bedstead, £5 12s 0d Thomas Evans, 12 napkins, £1 12s 0d Thomas Evans, curtains for 2 windows, £0 6s 0d Thomas Evans, 3 china jars, £0 6s 0d Thomas Evans, 2 china bowls, £0 5s 0d Thomas Evans, 1 small looking glass, £0 8s 0d Thomas Evans, 2 old sea kettles, £0 13s 6d Thomas Evans, 1 form, £0 2s 0d Thomas Evans, 1 case, razors and hone, £0 6s 0d Thomas Evans, 1 sea chest, £0 11s 0d Thomas Evans, 5 old pictures, £0 2s 7d Thomas Evans, a parcel of old books, £0 6s 0d Thomas Evans, 1 damask tablecloth, £0 8s 0d, £10 18s 1d Erasmus Rowling, 1 feather bed, 1 under bed, 2 pillows, quilt, bolster, rail and bedstead, £5 4s 0d Erasmus Rowling, 1 sea chest, £0 16s 7d Erasmus Rowling, 16 pewter plates, £0 15s 0d Erasmus Rowling, 1 small sea table, £0 8s 0d Erasmus Rowling, 6 sheets, £1 6s 0d, £9 4s 7d

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		1 0 0 1 Do Do older 0 5 0 1 Scarlet Waistcoat and Bruches 0 5 0 1 Blew Riding Coat 0 8 0 2 Prs Black Worsted Stockings 0 2 0 6 White Shirts 0 8 0 4 Cold Cloaths 0 11 0 1 New Hatt 0 10 0 1 Old Do 0 1 0 1 Prs new Channeld Pumps 0 8 0 9 Old Wigs 0 9 0 1 Prs Silver Shoe Buckles 0 10 0 1 Prs Steel Knee Do 0 0 9 1 Prs Gold Slave Buttons House Furniture Carried over L 71 3 Carried over L 808 16 6	Richard Goodwin, 1 sow and 3 pigs, £2 2s 0d Benjamin Mason, 1 woman slave named Sarah, £28 5s 0d Benjamin Mason, 1 old bureau, £2 5s 6d, £30 10s 6d Carried over, £352 16s 4d Interpretations The woman slave Sarah, appraised in the inventory at twenty-one pounds, sold for twenty-eight pounds five shillings, and the girl Patt appraised at seven fetched seven pounds one shilling, the adult woman's price climbing well above her valuation while the child sold near hers, the difference showing how the market weighed a grown woman's labour and childbearing years against a girl's more distant worth. The four silver table spoons that fetched fifty-seven shillings, the salts and the pepper box, all went to Thomas Kirkpatrick, the buyer gathering the estate's silver into his own hands, the plate drawing a firm price at the sale as the most portable and enduring form of wealth the dead man had held, worth carrying off entire. The buyers of this day, Kirkpatrick, Evans, Rowling, Goodwin and Mason, again drawn from the island's officers and settlers, took beds, chests, table linen and slaves alike, the sale spreading the whole substance of one household across the small propertied community, each buyer carrying home a share of the goods, stock and people of a man dead intestate and deep in debt. The estate's human property sold piece by piece to different masters, the boy Ben, the girl Patt and the woman Sarah each knocked down to a separate buyer, shows a family of slaves broken up and scattered at the auction, the people who had served one household divided among several, the cruellest working of the sale in which the reckoning of debts tore apart the lives it counted as goods.
171	164	2 September Brought over L 808 16 6 House Furniture Brought over L 71 3 0 1 Prs Steel Spurs cased with Silver 0 6 0 11 Old Pictures with Frames 0 10 0 5 Do Do China 0 2 6 A parcel of Old Books 1 0 0 3 Lead Candle Moulds 0 3 0 1 Side Saddle and Bridle 5 5 6 78 10 0 L 887 6 6 Mr Thomas Greentree delivered us the following Paper which he says was given to him by the late Richard Ewsling the 10 day of September 1751 who desired him to take care of it Vizt To all to whom these presents Shall come I Richard Ewsling send Greeting Know ye that I the said Richard Ewsling as well for and in Consideration of the great Love and Natural Affection which I bear unto my well beloved Daughter and Child Margaret Ewsling as also for Divers other good causes and considerations me here unto moving have given and granted and by these presents do give grant and confirm unto the said	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £352 16s 4d brought forward from the previous page. John Inglis, 1 young mare, £15 16s 0d George Young, 1 pewter chamber pot, £0 3s 1d George Young, 6 pewter plates, £1 4s 0d, £1 7s 1d Richard Bagley, 1 man slave named Cieval, £39 5s 0d Richard Bagley, 1 cow and calf, £10 0s 0d Richard Bagley, 2 sea beds, £0 10s 1d Richard Bagley, 1 china bowl, £0 2s 3d Richard Bagley, 1 gun, £1 4s 6d Richard Bagley, 1 box iron and heaters, £0 3s 0d Richard Bagley, 1 old saddle, £0 14s 0d, £51 18s 10d Francis Mowatt, 1 girl slave named Betty, £6 6s 0d Orlando Bagley junior, 1 chest with lock and key, £1 5s 6d William Young, 3 brass candlesticks, £0 9s 0d William Young, 4 china dishes, £0 12s 2d, £1 1s 2d Matthew Bazett junior, 1 chest, £0 11s 0d Matthew Bazett junior, 1 long tea table, £0 10s 0d Matthew Bazett junior, 4 silver tea spoons and strainer, £1 0s 0d Matthew Bazett junior, 1 small sea belt, £0 6s 0d Matthew Bazett junior, 1 clothes brush, £0 1s 0d Matthew Bazett junior, 1 bridle, £0 4s 0d Matthew Bazett junior, 1 blue riding coat, £0 10s 6d Matthew Bazett junior, 9 old wigs, £0 10s 0d Matthew Bazett junior, 2 pairs worsted stockings, £0 1s 6d, £3 14s 6d

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		Margaret Ewsling all and Singular my Lands known or called by the Name of Francis's except two Cows being the lower part thereof one of which being Freehold Land the other Lease hold I give also to the said Margaret Ewsling four of my best Slaves my House at Francis's my Goat Range and all my Goats at Lemon Valley To have and to hold all and Singular the above	John Goodwin, 30 goats in Lemon Valley range and the property to the same, £36 0s 0d John Goodwin, 1 cow and calf, £10 0s 0d John Goodwin, 1 heifer, £9 2s 0d John Goodwin, 1 small table stand, £0 6s 0d John Goodwin, 1 saddle, £1 10s 6d, £56 19s 0d John Alexander, 1 black cloth coat, 1 pair breeches and two waistcoats, £1 6s 0d Carried over, £491 9s 5d Interpretations The man slave Cieval, appraised in the inventory at twenty-five pounds, sold for thirty-nine pounds five shillings, far above his valuation and the highest price of any single item in the whole sale, the strong bidding for a grown man showing how dearly the island's planters valued a slave in his working prime, a life sold for more than the best of the land. The goats in Lemon Valley sold together with the property to the range, thirty-six pounds for the beasts and the right to graze them, shows a grazing right passing at the sale as an asset in itself, the goat range that Gawling had tried to settle on his daughter now knocked down to John Goodwin with the goats upon it, the tenure of the pasture sold along with the stock. The four slaves of the estate, Cieval, Betty, Ben, Patt and Sarah, sold to five different buyers across the two days, mark the complete dispersal of the household's people, the girl Betty going to Francis Mowatt for six pounds while the man Cieval fetched nearly forty, the range of prices from child to grown man laid out in one column as the market set its cold values on each. The buyers of this day carrying names already met as executors, appraisers and petitioners, Bagley, Goodwin, Mowatt and Alexander among them, show the same tight circle of the island's families closing round the estate at every stage, appraising it, ruling on it and buying it in turn, the settlement of one planter's affairs kept entirely within the small propertied world of the station.
172	165	1754 Land House Blacks Goats and Goat Range unto the said Margaret Ewsling her Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns to her or their proper use and behoof for ever without any manner of Challenge Claim or Demand from me the said Richard Ewsling or from any other person or Persons whatsoever from me or Authorized or Procured by me and without any mony or other thing yeilded therefore unto me the said Richard Ewsling my Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns and I the said Richard Ewsling all and Singular the Aforesaid Land House Blacks Goats and Goat Range to the said Margaret Ewsling her Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns to the use aforesaid against all People do and will Warrent and for ever defend by these presents And further know ye that I the said Richard Ewsling do haf the premisses in possession untill my said Daughter Margaret Ewsling Shall arrive to Age or Marriage and that for my trouble and Pains in takeing care and looking after the above said Premisses I will take to my Self all the Profitts thereon arising and will pay the Rents of the	The account continued under 16 September, with a sum of £491 9s 5d brought forward from the previous page. Isaac Harpe, 1 coat and breeches with metal buttons, £0 10s 0d Isaac Harpe, 1 old coat and breeches, £0 6s 6d, £1 1s 6d John Bagley, 1 pair steel knee buckles, £0 0s 16d Stephen Herbert, 6 goats in Peak Hill range and the property to the same, £8 5s 0d Stephen Herbert, 3 lead candle moulds, £0 2s 3d, £8 7s 3d Thomas Greentree, 1 cane bottom couch, £1 10s 0d Samuel Knipe, 2 pewter basins, £0 0s 5d Samuel Knipe, 2 earthen jars, £0 4s 7d, £0 9s 7d Orlando Bagley senior, 1 heifer, £9 6s 0d Orlando Bagley senior, 2 china jars, £0 7s 6d Orlando Bagley senior, 1 old pewter funnel, £0 0s 10d Orlando Bagley senior, 1 trunk, £1 12s 0d, £11 6s 4d Matthew Bazett senior, 2 sea beds, £0 11s 2d Matthew Bazett senior, 1 warming pan, £0 0s 2d Matthew Bazett senior, 1 chafing dish, £0 4s 6d Matthew Bazett senior, 1 spit, £0 2s 6d Matthew Bazett senior, 1 hand escritoire, £0 15s 1d, £1 2s 0d Samuel Falconer, 1 old saddle, £0 6s 6d Samuel Falconer, 8 neck cloths, £0 11s 6d Samuel Falconer, 1 pair gold sleeve buttons, £1 4s 1d, £2 2s 0d James Greentree, 1 girl slave named Peggy, £10 5s 0d

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		said Land all all other Incumbrances that may be on the above Premises and that the said Margaret Ewsling shall not demand any more than the above free Gift of a House Land Blacks Goats and Goat Range In Wideness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal in St Helena this tenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty one (Signed) Signed and Sealed Richard Ewsling in the presence of us Signed Thomas Greentree John Goodwin Mr Greentree further says that the late Mr Ewsling sent for him on about the 28 of April last Mr Ewsling being then very Ill That he Mr Greentree carried the said Paper with him and gave it to Mr Ewsling who returned it to him saying at the time that he beleived it woud be of force and that there was enough to pay his Debts without it and desired him to keep it and he woud let	James Greentree, 1 pair spit racks, £0 7s 6d James Greentree, a parcel of plantation tools, £0 14s 6d, £11 7s 0d Charles Steward, curtains for two windows, £0 12s 6d William Kennedy, 1 cane bottom elbow chair, £0 14s 0d William Kennedy, 3 china mugs, £0 3s 6d William Kennedy, 1 old saw, £0 2s 3d William Kennedy, 1 new hat, £1 8s 6d William Kennedy, 1 side saddle and bridle, £5 3s 6d, £7 2s 9d Thomas Harper junior, 11 knives and 11 forks, £1 2s 3d Carried over, £538 8s 5d Interpretations The girl slave Peggy, appraised at ten pounds, sold for ten pounds five shillings to James Greentree, whose family had held Gawling's concealed deed, the child knocked down for a few shillings above her valuation, the sale scattering the last of the estate's people among the buyers as the whole household was broken up and sold. The grazing at Peak Hill sold with six goats and the property to the range, like the Lemon Valley goats before, shows another of the estate's pastures passing as a right along with the beasts, the goat ranges spread across the island each sold as a distinct holding, the tenure of the grazing knocked down with the animals that fed on it. The buyers of this last stretch, Herbert, the two Bagleys, Falconer, the Greentrees, Kennedy and the marshal's son Harper, complete the roll of the island's propertied men who took a share of the estate, the sale drawing in nearly every named family of the settlement, the goods and people of one dead planter dispersed among the whole community that had governed, appraised and now bought his property. The estate reckoned down to eleven knives and forks, a warming pan at twopence and a pair of pewter basins at fivepence, shows the auction pursued to the very last and least of the household's goods, the creditors' claims driving the sale of every movable however trifling, the whole substance of a man's life told over and knocked down to satisfy the debts he died owing.
173	166	2 September let him know what to do with it The abovementioned seems to be an Instrument or Deed of gift by which the said Richard Ewsling has given to his Daughter Margaret the major part of his Estate as well Leasehold as Freehold for ever The former of which it is plain he had no right to dispose of for any longer Time than the term of the Lease and not even that without Leave Upon enquiry we find that this writing was made in favour of his Daughter for some reasons to himself but upon being Married to a third Wife as his present Widow was he told her before Marriage and many times after as she declares that he had signed such a paper but did not intend that it should take place and that he woud send for it and she should see it burnt and that it should never affect her As the above Deed or Instrument was never Registered as all writings by which any Lands as Alienated or Mortgaged are by the Honorable Company repeated Orders liable	The account continued in 1754, with a sum of £538 8s 5d brought forward from the previous page. Benjamin Beale, 1 set of accounts, £0 9s 0d Benjamin Beale, 1 dictionary, £0 6s 0d, £0 15s 0d Thomas Harper junior, 1 cradle, £0 4s 9d Total, £539 13s 2d This account was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 23 September 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 16 September 1754, was approved and signed. On Thursday 19 September John Dove, a soldier, died. The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending on 11 September were presented, examined and approved, and are set out below. Interpretations The whole sale of Gawling's effects raised a little over five hundred and thirty-nine pounds, a sum that measures how much a substantial planter's movable estate fetched when broken up at auction, the total falling well short of the appraised value of the land, slaves and goods together, the gap showing how far a

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		to be otherwise to be Null and Void and as the Widow would have been entirely left destitute and have lost all that her Jointure upon being Married to him had this Deed been confirmed as thou then would not have been sufficient remaining afterwards to pay his Debts we therefore for these reasons have thought proper to set it a side Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	forced sale to pay creditors realised less than a quiet valuation. The cradle sold twice over in the reckoning, once here to Thomas Harper junior for four shillings and nine pence, marks the closing of the sale on the humblest domestic object of all, the infant's bed of a broken household passing to a buyer for a few shillings, the last item of a family's goods dispersed to satisfy the debts of the man who had died. The single dictionary and set of accounts bought by Benjamin Beale point to the modest literacy of the settlement, a reference book and a ledger among the few written works in a planter's house drawing a buyer at the sale, the small trade in books marking how scarce and valued such things were on a remote island far from any press or bookseller.
174	167	9 September At a Consultation held on Monday the 9 Day of September 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 2 September 1754 Tuesday the 3 Passed by a Ship under Dutch Colars The Executors of Augustine Balls presented an Inventory of his Effects appraised by Solomon Jacobs and Nathan Sample who being sworn that they valued the same to the best of their judgment it was ordered to be entered in the book for that Purpose James Yates the Honorable Companys Steward desired to resign that office we therefore agreed to his request Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	This was an account of the Honourable Company stock of neat cattle and other animals between 12 August and 11 September 1754. Neat cattle remaining 12 August: bulls 4, cows 75, calves 83, yearlings 23, heifers 15, steers 4, bullocks 6, oxen 12, total 222 Sheep remaining 12 August: ewes 178, wethers 46, lambs 162, rams 6, total 392 Goats remaining 12 August: ewes 93, wethers 19, kids 135, rams 7, total 254 Hogs remaining 12 August: sows 7, stores 11, pigs 5, brawns 2, total 25 Poultry remaining 12 August: turkeys 68, fowls 331, ducks 14, geese 30 Horses remaining 12 August: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses remaining 12 August: asses 1, asses 2, total 3 Neat cattle increased: cows 10, total 10 Sheep increased: lambs 36, total 36 Goats increased: kids 37, total 37 Hogs increased: pigs 35, total 35 Poultry increased: fowls 39, ducks 9 Neat cattle total: bulls 4, cows 75, calves 93, yearlings 23, heifers 15, steers 4, bullocks 6, oxen 12, total 232 Sheep total: ewes 178, wethers 46, lambs 198, rams 6, total 428 Goats total: ewes 93, wethers 19, kids 172, rams 7, total 291 Hogs total: sows 7, stores 11, pigs 40, brawns 2, total 60 Poultry total: turkeys 68, fowls 370, ducks 23, geese 30 Horses total: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses total: asses 1, asses 2, total 3 Neat cattle killed: cows 1, total 1 Sheep killed: wethers 3, total 3 Goats killed: ewes 6, kids 1, total 7 Hogs killed: sows 1, total 1 Poultry killed: turkeys 1, fowls 22, ducks 2, geese 1 Neat cattle died: bulls 1, total 1 Sheep died: wethers 2, lambs 1, total 3 Poultry died: fowls 7 Poultry sold: fowls 12 Poultry killed by cats: fowls 8 Neat cattle remaining 11 September: bulls 4, cows 74, calves 93, yearlings 23, heifers 14, steers 4, bullocks 6, oxen 12, total 230 Sheep remaining 11 September: ewes 176, wethers 42, lambs 198, rams 6, total 422 Goats remaining 11 September: ewes 93, wethers 13, kids 171, rams 7, total 284 Hogs remaining 11 September: sows 7, stores 10, pigs 40, brawns 2, total 59 Poultry remaining 11 September: turkeys 64, fowls 321, ducks 21, geese 29

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			Horses remaining 11 September: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses remaining 11 September: asses 1, asses 2, total 3 Twelve fowls were sold to Mr Clark. Three goats were given to the sick blacks. Yams expended, 33,080. This account was signed by John Adamson, errors excepted. Interpretations The sharp increases of the month, thirty-five pigs, thirty-nine fowls, thirty-seven kids and thirty-six lambs, mark the spring breeding of the southern hemisphere coming on in September, the young of every kind arriving together as the island's stock bred up with the turning season, the swelling numbers showing the natural rhythm of the farm at the height of its yearly increase. The three goats given to the sick blacks, matching the two of the previous month, tie this stock account to the standing care of the slaves recorded across the consultations, the fresh meat drawn from the Company's own herds to feed the ill among the labour force a regular monthly charge on the living stock. The yams expended rising to over thirty-three thousand from the twenty-three thousand of the previous month marks the growing draw on the island's staple crop as the stock multiplied, the extra mouths of the new-bred young and the feeding of people and animals alike pressing harder on the yam store, the root standing as ever the bulk food that carried the settlement. The steady loss of fowls to cats, eight this month after six the last, entered again as its own line, shows the feral cats a constant small drain on the poultry, the Company's reckoning tracking even this persistent nuisance month by month, the same close accounting that told every bird bred, killed, sold or lost across the island's farm.
175	168	16 September At a Consultation held on Monday the 16 Day of September 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieut Governor absent desired to be excused Lieutenant John Clark of Council being in the Stores taken an Inventory The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the the 9 September 1754 Wednesday the 11 Died Thomas Martin Soldier Account Sale of part of the Effects of the late Richard Ewsling Sold at Publick Auction the 13 September 1754 to pay his Debts was this day brought in by Mr Clark and is as follows Vizt Account Sale of part of the Effects of the late Richard Ewsling deceased Sold at Publick Auction the 13 September 1754 Vizt By whom bought Particulars Price Miss John Adamson 1 Old Mare and filly L 15 10 Acres Freehold Land 12 Do Leasehold Do called Vaughans 144 15 0 10 1 1 Bull 7 10 1 Sow and 6 Pigs 3 6 Shoats	The cash account was charged as debtor in 1754. On 12 August the balance remaining was £4,095 0s 6 3/4d. The credit side recorded the balance remaining on 11 September, held in the following coin. 520 Venetians at 10s, £260 0s 0d 1,500 pagodas at 8s, £600 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £860 0s 0d 3,837 dollars at 5s, £959 5s 0d 13,600 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,530 0s 0d 12,948 half reals at 1s 3 1/2d, £202 6s 3d 441 French pieces at 12s, £313 6s 0d old money, £0 0s 9 3/4d Silver amounting to, £2,695 5s 6 3/4d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £4,095 0s 6 3/4d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The cash chest stood unchanged from the previous month down to the last coin, the same Venetians, pagodas, dollars, rupees, reals and French pieces held in exactly the figures counted before, the stillness of the account showing a month in which no ship settled or drew a balance and no bill was taken, the money simply lying in the chest between the comings and goings of the shipping. The persistence of the identical mixture of foreign coin from month to month confirms the cash chest as a standing reserve rather than a working till, the great store of gold and silver from across the trading world held intact on the island as the Company's treasury, drawn on and replenished only when the ships came and went, otherwise resting untouched under the eyes of the Council.

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		5 10 John Clark 2 China Jars 1 7 1 Basket 0 7 1 Old Frying Pan 0 1 1 Prs Silver Shoe Buckles 0 15 3 Cain bottom Chairs 16 6 174 6 Carried over L 189 6	
176	169	1754 By whom bought Particulars Price Brought Over L 189 6 Messrs Fran Wrangham Sen 1 Cow and Calf L 10 5 0 1 Do and Do 10 17 0 2 Bottle Stands 0 7 0 1 Iron Meat Pot 1 0 0 2 Prs Pott Hooks 0 0 7 1 Old Saddle 1 0 0 2 Sows & 7 Pigs 2 10 0 1 Do Spurs 0 17 0 26 16 7 Fran Wrangham Jun 1 Bull L 8 5 0 1 Sow & Pigs 2 0 0 1 Do & Do 2 5 0 3 Blankets 1 10 0 1 Prs China mottle Candlesticks & Snuffers 0 16 0 24 China Plates 0 12 0 1 Prs Channel Pumps 0 10 0 1 Young Sow 0 11 0 16 19 0 Matt Purling 1 Cow and Calf 10 6 0 Onesi Beale 3 Ewe Sheep 2 half grown Do 3 Fed Hill 3 Lambs 1 7 0 John Dowston 3 Ewe Sheep & 2 Lambs at Peak Hill 3 0 0 10 Old Feather Bed 2 Pillows 1 Quilt and Bedstead 4 5 0 12 Wine Glasses 0 8 6 1 Carboy 0 9 6 1 Do 0 10 0 8 13 0 John Dasfountain 1 Boy Slave named Ben	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 7 October 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 30 September 1754, was approved and signed. On Thursday 3 October Samuel, son of William and Mary Burnham, died. The Council ordered the following worn-out stores and house furniture to be written off the Honourable Company books of accounts. 26 gun carriages 70 sponge staves 97 sponge heads 81 rammer heads 73 tampions 20 powder horns 5 worms 10 sponges 4 rammers 1 pair pistols 3 china mugs 1 set sea china 1 matted wrapper 1 clothes brush 2 old jacks 7 old pewter dishes This account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The writing off of twenty-six gun carriages and the full train of gunners' implements, the sponges, rammers, worms and tampions, marks a wholesale condemning of worn artillery gear, the carriages rotted and the tools spent, the large number cleared at once showing the heavy wear that the salt air and constant service worked on the batteries, and perhaps a re-equipping of the guns with fresh mountings. A tampion was the wooden plug driven into a gun's muzzle to keep out water and damp, and a worm the corkscrew tool for drawing wad and debris from the bore, the condemning of these small fittings by the score showing how the minute gear of the guns wore out and was struck from the books as steadily as the carriages themselves. The clearing of worn stores from the Company's books was the formal act by which spent or rotted equipment was removed from the standing account, the goods no longer chargeable to the storekeeper once condemned, the entry marking the routine housekeeping of the ledgers by which the Company kept its inventory true to what was actually fit for use.

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		L 16 1 0 1 Heifer 9 2 0 1 Stone Jugg 0 1 0 1 Old Scarlet Waistcoat and Bruches 0 6 1 Carried Over L 285 3 0 25 10 11	
177	170	16 September By whom bought Particulars Price Brought Over L 285 3 Miss Thos Kirkpatrick 1 Girl Slave named Patt L 7 1 0 4 Silver Table Spoons 2 17 0 2 Do Salts 0 13 1 1 Do Pepper Box 5 7 1 Yam Pott 1 13 6 1 Sow Shoa & 1 Barrow 1 18 0 1 Old Haft 0 8 0 14 18 2 Thomas Evans 1 Feather Bed under Bed 2 Pillows Quilt Boulster Curtains rail & Bed Stead 5 12 0 12 Napkins 1 12 0 Curtains for 2 Windows 0 6 0 3 China Jars 0 6 0 2 China Bowls 0 5 0 1 small looking Glass 0 8 0 2 Old Tea Kettles 0 13 6 1 Form 0 2 0 1 Case Razors and Hone 0 6 0 1 Sea Chest 0 11 0 5 Old Pictures 0 2 7 A Parcel of old Books 0 6 0 1 Damask Table Cloth 0 8 0 10 18 1 Erasmus Ruling 1 Feather Bed under Bed 2 Pillows Quilt Boulster rail and Bedstead 5 10 0 1 Sea Chest 0 16 7 16 Pewter plates 0 15 0 1 Small Tea Table 0 8 0 6 Sheets 16 0 9 4 7 Rich Goodwin 1 Sow and 3 Pigs 2 2 7	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 14 October 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 7 October 1754, was approved and signed. On Saturday 12 October William Witman, a soldier, died by accident. Following the advertisement published on 26 August, the planters attended that day and paid their rents and revenues due to the Honourable Company for the past year, amounting to £564 3s 6d. The rent roll was as follows, with the acres of freehold and leasehold land and the rate for each set against every name. John Alexander, 71 1/2 acres freehold at 4 1/2d, £14 6s 0d Samuel Alexander, 34 acres leasehold at 26 1/2d, £8 6s 6d George Alexander, 28 acres leasehold at 18d, £1 8s 0d Rachel Alexander, 18 acres leasehold, £4 10s 0d Margaret Alexander, 20 acres freehold and 10 acres leasehold at 2 1/2d, £0 2s 6d Onesiphorus Beale, 41 acres leasehold at 38 1/2d, £11 18s 6d Richard Beale, 36 acres, £0 9s 0d John Bagley's orphans, 100 acres freehold and 35 acres leasehold at 112d, £29 15s 0d Richard Bagley, 20 acres leasehold at 85 1/2d, £11 17s 6d Orlando Bagley, 60 acres leasehold at 20d, £9 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, 87 acres leasehold at 34 1/2d, £12 19s 0d John Bazett's orphans, 15 acres leasehold at 1 1/2d, £1 13s 0d Thomas Bazett's orphans, 29 acres leasehold at 14d, £4 14s 0d William Burnham, 100 acres freehold and 115 acres leasehold at 46d, £18 11s 6d John Clark, 3 acres freehold at 7 1/2d, £17 19s 3d Thomas Cargieve, 2 acres leasehold, £0 10s 0d Thomas Clear, [...] Carried over, £564 3s 6d The figures in the acreage and rate columns are recorded as they stand on the page, though several do not reconcile with the sums against them. Interpretations The rent roll drawn from the planters shows the whole leasehold economy of the island at work, the settlers paying a yearly rent to the Company on the land they held, the freehold acres set apart from the leasehold at their own rates, the annual collection turning the Company's ownership of the ground into a settled revenue gathered from every family on one appointed day. The estates of three sets of orphans, the children of the late John, John and Thomas Bazett and of John Bagley, appear on the roll paying rent in their own right, the land of dead planters passing to their children who were charged the Company's rent like any other holder, the naming of the orphans showing the Council keeping the descent of every holding in view as it collected what was due.

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		Benj Mason 1 Woman Slave named Sarah L 28 5 0 1 Old Beaureau 2 5 6 30 10 6 Carried Over L 352 16 4	Margaret Alexander, the daughter whom Gawling's struck-down deed had tried to endow, appears here on the rent roll holding land under her married name, the woman at the centre of the great dispute of the preceding weeks now entered as an ordinary rent-paying settler, her place on the roll marking how the island's land passed through the hands of its intermarried families under the Company's standing tenure. The wide spread of holdings, from William Burnham and the Bagley orphans with over a hundred acres each down to Thomas Cargieve with two, marks the range of wealth among the planters, the great holders set beside the smallest on the same roll, the whole showing a settler society of sharply unequal estates all held on lease from the single owner that was the Company.
178	171	1754 By whom bought Particulars Price Brought Over L 352 16 4 Messrs John Inglis 1 Young mare 15 0 George Young 1 Pewter Chamber Pot L 3 1 6 Pewter Plates 1 4 1 7 1 Richard Bagley 1 Man Slave named Civel L 39 5 0 1 Cow & Calf 10 0 0 2 Tea Boards 0 10 1 1 China Bowl 0 2 3 1 Gunn 1 4 6 1 Box Iron & Heaters 0 3 0 1 Old Saddle 0 14 0 51 18 10 Frances Mowatt 1 Girl Slave named Betty 5 6 Orlando Bagley Jun 1 Chest with Lock & Key 1 3 6 William Young 3 Brass Candlesticks L 0 9 0 4 China Dishes 0 12 2 1 1 2 Matt Bazett Jun 1 Chest L 0 11 0 1 Eng Tea Salts 0 10 0 4 Silver Tea Spoons & Strainer 1 0 0 1 Small Tea Pott 0 6 0 1 Cloth Brush 0 1 0 1 Bridle 0 4 0 1 blew Riding Coat 10 6 9 Old Wigs 0 10 0 2 Prs Worsted Stockings	The rent roll continued, with a sum of £157 14s 0d brought forward from the previous page, the freehold land standing at 568 1/2 acres and the leasehold at 533 1/2 acres. Samuel Doveton's orphans, 5 acres at 1s 6d the acre, 109 1/2 acres leasehold, 19 acres, £13 12s 3d John Doveton, 86 1/2 acres, 1 acre, £4 11s 6d Isaac Doveton, 77 1/2 acres, 9 1/2 acres, £6 5s 3d Joseph Dasfountain's orphans, 20 acres, 57 acres, £15 6s 0d Elizabeth Dasfountain, 11 acres, £2 10s 0d John Dasfountain, 93 1/2 acres, 24 1/2 acres, £11 0s 9d Thomas Carthorpe, 23 acres, 44 acres, £12 5s 0d Thomas French, £0 0s 10d Michael Frost, £0 0s 15d John Goodwin, 167 1/2 acres at 1s 6d the acre, 53 1/2 acres, 46 1/2 acres, £11 8s 37 1/2d Richard Goodwin, 46 1/2 acres, 27 acres, £9 1s 6d Thomas Greentree, 135 1/2 acres at 6 1/2d the acre, 56 acres, 60 acres, £10 6s 6d Sarah Greentree, 48 acres, 55 acres, £16 5s 0d Onesiphorus Gawling's orphans, 9 acres at 1s the acre, 23 acres, 9 acres, £1 16s 6d Richard Gawling's orphans, 6 1/2 acres at 6d the acre, 16 acres, 42 acres, £9 17s 10 1/2d Gabriel Harper's orphans, 22 acres, 46 acres, £12 12s 0d Joseph Harding's orphans, 19 acres, 33 acres, £9 4s 0d Thomas Harper's orphans, 30 acres, 4 acres, £2 10s 0d Martin Harper's orphans, 55 1/2 acres, 45 acres, £14 0s 10d Thomas Harper's orphans, 13 1/2 acres, £3 6s 3d Thomas Harper, £0 0s 10d Richard Harper, 4 acres at 1s 6d the acre, 17 1/2 acres, £3 12s 3d James Hedges, 3 acres, £1 0s 0d Gabriel Isaac, 8 acres, £2 0s 0d Solomon Jacobs, £0 2s 6d Elisha Peache, 26 acres, 5 acres, £2 10s 0d Mary Jarvis, £0 12s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, 21 acres, 19 1/2 acres, £7 2s 6d Samuel Knipe, 38 1/2 acres, 16 1/2 acres, £10 1s 3d Isaac Knipe, 16 acres, £4 0s 0d William Hedges, £0 0s 13d Eleanor Leech, £0 0s 12d John Leech senior, 36 acres, £0 4s 0d John Leech junior, £0 0s 4d Bridget Leech, £0 2s 6d Carried over, 1,120 acres freehold, 1,027 acres leasehold, £369 15s 11d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 6 3 14 6 John Goodwin 50 Goats in Lemon Valley range and the property to the same 36 0 0 1 Cow & Calf 10 0 0 1 Heifer 9 2 0 1 small Table Stand 0 6 6 1 Saddle 1 10 6 56 19 0 John Alexander 1 Black Cloth Coat 1 Prs Bruches and two Waistcoats 1 6 0 Carried Over L 491 9 5	Interpretations The great number of orphans' holdings on this stretch of the roll, the children of the Dovetons, Dasfountains, Gawlings, Harpers and Hardings all charged rent in their own names, marks the heavy mortality among the island's planters, the land of one dead father after another passing to his children, the roll reading in places as a register of the fatherless families the Company kept on its books. The orphans of Richard Gawling appear here paying rent on land held in their name, the children of the man whose estate had just been sold to pay his debts now entered as settled holders, the survival of a Gawling holding after the great sale showing that the family kept some ground even as the bulk of the father's property was dispersed, the leasehold tenure carrying on to the next generation. The orphans of Martin Harper, whose expired lease the Council had lately renewed to provide for the widow and children, appear on the roll holding their fifty-five and more acres, the renewal petitioned for in September now showing its effect in the rent charged the family, the machinery of lease and inheritance traced from the Council chamber to the rent roll. The roll set out land by tenure, the freehold acres in one column and the leasehold in another with a rate for each, showing the Company drawing a lighter charge on freehold ground and a heavier rent on the leasehold it still owned, the two columns laying bare the difference in the settlers' title to their land and in what each kind of holding cost them year by year.
179	172	16 September By whom bought Particulars Price Brought Over L 491 9 5 Messrs Isaac Harpe 1 Coat & Bruches with mettle buttons 1 5 0 1 Old Coat & Bruches 0 6 6 1 11 6 John Bagley 1 Prs Steel Knee Buckles 0 0 16 Stephin Herbert 26 Goats in Peak Hill range & the property to the same 8 5 0 3 Lead Candle moulds 0 2 3 8 7 3 Thomas Greentree 1 Cain bottom Couch 1 10 0 Samuel Knipe 2 Pewter Basons L 0 5 0 2 Earthen Jars 0 4 7 0 9 7 Orlando Bagley Jun 1 Heifer L 9 6 0 2 China Jars 0 7 6 1 Old Pewter Funnel 0 0 10 1 Trunk 1 12 0 11 6 4 Matt Bazett Jun 2 Sea Boards 0 6 2 1 Warming Pan 0 2 0	The rent roll continued, with a sum of £369 13s 11d brought forward from the previous page, the freehold land standing at 1,120 acres and the leasehold at 1,027 acres. Francis Mowatt, 37 1/2 acres, 21 1/2 acres, £7 5s 3 1/2d Richard Mason, 13 3/4 acres, £3 8s 9d Benjamin Mason, 1 1/2 acres, £4 7s 6d Robert Mason, 2 acres, £0 10s 0d James Powell, 30 acres, 35 1/2 acres, £10 4s 2d Matthew Purling, 4 acres at 1s 6d the acre, 123 3/4 acres, 67 1/2 acres, £21 15s 9d Benjamin Hodges' orphans, 5 acres, 3 1/2 acres, £8 2s 6d Sarah Reynolds, £0 0s 10d William Seale, 3 1/2 acres at 1s 6d the acre, 7 acres, 40 acres, £10 12s 9d Benjamin Seale, 1 1/2 acres, £1 10s 0d John Seales' orphans, 20 acres, 1 1/2 acres, £2 17s 6d Charles Steward, 30 1/2 acres, 60 acres, £16 10s 3d Nathaniel Sample, 25 acres, 8 1/2 acres, £3 17s 6d William Quener, £0 0s 7d John Swift, 9 acres, 38 1/2 acres, £10 1s 0d John Worrall, 50 acres, £12 10s 0d Francis Wrangham senior, 175 1/2 acres, 123 1/2 acres, £41 13s 9 1/2d Francis Wrangham junior, 82 acres at 6d the acre, being a pepper green allotted, £4 2s 0d Joshua Worrall, 31 acres, 33 acres, £11 0s 0d Simon Whaley's orphans, 14 1/2 acres, 12 acres, £4 4s 9d Joseph Whaley's orphans, 1 1/2 acres, 23 3/4 acres, £5 17s 11d William Young, 79 1/2 acres, 25 acres, £10 9s 6d Stephen Young, 10 acres, 8 1/2 acres, £2 19s 6d Total, 2,200 acres freehold, 1,816 acres leasehold, £564 3s 0d This account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations

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		1 Chaffing Dish 0 4 6 1 Spit 0 2 6 1 hand Scritore L 0 10 1 1 Old Saddle 0 6 6 1 2 0 Samuel Falconer 8 Neck Cloth 0 11 6 1 Prs Gold Slave buttons 1 14 1 2 7 2 James Greentree 1 Girl Slave named Pegg L 10 5 0 1 Prs Spit racks 0 7 6 a Parcel of Plantation Tools 0 14 6 11 7 0 Charles Steward Curtains for two Windows 0 12 0 William Kennedy 1 Cain bottom Elbow Chair 0 14 0 3 China mugs 3 6 1 Old Saw 2 3 1 New Hatt 1 8 6 1 Side Saddle & Bridle 5 5 6 7 2 9 Thos Harper Jun 11 Knives & 11 forks L 1 2 3 Carried Over L 538 8 5	The pepper green allotted to Francis Wrangham junior marks an attempt to grow pepper on the island, the ground set aside at a special low rate for the trial of a valuable spice crop, the naming of the allotment showing the Company encouraging the cultivation of the eastern commodities it traded, offering cheap land to a settler willing to raise pepper on St Helena. The whole rent roll totalled over four thousand acres of settled land, freehold and leasehold together, yielding the Company a yearly revenue of a little over five hundred and sixty pounds, the sum measuring the return the Company drew from leasing out the island to its planters, a modest rental against the far greater cost of the establishment shown in the pay accounts. Francis Wrangham senior stood at the head of the settlers with nearly three hundred acres and by far the largest rent, the appraiser of Gawling's estate and a recurring figure across the consultations here revealed as the greatest landholder among the planters, his standing on the roll matching the prominence of his family throughout the island's affairs. The recurrence across the roll of the same families that governed, appraised and bought at the island's sales, the Wranghams, Masons, Seales, Youngs and Worralls holding land beside the orphans of the dead, shows how tightly the ownership of the island was held within a small circle of intermarried settler families, the same names filling the offices, the rent roll and the auctions alike.
180	173	1754 By whom bought Particulars Price Brought Over L 538 8 5 Messrs Benjamin Beale 1 Sett of Cruets L 0 9 0 1 Dictionary 0 6 0 15 0 Thomas Harper Jun 1 Cradle 0 4 9 539 13 2 Chas Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 23 Day of September 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 16 Sept 1754 Thursday the 19 Died John Dove Soldier 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 Vizt Account	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 21 October 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 14 October 1754, was approved and signed. The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending on 11 October were presented, examined and approved, and are set out below. This was an account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company table in the month ending 11 October 1754. 18 bottles port wine, £1 9s 7 1/2d 34 bottles Lisbon, £2 16s 2d 11 bottles Madeira, £1 6s 2 1/2d 32 bottles arrack, £1 1s 8d 38 gallons beer, £0 9s 6d 282 lb flour, £1 18s 2 1/2d 100 1/2 lb mutton, £2 1s 10 1/2d 118 lb pork, £2 19s 0d 120 lb goat, £2 0s 0d 3 kids, £0 15s 0d 22 fowls, £1 13s 0d 2 ducks, £0 3s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 6 pieces salt pork, £0 12s 0d 3 pieces salt beef, £0 8s 3d 80 lb candy, £1 6s 8d 55 1/2 lb butter, £2 15s 3d Total, £24 9s 7d Interpretations

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			The table account holds steady from month to month, the same run of wines, fresh and salt meat, poultry, candy and butter drawn to feed the establishment's officers, the little variation in the figures showing a settled routine of provisioning that changed only with what the season and the herds could supply, the fresh mutton, pork and goat marking a table kept largely from the island's own stock. The mixture of fresh island meat with salt beef and pork from the barrel shows the officers' table drawing on both the Company's herds and its shipped stores at once, the fresh goat, mutton and fowls from the farm eked out with the salted provisions kept against the leaner months, the two sources together marking the way a remote station balanced its own produce against what it laid up from abroad.
181	174	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12 Aug to the 11 September 1754 Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Sters, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Stots, Piggs, Brawns, Total, Suckegs, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Colts, Total Remaining the 12: Bulls 4, Cows 75, Calves 83, Yearlings 23, Heifers 15, Sters 4, Bullocks 6, Oxen 12, Total 222, Ewes 178, Weathers 46, Lambs 162, Rams 6, Total 392, Ewes 93, Weathers 19, Kids 135, Rams 7, Total 254, Sows 7, Stots 11, Piggs 5, Brawns 2, Total 25, Suckegs 68, Fowles 331, Ducks 14, Geese 30, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 1, Colts 2, Total 3 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 10, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 10, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 36, Rams 0, Total 36, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 37, Rams 0, Total 37, Sows 0, Stots 0, Piggs 35, Brawns 0, Total 35, Suckegs 0, Fowles 39, Ducks 9, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 75, Calves 93, Yearlings 23, Heifers 15, Sters 4, Bullocks 6, Oxen 12, Total 232, Ewes 178, Weathers 46, Lambs 198, Rams 6, Total 428, Ewes 93, Weathers 19, Kids 172, Rams 7, Total 291, Sows 7, Stots 11, Piggs 40, Brawns 2, Total 60, Suckegs 68, Fowles 370, Ducks 23, Geese 30, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 1, Colts 2, Total 3 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 1, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Weathers 3, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 6, Kids 7, Rams 0, Total 7, Sows 0, Stots 1, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 1, Suckegs 1, Fowles 22, Ducks 2, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 2, Weathers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Stots 0, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Suckegs 3, Fowles 7, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 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, Stots 0, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Suckegs 0, Fowles 12, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Killed by Cats: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 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, Stots 0, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Suckegs 0, Fowles 8, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Remaining the 11: Bulls 4, Cows 74, Calves 93, Yearlings 23, Heifers 14, Sters 4, Bullocks 6, Oxen 12,	This was an account of the Honourable Company stock of neat cattle and other animals between 12 September and 11 October 1754. Neat cattle remaining 12 September: bulls 4, cows 74, calves 93, yearlings 23, heifers 14, steers 4, bullocks 6, oxen 12, total 230 Sheep remaining 12 September: ewes 176, wethers 42, lambs 198, rams 6, total 422 Goats remaining 12 September: ewes 93, wethers 13, kids 171, rams 7, total 284 Hogs remaining 12 September: sows 7, stores 10, pigs 40, brawns 2, total 59 Poultry remaining 12 September: turkeys 68, fowls 321, ducks 21, geese 29 Horses remaining 12 September: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses remaining 12 September: asses 1, asses 2, total 3 Neat cattle increased: cows 15, total 15 Sheep increased: lambs 30, total 30 Poultry increased: pigs 9, fowls 22, ducks 73, geese 4 Neat cattle total: bulls 4, cows 74, calves 108, yearlings 23, heifers 14, steers 4, bullocks 6, oxen 12, total 245 Sheep total: ewes 176, wethers 42, lambs 228, rams 6, total 452 Goats total: ewes 93, wethers 13, kids 171, rams 7, total 284 Hogs total: sows 7, stores 10, pigs 49, brawns 2, total 68 Poultry total: turkeys 90, fowls 394, ducks 21, geese 33 Horses total: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses total: asses 1, asses 2, total 3 Sheep killed: wethers 2, total 2 Goats killed: wethers 8, kids 3, total 11 Hogs killed: sows 2, total 2 Poultry killed: fowls 1, ducks 22, geese 2, [...] 2 Sheep died: ewes 3, lambs 1, total 4 Goats died: ewes 2, total 2 Goats sold: 1 Poultry died: fowls 2 Poultry killed by cats: fowls 3 Neat cattle remaining 11 October: bulls 4, cows 74, calves 108, yearlings 23, heifers 14, steers 4, bullocks 6, oxen 12, total 245 Sheep remaining 11 October: ewes 173, wethers 40, lambs 227, rams 6, total 446 Goats remaining 11 October: ewes 91, wethers 4, kids 168, rams 7, total 270 Hogs remaining 11 October: sows 7, stores 8, pigs 49, brawns 2, total 66 Poultry remaining 11 October: turkeys 89, fowls 367, ducks 19, geese 31 Horses remaining 11 October: horses 6, mares 6, total 12

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		Total 230, Ewes 176, Weathers 42, Lambs 198, Rams 6, Total 422, Ewes 93, Weathers 13, Kids 171, Rams 7, Total 284, Sows 7, Stots 10, Piggs 40, Brawns 2, Total 59, Suckegs 64, Fowles 321, Ducks 21, Geese 29, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 1, Colts 2, Total 3 Sold to Mr Clark 12 Fowls 3 Goats for the Sick Blacks Yams Expended 33080 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	Asses remaining 11 October: asses 1, asses 2, total 3 Species changed: bulls 6, cows 81, calves 62, yearlings 13, heifers 44, steers 10, bullocks 15, oxen 14, total 245 Sheep species changed: ewes 193, wethers 70, lambs 176, rams 7, total 446 Goats species changed: ewes 125, wethers 45, kids 92, rams 8, total 270 Hogs species changed: sows 14, stores 8, pigs 41, brawns 2, total 66 Poultry species changed: turkeys 89, fowls 367, ducks 19, geese 31 Horses species changed: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses species changed: asses 1, asses 2, total 3 Two goats were given to the sick blacks. One goat was sold. Yams expended, 30,230. This account was signed by John Adamson, errors excepted. Interpretations The line of species changed set below the closing stock records a reclassification of the animals within each kind, the beasts moved between the categories of age and condition as they grew, calves passing into yearlings and yearlings into heifers and steers, the entry showing the herd re-sorted at the year's reckoning so the account kept pace with the ageing of the stock rather than any change in its numbers. The strong increase of ducks, seventy-three added in the month, marks the autumn hatching of the waterfowl coming on with the season, the great jump in the duck numbers against the smaller gains elsewhere showing the breeding of the poultry running in its own rhythm, the ducks multiplying fastest as the year turned toward the southern summer. The two goats given to the sick blacks recur as the standing monthly provision for the ill among the slaves, the fresh meat drawn from the Company's herds a regular charge that ran unbroken through the accounts, the care of the labour force met from the living stock month after month as a settled practice of the plantation. The yams expended falling back to thirty thousand from the thirty-three thousand of the previous month, after the surge that fed the spring increase, shows the draw on the staple easing as the burst of new breeding passed, the movement of the yam figures tracking the rhythm of the farm as the root was consumed faster or slower with the swelling and settling of the stock.
182	175	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1754 Aug 12 To Ballance remaining L. 4095 0 6 3/4 1754 Sep 11 By Ballance remaining in the following Speias Vizt 520 Venitians @ 10/ L. 260 0 0 1500 Pagodas @ 8/ 600 Gold Amounting to L. 860 0 0 3837 Dollars @ 5/ 959 5 13600 Rupees 2/3 1530 0 0 12948 half Reals 3/1 1/2 202 6 3 441 French Do 12 3 13 6 Old Money 0 0 9 3/4 Silver Amounting to L. 2695 5 6 3/4	This was an account of the gunners stores expended between 12 September and 11 October 1754, reckoned in powder expended in pounds. Powder for scaling of lime stones, 12 lb 2 oz Powder for exercising with small arms, 169 lb 8 oz Powder for the funeral of John Dove, 2 lb 4 oz Powder sold, 32 lb Total, 215 lb 12 oz The following gunners stores were also expended. Paper for the use of the Castle, 1 quire Paper for making small cartridges, 12 quires Paper for making rockets, 2 quires Sponge staves for repairing the sponges at Munden's, 6 Sponge heads for repairing the sponges at Munden's, 6 Rammer heads for repairing the sponges at Munden's, 6 Sheep skins for repairing the sponges at Munden's, 9

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		Cash Notes Amounting to 539 15 L 4095 0 6 3/4 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Trunk nails for repairing the sponges at Munden's, 450 Sponge staves for repairing the sponges at Bank's, 1 Sponge heads for repairing the sponges at Bank's, 8 Rammer heads for repairing the sponges at Bank's, 9 Sheep skins for repairing the sponges at Bank's, 11 Trunk nails for repairing the sponges at Bank's, 503 Tallow for the yawl, 5 lb 4 oz Tallow for the carts at the plantation house, 4 lb 4 oz Match burnt at Bank's from the 11, 12 lb 4 oz Match burnt at the Marine House from May 1753, 6 lb 10 oz Match burnt at Rupert's, 6 lb 4 oz Match burnt at Munden's, 6 lb 4 oz This account was signed by Thomas Hall. This account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The large charge of powder for exercising with small arms, over a hundred and sixty pounds against the few pounds spent on salutes and funerals, marks a month of musketry practice for the garrison, the soldiers drilled in the firing of their arms on some scale, the heavy expenditure showing the training of the men in their weapons kept up as a serious and costly part of the island's readiness. The sponges of the great guns repaired at Munden's and Bank's with staves, heads, rammer heads and sheep skins show the constant upkeep of the gunners' implements at the several batteries, the sheep skin wrapped round the sponge head to swab the bore after firing, the detailed mending marking how the working parts of the guns wore out and were patched battery by battery. The match burnt at Bank's, Rupert's, Munden's and the Marine House, some of it reckoned from as far back as May 1753, shows the slow match kept always smouldering at the batteries ready to fire the guns, the length of time over which it was consumed marking a constant readiness maintained at every post, the match a standing charge on the defence kept alight against the moment a gun must speak. The rockets made up from paper here point to the firing of signal rockets as well as guns, the batteries able to send up a rocket by night as a signal or alarm where a gun served by day, the two means together marking the island's constant watch on the sea and its readiness to raise the alarm around the coast at any hour.
183	176	7 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 7 October 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 30 September 1754 Thursday the 3 died Samuel Son of William and Mary Burnhams Ordered the following worn out Stores and House Furniture to be wrote off the Honorable Companys Books of Accounts Vizt 26 Gun Carriages 70 Spunge Staves 97 Spunge heads 81 Rammer heads	At a consultation held at the Castle on Monday 28 October 1754, Governor Hutchinson attended along with Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the Council. The previous consultation, dated 21 October 1754, was approved and signed. The paymaster presented his accounts and the storekeeper his collections for the quarter ending on 11 October. These are set out below. This was a list of the Honourable Company officers and servants on St Helena, with their several salaries, diet money and other allowances, for the quarter beginning 12 July and ending 11 October 1754. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d allowance for servants as usual, £11 14s 9d, £136 14s 9d John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d

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		73 Tompions 29 Powder Horns 5 Worms 10 Spunges 4 Wormes House Furniture Vizt 1 Prs Pistols 3 China mugs 1 Set Tea China 1 Matted Wrapper 1 Scrubbing Brush 2 Old Sacks 7 Old Pewter Dishes Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	diet money, £25 0s 0d, £87 10s 0d John Clark, of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d John Goodwin, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d diet money, £15 0s 0d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £35 0s 0d Matthew Purling, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d diet money, £15 0s 0d, £32 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d diet money, £15 0s 0d, £32 10s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d diet money, £15 0s 0d, £40 0s 0d James Powell, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d assistant to the storekeeper, £5 0s 0d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £25 0s 0d Carried over, £424 4s 9d Interpretations The list of officers and their pay stands unchanged in its senior ranks from the quarter before, the same Governor, Lieutenant Governor, accountant, storekeeper, secretary and chaplain drawing the identical salaries and allowances, the steadiness of the establishment at the top showing a settled body of principal officers holding their places across the year on fixed terms. The dropping of Thomas French, whose broken quarter's pay had appeared on the previous roll to the day of his resignation in May, marks the working of the establishment closing over a departed officer, the list simply going forward without him, the roll adjusting silently to the coming and going of the Company's servants from one quarter to the next. The three parts of an officer's pay, salary, diet money and house rent, appear again in the same fixed proportions, the diet and rent held level across the ranks while the salary rose with standing, the persistence of this structure quarter after quarter showing a settled system in which the cost of living was met by common allowances and rank was measured in salary alone.
184	177	14 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 14 Day of October 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 7 October 1754 Saturday the 12 died William Witman Soldier being drowned by Accident According to the Advertizement Published the 26 August the Planters this day attended and paid their Rents and Revenues due to the Honorable Company for the year past which Amounts to 561 5 6 the Rent Roll is as follows Vizt Sugar, Candy, Yams, £ s d John Alexander Sugar 0, Candy 71 3/4, Yams 141 1/2, 14 0 6 Samuel Alexander Sugar 0, Candy 34, Yams 26 1/2, 8 6 6 George Alexander Sugar 0, Candy 28, Yams 0, 1 8 0 Rachel Alexander Sugar 0, Candy 0, Yams 18, 4 10 0 Margaret Aloch 1 3/4 Acres @ 20/ p Ann Sugar 20/, Candy 0, Yams 2 1/2, 1 6 0 0 2 6 Onesiphorus Beale Sugar 51, Candy 41, Yams 38 1/2, 11 18 6 Richard Beale Sugar 0, Candy 0, Yams 36, 9 0 0 John Bagleys Orphans	The list continued under 28 October, with a sum of £424 4s 9d brought forward from the previous page. Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £20 0s 0d William Wrangham, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £17 10s 0d Charles Steward, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d, £15 0s 0d John Inglis, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £22 5s 0d Thomas Evans, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d, £16 5s 0d John Swaine, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, £7 10s 0d George Young, overseer, £7 10s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d as clerk, £5 0s 0d, £8 8s 3d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d diet money, £10 0s 0d house rent, £1 10s 0d, £29 0s 0d Mark Hawkins, mason, salary, £12 10s 0d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £1 0s 0d, £20 6s 10 1/2d Thomas Kirkpatrick, master of arms, £6 5s 0d James Sheridan, gardener, £10 0s 0d Thomas Steevens, carpenter, £12 10s 0d Thomas Cheesbrough, carpenter's mate, £7 10s 0d Robert John Clark, armourer, £10 10s 0d John Hughes, armourer's mate, £9 0s 0d James Corbett, cooper, £8 15s 0d

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		Sugar 10/6, Candy 35, Yams 112, 29 16 0 Richard Bagley Sugar 0, Candy 20, Yams 85 1/2, 11 17 6 Orlando Bagley Sugar 0, Candy 60, Yams 20, 9 10 0 Matthew Bazett Sugar 0, Candy 87, Yams 34 1/2, 12 19 0 John Bazetts Orphans Sugar 0, Candy 15, Yams 1 1/2, 1 1 3 Thomas Bazetts Orphans Sugar 0, Candy 29, Yams 14, 4 14 0 William Burnham Sugar 10/6, Candy 115, Yams 46, 18 11 6 John Clark 3 Acres @ 5/ p Acre Sugar 0, Candy 3, Yams 71 1/2, 17 19 3 Thomas Pargiver Sugar 0, Candy 0, Yams 2, 0 10 0 Thomas Elms Carried over Sugar 0, Candy 568 3/4, Yams 833 1/2, 159 14	James Yates, steward, from 12 July to 9 September, the day he resigned, £3 5s 9d Carried over, £595 9s 10 1/2d Interpretations James Yates the steward, whose resignation the Council had accepted on 9 September, appears here with his pay reckoned only to that day, the broken quarter's salary marking the same close settling to the exact date of departure that ran through every roll, the resignation minuted in the consultations now showing its effect in the shortened wage. Thomas Steevens the carpenter draws his full salary on this list though the consultations recorded his death on 29 August, the entry perhaps settling the wage owed to his estate for service before he died, the roll carrying the dead man's pay as a debt to be paid to his heirs rather than as a wage to a living servant. The master mason John Bland again stands at the head of the tradesmen far above the rest, his near thirty pounds for the quarter more than double the gardener's or the carpenter's, the persistence of the mason's high pay marking the standing value set on stonework in a settlement forever building and repairing its forts and houses against the wear of the sea air. The three overseers on identical pay, John Swaine, Matthew Bazett and George Young, mark the men set to direct the Company's labour on its plantations and works, the flat rate for the office showing the overseer's place fixed by function like the soldiers' pay, the supervision of the island's ground and building a settled charge carried by three men at a common wage.
185	178	Freehold Land, Free Land, Lease Land, £ s d Brought over Freehold Land 0, Free Land 568 3/4, Lease Land 833 1/2, 157 14 0 Samuel Doveton Orphans 5 Acres @ 4/6 p Ann Freehold Land 0, Free Land 106 1/2, Lease Land 19, 13 12 3 John Doveton Freehold Land 0, Free Land 86 1/2, Lease Land 1, 4 11 6 Isaac Doveton Freehold Land 0, Free Land 77 1/2, Lease Land 9 1/2, 6 3 3 Joseph Desfountains Orphans Freehold Land 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 57, 15 6 0 Elizabeth Desfountain Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 11, 2 10 0 John Desfountain Freehold Land 5/, Free Land 93 1/2, Lease Land 24 1/2, 11 0 9 Thomas Carthope Freehold Land 0, Free Land 23, Lease Land 44, 12 3 0 Thomas French Freehold Land 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 10 0 Michael Frost Freehold Land 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 15 0 John Goodwin 16 3/4 Acres @ 1/ p Ann 3 3/4 @ p Anno Freehold Land 10/, Free Land 53 1/2, Lease Land 46 1/2, 11 8 3 1/2 Richard Goodwin Freehold Land 0, Free Land 46 1/2, Lease Land 27, 9 1 6 Thomas Greentree 1 35/1 Acres @ 5/ p Do Acre Freehold Land 5/, Free Land 56, Lease Land 60, 10 6 6 Sarah Greentree Freehold Land 0, Free Land 48, Lease Land 33, 10 3 0 Onesi Ewslings Orphans 9 Acres @ 4/6 p Do Freehold Land 0, Free Land 23, Lease Land 9, 1 16 6	The list continued in 1754, with a sum of £595 9s 10 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Michael Frost, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Thomas Smith, bosun of the longboat, £7 10s 0d Thomas Braver, house keeper, £2 0s 0d Thomas Harper, marshal, £5 6s 5 1/2d, £8 31s 7 1/2d The following belonged to the First Company: John Clark, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d on account of instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d, £37 3s 1 1/2d Stephen Herbert, second lieutenant, salary, £18 6s 0d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 11s 10 1/2d Francis Mowatt, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d, £29 13s 1 1/2d Total, £94 8s 1 1/2d Sergeants: Solomon Jacobs, £7 12s 1d Thomas Brown, £7 12s 1d William Davis, from 12 July to 9 August as corporal, £1 13s 10d William Davis, from 9 August as sergeant, £5 3s 9d, £6 17s 7d, £22 1s 9d Corporals: Isaac Swift, £5 6s 5 1/2d Humphry Pugh, £5 6s 5 1/2d John Howard, from 12 July to 9 August as sentinel, £1 4s 2d John Howard, from 9 August as corporal, £3 12s 7 1/2d, £4 16s 9 1/2d Total, £15 9s 8 1/2d John Vaughan, drummer, £5 6s 5 1/2d Carried over, £816 13s 1 1/2d Interpretations The pay of William Davis split across two rates in the one quarter, reckoned first as a corporal and then as a sergeant from 9 August, shows a promotion

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		Richard Ewslings Orphans 6 1/2 @ 6 p Acre Freehold Land 0, Free Land 16, Lease Land 42, 9 17 10 1/2 Gabriel Harpers Orphan Freehold Land 0, Free Land 22, Lease Land 46, 12 12 0 Josephs Hardings Orphans Freehold Land 0, Free Land 19, Lease Land 33, 9 4 0 Thomas Harpers Orphans Freehold Land 0, Free Land 50, Lease Land 0, 2 10 0 Martin Harpers Orphans Freehold Land 0, Free Land 55 1/2, Lease Land 45, 14 0 10 Thomas Harpers Orphans Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 13 1/2, 3 6 3 Thomas Harper Freehold Land 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 10 0 Richard Harper 4 Acres @ 1/6 Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 17 1/2, 3 12 3 James Hedges Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 3, 1 0 0 Gabriel Isaac Freehold Land 5/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 8, 2 0 0 Solomon Jacobs Freehold Land 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 2 6 Elisha Isaac Freehold Land 0, Free Land 26, Lease Land 0, 2 10 0 Mary Jarvis Freehold Land 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 12 0 Thomas Kirkpatrick Freehold Land 2/, Free Land 21, Lease Land 19 1/2, 7 2 6 Samuel Knipe Freehold Land 0, Free Land 38 1/2, Lease Land 16 1/2, 6 1 3 Isaac Knipe Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 16, 4 0 0 William Kennedy Freehold Land 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 13 0 Eleanor Leech Freehold Land 2/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 12 0 John Leech Senr Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 36, 0 0 0 John Leech Jun Freehold Land 4/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 4 0 Bridgett Leech Freehold Land 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 2 6 Carried over Freehold Land 0, Free Land 1520 3/4, Lease Land 1102 1/2, 360 9 15 11	within the company traced to the exact day, the man's wage rising as he stepped up a rank, the roll settling the two portions separately so that his pay answered precisely to the grade he held at each part of the period. John Howard's pay likewise divided between his old rate as a sentinel and his new one as a corporal from the same 9 August marks a second promotion on that day, the two advancements together suggesting a reshuffling of the company's non-commissioned ranks at one time, perhaps to fill places left by death or transfer, the roll tracking each man's rise to the day it took effect. John Clark the first lieutenant of the First Company, drawing the extra fee for instructing the gunners as John Elick had done on the earlier roll, shows the office of gunnery instructor passing with the post, the training of the men in the great guns kept up under a new officer, the standing importance of teaching the garrison to serve its artillery carried on whoever held the lieutenancy. The naming of Solomon Jacobs among the sergeants, the same man fined earlier for buying fowls from a slave and set to appraise a dead man's goods, shows once more how the handful of the island's soldiers filled every role at once, drawing the Company's pay, breaking its orders and serving its administration, the small closed world of the garrison turning on a few men who appear at every turn of the record.
186	179	Freehold Land, Free Land, Lease Land, £ s d Brought over Freehold Land 0, Free Land 1520 3/4, Lease Land 1102 1/2, 360 9 13 11 Francis Mowatt Freehold Land 0, Free Land 37 1/2, Lease Land 21 1/2, 7 5 3 1/2 Richard Mason Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 13 3/4, 3 8 9 Benjamin Mason Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 1 1/2, 4 7 6 Robert Mason Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 2, 0 10 0 James Powell Freehold Land 0, Free Land 30, Lease Land 35 1/2, 10 4 2 Matthew Purling 6 1/4 Acres @ 1/ p Ann Freehold Land 0, Free Land 123 1/2, Lease Land 6 1/4, 21 13 9 Benjamin Pledgers Orphans Freehold Land 0, Free Land 5, Lease Land 3 1/4, 8 2 6	The list continued under 28 October, with a sum of £816 13s 1 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Sentinels: Andrew Armstrong, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Bennett, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Bamford, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Burk, £3 16s 0 1/2d Henry Beale, from 12 July to 9 August as sergeant, £2 8s 4d Henry Beale, from 9 August to 11 August as sentinel, the day he was discharged, £0 2s 6d, £2 10s 10d John Bagley, from 13 August, the day he was entered, £2 10s 0d Matthew Campbell, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0 1/2d Phillip Cole, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Capelin, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Corksey, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Carthorpe, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Ferris, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		Sarah Reynolds Freehold Land 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 10 0 William Seale 5 1/4 Acres @ 1/6 p Acre Freehold Land 0, Free Land 7, Lease Land 40, 10 12 9 Benjamin Seale Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 7 1/2, 1 16 0 John Seales Orphans Freehold Land 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 7 1/2, 2 17 0 Charles Steward Freehold Land 0, Free Land 30 1/2, Lease Land 60, 16 10 3 Nathan Sample Freehold Land 6/, Free Land 25, Lease Land 8 1/2, 3 17 6 William Quiner Freehold Land 7/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, 0 7 0 John Swaits Freehold Land 0, Free Land 9, Lease Land 38 1/2, 10 1 0 John Worrall Freehold Land 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 50, 12 10 0 Francis Wrangham Senr Acres Freehold Land 10/6, Free Land 175 1/2, Lease Land 123 1/4, 41 13 9 1/2 Francis Wrangham Jun 3 @ a Pepper Corn p Ann Freehold Land 30/, Free Land 82, Lease Land 6, 4 2 0 Joshua Worrall Freehold Land 30/, Free Land 31, Lease Land 33, 11 0 0 Simon Whaleys Orphans Freehold Land 0, Free Land 14/6, Lease Land 12, 4 4 9 Joseph Whaleys Orphans Freehold Land 0, Free Land 1 1/6, Lease Land 23 1/2, 5 17 11 William Young Freehold Land 5/, Free Land 79 1/2, Lease Land 25, 10 9 6 Stephen Young Freehold Land 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 8 1/2, 2 19 6 Total Freehold Land 0, Free Land 2200 1/4 1/8, Lease Land 1816 3/4, 3564 30 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Thomas Farvis, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Green, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Grainger, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Greaves, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Gouldin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Godson, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Gawler, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 0 1/2d Humphry Harrison, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Headree, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hutchinson, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Lambourn, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Legg, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Low, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Maxwell, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £107 13s 11 1/2d Carried over, £816 13s 1 1/2d Interpretations Henry Beale, drawing sergeant's pay to 9 August and then a sentinel's for two days until his discharge, shows a man reduced in rank in the same quarter he left the service, the fall from sergeant to private in his last days marking either a disgrace or a step-down before discharge, the roll settling each portion at the grade he held so that his broken pay records the demotion as well as the departure. The reduction of Henry Beale from sergeant to sentinel on 9 August, the same day William Davis rose to sergeant and John Howard to corporal on the preceding page, ties the promotions and the demotion together as one reshuffling of the First Company's ranks, one man's fall opening the place another man's rise filled, the whole reordering of the company traced across the roll to a single day. John Bagley, whose enlistment as a native recruit without bounty the Council had recorded on 12 August, appears here with his pay reckoned from 13 August when he was entered, the fresh soldier's wage beginning the day after his enlistment was minuted, the consultation and the pay roll agreeing to the day on when the new man came onto the Company's books. The long column of sentinels each on the unchanging three pounds sixteen and a halfpenny runs on as through every earlier quarter, the private soldier's wage fixed flat by rank so that the roll serves as a bare muster of names, the whole administrative interest concentrated in the few men whose rank changed or whose service began or ended within the period.
187	180	21 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 21 Day of October 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 14 October 1754 The Plantation Gunner and Stewards Accounts for the month ending the 11 instant were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11 October 1754 Vizt 18 bottles Port Wine 1 9 7 1/2 34 Do Lisbon 2 16 2 11 Do Medeira 1 6 2 3/4 32 Do Arrack	The list continued in 1754, with a sum of £816 13s 1 1/2d brought forward from the previous page, the sentinels standing at £107 13s 11 1/2d. Sentinels: James Mills, £3 16s 0 1/2d John March, £3 16s 0 1/2d Bartholomew Molly, £3 16s 0 1/2d Nathaniel Mitchell, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Montgomery, £3 16s 0 1/2d John O'Hara, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Richardson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Robinson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Renton, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Shaw, £3 16s 0 1/2d Charles Smith, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Smith, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Stanbury, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Tuffnell, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Turner, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Webber, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Walton, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Wattson, £3 16s 0 1/2d

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		1 1 8 38 Do Beer 0 9 6 282 Flour 1 18 2 3/4 100 1/2 Mutton 2 1 10 1/2 118 Pork 2 19 0 120 Goat 2 0 0 3 Kids 0 15 0 22 Fowles 1 13 0 2 Ducks 0 3 0 2 Geese 0 10 0 1 Turkey 0 5 0 6 Prs Salt Pork 0 12 0 3 Prs Do Beef 0 8 3 80 Candy 1 6 8 55 1/2 Butter 2 15 3 24 9 7 Account	Matthias Young, £3 16s 0 1/2d, £191 6s 10 1/2d The following belonged to the Second Company: Thomas Carthorpe, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1 1/2d Samuel Bruce, second lieutenant, salary, £18 6s 0d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 11s 10 1/2d Total, £59 15s 0d Carried over, £1,067 15s 0d Interpretations The Second Company opens on the same fixed establishment as before, its first and second lieutenants drawing the identical salaries, diet and rent of the quarter past, the steadiness of the officers' pay from one period to the next marking the settled military structure of the island held constant across the year on an unvarying scale. The transfers that had moved men between the companies in the previous quarter leave no broken entries here, the roll running smoothly through the Second Company's sentinels, the quiet of the account showing a period without the reshuffling of the earlier months, the men holding their places without the deaths, discharges and transfers that had marked the summer muster. The unbroken run of sentinels at the common rate closes the First Company and carries into the Second without a single varied figure, the flat wage of the private soldier holding firm as ever, the whole interest of the roll resting in the officers and the few promoted men, the rank and file entered only as names against the one unchanging sum.
188	181	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12 September to the 11 October 1754 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Sters, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Piggis, Brawns, Total, Suckegs, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Colts, Total Remaining the 12: Bulls 4, Cows 74, Calves 93, Yearlings 23, Heifers 14, Sters 4, Bullocks 6, Oxen 12, Total 230, Ewes 176, Weathers 42, Lambs 198, Rams 6, Total 422, Ewes 93, Weathers 13, Kids 171, Rams 7, Total 284, Sows 7, Shoats 10, Piggis 40, Brawns 2, Total 59, Suckegs 68, Fowles 321, Ducks 21, Geese 29, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 1, Colts 2, Total 3 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 15, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 15, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 30, Rams 0, Total 30, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggis 9, Brawns 0, Total 9, Suckegs 22, Fowles 73, Ducks 0, Geese 4, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 74, Calves 108, Yearlings 23, Heifers 14, Sters 4, Bullocks 6, Oxen 12, Total 245, Ewes 176, Weathers 42, Lambs 228, Rams 6, Total 452, Ewes 93, Weathers 13, Kids 171, Rams 7, Total 284, Sows 7, Shoats 10, Piggis 49, Brawns 2, Total 68, Suckegs 90, Fowles 394, Ducks 21, Geese 33, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 1, Colts 2, Total 3 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Weathers 8, Kids 3, Rams 0, Total 11, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Piggis 0, Brawns 0, Total 2, Suckegs 1, Fowles 22, Ducks 2, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 3, Weathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Kids	The list continued under 28 October, with a sum of £1,067 15s 0d brought forward from the previous page. Sergeants: John Leech, £7 12s 1d William Purdue, £7 12s 1d Charles Styles, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Corporals: William Shelford, £5 6s 5 1/2d William Langhorne, £5 6s 5 1/2d John Bridgewater, £5 6s 5 1/2d, £15 19s 4 1/2d John Clough, drummer, £5 6s 5 1/2d Sentinels: William Adams, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Binfield, from 12 July to 26 August, the day he died, £1 11s 8d William Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Ballard, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Barker, £3 16s 0 1/2d Christian Brinker, from the Artillery Company from 25 July, £3 4s 5 1/2d Dixon Craft, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Carmichael, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Charrott, £3 16s 0 1/2d Gilbert Clough, £3 16s 0 1/2d Baron Delope, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Earle, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Green, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jonathan Hitchins, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hurlock, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Hyde, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hayes, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £72 19s 9 1/2d Carried over, £1,111 1s 1d Interpretations William Binfield, whose pay ran only to 26 August when he died, was the same sentinel over

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		0, Rams 0, Total 2, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Suckegs 0, Fowles 2, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Suckegs 0, Fowles 3, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Killed by Cats: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Sters 0, Bullocks 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, Piggs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Suckegs 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Colts 0, Total 0 Remaining the 11: Bulls 4, Cows 74, Calves 108, Yearlings 23, Heifers 14, Sters 4, Bullocks 6, Oxen 12, Total 245, Ewes 173, Weathers 40, Lambs 227, Rams 6, Total 446, Ewes 91, Weathers 4, Kids 168, Rams 7, Total 270, Sows 7, Shoats 8, Piggs 49, Brawns 2, Total 66, Suckegs 89, Fowles 367, Ducks 19, Geese 31, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 1, Colts 2, Total 3 Species changed: Bulls 6, Cows 81, Calves 62, Yearlings 13, Heifers 44, Sters 10, Bullocks 15, Oxen 14, Total 245, Ewes 193, Weathers 70, Lambs 176, Rams 7, Total 446, Ewes 125, Weathers 45, Kids 92, Rams 8, Total 270, Sows 14, Shoats 8, Piggs 41, Brawns 2, Total 66, Suckegs 89, Fowles 367, Ducks 19, Geese 31, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 1, Colts 2, Total 3 2 Goats to the Sick Blacks 1 Goat Sold Yams Expended 30230 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	whose funeral the gunners had spent powder in the August stores account, the man's death traced through both the pay roll and the gunners' reckoning, the two records together showing the full working of a soldier's end from the striking off of his wage to the guns fired over his grave. The transfer of Christian Brinker from the Artillery Company into the Second Company from 25 July, his pay reckoned at the sentinel's rate from that day, shows a man moved from the specialist gunners into the ordinary line, the crossing between the artillery and the foot marking a flexibility in the garrison by which men passed from serving the guns to standing sentry as the establishment required. The reckoning of William Binfield's broken pay to the exact day of his death, like every such entry across the rolls, shows the Company's unvarying practice of settling a soldier's wage to the moment his service ended, the dead man's account closed to the day so that the establishment paid only for the time he actually served, the same close bookkeeping applied to the humblest sentinel as to any officer.
189	182	21 October Gunnery Stores Expended from the 12 September to the 11 of October 1754 Vizt Powder for Blowing of Lime Stones 12 2 Do for Exercising with small Arms 169 8 Do for the Funeral of John Dove 2 4 Do Sold 32 Total 215 12 Paper for the use of the Castle 1 Do for makeing of small Cartridges 12 Do for making of Rockets 2 Spunge Staves for repairing the Spunges at Mundens 6 Spunge Heads for Do 6 Rammer Do for Do 6 Sheep Skins for Do 9 Trunk Nails for Do 450 Spunge Staves for repairing the Spunges at Bankes 1 Spunge Heads for Do 8 Rammer Do for Do 9 Sheep Skins for Do 11 Trunk Nails for Do	The list continued in 1754, with a sum of £1,111 1s 1d brought forward from the previous page, the sentinels standing at £72 4s 9 1/2d. Sentinels: Richard Knight, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Kewry, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Langbridge, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Lawrence, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Lindsey, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Loveland, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Macray, £3 16s 0 1/2d Abram Major, £3 16s 0 1/2d Charles Mountague, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0 1/2d Anthony Moulton, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard McNolly, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Martin, from 12 July to 11 September, the day he died, £2 10s 10d James McDonald, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Payn, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Postwoker, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Parker, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Pearce, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Robinson, £3 16s 0 1/2d David Scott, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0 1/2d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Shirtly, £3 16s 0 1/2d Nicholas Pougston, £3 16s 0 1/2d Christian Syder, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Thomson, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Thomson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Benjamin Swaite, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Thomson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Vaughan, £3 16s 0 1/2d, £188 16s 10 1/2d Roger Wilkins Carried over, £1,300 13s 11 1/2d

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		503 Tallow for the Yall 5 3/4 Do for the Carts at the Plantation House 4 3/4 Match Burnt at Bankes from the 11 12 3/4 Do Do at the Marin House from May 1753 6 3/4 Do Do at Ruports 6 3/4 Do Do at Mundens 6 3/4 (Signed) Thos Hall Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Interpretations Thomas Martin, whose pay ran only to 11 September when he died, was the soldier whose death the consultations recorded and over whose funeral the gunners spent powder in the September stores, the man traced through three separate records, the pay roll, the minutes and the gunners' account all closing on his death, the several books together marking the passing of one common soldier. The recurrence of the name Thomas Martin, one man dead here on 11 September after another Thomas Martin had transferred between the companies in the earlier quarter, marks the presence of more than one soldier of the same name in the garrison, the two men distinguished only by their differing fates in the rolls, a reminder of how common names ran through the ranks of a body recruited from across the British Isles. The steady drain of the garrison by death shows again in this quarter, Binfield, Martin and others struck from the rolls within the three months, the broken entries scattered through the muster marking the constant loss of men on a remote and unhealthy station, the roll recording the mortality of the ranks as plainly as it recorded their pay, the two woven together in the one account.
190	183	28 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 28 Day of October 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 21 October 1754 The Paymaster brought in his Accounts and the Storekeeper brought in his Collections for the Quarter Ending the 11 instant which are as follows Vizt List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their Several Salaries Diet Mony &ca for the Quarter Commencing the 12 July and Ending the 11 October 1754 Vizt Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor Salary L. 125 0 0 Do Allowance for Servants as usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Salary 62 10 Do Diet Mony 25 0 87 10 John Clark of Council 15 John Goodwin Accomptant Salary 17 10 Do Diet Mony 15 Do House Rent 2 10 35 Matthew Purling Storekeeper Salary 17 10 Do Diet Mony 15 32 10 Francis Wrangham Secretarys Salary 17 10 Do Diet Mony 15 32 10	The list continued under 28 October, with a sum of £1,300 13s 11 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. The following belonged to the Third Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1 1/2d William Kennedy, second lieutenant, salary, £18 6s 0d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 11s 10 1/2d Total, £59 15s 0d Sergeants: William Oakman, £7 12s 1d John Walker, £7 12s 1d William Bartin, from 12 July to 12 September as corporal, £3 13s 6d William Bartin, from 13 September as sergeant, the day he was made, £2 11s 1d, £6 4s 7d, £21 4s 9d Corporals: Alexander Hambleton, £5 6s 5 1/2d Thomas Bazett, £5 6s 5 1/2d Samuel Dasfountain, from 12 July to 12 September as sentinel, £2 12s 6d Samuel Dasfountain, from 13 September as corporal, the day he was made, £1 12s 11 1/2d, £4 5s 5 1/2d, £14 18s 4 1/2d John Gould, drummer, £5 6s 5 1/2d Sentinels: John Allen, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Allis, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Bower, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Barwin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Matthew Bazett, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Peddam, £3 16s 0 1/2d Isaac Buck, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £26 12s 3 1/2d Carried over, £1,401 18s 6 1/2d Interpretations William Bartin, drawing corporal's pay to 12 September and then sergeant's from the day he was made, and Samuel Dasfountain rising from sentinel to corporal on the same day, show a promotion working up through the Third Company's ranks, one man's advance to sergeant opening the corporal's place that the other stepped into, the roll tracing the linked rises to the exact day each took effect.

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		William Lee Chaplin Salary 25 Do Diet Mony 15 40 James Powell Saxter Salary 7 10 Do Diet Mony 10 Do Assistant to the Storekeeper 5 Do House Rent 2 10 25 Carried over L. 424 4 9	The promotions in the Third Company on 13 September, matching those in the First Company on 9 August, show the garrison advancing men through the non-commissioned ranks as places fell open, the several companies each reordering their sergeants and corporals in turn, the pay rolls tracking a steady internal movement by which soldiers rose grade by grade to fill the gaps left by death, discharge and further promotion. The naming of Thomas Kirkpatrick as first lieutenant of the Third Company, the same name borne by the master of arms in the civil list, carries on the coincidence noted in the earlier quarter, the man appearing again in both a military and a civil place, the small closed world of the station throwing up the same names across its offices quarter after quarter. The pay of each promoted man split precisely between his old and new rates, reckoned to the day of his advancement, shows once more the Company's exact settling of wages to rank, the roll refusing to round a man's pay to his final grade but dividing it at the moment of promotion so that each portion answered to the place he actually held, the same close bookkeeping that governed every entry in the muster.
191	184	28 October Brought over L. 424 4 9 Matthew Bazett Saxters Salary L. 7 10 Do Diet Mony 10 Do House Rent 2 10 20 William Wrangham Writers Salary 5 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 10 17 10 Charles Steward Writers Salary 5 Do Diet Mony 10 15 John Inglis Surgeons Salary 9 15 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 10 22 5 Thomas Evans Surgeons mate Salary 6 5 Do Diet Money 10 16 5 John Swaits 7 10 Matthew Bazett Overseers 7 10 George Young 7 10 Richard Beale Schoolmaster 3 8 3 Do As Clerk 5 8 8 3 John Bland Master Mason Salary 17 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 1 10 29	The list continued in 1754, with a sum of £1,401 18s 6 1/2d brought forward from the previous page, the sentinels standing at £26 12s 3 1/2d. Sentinels: Walter Bell, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Bell, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Booker, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Cane, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Cannon, £3 16s 0 1/2d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0 1/2d Samuel Cales, £3 16s 0 1/2d Andrew Frazier, £3 16s 0 1/2d Daniel Fowler, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Frazier, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jonathan Godsby, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Green, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Gowden, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Hall, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Hayley, £3 16s 0 1/2d Phillip Hickson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Job Harrison, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hayes, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Hodson, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Hindes, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Hibbett, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Hooit, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Lindsey, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Lindsey, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Langbridge, £3 16s 0 1/2d Moses Monanteau, £3 16s 0 1/2d Duncan McClarin, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Peddam, from 12 July to 12 September as sergeant, the day he was broke, £5 3s 0d William Peddam, from 13 September as sentinel, £1 3s 6d, £6 8s 6d Sentinels carried over, £140 10s 0d Carried over, £1,401 18s 6 1/2d Interpretations William Peddam, drawing sergeant's pay to 12 September and then a sentinel's from the day he was broke, shows a man reduced from sergeant to private on the very day William Bartin rose to fill the sergeant's place in the same company, the demotion and the promotion falling together, Peddam's fall opening the vacancy that Bartin's rise filled, the two entries the two halves of one reordering of the rank. The reduction of William Peddam ties the Third Company's promotions of 13 September into a single clear sequence, one sergeant broken to private, a corporal raised to sergeant in his place and a sentinel raised to corporal in turn, the whole chain of

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Mark Hawkins Masons Salary 12 10 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 1 20 6 10 1/2 Thomas Kirkpatrick Master of Arms 6 5 James Sheridan Gardener 10 Thomas Loving Carpenter 12 10 Thomas Cheesbrough Carpenters Mate 7 10 Robert John Clark Armourer 10 10 John Hughes Armourers Mate 9 James Sorbett Cooper 8 15 James Yates Steward from the 12 July Incl to the 9 September the Day he Resigned 3 5 9 Carried over L 67 15 9 Carried over L 595 9 10 1/2	movement traced across the roll to one day, the fall of one man rippling up through the ranks as each gap was filled from below. The word broke, marking Peddam's reduction as a punishment rather than an ordinary step down, points to some fault or offence that cost him his stripes, the disgrace carried plainly in the roll where his pay drops from sergeant's to sentinel's in mid-quarter, the muster recording not merely the fact of the demotion but its character as a penalty imposed on the man. The long unbroken column of sentinels at the common rate, broken only by Peddam's fall at its foot, shows once more the flat wage of the private soldier holding firm across the whole company, the interest of the roll gathered as ever in the few men whose rank changed within the period, the great body of the garrison entered simply as names against the one unvarying sum.
192	185	1754 Brought over L 595 9 10 1/2 Brought over L 67 15 9 Michael Frost Clock & Instrument Cleaner 1 5 0 Thomas Smith Patron of the Long boat 7 10 0 Thomas Braver Horsekeeper 2 0 0 Thomas Harper Marshall 5 6 5 1/2 8 31 7 2 1/2 First Company John Clark 1 Lieutenant Salary L 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do On Account of Instructing the Gunners 7 10 37 3 1/2 Stephen Herbert 2 Lieutenant Salary L 18 5 0 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 27 11 10 1/2 Francis Mowatt Adjutant Salary L 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 29 13 1 1/2 94 8 1 1/2 Sergeants Solomon Jacobs 7 12 1 Thomas Brown 7 12 1 William Davis from the 12 July to the 9 August Incl as Corporal 1 11 3 10 Do from the 10 August Incl as Sergeant 5 3 9 6 9 7 22 19 Corporals Isaac Swift 5 6 5 1/2 Humphry Pugh 5 6 3 1/2	The list continued under 28 October, with a sum of £1,401 18s 6 1/2d brought forward from the previous page, the sentinels standing at £146 10s 0d. Sentinels: Edward Richardo, £3 16s 0 1/2d Lewis Rowe, £3 16s 0 1/2d Arnold Sauseri, £3 16s 0 1/2d Daniel Sargent, £3 16s 0 1/2d Charles Stokes, £3 16s 0 1/2d Timothy Sullivan, £3 16s 0 1/2d David Savery, £3 16s 0 1/2d Edward Sorry, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Sonapson, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Sull, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Tiffin, £3 16s 0 1/2d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Whitenham, £3 16s 0 1/2d, £192 14s 7d The following belonged to the Fourth Company: Onesiphorus Beale, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1 1/2d George Hay, second lieutenant, salary, £18 6s 0d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d, £25 1s 10 1/2d Total, £57 5s 0d Sergeants: Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Michael Frost, £7 12s 1d William Watkins, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Corporals: Edward Wither, £5 6s 5 1/2d Erasmus Purling, £5 6s 5 1/2d Thomas Leech, £5 6s 5 1/2d, £15 19s 4 1/2d John Calfin, drummer, £5 6s 5 1/2d Carried over, £1,696 0s 2 1/2d Interpretations The Fourth Company carries on the same fixed establishment as the three before, its lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals and drummer on the identical pay of the earlier quarter, the fourfold repetition of the pattern across the whole garrison showing a standing force built of four matching units held on an unvarying scale through the year. The corporal Erasmus Purling of the Fourth Company shares the surname of Matthew Purling the storekeeper, and Michael Frost the sergeant that of the clock cleaner in the civil list, the recurrence of these names across the military and civil rolls marking

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Howard from the 12 July to the 9 August Incl as Centinel 1 4 2 Do from the 10 Incl as Corporal 3 12 7 1/2 4 16 3 1/2 15 9 8 1/2 John Vaughan Drummer 5 6 5 1/2 Carried over L 816 13 1 1/2	once more how the island's families spread their members through every branch of the Company's service on the station. The second lieutenant George Hay again draws no house rent where the first lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale takes the usual allowance, the same break in the pattern noted in the earlier quarter, the persistence of the difference suggesting a settled arrangement by which Hay was quartered without the lodging allowance the other officers received, perhaps housed within the barracks or the fort at no charge. The Fourth Company opening without a single broken entry in its officers or non-commissioned ranks shows a period of stability at the head of the unit, the promotions and demotions that had stirred the First and Third Companies leaving the Fourth untouched, the roll running smooth through its senior ranks as the reshuffling of the muster fell elsewhere.
<u>193</u>	186	28 October Brought over L 816 13 1 1/2 Centinels Andrew Armstrong L 3 16 7 1/2 George Bennett 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Brown 3 16 7 1/2 James Bamford 3 16 7 1/2 John Burke 3 16 7 1/2 Henry Beale from the 12 July Incl to the 9 August as Serjeant 2 8 4 Do from the 10 August Incl to the 12 Incl as Centinel the Day he was Discharged 2 6 2 10 10 John Bagley from the 13 of August Incl the Day he was Entertained 2 10 Matthew Campbell 3 16 7 1/2 James Cartwright 3 16 7 1/2 Phillip Cole 3 16 7 1/2 George Capelin 3 16 7 1/2 William Corksey 3 16 7 1/2 James Carthope 3 16 7 1/2 John Turris 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Farvis 3 16 7 1/2 George Green 3 16 7 1/2 John Grainger 3 16 7 1/2 John Grove 3 16 7 1/2 Richard Gouldin 3 16 7 1/2 Richard Godson 3 16 7 1/2 John Gawler 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Hailes 3 16 7 1/2 Humphry Harrison 3 16 7 1/2 James Hendrie	The list continued in 1754, with a sum of £1,696 0s 2 1/2d brought forward from the previous page. Sentinels: <i>Godfrey</i> Armbruster, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Barker, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Bourke, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Brooks, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Brien, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Beckett, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Berry, £3 16s 0 1/2d George Beale, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Bradley, £3 16s 0 1/2d Robert Baker, £3 16s 0 1/2d Daniel Cam, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Cowles, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Clear, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Cripps, £3 16s 0 1/2d Stephen Cleverly, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Dowton, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Dove, from 12 July to 19 September, the day he died, £2 18s 4d John Dehlon, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Eglestion, £3 16s 0 1/2d Peter Finat, £3 16s 0 1/2d Walter Gordon, £3 16s 0 1/2d Charles Gefform, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Hayes, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Hindes, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Holloway, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Harris, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Hudson, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Harrison, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Jackson, £3 16s 0 1/2d Sentinels carried over, £116 19s 7d Carried over, £1,696 0s 2 1/2d Interpretations John Dove, whose pay ran only to 19 September when he died, was the soldier whose improperly made will the Council took over on 23 September, his effects of five pounds and more paid into the Company cash, the man traced through both the pay roll and the consultations, the broken wage and the settled estate together recording the whole of his end from the day his pay stopped to the disposal of what he left. The death of John Dove, recorded here in the Fourth Company roll and settled in the consultations, shows the Company's machinery closing over a common soldier at every point at once, the pay struck off to the day, the guns fired at the funeral, the defective will set aside and the small estate written off to London, the several books each doing their part in the ordinary business of a soldier's death.

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		3 16 7 1/2 William Hutchinson 3 16 7 1/2 William Lambourn 3 16 7 1/2 John Legg 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Low 3 16 7 1/2 John Merrill 3 16 7 1/2 Centinels Carried over L 107 13 11 1/2 Carried over L 816 13 1 1/2	The reckoning of Dove's broken pay to the exact day, like every such entry across the four companies, marks the unvarying practice by which the Company settled a dead man's wage to the moment his service ended, the same close bookkeeping applied to the humblest sentinel as to the highest officer, the roll paying only for the time actually served whoever the man and whatever his rank.
194	187	1754 Brought over L 816 13 1 1/2 Centinels Brought over L 107 13 11 1/2 James Mills 3 16 7 1/2 John Marsh 3 16 7 1/2 Bartholomew Molley 3 16 7 1/2 Nathaniel Mitchell 3 16 7 1/2 William Montgomery 3 16 7 1/2 John O'Hara 3 16 7 1/2 James Richardson 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Robinson 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Riston 3 16 7 1/2 John Scotcher 3 16 7 1/2 John Shaw 3 16 7 1/2 Charles Smith 3 16 7 1/2 George Smith 3 16 7 1/2 Samuel Stanbury 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Tuffniell 3 16 7 1/2 John Turris 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Williams 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Webber 3 16 7 1/2 John Williams 3 16 7 1/2 John Walther 3 16 7 1/2 John Wattson 3 16 7 1/2 Matthias Young 3 16 7 1/2 191 6 10 1/2 Second Company Thomas Carthope 1 Lieutenant Salary L 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 32 3 1 1/2 Samuel Price 2 Lieutenant Salary 18 5 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10	The list continued under 28 October, with a sum of £1,696 0s 2 1/2d brought forward from the previous page, the sentinels standing at £116 19s 7d. Sentinels: Samuel Hilton, £3 16s 0 1/2d Christian Moore, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Mudge, £3 16s 0 1/2d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 0 1/2d Archibald Pouge, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Robinson, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Simmons, £3 16s 0 1/2d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Strange, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0 1/2d James Sherston, £3 16s 0 1/2d Richard Swaits, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Swaits, £3 16s 0 1/2d William Saylor, £3 16s 0 1/2d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 0 1/2d Jeremiah Wignll, £3 16s 0 1/2d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0 1/2d John William, £3 16s 0 1/2d John Wolfington, £3 16s 0 1/2d, £189 4s 4 1/2d The following belonged to the Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, master gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d diet money, £6 16s 10 1/2d house rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1 1/2d Gunners mates: Nathaniel Sample, chief mate, salary, £11 8s 1 1/2d Isaac Leech, £9 2s 6d William Turner, £9 2s 6d John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Henry Carter, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis, £9 2s 6d Richard Bilbington, £9 2s 6d, £75 5s 7 1/2d Carried over, £1,992 13s 4d Interpretations The Artillery Company stands apart from the four foot companies as before, its master gunner and eight gunners mates paid on their own scale, the separate establishment marking the working of the great guns as a distinct trade kept up by specialist men, the same body carried unchanged from the quarter past on a station whose defence rested wholly on its batteries. The master gunner Thomas Hall, whose name signs the gunners stores accounts across the consultations, appears here again at the head of the artillery drawing a lieutenant's salary, the man responsible for the powder, the salutes and the repair of the guns shown holding a rank level with the commissioned officers of the foot, the command of the island's artillery reckoned as important as the leading of a company. The eight gunners mates all on the same nine pounds save the chief, whose higher pay marks him first among them, show the specialist ranks of the artillery graded like the foot, the flat rate for the mates below their chief marking the same fixing of

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		27 11 10 1/2 59 15 Carried over L 1067 15	wages by grade that ran through the whole establishment, the skilled men of the batteries paid on a settled scale of their own. The stability of the Artillery Company through the quarter, its master gunner and mates carried without a broken entry, shows the specialist body less stirred by the deaths and promotions that moved the foot, the trained gunners held steady in their places, the skill of serving the great guns perhaps keeping such men longer in the one post than the constant turnover of the common ranks.
195	188	28 October Brought over L 1067 15 Sergeants John Leech L 7 12 1 William Prudew 7 12 1 Charles Styles 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals William Shelford 5 6 5 1/2 William Langhorne 5 6 5 1/2 John Bridgewater 5 6 5 1/2 15 19 4 1/2 John Clough Drummer 5 6 5 1/2 Centinels William Adams 3 16 7 1/2 William Binfield from the 12 July to the 26 Incl the day he Died 1 1 8 William Brown 3 16 7 1/2 Robert Ballard 3 16 7 1/2 John Barker 3 16 7 1/2 Christian Brenke from the Artillery Company 25 July Incl 3 4 5 1/2 Dixon Croft 3 16 7 1/2 James Carmichael 3 16 7 1/2 John Chariot 3 16 7 1/2 Gilbert Clough 3 16 7 1/2 Baron Deloph 3 16 7 1/2 John Earle 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Fuller 3 16 7 1/2 John Green 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Grant 3 16 7 1/2 Jonathan Hitchens 3 16 7 1/2 William Hurlock 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Hyde 3 16 7 1/2 William Hayes 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Hendrick 3 16 7 1/2 Centinels Carried over L 72 19 1/2	Brought over, £1,092 13s 4d Quarter Gunners Adam Watson, £6 16s 10½d John Spencer, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Willingham, £6 16s 10½d John Jacks, £6 16s 10½d Peter Marshall, £6 16s 10½d James Lee, £6 16s 10½d James Long, £6 16s 10½d Darby Coyle, £6 16s 10½d Subtotal, £54 10s 0d Matrosses Abram Ayers, £4 11s 3d John Aitkininstall, £4 11s 3d Joseph Boswell, £4 11s 3d Andrew Barton, £4 11s 3d Christian Brunho, from the 2 July 1754, transferred to the 2 Company the 25 June, £0 14s 0d John Caudrey, £4 11s 3d William Campble, £4 11s 3d James Cooper, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d Phillip Hilliard, £4 11s 3d William Hayes, £4 11s 3d John Hellings, £4 11s 3d Richard Moise, £4 11s 3d Adam Melbourn, £4 11s 3d Thomas Midage, £4 11s 3d Roger Newman, £4 11s 3d William Perry, £4 11s 3d Abram Ratliff, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d Subtotal, £91 19s 0d Thomas Mason Superannuated William Burnham, sergeant, £3 8s 3d Total, £2,142 15s 7d Interpretations Quarter gunners and matrosses were the two lowest grades of the artillery establishment. A quarter gunner assisted the master gunner in tending the ordnance, while a matross ranked below a gunner and served as an assistant who helped load, fire and haul the guns, standing in effect as a private soldier of artillery. The pay gap between the two grades on this roll, roughly £6 16s against £4 11s a year, fixes the difference in standing between a trained gunner's mate and the labouring hands beneath him. The entry for Christian Brunho records a man carried on this company's books only from 2 July 1754 and moved to the second company on 25 June, so the payment of £0 14s 0d covers the short broken period he served here rather than a full year's wage. Such part-payments show how the garrison accounts tracked men by exact days of service when they shifted between companies mid-year. The single line marking William Burnham as superannuated shows the Company's practice of keeping an old sergeant on a reduced pension rather than discharging him outright, his £3 8s 3d standing well below the active matross rate.

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		Carried over L 1111 1 1	
196	189	1754 Brought over L 1111 1 1 Centinels Brought over L 72 4 0 1/2 Richard Knight 3 16 7 1/2 John Kewey 3 16 7 1/2 John Langbridge 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Lawrence 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Lindsey 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Loveland 3 16 7 1/2 John Macray 3 16 7 1/2 Abram Major 3 16 7 1/2 Charles Mountague 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Morris 3 16 7 1/2 Anthony Meechin 3 16 7 1/2 Richard McNolly 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Martin from the 12 July Incl to the 11 September Incl the Day he Died 2 10 10 James McDonald 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Payn 3 16 7 1/2 John Pinwater 3 16 7 1/2 John Parker 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Pearse 3 16 7 1/2 William Robinson 3 16 7 1/2 David Scott 3 16 7 1/2 Robert Stack 3 16 7 1/2 Adam Scott 3 16 7 1/2 John Shirtly 3 16 7 1/2 Nicholas Scraffton 3 16 7 1/2 Christian Syder 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Thomson 3 16 7 1/2 William Thomson 3 16 7 1/2 Benjamin Swaits 3 16 7 1/2 James Thomson 3 16 7 1/2 Richard Vaughan 188 16 10 1/2 Roger Wetwan Carried over L 1300 13 11 1/2	28 October John Clark, paymaster, debtor 1754 11 October, to cash from the Honourable Company's cash chest, £2,262 16s 6d Carried over, £2,262 16s 6d Interpretations This page opens the debtor side of the paymaster's personal account, charging John Clark with the whole sum of £2,262 16s 6d drawn from the Company's cash chest on 11 October 1754. Charging the paymaster as debtor for cash received was the standard method of holding a disbursing officer personally answerable for public money until he could show, on the opposite side of the account, that every payment out had been properly made and vouched.
197	190	28 October Brought over L 1300 13 11 1/2 Third Company Thomas Kirkpatrick 1 Lieutenant L 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2	1754 Per contra, creditor 6 August, by cash paid Peter Small for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years to commence from this date, £10 0s 0d 6 August, by ditto paid John Aitkininstall for the same, £10 0s 0d

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		Do House Rent 2 10 32 3 1 1/2 William Kennedy 2 Lieutenant L 18 5 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 27 11 10 1/2 59 15 Sergeants William Oahman 7 12 1 John Walther 7 12 1 William Bantin from the 12 July to the 12 September Incl as Corporal 3 13 6 Do from the 13 September Incl as Sergeant the day he was made 2 11 6 4 21 4 9 Corporals Alexander Hamileton 5 6 5 1/2 Thomas Bazett 5 6 5 1/2 Samuel Desfountain from the 12 Aug to the 12 September as Centinel 2 14 6 Do from the 13 September Incl as Corporal the Day he was made 1 12 11 1/2 4 5 5 1/2 14 18 4 1/2 John Gould Drummer 5 6 5 1/2 Centinels John Allis 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Allis 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Bower 3 16 7 1/2 John Boidin 3 16 7 1/2 Matthew Bazett 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Boddan 3 16 7 1/2 Isaac Buck 3 16 7 1/2 Centinels Carried over L 26 12 3 1/2 Carried over L 1401 18 6 1/2	10 August, by ditto paid Edward Richards for the same, £10 0s 0d 20 August, by ditto paid James Mills for the same, £10 0s 0d 3 October, by ditto paid Thomas Lawrence for the same, £10 0s 0d by ditto paid Thomas Taylor for the same, £10 0s 0d by ditto paid Stephen Willoughby for the same, £10 0s 0d by ditto paid John Earle for the same, £10 0s 0d Subtotal, £70 0s 0d 11 August, by ditto paid Daniel Fowkes for 68 days salary at £8 per annum for attending in the Long Wood etc in this quarter, £1 9s 9d by ditto paid Jonathan Hitchins for carpenter's work done for the use of the Honourable Company in this quarter, £5 0s 0d by ditto paid Samuel Cater for making putty, cutting glass and glazing windows for the East Plantation House and the hospital for the Honourable Company in this quarter, £12 0s 0d by ditto paid Richard Bagley for 1,500 lemons at 3s per hundred and 5½ bushels potatoes at 3s per bushel for the use of the Honourable Company's table etc in this quarter, £2 2s 6d by ditto paid John Desfountain for 750 lemons at 3s per hundred for the use of the Honourable Company's table etc in this quarter, £0 15s 0d Carried over, £80 19s 3d Interpretations The eight £10 payments are enlistment bounties, each covering a man signed on to serve the Company as a soldier for five years. Paying the bounty from the paymaster's account and entering the term of service on the same line fixed both the cost of raising each recruit and the date from which his engagement ran, so the garrison could hold him to the full five years. Daniel Fowkes was paid by the day at a yearly rate of £8, his £1 9s 9d covering 68 days spent at Longwood, the upland tract in the island's interior later famous as Napoleon's place of exile but here simply Company ground needing tending. Reckoning his wage in exact days rather than as a quarter's lump shows the account distinguishing casual attendance from the settled pay of the establishment. The lemons bought in bulk from Bagley and Desfountain point to the island's known value as a place of refreshment for scurvy-ridden crews, citrus being the standard antiscorbutic. Supplying the Company's own table from local growers, alongside potatoes reckoned by the bushel, shows the garrison drawing fresh produce from settlers rather than from imported stores.
198	191	1754 Brought over L 1401 18 6 1/2 Centinels brought over L 26 12 3 1/2 Walter Bell 3 16 7 1/2 James Bell 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Cocher 3 16 7 1/2 William Cane 3 16 7 1/2 William Cannon 3 16 7 1/2 Isaac Day 3 16 7 1/2 Samuel Yates 3 16 7 1/2 Andrew Frazier 3 16 7 1/2	28 October John Clark, paymaster, debtor Brought over, £2,262 16s 6d £2,262 16s 6d Island St

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		Daniel Fowles 3 16 7 1/2 John Frazier 3 16 7 1/2 Jonathan Godsby 3 16 7 1/2 James Green 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Gowden 3 16 7 1/2 James Hall 3 16 7 1/2 John Hayley 3 16 7 1/2 Phillip Hickson 3 16 7 1/2 Job Hairison 3 16 7 1/2 William Hayre 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Hodson 3 16 7 1/2 William Hindes 3 16 7 1/2 George Hibbett 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Hocket 3 16 7 1/2 Peter Lindsey 3 16 7 1/2 William Lindsey 3 16 7 1/2 John Langbridge 3 16 7 1/2 Moses Monanteau 3 16 7 1/2 Duncan McClain 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Pinkerton William Padom from the 12 July to the 13 September Incl as Serjeant the day he was broke L 5 2 Do from the 14 September Incl as Centinel 1 3 6 1/2 6 8 6 1/2 Centinels Carried over L 140 10 Carried over L 1401 18 6 1/2	
<u>199</u>	192	28 October Brought over L 1401 18 6 1/2 Centinels Brought over L 146 10 Edward Richards 3 16 7 1/2 Lewis Rowe 3 16 7 1/2 Arnold Sauseri 3 16 7 1/2 Daniel Sargant 3 16 7 1/2 Charles Stokes 3 16 7 1/2 Timothy Sullivan 3 16 7 1/2 David Savery 3 16 7 1/2 Edward Terry 3 16 7 1/2 John Tomapson 3 16 7 1/2 John Tull 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Taylor 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Tiffin 3 16 7 1/2 Benjamin Williams	1754 Per contra, creditor Brought over, £89 19s 3d 11 October, by cash paid William Young for 1,500 apples at 3s per hundred for the use of the Honourable Company's table etc in this quarter, £0 12s 0d by ditto paid John Gawler for coming express with account of a ship to windward in this quarter, £0 5s 0d by ditto paid sundry persons for work done at the Honourable Company's fortifications, that is, at Rupert's Bank etc, Sandy Bay and at other places etc in this quarter, £21 17s 0d by ditto paid sundry persons for rowing in the yawl and going in the long boat to Sandy Bay to fetch lime in this quarter, £1 1s 0d by ditto paid William Hurlock and James Carmichael for baking 76 batches of bread at 1s 8d per batch for the use of the garrison etc in this quarter, £6 6s 8d by ditto paid the Honourable Company's officers and servants their salaries, diet money etc for the quarter commencing 12 July and ending 11 October 1754, £2,142 15s 7d £2,262 16s 6d

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		3 16 7 1/2 William Whitenham 3 16 7 1/2 192 14 7 Fourth Company Onesiphorus Beale 1 Lieut Salary L 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 32 3 1 1/2 George Hay 2 Lieutenant Salary L 18 5 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 25 1 10 1/2 57 5 0 Sergeants Robert Mason 7 12 1 Michael Frost 7 12 1 William Watkins 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Edward Walther Erasmus Purling 5 6 5 1/2 Thomas Leech 5 6 5 1/2 John Coffin Drummer 5 6 5 1/2 13 19 4 1/2 5 6 5 1/2 Carried over L 1696 2 7 1/2	The account was made up at St Helena on 11 October 1754, marked as passed with errors excepted and signed by John Clark, paymaster. Interpretations The payment to John Gawler for coming express with word of a ship to windward reflects the island's reliance on look-outs posted around the coast, a passing sail being both a possible enemy and a rare link to the wider world. Rewarding a man for carrying such news quickly to the fort shows how far the garrison depended on early sighting to ready itself, whether to signal, defend or trade. The £21 17s spent on the fortifications at Rupert's Bank and Sandy Bay marks steady work on the island's coastal defences, these being the more approachable landing places on an otherwise cliff-bound coast. Keeping labourers at the batteries quarter by quarter shows the Company treating St Helena as a fortress guarding its shipping route round the Cape rather than as a mere plantation. The single line for officers' and servants' salaries and diet money, £2,142 15s 7d, absorbs almost the whole account and matches the detailed muster carried on the establishment roll. Diet money was a cash allowance paid in place of rations, letting the garrison commute the cost of feeding its people into a fixed sum rather than issuing provisions in kind.
200	193	1754 Brought over L 1696 2 7 1/2 Centinels Godfrey Armbriston 3 16 7 1/2 Peter Barker 3 16 7 1/2 John Bourke 3 16 7 1/2 William Brooks 3 16 7 1/2 John Brown 3 16 7 1/2 George Brean 3 16 7 1/2 William Bickett 3 16 7 1/2 Robert Berry 3 16 7 1/2 George Beale 3 16 7 1/2 Robert Brown 3 16 7 1/2 John Bradley 3 16 7 1/2 Robert Baker 3 16 7 1/2 Danniel Cam 3 16 7 1/2 John Cowle 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Cleare 3 16 7 1/2 John Cripps 3 16 7 1/2 Stephen Cleverley 3 16 7 1/2 William Dowison	28 October Collections of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company's stores from 12 July to 11 October 1754, debtor Sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent Arrack, 187½ gallons, £46 16s 3d Sugar and candy, namely: 5,303 lb sugar, £88 17s 8d 2,545 lb candy, £53 5s 0d Total, £141 18s 1d Flour, namely: 1,279 lb flour, £9 6s 6d 152 lb 7 oz flour baked, £133 11s 3d Total, £152 17s 9d Soap, 274 lb, £8 2s 9d Candles, 200 lb, £23 5s 2½d Rice, 18 lb, £1 14s 1d Tea, namely: 29 catties congo, £3 5s 3d 79 catties congo, £5 18s 6d 2 catties single, £0 4s 6d 53 catties single, £3 10s 8d 159 catties bohea, £8 12s 3d Total, £21 11s 2d Cordage, 334 lb, £4 16s 3d Piece goods, 30 pieces, £4 17s 6d Thread, namely: 13 lb brown, £3 19s 1d 9 lb coloured, £1 13s 0d Total, £5 12s 1d Serge, 17½ yards, £4 6s 0½d Carried over, £421 17s 2d Interpretations This account records goods drawn from the Company's own stores and resold to its servants at a fixed mark-up of 10 per cent, an arrangement that supplied the garrison with imported necessities while returning a modest margin to the Company. Running

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		3 16 7 1/2 John Dove from the 12 July to the 19 September Incl the Day he Died 2 18 4 John Dehlyn 3 16 7 1/2 Peter Eggleston 3 16 7 1/2 Peter Frinal 3 16 7 1/2 Voltar Gowden 3 16 7 1/2 Charles Gipson 3 16 7 1/2 John Hayes 3 16 7 1/2 James Hendos 3 16 7 1/2 John Holloway 3 16 7 1/2 William Harrie 3 16 7 1/2 John Hudson 3 16 7 1/2 William Harrison 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Jackson Centinels Carried over L 116 19 7 Carried over L 1696 2 7 1/2	the store as a monopoly gave the settlement a controlled source of drink, food, cloth and light in a place with no open market, and the flat percentage kept the pricing simple to administer. The tea is graded and priced by type and by weight in catties, a Chinese unit of about 1½ lb, reflecting direct purchase on the China trade. Congo and bohea were both black teas of the cheaper sort, congo a fuller-bodied leaf and bohea the lowest grade of all, so the range on offer from single to bohea marks the plain quality thought fit for garrison consumption rather than fine tea for export. Arrack was the standard spirit of the Eastern trade, distilled in India and the East Indies from palm sap, sugar or rice, and here it heads the account as the largest single drink item. Its prominence among goods sold to the servants shows spirits forming a routine part of the ration culture of the garrison, supplied through the same store that furnished flour, soap and cloth. The two entries for flour, raw grain and a quantity already baked into bread, show the store recovering the cost of both the material and the baker's labour, tying back to the batches of bread paid for on the paymaster's account for the same quarter.
201	194	28 October Brought over L 1696 2 7 1/2 Centinels brought over L 116 19 7 Samuel Hitson 3 16 7 1/2 Christian Menire 3 16 7 1/2 William Mudge 3 16 7 1/2 Stephen Orr 3 16 7 1/2 Archibald Pouge 3 16 7 1/2 John Robinson 3 16 7 1/2 John Simmons 3 16 7 1/2 Joseph Smith 3 16 7 1/2 John Strange 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Taylor 3 16 7 1/2 James Sherston 3 16 7 1/2 Richard Swaits 3 16 7 1/2 William Swaits 3 16 7 1/2 William Taylor 3 16 7 1/2 Stephen Willoughby 3 16 7 1/2 Jeremiah Wignll 3 16 7 1/2 Thomas Wansell 3 16 7 1/2 John William 3 16 7 1/2 John Wolfington 3 16 7 1/2 189 4 4 1/2 Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money	1754 Brought over, £421 17s 2d Shalloon, 52½ yards, £5 9s 4d Twine, 82 skeins, £2 14s 8d Nails, 203 lb, £3 19s 0d Beef and pork, namely: 70 lb double superfine beef at 2s, £7 0s 0d 268 lb superfine beef at 2s, £26 16s 0d 14 lb superfine beef at 3s 1½d, £2 2s 7d 58 lb double superfine pork at 2s, £5 16s 0d 497 lb superfine pork at 2s, £49 14s 0d 70 lb superfine pork at 2s 1½d, £7 8s [...] Total, £99 3s 0d Starch, namely: 34 lb common, £2 6s 0d 4 lb Poland, £0 16s 0d Total, £3 2s 0d Hooks and lines, namely: 1,000 hooks sorted, £1 1s 10½d 300 blue hooks, £0 1s 0d 2 dozen 1 lines matted, £1 0s 0½d Total, £2 2s 11d Paint, namely: 1 lb white lead, £0 2s 0½d 7 lb umber, £0 1s 0d 20 lb blue smalts, £1 16s 8d 14 lb red lead, £0 1s 0d 12 lb whiting, £0 0s 0½d 5 lb Venetian red, £0 1s 0½d Total, £1 19s 2½d Carried over, £537 5s 9d Interpretations The beef and pork are graded as superfine and double superfine and priced by weight in salted quantities, reflecting the imported provision trade on which the garrison leaned for keeping meat, since salt beef and pork travelled and stored where fresh could not. The double superfine grades commanded no premium in price here but marked the better-cured barrels, and the whole run of entries shows the store passing preserved victuals to the servants alongside the fresh produce bought locally elsewhere in the quarter. The paints listed name the standard pigments of the period: white lead and red lead as lead-based bases, blue smalts a ground blue glass used as a

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		6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 32 3 1 1/2 Gunners Mates Nathan Sample Chief Mate Salary 11 8 1 1/2 Isaac Leech 9 2 6 William Turner 9 2 6 John Whitchurch 9 2 6 Henry Carter 9 2 6 Charles McNeily 9 2 6 Rowland Davis 9 2 6 Richard Billington 9 2 6 75 5 7 1/2 Carried over L 1992 13 4	colourant, umber a brown earth, whiting powdered chalk and Venetian red an iron-oxide red. Stocking these in small quantities points to routine upkeep of the Company's buildings and fittings rather than any large works, glazing and painting having been paid for on the same quarter's paymaster account. Shalloon was a light twilled woollen cloth used chiefly for linings, and its presence with serge and thread reflects the store supplying materials for making and mending clothing on the island rather than finished garments.
202	195	1754 Brought over £ 1092 13 4 Quarter Gunners Adam Watson £ 6 16 10½ John Spencer 6 16 10½ Thomas Willingham 6 16 10½ John Jacks 6 16 10½ Peter Marshall 6 16 10½ James Lee 6 16 10½ James Long 6 16 10½ Darby Coyles 6 16 10½ 54 10 Matrosses Abram Ayers 4 11 3 John Aitenstall 4 11 3 Joseph Boswell 4 11 3 Andrew Barton 4 11 3 Christian Brencchs from the 2 July Ance Stansford to the 2 Company the 25 Ance 14 John Caudrey 4 11 3 William Campble 4 11 3 James Cooper 4 11 3 Anthony Day 4 11 3 William Fletcher 4 11 3 Phillips Hillard 4 11 3 William Hayes 4 11 3 John Hellings 4 11 3 Richard Morse 4 11 3 Adam Wellbrow 4 11 3 Thomas Midge 4 11 3 Roger Newman 4 11 3 William Perry 4 11 3 Abram Ratkliff 4 11 3 Thomas Watts 4 11 3 91 19 Thomas Mason Superannuated 383 William Burnham Serjeant Total £ 2142 15 7	28 October Brought over, £537 5s 9d Haberdashery, namely: 27 skeins mohair, £0 10s 0½d 22 skeins silk, £0 16s 1d 15½ dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 10s 4d 35 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 11s 8d 1 gross white waistcoat buttons, £0 3s 0½d 2 gross shirt buttons, £0 4s 10d 4 dozen holland tape, £0 3s 8d 2 dozen carnation tape, £0 1s 6d 2½ dozen silver breast buttons, £0 5s 6d Total, £3 0s 9d Shoes, namely: 2 pairs men's fine shoes, £0 12s 1d 98 pairs men's ordinary, £20 16s 6d 2 pairs channel pumps, £0 15s 0d 7 pairs boys, £1 2s 5½d 5 pairs girls, £0 10s 7½d 2 pairs women's Spanish, £0 9s 9d 6 pairs men's pumps, £2 0s 0d Total, £26 6s 10d Hosiery, namely: 30 dozen thread stockings, £5 10s 6d 8 pairs men's knit, £1 6s 8d 6 pairs women's, £1 1s 6d 8 pairs boys, £1 2s 0d 5 pairs girls, £0 13s 9d Total, £9 14s 5d Tinware, namely: 13 saucepans, £0 7s 0d 2 horn lanterns, £0 5s 6d 4 lantern leaves, £0 0s 9d Carried over, £577 1s 0d Interpretations The buttons, tapes and threads listed under haberdashery, graded by material and sold by the dozen or gross, were the small findings needed to make and repair clothing, mohair here meaning a stout worsted binding rather than the goat-hair fabric of the modern sense. Stocking coat, breast, waistcoat and shirt buttons separately, down to silver ones sold in smaller lots, shows the store catering to the full range of garrison dress from working clothes to finer wear. The shoes are graded by wearer and quality, with 98 pairs of ordinary men's shoes forming much the largest line, the term pumps denoting a light low-cut shoe and Spanish a style of women's shoe. Holding footwear in bulk for men, women, boys and girls shows the store clothing whole families of the settlement, not soldiers alone.

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			Horn lanterns and the spare lantern leaves supplied for them point to horn, scraped thin and translucent, serving as the glazing in cheap lanterns before glass, a practical light source for a garrison where window glass itself was a costly import.
203	196	28 October John Clark Paymaster Dr 1754 £ s d October the 11 To Cash from the Honorable Company's Cash Chest 2262 16 6 Carried over £ 2262 16 6	1754 Brought over, £577 1s 10d Salt, 6 bushels, £1 0s 0d Flannel, 116 yards, £1 0s 7d Canvas, namely: 18 yards English, £1 1s 9d 20 yards Coventry, £0 15s 9d Total, £1 16s 6d Pewter, namely: 2 quart flannels, £0 5s 0d 2 basins, £0 9s 6d Total, £0 14s 6d Kersey, 2½ yards, £0 3s 9d Long ells, 117½ yards, £1 1s 1d Broad cloth, 15½ yards, £13 8s 11½d Oars, 15, £3 3s 9d Chinaware, namely: 6½ snackers, £0 16s 9d 16 bowls, £0 14s 8d 2 sets dishes and plates, £1 12s 4d 12 mugs, cups and saucers, £0 4s 2d 4 half pint dishes and plates, £0 1s 5½d 7 gugglets and basins, £1 3s 4d 4 chamber pots, £0 6s 0d 12 soup plates, £0 5s 6d 2 sauce boats, £0 11s 0d Total, £5 3s 1½d Carried over, £604 15s 1½d Interpretations The cloth entries name the staple woollens of the English export trade: kersey a coarse ribbed cloth, long ells a narrow worsted made largely for the Eastern markets, broad cloth a fine wide-woven wool and flannel a soft loose weave. Broad cloth at nearly £13 8s for 15½ yards was by far the dearest fabric on the account, its price marking it as material for better garments while the cheaper kerseys and flannels served ordinary use. The chinaware was porcelain brought home on the China trade, gugglets being long-necked vessels for cooling and pouring water, a form suited to warm climates and named from an Indian word. Stocking a full range of tableware from soup plates and sauce boats to chamber pots shows the store furnishing the household goods of the settlement, imported ceramics reaching even this remote island through the Company's Eastern shipping. The two quart flannels listed under pewter were measuring or drinking vessels of that metal, the word here denoting a shape rather than the woollen cloth of the same name entered separately above, a reminder that the clerk's terms must be read by their setting in the account.
204	197	1754 Per Contra Crs 1754 £ s d Augst the 6 By Cash paid Peter Small for Inlisting to Serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five years to Commence from this Date 10 the 10 By Do paid John Aitenstall for Do £10 20 By Do paid Edward Richards for Do 10 October 3 By Do paid James Molle for Do 10 By Do paid Thomas Lawrence for Do 10 By Do paid Thomas Taylor for Do 10 By Do paid Stephen Willoughby for Do 10 By Do paid John Earle for Do 10 70	28 October Brought over, £604 15s 1½d Turnery, namely: 1 punch ladle, £0 0s 7½d 1 hair sieve, £0 1s 4½d 12 shoe brushes, £0 7s 9d 9 labourers baskets, £0 5s 7½d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 5½d 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 5s 6d 1 flaskett, £0 3s 2½d 1 hair broom, £0 2s 2½d Total, £1 6s 8d Blankets, 15, £3 17s 6d Hats, namely: 5 men's, £4 17s 1d 1 boys, £0 6s 4½d

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		the 11 By Do paid Daniel Fowkes for (68) Days Salary £8 Per Annum for Attending in the Long Wed &c in this Quarter 1 9 9 By Do paid Jonathan Hitchin for Carpenters work done for the use of the Honorable Company in this Quarter 5 By Do paid Samuel Cater for Making Putty Casting Glass, and Glazing Windows for the Castle Plantation House and the Hospitall, for the Honorable Company in this Quarter 12 By Do paid Richard Bagley for 1500 Lemons @ 3/ yr Hundred and 3½ Bushels Betaves @ 3/ yr Bushell for the use of the Honorable Companys Table &ca in this Quarter 2 2 6 By Do paid John Desfountain for 730 Lemons @ 3/ yr Hundred for the use of the Honorable Companys Table &c in this Quarter 15 Carried over £ 80 19 3	Total, £5 3s 1½d Pitch, namely: 1½ quarter tar, £0 1s 4d 4 lb rosin, £0 0s 6d Total, £0 1s 10d Buckram, 5½ yards, £0 5s 3d Corks, namely: ½ gross corks, £0 1s 3d ½ shot corks, £0 0s 5d Total, £0 1s 8d Fustian, 7¾ yards, £1 13s 4½d Lead, namely: 1½ lb shot lead, £0 2s 9½d 11 lb shot, £0 2s 3½d Total, £0 5s 1d Carried over, £617 9s 1½d Interpretations The turnery gathers the wooden and coarse household wares turned or shaped by hand: a flaskett was a shallow oval basket, and the range from labourers baskets to birch and hair brooms shows the store carrying the everyday cleaning and carrying gear a settlement needed. These were cheap goods sold in ones and twos, a different trade from the cloth and porcelain but part of the same effort to furnish the island from Company stores. Pitch, tar and rosin were the materials of caulking and preserving timber and rigging, needed for keeping the garrison's boats sound in the absence of any local supply. Their appearance in small quantities alongside oars and canvas ties the store to the upkeep of the yawl and long boat that carried lime and did the coastal work recorded on the paymaster's account. The buckram and fustian were stiffening and stout cotton-linen cloths used in tailoring, buckram a coarse gummed fabric for shaping garments and fustian a hard-wearing material for working wear, extending the store's range of clothing stuffs beyond the woollens listed earlier.
205	198	28 October John Clark Paymaster Dr Brought over £ 2262 16 6 £ 2262 16 6 Island St	1754 Brought over, £617 9s 7½d Ironmongery, namely: 2 box irons, £0 17s 0d 6 hand hatchets, £0 9s 0d 3 scythe stones, £0 0s 5d 1 scraping axe, £0 3s 2d 2 frying pans, £0 3s 8d 1 garden hoe, £0 1s 8d 1 edging iron, £0 4s 6d 1 turfing ditto, £0 3s 2d 1 walling hammer, £0 1s 8d 7 files, £0 5s 3d 1 pair oars, £0 2s 5d 3 iron rimmed locks, £0 13s 3d 2 plasterers trowels, £0 3s 6d 6 ditching shovels, £1 9s 9d 3 claw hammers, £0 3s 10½d 2 cupboard locks, £0 3s 10d 9 pairs H hinges, £0 4s 4d 1 chest lock, £0 3s 6d 1 bricklayers trowel, £0 1s 7d 1 garden rake, £0 2s 7d 2 spades, £0 6s 10d 2 joiners rubstones, £0 5s 6d 1 pair sheep shears, £0 1s 5d 1 shod shovel, £0 1s 9½d 1 pickaxe, £0 3s 4d 1 till lock, £0 2s 4d Total, £6 19s 4d Pepper, 2 lb, £0 1s 1½d Carried over, £624 10s 1d Interpretations The ironmongery is a working inventory of the tools a settlement needed to build, dig, farm and

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			mend: hatchets, files, hammers, trowels, shovels, spades, a pickaxe and the various locks and hinges for fitting out buildings. Box irons were hollow smoothing irons heated by a slug of hot metal inserted within, and turfing and edging irons were the specialist blades for cutting and trimming turf, marking the store as the source of both trade and garden implements for the whole island. The presence of plasterers and bricklayers trowels, walling hammers and joiners rubstones ties the store directly to the building work recorded elsewhere in these accounts, the same quarter that saw glazing at the East Plantation House and labour on the fortifications. Keeping such tools in stock let the garrison draw materials for construction and repair without waiting on the next ship, a standing necessity on so isolated a station.
206	199	Collections was a catchword and should not have appeared. The corrected transcription: 1754 Per Contra Crs 1754 Octor the 11 Brought over £ 89 19 3 By Cash paid William Young for 1500 Apples 3/ yr Hundred for the use of the Honorable Companys Table &c in this Quarter 12 By Do paid John Gawler for Coming Express with Account of a Ship to Windward in this Quarter 5 By Do paid Sundry Persons, for work done at the Honorable Companys Fortification Viz at Ruperts Bank &c, Sandy Bay and at other Places &c in this Quarter 21 17 By Do paid Sundry Persons, for Rowing in the Spual and going in the Long Boat to Sandy Bay to fetch Lime in this Quarter 1 1 By Do paid William Hurlock and James Carmichael for Bakeing 76 Batches @ 3 read @ 1/8 yr Batch for the use of the Garrison &c in this Quarter 6 8 By Do paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants their Salaries, Diet money &c for the Quarter Commenceing July the 12 & Ending October the 11 1754 2142 15 7 £ 2262 16 6 Helena 11 Octoberr 1754 E Excepted Signed ff John Clark Paymaster	28 October Brought over, £624 10s 1d Glassware, namely: 1 hour glass, £0 0s 7½d 30 squares glass 6 by 8, £0 12s 6d 29 squares glass 8 by 10, £0 18s 1½d 55 squares glass 10 by 12, £2 10s 5d 2 tumblers, £0 1s 1½d 1 quart decanter, £0 4s 5d Total, £4 7s 2½d Oil, namely: 1 gallon linseed, £0 3s 8d 4½ gallons train, £0 14s 3d 15 bottles Florence, £1 18s 1½d Total, £2 16s 0½d Iron, 28 lb, £0 5s 1d Earthen, 11 milk pans, £0 8s 3d Long cloth, 7 pieces number 7, £17 10s 0½d Shirts, 47 pieces linen, £7 10s 4½d Copper money, 2,000 halfpence, £4 3s 4d Leather, namely: 27 lb leather, £1 10s 0½d 5 calf skin, £0 11s 1½d Total, £2 1s 6d Cutlery, namely: 11 horn combs, £0 2s 3½d 9 ivory combs, £0 7s 6d 2 dozen leather garters, £0 3s 8d Cutlery carried over, £0 13s 5½d Carried over, £626 19s 9d Interpretations The window glass is priced by the pane in three standard sizes and forms the bulk of the glassware, tying back to the glazing work paid for at the East Plantation House and hospital in the same quarter. Holding cut squares in stock let the garrison reglaze its buildings against the wind and weather of an exposed island without waiting on shipped supply, glass being a fragile and costly import. The oils name three distinct grades: linseed for paint and wood, train oil rendered from whale or fish blubber for lamps and coarse use, and Florence a fine olive oil from Italy fit for the table. Their range from cheap lamp oil to imported salad oil shows the store serving both the maintenance and the diet of the settlement from the same account. The entry for 2,000 halfpence in copper money records the store importing small coin as a commodity, a scarce medium of exchange on a remote island where petty transactions needed low-value pieces. Bringing in copper to circulate as change shows the Company managing the practical shortage of currency that dogged small isolated settlements far from any mint.
207	200	28 October Collections of Goods Sold and Delivered out of the Honorable	1754 Brought over, £646 19s 9d Cutlery, brought over, £0 13s 5½d

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		Company's Stores from the 12 July to the 11 October 1754 Vizt Sold to the Company's Servants @ 10 yr Cent Arrack 187½ Gallons £ 46 16 3 Sugar and Candy viz Do 5303 Sugar £ 88 17 8 2545 Candy 53 5 141 18 1 Flour viz Do 1279 Flour 9 6 6 152 2 10 Do Baked 133 11 3 152 17 9 Soap 279 Candles 200 8 2 9 Rice 18 1 21 23 5 2½ 1 14 1 Tea viz Do 29 Cattys Congo 3 5 3 79 Do 5 18 6 2 Cattys Single 4 6 53 Do 3 10 8 159 Bohea 8 12 3 21 11 2 Cordage 330 Piscoetes 30 Doz 4 16 3 4 17 6 Thread viz Do 13 yr Brown 3 19 1 9 Coloured 1 13 5 12 1 Serge 17½ yr yards 4 6 2 Carried over £ 421 17 2	4 shoe knives, £0 1s 10d 3 pairs shoe buckles, £0 1s 7½d 1 dozen staghorn knives and forks, £0 19s 3d 2 chopping knives, £0 3s 1d Total, £1 19s 3d Vinegar, 1¾ gallons, £0 3s 9½d Camblet, 7 yards, £0 2s 5d Deals, namely: 2 wainscot boards, £0 10s 8d 7 single deals, £0 15s 5½d 1 1½ inch oak plank, £2 1s 4d Total, £3 7s 5½d Grindstones, 1, £0 3s 7d Braziersware, namely: 2 small brass cocks, £0 8s 3d 1 copper saucepan, £0 3s 7d Total, £0 12s 0d Naval stores, 32 lb powder, £0 12s 6d £655 2s 2d Interpretations The deals and boards name the imported building timber the island could not furnish for itself, deals being sawn softwood planks, wainscot a fine oak board for panelling and the thick oak plank a heavier structural piece. Their appearance with the grindstone and the earlier run of building tools underlines how far the settlement depended on shipped wood for every substantial repair, St Helena's own scant timber being unfit for joinery. Camblet was a light mixed cloth of wool with silk or hair, used for cloaks and gowns, adding another grade of dress fabric to the woollens and cottons stocked through the quarter. The braziersware, being small brass cocks and a copper saucepan, covers the worked-metal fittings for taps and cooking that rounded out the household goods on offer. The single entry for gunpowder under naval stores is a modest 32 lb, a working quantity for signalling and small-arms use rather than any magazine supply, closing the collection with the one clearly military item among a stock otherwise given over to the domestic and civil needs of the island.
208	201	1754 Brought over £ 421 17 2 Shalloon 52½ yards 5 9 4 Twine 82 Skains 2 14 8 Nails 203 3 19 Beef and Pork viz lb 70 Double Do Beef 2/ £ 7 268 Do Beef 2/ 26 16 14 Do Do 3/½ 2 2 7 58 Double Do Pork 2/ 5 16 497 Do Pork 2/ 49 14 70 Do Do 2/2 7 11 8 99 3 Starch viz Do 3½ Common 2 6 4 Poland 3½ 3 2½ Hooks & Lines viz Do 1000 Hooks Sorted 1 1 7½ 300 Blue Hooks 1 ½ Dozen 1 Lines Sorted 1 3½ 2 2 11 Paint viz Do 1 White Lead 4 3½ 7½ Amber 1 20 Blue Smalts 1 16 8 ½ Red Lead 1 12 Whiting 4½ 3 Venet Red 1 3½ 1 19 2½ Carried over £ 537 5 9	28 October Sold to the planters at 25 per cent Piece goods, 14 pieces, £7 18s 8d Shalloon, 45¼ yards, £5 6s 2d Hats, 2 boys, £0 13s 9d Shoes, namely: 5 pairs men's ordinary, £1 3s 11½d 1 pair men's fine, £0 6s 4½d 3 pairs men's pumps, £1 2s 6d 1 pair women's Spanish, £0 5s 6½d 1 pair girls, £0 2s 1d Total, £3 1s 2½d Serge, 23¾ yards, £6 12s 4d Long ells, 7 yards, £0 14s 7d Hosiery, namely: 2 pairs boys stocking, £0 6s 3d 2 pairs girls stocking, £0 6s 3d 1 pair women's stocking, £0 4s 1d Total, £0 16s 7d Broad cloth, 1 yard, £0 18s 9d Buckram, 4 yards, £0 4s 4d Sold at 40 per cent Arrack, 91½ gallons, £27 0s 9d Sugar and candy, namely: 539 lb sugar, £11 4s 7d 605 lb candy, £16 7s 8½d Total, £27 12s 3¾d Flour, 208 lb, £2 3s 4d Carried over, £83 12s 10d Interpretations This section opens a separate class of sales, goods sold to the free planters at a 25 per cent mark-

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			up rather than the 10 per cent charged to the Company's own servants, and then a further class at 40 per cent. The rising scale of charge marked the settlers out from the establishment, the Company reserving its cheapest prices for its employees and taking a larger margin from the independent inhabitants who had no such claim on it. The steep 40 per cent charged on arrack, sugar and candy singled out the most sought-after commodities for the heaviest mark-up, drink and sweetening being goods the planters would pay dearest for. Setting these apart from the cloth and footwear sold at the lower rate shows the store pricing by demand as well as by class of buyer, drawing its largest profit from the items least easily done without.
209	202	28 October Brought over £ 537 5 9 Haberdasheryware viz Do 27 Sk Mohair £ 10 1½ 22 Sk Silk 16 1 15½ Dozn Mohair Coat Buttons 10 4 35 Do m Breast Do 11 8 1 Gross White Waiste Do 3 7½ 2 Gross Shirt Buttons 4 10 4 Do Holland Tape 3 8 2 Do Carnation Do 1 6 2½ Dozn Silver Breast Buttons 5 6 3 9 Shoes viz Do 2 Do Mr Fine Shoes 12 1 98 Do Mens Ordinary 20 16 6 2 Do Channel Pumps 15 10 7 Do Boys 1 2 5½ 3 Do Girls 10 7½ 2 Do Womens Spanish 9 9 6 Do Mens Pumps 2 26 6 10 Hosersware viz Do 30 Do Thread Stockings 5 10 6 8 Do Mr Knit 1 6 8 6 Do Womens 1 1 6 8 Do Boys 1 2 3 Do Girls 13 9 9 14 5 Tinware viz Do 13 Saucepans 7 10 2 Horn Lanthorns 5 6 4 Lanthorn Leaves 9 14 1 Carried over £ 577 1 10	1754 Brought over, £83 10s 10d Soap, 58 lb, £2 5s 11d Candles, 17 lb, £1 14s 8½d Rice, 3¾ hundredweight, £2 8s 0d Tea, namely: 6 catties congo, £0 18s 0d 31 catties single, £2 11s 8d 60 catties bohea, £4 10s 0d Total, £7 19s 8d Cordage, 57 lb, £0 17s 1d Twine, 17 skeins, £0 14s 2d Hooks and lines, namely: 400 hooks, £0 9s 7½d 1 Hamburg line, £0 2s 4d Total, £0 11s 11½d Deals, 6 single, £0 17s 0d Haberdashery, namely: 11 skeins mohair, £0 8s 0d 14 skeins silk, £0 8s 2d 8 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 6s 8d 5 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 2s 1d 2 dozen holland tape, £0 2s 4d Total, £1 7s 3d Paint, 5 lb blue smalts, £0 11s 8d Salt, 7 bushels, £1 1s 0d Oars, 1, £0 5s 6½d Pitch and tar, namely: 1 gallon tar, £0 1s 0d 4 lb rosin, £0 0s 8d Total, £0 1s 8d Carried over, £103 6s 5½d Interpretations The planters bought the same range of household and maritime stores as the servants, but at the higher rate, so this run repeats the earlier commodities, tea, soap, candles, cordage, hooks and lines, paint and pitch, now charged against the free inhabitants. The Hamburg line was a fishing line of a make named from its northern European origin, and its presence with hooks reflects the settlers provisioning themselves for the fishing that supplemented the island's food. Rice sold to the planters by the hundredweight, rather than the small pound quantities charged to servants, points to the settlers buying staple food in bulk for their households and workers. Supplying grain and salt in larger measures to the independent inhabitants shows the store serving as the island's general provision house across both classes of buyer, differing only in the margin taken.
210	203	1754 Brought over £ 577 1 10 Salt 6 Bushels 1 Flannel 11 yards 1 7 Canvas viz Do 18 yards English £ 1 1 9 20 Do Coentry 15 9 1 16 6	28 October Brought over, £103 6s 5½d Blankets, 8, £2 13s 4d Tinware, 9 saucepans, £0 6s 8d Glassware, 6 squares 10 by 12, £0 7s 0d Grindstones, 2, £0 7s 10d Thread, namely:

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		Pewter viz Do 2 Quart Iannells 5 2 Basons 9 6 14 6 Kersey 2½ yards 3 9 Long Ells 11½ Do 1 1 1 Broad Cloth 15½ Do 13 8 11½ Cars 15 3 3 9 Chinaware viz Do 6½ Sneakers 16 9 16 Bowls 14 8 2 Sets Dishes & Plates 1 12 4 12 Nogg Cups & Saucers 4 2 4 Half yr Do & Do 1 5½ 7 Guglets & Basons 1 3 4 4 Chamber Pots 6 12 Soup Plates 6 2 Sauce Boats 11 5 3 1½ Carried over £ 604 15 1½	2 lb brown, £0 10s 6d 3 lb coloured, £0 14s 0d Total, £1 9s 6d Nails, 12 lb, £0 3s 7d Ironware, 2 hand hatchets, £0 3s 10d Turnery, namely: 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 4d 1 hair broom, £0 2s 10d Total, £0 5s 2d Beef and pork, namely: 1 lb beef, £0 3s 11d 1 lb pork, £0 0s 11d Total, £0 4s 11d £109 18s 3½d Sold to the Company's ships Flour, 25 hundredweight 2 quarters 24 lb, £30 0s 0d Paint, namely: 5 lb white lead, £1 6s 6d 30 lb brimstone, £0 10s 0d Total, £1 16s 6d Rice, 24 hundredweight 3 quarters 4 lb, £15 11s 0½d Carried over, £57 7s 6d Interpretations A third class of sale opens here, goods sold to the Company's own ships calling at the island, which took provisions in bulk to victual their crews for the onward passage. The large quantities of flour and rice, reckoned by the hundredweight rather than the pound, mark the difference between supplying a settlement and provisioning a vessel for a long voyage, St Helena's role as a refreshment station turning on exactly this trade. Brimstone, being crude sulphur, sold alongside white lead among the ships' stores served for fumigating and cleansing between decks as well as for ship's paint, sulphur being burnt to purify the foul air of a crowded hold. Its supply to the shipping rather than to the shore points to the particular sanitary needs of a vessel long at sea, distinct from the building uses to which the same store's paints were put ashore.
211	204	28 October Brought over £ 604 15 1½ Turnersware viz Do 1 Punch Ladle £ 1½ 1 Hair Sieve 1 4½ 12 Shoe Brushes 7 9 9 Labourers Baskets 5 7½ 1 Birch Broom 1½ 2 Scrubbing Brushes 5 6 1 Flaskett 3 2½ 1 Hair Broom 2 2½ 1 6 8 Blankets 15 3 17 6 Hats viz Do 5 Mens 4 17 1 1 Boys 6 4 5 3 1½ Pitch viz Do 1½ Gr Jar 1 4 4 Rozin 6 1 10 Buckram 5½ yards 5 3 Corks viz Do 1½ Gross Corks 1 3 7½ Shot Do 5 1 8 Sustain 7½ Do 1 13 4½ Lead viz Do 1½ Shot Lead 2 9½ 11 Shot 2 3½ 5 1 Carried over £ 617 9 1½	1754 Brought over, £47 7s 6d Pitch, namely: 7½ barrels pitch, £12 0s 0d 2 barrels tar, £4 4s 6d Total, £16 4s 6d Cordage, 7 hundredweight 3 quarters 10 lb, £16 1s 0d Nails, 6 lb, £0 3s 3d Oil, 4 gallons train, £0 16s 4d Sugar, 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 16 lb, £2 1s 8d Coals, 1½ chaldron, £3 7s 6d £86 19s 0d Charges general, debtor, for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1754, namely: Twine, 4 skeins, for mending bags for the doctor's shop, £0 2s 3d Sugar, 4 lb, for the castle, £0 0s 11½d Canvas, 4½ yards Osnaburg, for covering packets, £0 2s 6d Nails, namely: 2 lb, £0 0s 9½d 1 lb 20d, for making, £0 0s 5½d 1 lb 9d, packets and repairs, £0 0s 1d 1 lb 6d, to barracks, £0 0s 1d Sugar, 2 lb, £0 0s 2d Brandy, 5 gills, given to soldiers for assisting in taking an inventory in the store, £0 8s 4d Arrack, 1¾ catties, receiving the stores from the <i>Durrington</i>, stirring up the sugar boxes and covering, £1 1s 10½d

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			Carried over, £1 17s 11d Interpretations The account turns here from sales to internal charges, listing stores drawn from the storehouse and consumed on the Company's own work rather than sold, entered under charges general as a set-off against the stock. These small issues, twine for mending bags, canvas for covering packets, nails for the barracks, record the everyday running costs of the store itself, kept distinct from the goods that earned a margin. The drink given to soldiers for assisting with the annual inventory shows the customary rewarding of labour in kind, a measure of brandy or arrack standing in place of extra pay for the disagreeable work of counting and shifting the stock. The arrack booked for receiving stores from the <i>Durrington</i> and for stirring up the sugar boxes points to the physical care of imported goods on arrival, sugar needing to be turned to keep it from caking in the damp of the hold and the store. Coals sold by the chaldron and pitch and tar by the barrel show the heavier bulk goods measured in their trade units, the chaldron being a large dry measure for coal, marking these as shipborne necessities held in quantity for fuel and for the caulking of boats.
212	205	1754 Brought over £ 617 9 1½ Ironmongersware viz Do 2 Box Irons £ 17 6 Hand Hatchets 9 3 Scyth Stones 3 1 Copping Ax 3 2 2 Frying Pans 3 8 1 Garden Hoe 1 8 1 Edging Iron 4 6 1 Turfing Do 3 2 1 Walking Hammer 1 8 7 Files 5 3 1 Pail Cow 2 5 3 Iron lined Locks 13 3 2 Plaisterers Trowels 3 6 6 Ditching Showels 1 9 9 3 Claw Hammers 3 10½ 2 Cupbd Locks 3 10 9 Pr H Hinges 4 4 1 Chest Lock 3 6 1 Bricklayers Trowel 1 7 1 Garden Rake 2 7 2 Spades 6 10 2 Joiners Rubstones 5 6 1 Sheap Shear 1 5 1 Shod Showel 1 9½ 1 Pickax 3 4 1 Till Lock 2 4 6 19 4 Pepper 2 lb 1 1½ Carried over £ 624 10 1	28 October Brought over, £1 17s 11d Oil, namely: 7½ gallons train for the kitchen and bake house, £1 1s 7½d 2 bottles Florence for the armourer's and carpenter's use, £0 4s 7d Total, £1 6s 2½d Lines, namely: 1 Hamburg, for the castle, £0 1s 8d 2 lines number 2 for the carpenters, £0 0s 7½d Total, £0 2s 3½d Pewter, 1 crane for brewhouse use, £0 18s 6d Cordage, 8 lb for a well rope, £0 0s 11½d Candles, namely: 60 lb for the castle, £4 11s 3d 92 lb for the council, £6 19s 11d Total, £11 11s 2d Paint, namely: 2 lb Prussian blue, £0 8s 4d 6 lb blue smalts, for linen, £0 10s 0d Total, £0 18s 4d Ironware, namely: 2 smiths rubbers, £0 6s 1d 62 files, for the armourer's use, £2 2s 7½d 2 file hafts, for the armourer's use, £0 0s 1d 2 lb compasses, for the carpenter's use, £0 0s 8d 3 augers, for the carpenter's use, £0 1s 4½d 15 gimlets, for the carpenter's use, £0 2s 2d 1 racking bower, for the carpenter's use, £0 0s 7½d 1 cock brace, for the carpenter's use, £0 0s 3d 6 crosscut vices, for the carpenter's use, £0 2s 6d Total, £3 5s 6d Carried over, £16 16s 4½d Interpretations These charges show the stores directed to the island's several working establishments named by destination, the kitchen and bake house, the brewhouse, the armourer's shop and the carpenter's, so the account traces where each drawn item was consumed. Candles issued in quantity to the castle and the council mark the two seats of garrison life, the fort and the governing body, as the largest routine consumers of light among the Company's own offices. The heavy issue of files, augers, gimlets and vices to the armourer and the carpenter records the tools

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			of the two trades kept busiest on the station, the armourer maintaining the small arms and the carpenter the buildings and boats. A racking bower and a cock brace were forms of boring brace used with bits, and their supply from store shows the carpenter's shop drawing specialist gear it could not make for itself. The Prussian blue and blue smalts charged for linen point to the use of these pigments as laundry blue, added to washing to counter the yellowing of white cloth, a domestic application quite apart from their use in paint recorded elsewhere in the same stores.
213	206	28 October Brought over £ 624 10 1 Glassware viz Do 1 Half hour Glass £ 7½ 30 Square Glass 6 by 8 12 6 29 Do Do 8 by 10 18 1½ 55 Do Do 10 by 12 2 10 5 2 Tumblers 1 1½ 1 Quart Decanter 4 5 4 7 2½ Oyl viz Do 1 Gallon Linseed 3 8 4½ Gallons Train 14 3 15 Bottles Florence 1 18 1½ 2 16 ½ Iron 28 lb 5 1 Earthen 11 milk Pans 8 3 Long Cloth 7 Do No 7 17 10½ Shirts 4½ Do Linen 7 10 4½ Copper Money 2000 Half Pence 4 3 4 Leather viz Do 27 Leather 1 10 4½ ½ Calf Skin 11 1½ 2 1 6 Cutleryware viz Do 11 Horn Combs 2 3½ 9 Ivory Do 7 6 2 Do Leather Garters 3 8 Cutleryware Carried over £ 13 5½ Carried over £ 626 19 9	1754 Brought over, £16 15s 4½d Ironware, brought over, £3 5s 6d 1 jack chain, £0 1s 9d 1 pair bellows, for the castle, £0 3s 10d 2 scythe stones, for the castle, £0 0s 3d 2 chest locks, for the castle, £0 6s 4d 1 hand hatchet, for the long boat, £0 1s 4d 1 garden hoe, for Lemon Valley, £0 1s 6d 3 padlocks, for the castle and Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 6s 9d 2 stock locks, for the castle and Lemon Valley guard room, £0 4s 1d 1 bricklayers trowel, for the mason, £0 1s 6d 2 shod shovels, for Rupert's, £0 3s 3d Total, £4 16s 0d Deals, namely: 4 clefts, for repairs in the castle etc, £0 13s 6d 2 single deals, barracks and for ladders, £0 3s 4d Total, £0 17s 5½d Soap, 58 lb, £1 6s 7½d Starch, namely: 12 lb common, for linen, £0 5s 0d 1½ lb Poland, for linen, £0 2s 10d Total, £0 7s 10d Bunting, 17 yards white, for the castle, £0 0s 1d Pitch, namely: 6 lb rosin, for tanning, £0 0s 7d 2 lb pitch, for the armourer's use, £0 0s 3½d Total, £0 0s 10½d Carried over, £24 4s 2d Interpretations The issues are again tied to named points about the island, the castle, Lemon Valley, Rupert's and the Lieutenant Governor's house, tracing the upkeep of the several posts that made up the garrison's establishment. Lemon Valley and Rupert's were the fortified landing places flanking the main anchorage at James Valley, and locks, shovels and a hoe sent to them mark the routine maintenance of these outlying guard positions. The bunting supplied to the castle was the loosely woven worsted from which signal flags and ensigns were made, its issue pointing to the flags by which the fort signalled to shipping and to the other batteries. Rosin charged for tanning shows the store furnishing a material used in dressing hides, evidence of leather being worked on the island alongside the ready-made leather goods the store also sold. The clefts and single deals sent for repairs, barracks and ladders confirm the imported softwood as the standard stuff of the garrison's building work, cleft timber being wood split rather than sawn, used where rougher pieces would serve.
214	207	1754 Brought over £ 626 19 9 Cutleryware Brought over £ 13 5½ 4 Shoe Knives 1 10 3 Do Shoe Buckles 1 7½ 1 Doz Staghorn Knives & Forks 10 3 2 Chopping Knives 3 1 1 19 3	28 October Brought over, £24 4s 2d Turnery, namely: 1 wooden bowl, for the castle, £0 0s 11d 2 birch brooms, for the castle, £0 0s 8d 3 hair brooms, for the castle, £0 6s 0d Total, £0 7s 1d

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		Vinegar 1½ Gallons 3 9½ Camblet 7½ yards 2 5 Deals viz Do 2 Wainscot Boards 10 8 7 Single Deals 15 5½ 1 4 Inch Oak Plank 2 1 4 3 7 5½ Grindstones 1 3 7 Braziersware viz Do 2 Small Brass Cocks 8 5 1 Copper Saucepan 3 7 12 Naval Stores 32 lb Powder 12 6 £ 655 2½	Lead, 4½ lb sheet, for tinning, £0 0s 9d Coals, 78 bushels, for the armourer's use, £3 8s 9d Cutlery, namely: 1 budding knife, for the garden's use, £0 1s 9d 1 pruning knife, for the garden's use, £0 1s 4d Total, £0 3s 1d £28 4s 4d Diet expenses, debtor, for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October, namely: Rice, 175 lb, £0 10s 11½d Beef and pork, namely: 15 lb pork, £0 1s 6d 20 lb beef, £2 16s 0d Total, £4 1s 0d Tea, 15½ single, £0 18s 1d Salt, 3½ bushels, £0 10s 6d Flour, 5 hundredweight 2 quarters 3 lb, £0 10s 6d Arrack, 20 gallons, £4 7s 11½d Oil, 2 bottles Florence, £0 2s 8d Vinegar, 6 gallons, £0 4s 7d Candy, 240 lb, £0 11s 6d £18 2s 11d Interpretations A further charge opens under diet expenses, covering provisions drawn from the store to feed particular establishments or occasions rather than sold, kept apart from the general run of victualling on the paymaster's account. The mix of rice, meat, flour, tea, arrack and candy shows a full ration of food and drink issued in kind, the store here acting as the commissariat for whatever body these stores were meant to feed. The coals sent in quantity for the armourer's use mark the fuel for his forge, a smith working iron needing a steady supply of coal to keep his fire, and the sheet lead for tinning points to the coating of ironware to guard it against rust. The budding and pruning knives issued to the garden reflect the Company's kitchen garden on the island, worked to raise the fresh produce that lemons, potatoes and apples elsewhere in these accounts confirm was grown for the table.
215	208	28 October Sold to the Planters at 25 yr Cent Piscoetes 14 Doz £ 7 18 8 Shalloon 45½ yards 5 6 2 Hats 2 Boys 13 9 Shoes viz Do 5 Do Mens Ordinary £ 1 3 11½ 1 Do Mens Fine 6 4½ 3 Do Do Pumps 1 2 6 1 Do Womens Spanish 5 6½ 1 Do Girls 2 1 5 1 2½ Serge 23¼ yards 6 12½ Long Ells 7 Do 14 1 Hosersware viz Do 2 Do Boys Stocking 6 3 2 Do Girls Do 6 3 1 Do Womens Do 4 1 16 7 Broad Cloth 1 yard 18 9 Buckram 4 yards 4 4 Sold at 40 yr Cent Arrack 91½ Gallons 27 9 Sugar & Candy viz Do 539 Sugar 11 4 7 603 Candy 16 7 8 27 12 3½ Flour 208 lb 2 3 4 Carried over £ 83 12 10	1754 Slaves, debtor, for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1754, namely: Rice, 15 hundredweight 1 quarter 22 lb, £5 8s 9d Oil, 17½ gallons train, £0 5s 10½d Tea, 22½ bohea, £1 1s 1d Sugar, 47 lb, for the sick, £0 11s 9½d Arrack, ½ gallon, £1 3s 4d Beef and pork, namely: 40 lb pork, £4 0s 0d 151 lb beef, £20 15s 3d Total, £24 15s 3d Shoes, 21 pairs men's ordinary, for the Indian craftsmen, £3 10s 6d Brandy, 10½ gallons, for drams, £0 17s 11d Blankets, 20, £4 13s 4d Hooks and lines, namely: 100 hooks, for fishing, £0 3s 6d 16 lines, for fishing, £0 5s 5d Total, £0 8s 11d Lead, 3 lb shot, for shooting, £0 0s 6d Twine, 1 skein, for shooting, £0 0s 6½d £41 12s 11d Interpretations This charge sets out the whole cost of maintaining the island's slaves for the quarter, food, drink, footwear and bedding issued from the store and booked against them as a distinct account. The provisions run to rice, meat, tea, sugar and arrack, with sugar reserved for the sick and brandy dispensed as drams, showing the Company feeding, clothing

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			and doctoring its unfree labour force at a reckoned charge like any other class of expense. The shoes issued to the Indian craftsmen mark a body of skilled slave or bond workers brought from India, distinguished within the account from the general run of slaves by their trade and by the footwear their work required. Fishing hooks and lines, and lead shot with twine for shooting, point to the slaves being set to catch fish and fowl to supplement the island's food, the store furnishing the very gear by which they added to their own and the settlement's provision. The heavy weight of beef and pork, over 190 lb salted meat against far smaller quantities of the finer goods, marks the plain and bulky diet allowed to the labour force, preserved meat forming the staple while sugar and spirits went chiefly to the sick or served as occasional drams.
216	209	1754 Brought over £ 83 10 10 Soap 58 lb 2 5 11 Candles 17 lb 1 14 8½ Rice 3 3 lb yr 2 8 Tea viz Do 6 Cattys Congo £ 18 31 Single 2 11 8 60 Bohea 4 10 7 19 8 Cordage 51 lb 17 1 Twine 17 Skains 14 2 Hooks & Lines viz Do 400 Hooks 9 ½ 1 Hambro Line 2 4 11 6½ Deals 6 Single 17 Haberdasheryware viz Do 11 Skains Mohair 8 14 Do Silk 8 2 8 Do yr m Ct Buttons 6 8 5 Do Do Breast Do 2 1 2 Do Holland Tape 2 4 1 7 3 Paint 5 lb Blue Smalts 11 8 Salt 7½ Bushel 1 1 Oars 1 5 6½ Pitch & Tar viz Do 1 Gallon Tar 1 4 Rozin 8 1 8 Carried over £ 103 6 5½	28 October Fortification, debtor, for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1754, namely: Pitch, 20 lb for the spouts at Banks's, £0 2s 11d Ironware, namely: 2 hand hatchets, for outwork, £0 2s 8d 1 claw hammer, for outwork, £0 1s 2d Total, £0 3s 10d Nails, 7 lb, for outforts, £0 0s 4½d Twine, 2 skeins, for the gunners use, £0 1s 1½d Total, £0 8s 3d Garrison, debtor, for the following stores issued for their use from 12 July to 11 October, namely: Tea, 68 lb bohea, £3 12s 1d Oil, 64 gallons train, for the several guards, £9 4s 0d Deals, namely: 2 single, £0 3s 11½d 1 double, £0 3s 1d Total, for coffins, £0 17s 0½d Nails, namely: 2 lb 6d, £0 0s 8½d 1 lb 5d, £0 0s 5½d Total, for coffins, £0 0s 5½d Brandy, 6 gallons, for the doctor's shop, £0 10s 0d Vinegar, 4 gallons, for the doctor's shop, £0 4s 0d Candy, 12 lb, for the doctor's shop, £0 0s 11½d Candles, 6 lb, for the doctor's shop, £0 4s 0d Carried over, £14 8s 4½d Interpretations Two more charge accounts open here, one for the fortifications and one for the garrison at large, each drawing stores from the storehouse for its particular upkeep and consumption. The pitch for the spouts at Banks's marks maintenance of the guttering at that battery, Banks's being one of the fortified points on the coast, while hatchets and nails for the outworks and outforts record the routine repair of the island's scattered defensive positions. The deals and nails charged plainly for coffins are a stark entry, the store furnishing the timber to bury the garrison's dead, mortality on the station being met from the same stock of imported wood that served for building and repair. Train oil issued in large measure to the several guards was the fuel for their lamps through the night watches, the heaviest single item among the garrison's stores. The brandy, vinegar, candy and candles all directed to the doctor's shop show the store victualling the island's medical establishment, spirits and vinegar serving the sick as stimulant and antiseptic and candy as a sweetener for medicines, the hospital drawing its comforts from the general store like every other department.

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217	210	28 October Brought over £ 103 6 5½ Blankets 8 2 13 4 Tinware 9 Saucepans 6 8 Glassware 6 Sq 10 by 12 7 Grindstones 2 7 10 Thread viz Do 2 Do Brown £ 10 6 3 Coloured 14 1 9 6 Nails 8 lb 3 7 Ironware 2 Hand Hatchets 3 10 Turnersware viz Do 1 Scrubbing Brush 2 4 1 Hair Broom 2 10 5 2 Beef & Pork viz Do 1 Do Beef 3 11 1 Do Pork 11 14 11 £ 109 18 3½ Sold to the Companys Ships Flour 25 2 24 lb yr Do 30 Paint viz Do 5 Do White Lead 1 6 6 32 Brimstone 10 1 16 6 Rice 24 3 4 lb yr Do 15 11½ Carried over £ 57 7 6	1754 Brought over, £14 8s 4½d Arrack, 13¾ gallons, for drams on mustering, £2 0s 1d The following clothing delivered them, namely: Soldiers clothes, namely: 200 sentinels coats and breeches, £295 10s 0d 12 corporals coats and breeches, £18 9s 0d 1 marshal's coat and breeches, £1 11s 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 20 matrosses coats and breeches, £42 0s 8d 12 sergeants coats and breeches, £62 15s 0d Total, £476 2s 8d Shirts, namely: 20 sergeants, £6 12s 0d 248 sentinels, £51 13s 4d Total, £58 5s 4d Hats, namely: 243 sentinels, £34 10s 3d 20 sergeants, £11 10s 0d Total, £46 0s 3d Shoes, 267 pairs men's ordinary, £51 3s 6d Hosiery, 267 pairs thread stockings, £33 18s 7½d £681 18s 10d Interpretations This account records the annual issue of clothing to the whole garrison, ranked by grade from private sentinel up to sergeant, each rank's coats and breeches priced and the numbers giving a full muster of the establishment. The 200 sets for sentinels dwarf the smaller counts for corporals, drummers, gunners mates, quarter gunners, matrosses and sergeants, laying out the shape of the force in the plainest terms, a broad base of common soldiers under a thin frame of specialists and non-commissioned officers. Issuing coats, breeches, shirts, hats, shoes and stockings together as a yearly delivery shows the Company clothing its soldiers directly from store rather than through any allowance in cash, the whole reckoned at nearly £682 and charged against the establishment. The near-matching counts of shoes and stockings at 267 pairs against 243 hats suggest the clothing was issued to a slightly wider body than the hats alone, perhaps taking in men whose headwear was still serviceable from an earlier issue. The drams of arrack served out on mustering mark the customary allowance of spirits at the periodic parade and inspection of the garrison, drink standing as a small reward attached to the formal business of counting and reviewing the men under arms.
218	211	1754 Brought over £ 47 7 6 Pitch viz Do 7½ Barrels Pitch £ 12 2 Do Tar 4 4 6 16 4 6 Cordage 7 3 10 lb yr Do 16 1 Nails 6 lb 3 3 Oyl 4 Gallons Train 16 4 Sugar 3 16 lb yr Do 2 1 8 Coals 1½ Chaldron 3 7 6 £ 86 19 Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 July to the 11 October 1754 viz Twine 4 Skains for mending Bagg for the Doctors Shop 2 3 Sugar 4 lb for the Castle 11½ Canvas 4 yr Osenbrigs for covering Packets 2 6 Nails viz Do 2 lb 9½ 1 20 for making 5½	28 October Plantation, debtor, for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1754, namely: Rice and paddy, namely: 27 hundredweight 1 quarter 10 lb paddy, for poultry and horses, £5 0s 10d 3 lb rice, for poultry and horses, £0 5s 3d Total, £5 6s 1d Oil, 1 gallon train, £0 2s 10½d Cordage, 23 lb for thatching and cow ropes, £0 5s 6d Turnery, namely: 2 shoe brushes, for the stable, £0 1s 2d 1 birch broom, for the stable, £0 0s 4d 1 skimming dish, for the dairy, £0 0s 3d Total, £0 1s 9d Earthenware, 10 milk pans for the dairy, £0 6s 8d Pitch, ½ gallon tar, £0 0s 2d Nails, namely: 7 lb 20d, £0 2s 2½d

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		1 9 Packets & Repairs 7 1 6 to Barracks 4 Brandy 5 given to Soldiers for Assisting in taking an Inventory in the Store receiving the Stores from Arrack 1½ the Barrington & taking up the Sundry times overweight 1 1 10½ Carried over £ 1 17 11	1 lb 40d, £0 0s 3½d 4 lb 10d, for repairs to the Peak house and for the great yard, £0 1s 4d 3 lb 6d, for repairs to the Peak house and for the great yard, £0 1s 1d Total, £0 4s 11d Iron, 23 lb for carts, £1 19s 3d Deals, namely: 2 baulks, for repairs to the Peak house, £0 11s 0½d 2 single deals, for repairs to the Peak house, £0 5s 0½d 1 iron plank, for repairs to the Peak house, £0 18s 11d 6 coffins, for carts, £1 0s 3d Total, £2 14s 2d Carried over, £11 14s 4½d Interpretations A separate charge opens for the plantation, the Company's own farm on the island, drawing stores for its livestock, dairy and buildings and booked apart from the garrison and store accounts. Paddy, unhusked rice, issued in bulk to feed the poultry and horses shows grain going to the farmyard rather than the table, and the milk pans, skimming dish and cow ropes trace the working of a dairy herd kept to supply the settlement with milk and butter. The repairs to the Peak house point to a Company building on the high ground of the island's interior, the Peak being among the loftiest points on St Helena, maintained with imported deals, baulks and nails like every other structure on the station. A baulk was a large squared timber, heavier than a deal, marking the more substantial repairs the farm buildings needed against the weather of the exposed uplands. The iron charged for carts and the coffins entered against them show timber and metal going to the plantation's transport, the carts that hauled produce and materials about the farm needing both iron fittings and stout wooden bodies to keep them in service.
219	212	28 October Brought over £ 1 17 11 Oyl viz Do 7½ Gallons Train for the Kitchen & Bake House 1 1 7½ 2 Bottles Florence for the Armourers and Carpenters use 4 7 1 6 2½ Lines viz Do 1 Hambro, for the Castle 1 8 2 Lines No 2 for the Carpenters 7½ 2 3½ Pewter 1 Crane for Ance use 18 6 Cordage lb for a Well Rope 11½ Candles viz Do 60 for the Castle 4 11 3 92 lb for the Council 6 19 11 11 11 2 Paint viz Do 4 Spanish 8 4 6 Blue Smalts for Linen 10 18 4 Ironware viz Do 2 Smiths Rubbers 6 1 62 Files for the 2 File Hafts Armourers use 2 2 7½ 1 2 Do Compasses 1 3 Augers for the 8 15 Gimblets Carpenters use 1 4½ 2 2 1 Racking Bower for the 7 1 Cock Brace 3 6 Compass Vices Carpenters use 2 6 Ironware Carried over £ 3 5 6 Carried over £ 16 16 4½	1754 Brought over, £11 14s 4½d Ironware, namely: 1 iron rimmed lock, for the garden's use, £0 3s 6d 2 hand hatchets, for the garden's use, £0 2s 8d 3 bill hooks, for the garden's use, £0 6s 9d Total, £0 14s 11d £11 16s 3½d The following delivered for building the Plantation House, namely: Nails, namely: 60 lb flooring brads, £1 0s 0d 16 lb 10d, £0 5s 4d 16 lb 20d, £0 5s 0d 1 lb 4d, £0 0s 4½d 10 lb 10d, £0 2s 11d 16 lb 6d, £0 5s 8½d Total, £1 19s 4d Oil, 7/8 gallons linseed, £0 1s 3d Deals, namely: 154 single, £10 4s 9d 58 double, £8 18s 0d 7 baulks, £1 18s 8d Total, £26 2s 3½d Glassware, 3 squares glass 10½ by 12½, £0 2s 10½d £28 5s 9d Interpretations The bill hooks, hatchets and lock issued to the garden confirm the Company's kitchen garden as a standing establishment needing its own tools and security, a bill hook being a heavy curved blade for

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			cutting brush and hedging. Fitting the garden with a lock points to produce worth guarding, the fresh fruit and vegetables raised there being a valued resource on a remote island short of such food. The large delivery of nails, deals and glass for building the Plantation House records substantial construction on the Company's farm, the flooring brads and graded deals marking work on floors and framing rather than mere repair. That the house took over £28 of timber, ironmongery and glass in a single quarter shows a considerable building effort, the same imported softwood and window glass serving here as throughout the garrison's works. The mix of single and double deals with baulks traces the different scantlings of timber the building required, from lighter boards to heavy squared beams, all shipped in since the island grew no wood fit for such construction.
220	213	1754 Brought over £ 16 16 4½ Ironware Brought over £ 3 5 6 1 Jack Chain 1 9 1 Pr Bellows 3 10 2 Scyth Stones for the Castle 3 2 Chest Locks 6 4 1 Hand Hatchet for the Long Boat 1 4 1 Garden Hoe for Lemon Valley 1 6 3 Padlocks, for the Castle & Lieutenant Governors House 6 9 2 Stock Locks for the Castle & Lemon Valley Guard Room 4 1 1 Bricklayers Trowel for the Masons 1 6 2 Shod Showels, for Ruperts 3 3 4 16 Deals viz Do 4 Clothine for Repairs in the Castle &c 13 6 2 Single Deals Barracks and for Ladders 3 4½ 17 5½ Soap 50 lb 1 6 7½ Starch viz Do 12 Common 5 4½ Poland for Linen 2 10 7 10½ Bunting 19 yard white, for the Castle 1 Pitch viz Do 6 Rozin for Tinning 7 2 Pitch for the Armourers use 3½ 10½ Carried over £ 24 4 2	28 October Boats, debtor, for the following stores issued for repairs etc from 12 July to 11 October 1754, namely: Iron, 22 lb, £0 3s 7½d Deals, 1 double, £0 3s 1d Nails, namely: 1 lb 20d, £0 0s 3½d 1 lb 5d, £0 0s 5½d Total, £0 0s 9d Cordage, 152 lb, £1 4s 3d Oars, 3, £0 11s 7d Leather, 2 lb, £0 0s 2d Lead, 4 lb sheet, £0 0s 8d £2 5s 11½d Hospital, debtor, for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1754, namely: Sugar, 93 lb, £1 2s 2½d Flour, 61 lb, £0 8s 8d Oil, namely: 4 gallons train, £0 11s 6d ½ lb linseed, for putty for the windows, £0 0s 10d Total, £0 12s 4d Paint, 5 lb whiting, for putty for the windows, £0 0s 1½d Glassware, 12 squares glass 8 by 10, for glazing the windows, £0 1s 1d Canvas, 8 yards English, for mending cots, £0 6s 6d Rice, 7 lb, £0 0s 7d Carried over, £3 7s 10d Interpretations Two further charge accounts open here, one for the garrison's boats and one for the hospital, each drawing stores for its own repair and use. The cordage, oars, iron and sheet lead booked to the boats trace the upkeep of the yawl and long boat that did the island's coastal carrying, sheet lead serving to patch and seal the hull against leaks and the heavy cordage renewing the standing and running rigging. The linseed oil, whiting and window glass charged to the hospital record the glazing and puttying of its windows, the same materials used across the garrison's buildings now keeping the sick quarters weathertight. Canvas issued for mending cots points to the repair of the hospital's beds, cots being the slung or trestle bedsteads on which patients lay, and the sugar, flour and rice mark the invalid diet drawn from store to feed those under care.
221	214	28 October Brought over £ 24 4 2 Turnersware viz Do 1 Wood Bowl £ 11 2 Birch Brooms for the 8 3 Hair Brooms Castle 6 7 1 Lead 4½ Sheet, for Tinning 9	1754 Brought over, £3 17s 10d Nails, namely: 1 lb 6d, £0 0s 4½d 1 lb 10d, £0 0s 4d 1 lb 4d, £0 0s 4½d Total, £0 1s 1d

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		Coals 78 Bushel, for the Armourers use 3 8 9 Cutleryware viz Do 1 Budding Knife 1 9 1 Prunning Do for the Garden use 1 4 3 1 £ 28 4 4 Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 July to the 11 October viz Rice 175 lb 10 11½ Beef and Pork viz Do 15 Do Pork 1 6 20 Do Beef 2 16 4 1 Tea 15½ Single 5 1 Salt 3½ Bushels 18 1 Flour 5 2 3 lb 10 6 Arrack 20 Gallons 4 7 11½ Oyl 2 Bottles Florence 2 18 4 Vinegar 6 Gallons 4 7 Candy 240 11 6 £ 18 2 11	Deals, 1 double, £0 3s 1d Salt, 7/8 bushel, £0 2s 7½d Chinaware, 2 snackers, £0 0s 9d £4 5s 5½d The store account was made up at St Helena on 11 October 1754, marked as passed with errors excepted and signed by M Purling, storekeeper. The record then turned to the counting and examination of the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 10 October 1754, set out as follows. Interpretations The whole run of store accounts closes here under the hand of the storekeeper M Purling, the officer answerable for the goods held in the Company's warehouse just as the paymaster was for its cash. Passing the account with errors excepted was the standard reservation by which an accounting officer signed off his figures while guarding against being held to a slip of the pen, a formula that recurs throughout the Company's bookkeeping. The closing note opens the monthly cash count, a separate check in which the Company's ready money was physically counted and examined against the books for the month, the routine audit by which a remote factory guarded against loss or embezzlement of coin. Following the storekeeper's stock account directly with a cash count shows the two arms of the settlement's accounting, goods and money, verified in turn at the quarter's end.
222	215	1754 Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 July to the 11 October 1754 viz Rice 15 1 22 lb yr Do £ 5 8 4 Oyl 17½ Gallons Train 3 10½ Tea 22½ Bohea 1 11 Sugar 47 for the Sick 11 4½ Arrack 7½ Gallon 1 3½ Beef & Pork viz Do 40 Do Pork £ 4 151 Do Beef 20 15 3 24 15 3 Shoes 21 Do Mens Ordinary for the Handicraftsmen 3 10 6 Brandy 10½ Gallons for Drams 17 11 Blankets 20 4 13 4 Hooks & Lines viz Do 100 Hooks 3 6 16 Lines for Fishing 5 5 8 11 Lead 3 Shot 6 Twine 1 Skain for Fishing 6½ £ 41 12 4½	28 October Cash, debtor 1754 12 September, to balance remaining, £1,095 6s 3½d 23 September, to fines received of Solomon Jacobs, Robert John Clark and William Maddan as per consultation of this day, £8 17s 6d 16 October, to rents, £564 3s 6d 11 October, to Matthew Purling for store goods sold in the quarter ending this day, £764 13s 6d to licences received for 8 public houses, £12 0s 0d to plantation for provisions sold, £2 12s 1d £2,447 12s 1½d Interpretations This account gathers on the debtor side all the cash the Company took in over the period, opening with the balance carried forward and closing with the several streams of island revenue. The largest single receipt after the opening balance was the £764 13s 6d handed over by the storekeeper Matthew Purling for goods sold in the quarter, tying this cash account directly to the detailed store sales set out earlier, so the whole trade of the warehouse resolves at last into a single line of money received. The £12 taken for licences on eight public houses shows the Company regulating the sale of drink on the island by charging for the right to keep a tippling house, a means of both raising revenue and controlling the number of places where liquor was sold. Levying such licences marks the settlement governing its social life as any English authority did, the alehouse being a recognised object of local regulation. The fines received from three named men by order of a consultation record the council's exercise of summary justice, penalties imposed for some offence and paid straight into the Company's cash, the governing body acting as court as well as administration and turning its judgements directly to account.
223	216	28 October Fortification Dr for the following	1754 Per contra, creditor

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		Stores Issued from the 12 July to the 11 October 1754 Pitch 20 lb for the Spouts at Bantess 2 11 Ironware viz Do 2 Hand Hatchets £ 2 8 1 Claw Hammer for out work 1 2 3 10 Nails 7 Do for out Sorts 4½ Twine 2 Skains for the Gunnersware 1 1½ £ 8 3 Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued for their use from the 12 July to the 11 October viz Tea 68 Bohea 3 12 1 Oyl 64 Gallons Train for the several Guards 9 4 Deals viz Do 2 Single 3 11½ 1 Double 3 1 for Coffins 1 7½ Nails viz Do 2 6 8½ 1 3 5½ 1 2 Brandy 6 Gallons 10 Vinegar 7 Do 11½ Candy 12 for the Doctors Shop 4 Candles 6 9 1½ Carried over £ 14 8 4½	11 October, by sundry accounts advanced the paymaster in this quarter, £2,262 16s 6d By balance remaining in the following species, namely: 400 Venetians at 10s, £200 0s 0d 1,280 pagodas at 8s, £512 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £712 0s 0d 2,408 dollars at 5s, £602 0s 0d 10,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,125 0s 0d 12,948 half reals at 3¾d, £202 6s 3d 451 French crowns at 12s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 1½d Silver amounting to, £1,933 0s 7½d 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 £2,447 12s 1½d The record then turned to the list of linens in the Honourable Company's stores, taken on 10 October 1754, set out as follows. Interpretations The creditor side sets against the cash received both the sums advanced to the paymaster and the balance still in hand, this last broken down into the actual coin and paper by which it was held. The mixture of Venetian sequins, Indian pagodas, Spanish dollars and half reals, rupees and French crowns lays bare the money of a settlement at the crossroads of world trade, no single currency serving but a jumble of gold and silver from Europe, India and the Americas all valued into sterling for the account. The cash notes counted alongside the coin were the Company's own paper money issued on the island, promissory notes in fixed denominations that circulated as currency where hard coin was scarce. Holding over £539 in such notes against nearly £1,933 in specie shows the settlement running a mixed currency of metal and paper, the notes easing the chronic shortage of small and reliable coin that dogged every remote factory. The heavy weight of rupees, £1,125 of the silver total, reflects the pull of the Indian trade on the island's money, the Company's Eastern commerce drawing in the coin of the subcontinent in far greater quantity than the European pieces that made up the rest of the chest.
224	217	1754 Brought over £ 14 8 4½ Arrack 13¾ Gallons for Drams on Mustering 2 1 The following Cloathsing Delivered them Soldiers Cloaths viz Do 200 Centinels Coats & Breeches £ 295 10 12 Corporals Do & Do 18 9 1 Marshals Do & Do 1 11 4 Drummers Do & Do 13 12 8 Gunners Mates Do & Do 23 12 8 Quarter Gunners Do & Do 18 8 20 Mattrosses Do & Do 42 6 8 12 Serjeants Do & Do 62 14 476 2 8 Shirts viz Do 20 Serjeants 6 12 248 Centinels 51 13 4 58 5 4 Hats viz Do 243 Centinels 34 10 3 20 Serjeants 11 10 46 3 Shoes 267 yr Do Mens Ordinary 51 3 6 Hosersware 267 yr Do Thread Stockings 33 18 7½ £ 681 18 10	28 October Inventory of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouse on 11 October 1754, namely: Anchors, namely: 5 anchors, £90 16s 0d 1 anchor in the West Rocks, £90 16s 0d 2 iron hoops, £90 16s 0d Bunting, namely: 5 pieces 18 yards red, £8 7s 10d 6 pieces blue, £7 11s 6d 3 pieces 21½ yards white, £6 1s 7d Total, £22 0s 11d Broad cloth, namely: 6½ yards sorted, £48 0s 0d 10½ yards scarlet, £9 13s 4½d Total, £57 13s 4½d Braziersware, namely: 12 small skimmers, £1 0s 8½d 4 skimmers at 2s 8d, £0 10s 8d 2 skimmers at 6s, £0 12s 0d 2 skimmers at 14s 4d, £1 8s 8d 9 flat candlesticks, £0 18s 0d 1 candlestick, £0 3s 7½d 3 warming pans, £1 13s 9d 1 copper pump, £0 0s 11d 13 ladles, £1 8s 8½d 3½ lb brass for soldering, £0 10s 11d

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			6 hash pans, £4 9s 0d 1 chafing dish, £0 8s 9½d 1 dredging box, £0 0s 4½d 1 bread grater, £0 4s 11½d 1 nutmeg grater, £0 4s 11½d 2 pairs steel snuffers, £0 5s 6d Braziersware carried over, £15 1s 11d Carried over, £170 9s 9d Interpretations The record turns from the accounts of sales and charges to a standing inventory of the stock left in the warehouse at the quarter's end, the physical count against which the storekeeper's books were checked. The anchors listed first, including one lying in the West Rocks off the coast, were heavy and valuable maritime stores kept for the Company's own vessels and for supply to shipping, the single anchor left in the sea marking one lost or laid down at that point on the shore. The braziersware gathers the worked copper and brass vessels of kitchen and household use, skimmers, ladles, hash pans, warming pans and a chafing dish among them, graded by size and price. A chafing dish was a vessel for keeping food warm over coals and a dredging box one for shaking flour or spice onto meat, marking these as the finer cooking gear held in stock, while the brass kept for soldering points to the repair of such metal wares on the island. The scarlet broad cloth valued far above the plainer sorted cloth confirms the costliness of fine dyed wool, scarlet being an expensive colour, held in the warehouse as material for the better garments and perhaps for the facings of the soldiers' coats issued that quarter.
225	218	28 October Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 July to the 11 October 1754 viz Rice & Paddy viz Do 27 1 10 Paddy for Poultry £ 5 10 3 Rice and Horses 5 3 5 6 1 Oyl 1 Gallon Train 2 10½ Cordage 23 lb for Thatching & Cow Ropes 5 6 Turnersware viz Do 2 Shoe Brushes for the Stable 1 2 1 Dock Broom 4 1 Skimming Dish for the Dairy 3 1 9 Earthenware 10 milk Pans for Do 6 8 Pitch ½ Gallon Tar 2 Nails viz Do 7 20 2 2½ 1 40 for repairs to the Peak 3½ 4 10 House & for the Great Wood 1 4 3 6 1 1 4 11 Iron 23 lb for Carts 1 19 3 Deals viz Do 2 Baulks for repairs to 11 ½ 2 Single Deals the Peak House 5 11½ 1 Iron Plank 18 11 6 Coffins for Carts 1 3 2 14 2 Carried over £ 11 1 4½	1754 Brought over, £170 9s 9d Braziersware, brought over, £15 1s 11d 3 brass cocks, £0 15s 3d 2 copper kettles 12 gallons, £5 10s 3d 2 copper kettles 6 gallons, £3 4s 6d 1 small brass cock, £0 3s 10d Total, £24 15s 9d Blocks, namely: 4 iron bound cat blocks, £1 5s 8d 2 iron bound snatch blocks, £1 7s 6d 2 double top blocks, £0 15s 0d 1 single top block, £0 15s 0d 4 dead eyes, £0 15s 0d 6 dead eyes, £0 5s 9d 4 double long tackles, £0 19s 0d 2 blocks damaged, £0 8s 0d Total, £9 0s 11d Buckram, 6 dozen 11 yards, £0 14s 3½d Beef and pork, namely: 20 puncheons Bengal Bacutham, £257 18s 10d 3 puncheons 78 lb bought, £32 11s 0d 51 hogsheads 10 lb pork, £470 4s 0d Total, £760 13s 10d Blankets, 36, £8 3s 4d Copper money, 59,860 Irish half pence, £124 14s 2d Cutlery, namely: 16 horse combs, £0 4s 0d 70 horn combs, £0 11s 8d 27 pairs shoe buckles, £0 12s 4½d 16 dozen shoe tacks, £0 2s 8d 4 chopping knives, £0 5s 6d 54 butchers knives, £0 15s 9d 2 shoe knives, £0 0s 10d 3 budding knives, £0 5s 3d 1 pruning knife, £0 1s 4d 6 cases flams, £1 7s 2d 2 dozen army knives and forks, £2 11s 0d 63 pairs leather garters, £1 6s 3d Total, £8 9s 2d

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			Carried over, £1,113 5s 10d Interpretations The blocks listed are the pulleys of ship's rigging, cat blocks for handling the anchor, snatch blocks for quickly reeving a rope and top blocks and dead eyes for setting up the standing rigging, marking a stock of maritime gear kept for the Company's boats and for supply to shipping. Holding these alongside the anchors and cordage confirms the warehouse as a source of naval stores for the vessels that touched at the island, not merely a provision house for the shore. The great quantity of salted beef and pork, over £760 in puncheons and hogsheads, was the standing reserve of preserved meat on which both garrison and shipping drew, one line noted as Bengal beef marking provision shipped from the Company's Indian settlements. Keeping such a mass of barrelled meat in store was the foundation of the island's role as a victualling station, able to replenish the salt provisions of ships bound home from the East. The 59,860 Irish halfpence held as copper money show a large consignment of low-value coin imported to serve as small change, Irish copper being pressed into use where the shortage of English coin left the settlement wanting a circulating medium for petty dealings. The cases of flams among the cutlery were lancets or bleeding blades, flam being a form of fleam used to open a vein, marking surgical instruments held in stock for the letting of blood then central to medical practice.
226	219	1754 Brought over £ 11 1 4½ Ironware viz Do 1 Iron lined Lock £ 3 6 2 Hand Hatchets for the 2 8 3 Bill Hooks Gardeners use 6 9 14 11 £ 11 16 3½ The following Delivered for Building the Plantation House viz Do Nails viz Do 60 Flooring Brads 1 16 10 5 4 16 20 5 1 4 4½ 10 40 2 11 16 6 5 8½ 1 19 4 Oyl 7/8 Gallons Linseed 1 3 Deals viz Do 154 Single 10 4 9½ 58 Double 8 18 0 7 Baulks 1 18 8 26 2 3½ Glassware 3 Sq Glass 10½ by 12½ 2 10½ £ 28 5 9	28 October Brought over, £1,113 5s 10d Cartwheels, namely: 16 spare sides for wheelbarrows, £0 8s 4d 1 spare side broke, £0 8s 4d 2 spare wheels, £7 3s 0d 6 axletrees, £2 12s 10d 10 wheelbarrows, £7 4s 7d Total, £18 8s 9d Corks, namely: 14 gross corks, £1 12s 1d 2¼ lb shot cork, £0 1s 10½d Total, £1 13s 11½d Canvas, namely: 2 yards Osnaburg, £0 1s 0d 8 pieces 22 yards English canvas, £17 4s 10d Total, £17 19s 10d Camblet, namely: 13 yards brown, £1 17s 11d 5 yards blue, £0 14s 7d 19 yards scarlet, £4 7s 0½d Total, £7 0s 4½d Coals, 3 chaldron, £4 14s 9d Cordage, namely: 1 shroud hawser, 16 hundredweight 2 quarters 19 lb, £51 3s 0d 3 inch, 25 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 lb, £11 8s 0d 3½ inch, 11 hundredweight 8 lb, £9 0s 12d 3 inch, 27 hundredweight 16 lb, £14 0s 16d 128 hundredweight 3 lb, £171 4s 9d Deals, namely: 376 deals double, £62 12s 8d 17 deals double, in use in the cellars, £62 12s 8d 746 single deals, £76 13s 10d 29 single deals, in use in the cellars, £76 13s 10d 9 spare deals, £0 18s 8d 117 bundles laths, £6 11s 7d 24 wainscot boards, £5 16s 8½d Deals carried over, £152 12s 11½d Carried over, £1,384 8s 3d Interpretations The cartwheels, axletrees and wheelbarrows record the wheeled transport held in store for moving

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			goods and materials about the island, the spare sides and wheels marking the parts kept to keep the barrows in repair. A settlement that hauled timber, provisions and building stone by hand and cart needed such gear constantly, and the stock of spares points to the wear these tools took on the rough ground of the station. The cordage is graded and priced by thickness and reckoned by the hundredweight, the heavy shroud hawser alone worth over £51, marking a substantial reserve of rope for the standing and running rigging of the Company's vessels and for the coastal boats. Rope was a perishable stock needing regular renewal, and holding it in quantity by size let the storekeeper supply whatever gauge a repair or refit required. The very large stock of deals, single and double, with wainscot boards and bundles of laths, confirms imported softwood as the standing material of all the island's building, held by the hundred against the constant demand for repair and construction. The quantities marked as in use in the cellars show the inventory distinguishing timber already built into the fabric from that still lying as loose stock, an exactness that let the storekeeper account for every board whether shelved or fixed in place.
227	220	28 October Boats Dr for the following Stores Issued for Repairs &c from the 12 July to the 11 October 1754 viz Do Iron 22 lb £ 3 7½ Deals 1 Double 3 1 Nails viz 6 1 40 3½ 1 3 5½ 9 Cordage 15 2 lb 14 3 Oars 3 11 7 Leather 2 lb 2 Lead ½ Shot 8 £ 2 5 11½ Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 July to the 11 October 1754 viz Do Sugar 93 lb 1 2 2½ Flour 61 lb 3 8 Oyl viz Do 4 Gr Train 11 6 ½ Gr Linseed for Putty for 12 12 4 Paint 5 Whiting the Windows 1½ Glassware 12 Sq 6 by 8 for Glazing the Windows 1 1 Canvas 6 yds English for mending Cots 6 6 Rice 7 7 Carried over £ 3 7 10	1754 Brought over, £1,384 8s 3d Deals, brought over, £152 12s 11d 5 elm boards, £0 13s 5d 12 oak planks 5 inch, £29 17s 5d 34 clefts, £5 14s 9d 9 oak planks of 4 inch, £16 12s 6d 11 pieces Riga timber, £17 2s 10d 46 baulks, £12 19s 6d 8 elm planks, £7 11s 4d Total, £243 6s 8d Earthenware, 15 milk pans, £0 10s 0d Fustian, 47½ pieces, £9 1s 10½d Flour, 457 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 lb, £364 4s 2d Grindstones, namely: 1 grindstone, £0 10s 6d 1 grindstone, £0 2s 9d Total, £0 18s 3d Glassware, namely: 24 squares glass 6 by 8, £0 16s 6d 38 squares glass 8 by 10, £1 1s 4½d 338 squares glass 10 by 12, £22 8s 4d 50 squares glass 10½ by 12½, £2 6s 10½d 5 squares glass 11 by 19, £0 7s 3½d 5 quart decanters, £1 0s 0d 7 pint decanters, £0 19s 10d 11 beer glasses, £0 9s 2d 3 quart flour glasses, £0 0s 10d 1 three quart glass, £0 3s 4d 2 half quart glasses, £0 1s 1d 1 pair fine cruets, £0 6s 7½d 2 pairs cruets at 2s 6d, £0 5s 0d 10 tumblers, £0 5s 0d 2 dozen 10 wine glasses, £0 16s 7½d Total, £31 16s 5½d Hats, namely: 4 men's hats, £3 10s 4d 7 boys hats, £1 18s 6d Total, £5 8s 10d Carried over, £1,989 15s 6d Interpretations The timber stock is graded by species and dimension, elm boards and planks, thick oak planks, Riga timber and baulks, marking the range of imported woods held for the island's building. Riga timber was fir shipped from the Baltic port of Riga, a standard source of good structural softwood, and its presence with oak and elm shows the storekeeper

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			drawing on the full European timber trade to supply a place that grew almost no usable wood of its own. The very large stock of window glass, over 450 panes in five standard sizes, confirms the constant demand for glazing across the garrison's buildings and the wisdom of holding it in quantity, glass being both fragile and slow to replace from home. The finer glassware, decanters, beer and wine glasses, cruets and tumblers, marks the table goods kept for sale or issue, a range of drinking and serving vessels reaching even this remote station through the Company's shipping. The flour held in store, over 457 hundredweight worth more than £364, was the single largest provision in the warehouse, the staple on which garrison, shipping and plantation all drew for bread. Keeping so great a reserve of a keeping grain was the mark of a victualling station that had to feed both its own people and the crews of passing ships, holding against the long intervals between supply from home.
228	221	1754 Brought over £ 3 17 10 Nails viz Do 1 6 4½ 1 10 4 1 4 4½ 1 1 Deals 1 Double 3 1 Salt 7/8 Bushel 2 7½ Chinaware 1 Sneakers 9 £ 4 5 2½ October 11 1754 Errors Excepted Signed M Purling Storekeeper Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the month ending this 10 instant which is as follows viz Do	28 October Brought over, £1,989 15s 6d Iron and steel, namely: 23 hundredweight 3 quarters iron, £22 5s 0d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 23 lb steel, £3 17s 11d Total, £26 2s 11d Hosiery, namely: 285 pairs thread stockings, £36 4s 4½d 18 pairs men's knit, £2 4s 0d 21 pairs men's woven, £0 7s 4d 12 pairs boys, £0 2s 6d 23 pairs girls, £2 17s 6d 23 pairs women's, £3 14s 9d Total, £46 0s 5½d Hooks and lines, namely: 31 dozen 10 lines number 4, £7 0s 11d 3 dozen 2 lines number 3, £0 12s 1½d 2 dozen 11 lines number 2, £0 9s 9d 7 Hamburg lines, £0 11s 8d 905 hooks number 1, £6 8s 7½d 1,920 hooks number 5, £6 8s 7½d 9,600 blue hooks, £2 6s 1½d 10,800 hooks Bengal Bacutham, £5 8s 0d Total, £23 2s 2½d Haberdashery, namely: 8 lb whale bone, £2 2s 2d 37 lb silk, £6 16s 7d 71 lb mohair, £8 9s 6d 56 gross 7 dozen mohair coat buttons, £20 10s 3d 32 gross mohair breast buttons, £5 6s 5d 5 gross 6½ dozen tin breast buttons, £0 6s 11d 1 gross white waistcoat buttons, £0 2s 9d 14 gross shirt buttons, £0 3s 3d 47 lb holland tape, £1 19s 2d 20 lb carnation tape, £0 13s 4d 28 dozen gilt coat buttons, £5 12s 0d 31 dozen gilt breast buttons, £3 2s 0d 6 dozen silver coat buttons, £1 4s 0d 137 dozen silver breast buttons, £1 7s 0d Total, £57 14s 9½d Carried over, £2,142 14s 10½d Interpretations The hooks and lines are held in vast quantity, well over twenty thousand hooks in graded sizes with lines by the dozen, marking fishing gear as a major stock for a settlement that drew heavily on the sea for food. The blue hooks and the great parcel shipped from Bengal show the tackle drawn from the Company's Eastern trade as well as from home, the island's fishery being important enough to warrant so large a reserve of the means to work it. The haberdashery gathers the findings of the tailoring trade, buttons of mohair, tin, gilt and silver

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			graded by material and quality, tapes for tying and whalebone for stiffening garments. Whalebone was the springy baleen from a whale's mouth, used to shape and stiffen bodices and stays, and its presence with silk and the finer buttons marks the store holding materials for better dress as well as the plain buttons of working clothes. The silver and gilt buttons held in quantity point to the trimming of uniforms and finer coats, the gilt coat and breast buttons in particular suited to the dress of officers and the better sort, kept in store against the making and mending of clothing that the same warehouse supplied the cloth and thread to produce.
229	222	28 October Cash Dr 1754 Sept 12 To Balance remaining £ 1095 6 3½ 23 To Fines received of Solomon Jacobs, Robert John Clark and William Maddan as yr Consultation of this Day 8 17 6 Octr 16 To Rents 564 3 6 Octo 11 To Matthew Purling for Store Goods Sold in the Quarter ending this Day 764 13 6 To Licences received for 8 Publick Houses 12 To Plantation for Provisions Sold 2 12 1 £ 3447 12 1¾	1754 Brought over, £2,142 14s 10½d Iron pots, 1 of 6 gallons broke, £0 6s 7½d Ironware, namely: 3 iron rimmed locks D, £3 6s 3d 5 iron rimmed locks number 2, £4 8s 8d 6 brass locks, £6 19s 0d 3 iron rimmed locks A, £0 12s 0d 6 iron rimmed locks B, £1 13s 0d 12 iron rimmed locks C, £0 4s 6d 2 cupboard locks A, £0 6s 0d 6 cupboard locks B, £1 6s 6d 3 stock locks with straps, £0 14s 9d 23 broad hoes, £1 19s 3¾d 6 garden hoes, £0 5s 6d 1 jack plane, £0 1s 10d 11 gouges, £0 3s 2½d 2 pairs sheep shears, £0 2s 6½d 9 adzes, £0 19s 6d 12 scrapers, £1 0s 0d 1 edging iron, £0 4s 7½d 6 turfing irons, £0 17s 3d 11 pickaxes, £1 13s 0d 1½ augers, £0 6s 5d 32 lead nails, £1 3s 10d 215 packing needles, £1 11s 4d 20 pairs H hinges, £0 4s 0d 32 pairs H hinges, 4s 7d, £4 2s 9d 14 pairs shutter hinges, £1 4s 9d 16 pairs hinges with rising joints, £2 10s 8d 4 scythes, £1 2s 0d 16 scythe stones, £0 2s 0d 3 plasterers trowels, £0 12s 0d 11 bricklayers trowels, £1 6s 11d 5 bricklayers trowels, £0 5s 0d Ironware carried over, £49 6s 0d Carried over, £2,143 0s 11d Interpretations The ironware is a full working stock of the tools and fittings a settlement needed, locks and hinges of every grade for its buildings, hoes, adzes, scythes, pickaxes and augers for its farming and construction, and the trowels and irons of the building trades. The graded locks marked by letter and number show the storekeeper holding a range of qualities and sizes, from cheap door locks to the dearer brass ones, fitted to the different needs of a fort, a warehouse and dwelling houses. The adzes, gouges, jack plane and augers were the tools of the carpenter and joiner, and the plasterers and bricklayers trowels those of the building trades, tying this stock to the constant construction and repair recorded across the accounts. Holding such a range let the garrison equip its craftsmen and replace worn tools without waiting on the next ship, a standing necessity where every implement had to be shipped in. The packing needles held in quantity, large needles for sewing up bales and sacking, point to the everyday business of a warehouse that received and forwarded goods, needing the means to make up and

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			mend the coverings in which stores were shipped and kept.
230	223	1754 Per Contra Crs 1754 £ s d Octr 11 By Sundry Accounts, Advanced the Paymaster in this Quarter 2262 16 6 By Balance remaining in the following Species viz Do 400 Venetians @ 10/ £ 200 1280 Pagodas 8/ 512 Gold Amounting to £ 712 2408 Dollars @ 5/ £ 602 10,000 Rupees 2/3 1125 12,948 half Reals 3¼ 202 6 3 451 French 6 d 1/ 3 13 6 Odd Money 1½ Silver Amounting to £ 1933 7½ 146 Cash Notes @ 40/ 292 162 Do @ 20/ 162 263 Do @ 5/ 65 15 160 Do @ 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to £ 539 15 £ 3447 12 1½ The following is the List of Uncrins in the Honorable Companys Stores taken the 10 of this Month which is as follows viz Do	28 October Brought over, £2,143 0s 11d Ironware, brought over, £49 6s 0d 9 joiners hatchets, £0 18s 0d 9 small gimlets, £0 1s 3d 24 stone wedges, £0 16s 0d 1 whipsaw, £1 2s 7½d 3 hand spits, £0 7s 6d 1 jack spit, £0 4s 9½d 1 joiners rubstone, £0 2s 6d 12 dozen 6 files, £5 3s 1½d 3 former chisels, £0 1s 6d 2 marline cutters, £0 5s 8d 4 stone saws, £1 1s 10½d 8 hand saw heads, £2 3s 8d 34 spades, £5 4s 10d 5 grubbing hoes, £0 14s 7d 25 ditching shovels, £5 12s 6d 1 pair hand cards, £0 1s 11d 6 pairs hacking cards, £1 18s 2d 35 sail knitting needles, £0 2s 8d 20 setting hammers, £6 15s 1½d 1 carpenters axe, £0 4s 5d 12 drill bows, £1 6s 6d 1 forge engine, £5 15s 6d 6 hoe helves, £0 3s 6d 6 drill bows, £0 0s 9d 1 coffee roaster, £0 2s 6d 1 crosscut saw, £1 1s 4½d 5 wire rat traps, £1 7s 6d 16 sythe hides, £0 7s 6d 3 garden rakes, £0 7s 2d 1 till lock, £0 1s 0d 2 pairs garden shears, £0 1s 0d 5 walling hammers, £0 7s 6d Ironware carried over, £93 17s 2d Carried over, £2,143 0s 11d Interpretations The tools continue the working stock of the several trades, saws, chisels, spades, shovels and the hammers and drill bows of the smith and mason, all held to equip and re-equip the craftsmen who built and maintained the station. A whipsaw and crosscut saw were the large two-man saws for cutting timber to size, and their presence with the great stock of imported deals shows the island working its shipped wood into boards and scantlings on the spot. The forge engine and setting hammers point to the smithy where iron was worked, a forge being essential to a settlement that had constantly to make and mend the metal fittings of buildings, carts and boats. The hand and hacking cards were the toothed boards used to comb and tease fibre for spinning, marking some working of wool or flax on the island, while the sail needles tie to the mending of the canvas the store also held. A single coffee roaster among the ironware is a small domestic curiosity, the means of roasting green coffee beans for the table, marking the drink as one of the comforts reaching the island through the Company's Eastern trade alongside the tea held in such quantity elsewhere in the stock.
231	224	28 October Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honorable Companys Ware Houses the 11 October 1754 viz Do Anchors viz Do 5 Anchors 1 Do in the West Rocks 2 Iron Hoops 90 16 Bunting viz Do 5 Do 18 yds Red £ 8 7 10	1754 Brought over, £2,143 0s 11d Ironware, brought over, £93 17s 2d 6 rag stones, £0 1s 0d 6 pairs steel compasses, £0 2s 0d 6 file hafts, £0 2s 4d 10 scraping axes, £1 8s 4d 1 sledge hammer, £0 6s 6d 9 bill hooks, £1 0s 3d 14 claw hammers, £0 16s 4d

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		6 Do Blue 7 11 6 3 Do 21½ yd white 6 1 22 4½ Broad Cloth viz Do 6½ yds Sorted 48 10½ yds Scarlet 9 13 4½ 57 13 4½ Braziersware viz Do 12 Small Skemmers 1 8½ 4 Skemmers @ 2/8 10 8 2 Do 6/ 12 2 Do 14/4 1 8 8 9 Flat Candlesticks 18 1 Do 3 7½ 3 Warming Pans 1 13 9 1 Copper Pump 11 13 Ladles 1 8 8½ 3½ Brass for Soldering 10 11 6 Hash Pans 4 9 1 Chafing Dish 8 9½ 1 Dredging Box 4 5 1 Bread Grater 4 11½ 1 Nutmeg Do 2 2½ 2 Do Feet Snuffers 5 6 Braziersware Carried over £ 13 1 11 Carried over £ 170 9 9	4 pruning saws, £0 6s 8d 36 dovetail hinges, £0 12s 0d 30 dozen wood screws, £0 10s 0d 6 box irons and heaters, £1 18s 4d 4 jack chains, £0 6s 8d 2 small jacks, £9 16s 0d 1 sledge jack, £7 10s 2d Total, £118 13s 9d Kersey, 6 dozen 7½ yards, £13 3s 4d Long ells, 40 dozen 3½ yards, £8 1s 0d Lead, namely: 16 hundredweight 1 quarter 17 lb shot, £4 16s 7d 3 hundredweight 16 lb small shot, £0 18s 9d 16 hundredweight 2 quarters 2 lb sheet, £4 15s 6d Total, £20 10s 10d Leather, namely: 5 hundredweight 24 lb sole leather, £6 16s 0d 1 sheep skin, £0 0s 7½d 2 hundredweight 12 lb pump leather, £2 19s 0d Total, £9 15s 7½d Mustard seed, 2½ bushels, £2 9s 7d Mast, namely: 1 long mast 36 feet long 21 inches diameter, £33 11s 0d 1 topmast 65 feet 17 inches diameter, £21 15s 0d 7 topmasts, £8 10s 0d 1 topmast and pillam, £7 0s 0d 1 cap, £1 11s 6d Total, £72 7s 6d Carried over, £2,388 2s 11½d Interpretations The jacks held in store, small jacks and a larger sledge jack worth together over £17, were the roasting jacks that turned a spit before the fire, clockwork or weight-driven mechanisms marking the better kitchen equipment kept for the Company's tables. Their value far above the common ironware sets them apart as costly imported machinery, the means of roasting meat evenly in the establishments the store served. The masts and topmasts held in the warehouse, one great mast worth over £33, were spare spars kept to refit the Company's vessels and to supply ships that lost or sprang a mast on the long ocean passage. Stocking such timber, with a cap to join the mast sections, marks the island as a place where shipping could be repaired as well as revictualled, the mast being among the most vital and least replaceable parts of a sailing ship. The sole and pump leather held by the hundredweight point to the making and mending of shoes and of the leather pumps and valves that ships' and wells' pumps needed, leather being essential to the working of the pumps that drew water and cleared bilges. Mustard seed kept by the bushel marks a condiment ground for the table, another small comfort of diet held among the greater stores of the warehouse.
<u>232</u>	225	1754 Brought over £ 170 9 9 Braziersware Brought over £ 13 1 11 3 Brass Cocks 15 3 2 Copper Kettles 12 Gallons 5 10 3 2 Do 6 Do 3 4 6 1 Small Brass Cock 3 10 24 12 9 Blocks viz Do 4 Iron bound Cat Blocks 1 5 8 2 Do Snatch 1 7 6 2 Do Double Top 1 Do Single Do 15 4 Do Dead Eyes 6 Dead Eyes 4 5 9 4 Double Long Tackles 19	1754 Brought over, £2,143 0s 11d Ironware, brought over, £93 17s 2d 6 rag stones, £0 1s 0d 6 pairs steel compasses, £0 2s 0d 6 file hafts, £0 2s 4d 10 scraping axes, £1 8s 4d 1 sledge hammer, £0 6s 6d 9 bill hooks, £1 0s 3d 14 claw hammers, £0 16s 4d 4 pruning saws, £0 6s 8d 36 dovetail hinges, £0 12s 0d 30 dozen wood screws, £0 10s 0d 6 box irons and heaters, £1 18s 4d 4 jack chains, £0 6s 8d

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		2 Blocks Damaged 8 9 11 Buckram 6 Do 11 yards 6 14 5½ Beef & Pork viz Do 20 Puncheons Beef Ilyartham 257 18 10 3 Do 78 Do bought 32 11 51 Hhds 10 Do Pork 470 4 760 13 10 Blankets 36 8 3 4 Copper Money 59,860 Irish half Pence 124 14 2 Cutleryware viz Do 16 Horse Combs 4 70 Horn Do 11 8 27 Do Shoe Buckles 12 4½ 16 Dozen Shoe Tacks 2 8 4 Choping Knives 5 6 54 Butchers Do 15 9 2 Shoe Do 10 3 Budding Do 5 3 1 Pruning Do 1 4 6 Cases Flams 1 7 2 2 Dozen Ivory Knives & Forks 2 11 63 Do Leather Garters 1 6 2 8 9 2 Carried over £ 1113 5 10	2 small jacks, £9 16s 0d 1 sledge jack, £7 10s 2d Total, £118 13s 9d Kersey, 6 dozen 7½ yards, £13 3s 4d Long ells, 40 dozen 3½ yards, £8 1s 0d Lead, namely: 16 hundredweight 1 quarter 17 lb shot, £4 16s 7d 3 hundredweight 16 lb small shot, £0 18s 9d 16 hundredweight 2 quarters 2 lb sheet, £4 15s 6d Total, £20 10s 10d Leather, namely: 5 hundredweight 24 lb sole leather, £6 16s 0d 1 sheep skin, £0 0s 7½d 2 hundredweight 12 lb pump leather, £2 19s 0d Total, £9 15s 7½d Mustard seed, 2½ bushels, £2 9s 7d Mast, namely: 1 long mast 36 feet long 21 inches diameter, £33 11s 0d 1 topmast 65 feet 17 inches diameter, £21 15s 0d 7 topmasts, £8 10s 0d 1 topmast and pillam, £7 0s 0d 1 cap, £1 11s 6d Total, £72 7s 6d Carried over, £2,388 2s 11½d Interpretations The jacks held in store, small jacks and a larger sledge jack worth together over £17, were the roasting jacks that turned a spit before the fire, clockwork or weight-driven mechanisms marking the better kitchen equipment kept for the Company's tables. Their value far above the common ironware sets them apart as costly imported machinery, the means of roasting meat evenly in the establishments the store served. The masts and topmasts held in the warehouse, one great mast worth over £33, were spare spars kept to refit the Company's vessels and to supply ships that lost or sprang a mast on the long ocean passage. Stocking such timber, with a cap to join the mast sections, marks the island as a place where shipping could be repaired as well as revictualled, the mast being among the most vital and least replaceable parts of a sailing ship. The sole and pump leather held by the hundredweight point to the making and mending of shoes and of the leather pumps and valves that ships' and wells' pumps needed, leather being essential to the working of the pumps that drew water and cleared bilges. Mustard seed kept by the bushel marks a condiment ground for the table, another small comfort of diet held among the greater stores of the warehouse.
233	226	28 October Brought over £ 1113 5 10 Cartwheels viz Do 16 Spare Sides for Wheel Barrows 8 4 1 Do broke 2 Do Wheels 7 3 6 Axletrees 2 12 10 10 Wheel Barrows 7 4 7 18 8 9 Corks viz Do 14 Gross Corks 1 12 1 2½ Sheet Cork 1 10½ 1 13 11½ Canvas viz Do 2 yds Osenbrigs 15 8 Do 22 yards English Canvas 17 4 10 17 19 10 Camblet viz Do 13 yards Brown 1 17 11 5 yards Blue 14 7 19 yards Scarlet 4 7 10½ 7 4½ Coals 3 Chaldron 4 14 9 Cordage viz Do	1754 Brought over, £2,591 0s 1½d Paint, brought over, £85 15s 5d 8 lb Prussian blue, £0 16s 0d 6 lb saccharum saturni, £0 1s 5d 2 hundredweight 19 lb blue, £6 5s 0d 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 20 lb stone colour, £6 10s 4d 2 hundredweight 2 lb mahogany, £6 10s 6d 9 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 lb whitening, £0 16s 6d Total, £106 15s 0½d Pitch and tar, namely: 10 barrels tar, £11 0s 0d 1½ barrels pitch, £1 8s 0d 7 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 lb rosin, £0 15s 1d ½ barrel turpentine, £0 16s 6d Total, £13 17s 7d Pumps, 2, £25 6s 11d Pewter, namely:

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		4 Shroud Hawser 16 2 19 lb yr Do 3 Inch 51 3 4 Do 25 1 14 3½ Do 11 8 3 Do 9 12 2½ Do 14 16 128 3 171 4 9 Deals viz Do 376 Deals Double 17 Do Do in use in the Cellars 62 12 8 746 Single Deals 29 Do in use in the Cellars 76 13 10 9 Spare 18 8 117 Bundles Laths 6 11 7 24 Wainscot Boards 5 16 8½ Deals Carried over £ 152 12 11 Carried over £ 1384 8 3	1 gallon pot, £0 9s 11d 6 half gallon pots, £1 1s 0d 2 quart flannels, £0 4s 0d 1 gallon flannel, £0 18s 0½d 4 dishes at 8s, £1 13s 5d 20 dishes at 6s 10d, £6 10s 0d 1 colander, £0 6s 7½d 2 worm tubs and stills, £21 4s 8d 10 basins, £2 2s 6d 3 cranes, £2 15s 6d Total, £37 16s 5d Starch, namely: 9 lb common, £0 3s 9d 18½ lb Poland, £0 11s 6d Total, £0 15s 3d Soap, 4 hundredweight 3 quarters 19 lb, £12 17s 10d Carried over, £2,788 9s 7d Interpretations The paints and pigments are held in bulk by the hundredweight, blue, stone colour and mahogany among them, marking the standing supply for painting the Company's buildings, boats and fittings across the station. Saccharum saturni was sugar of lead, a sweet-tasting lead acetate used both as a pigment drier and, dangerously, in medicine, and mahogany here named a brown paint colour rather than the wood, the range showing the store furnishing the several tints the island's work required. The two worm tubs and stills held among the pewter, worth over £21, were distilling apparatus, the worm being the coiled condensing pipe cooled in a tub of water, marking the means of distilling spirits or fresh water on the island. Their value and their keeping in store point to distillation as a recognised need of the settlement, whether to make spirits, to draw off pure water or for some use of the hospital. The turpentine, rosin, pitch and tar held together were the materials of caulking and preserving the Company's boats and of paying their seams against the sea, turpentine serving also as a solvent for the paints stocked alongside. Keeping these in quantity confirms the constant upkeep the island's small craft required, the same stores that maintained the yawl and long boat recorded working through the accounts.
234	227	1754 Brought over £ 1384 8 3 Deals Brought over £ 152 12 11 5 Elm Boards 15 5 12 Oak Planks 5 Inch 29 17 5 34 Coffins 5 14 9 9 Oak Planks of 4 Inch 16 12 6 11 Do Riga Timber 17 2 10 46 Baulks 12 14 6 8 Elm Planks 7 11 4 243 6 8 Earthenware 15 milk Pans 10 Sustains 4½ Do 9 1 10½ Flour 457 2 16 lb yr Do 364 4 2 Grindstones viz Do 1 Grindstone 10 6 1 Do 2 9 13 3 Glassware viz Do 24 Squares Glass 6 by 8 16 6 38 Sq Do 8 by 10 1 1 4½ 338 Do Do 10 by 12 22 8 4 50 Do Do 10½ by 12½ 2 6 10½ 3 Do Do 11 by 19 7 3½ 5 Quart Decanters 1 7 Pint Do 19 10 11 Beer Glasses 9 2 3 4 Flour Do 10 1 3 Do Do 3 4 2 Half Do Do 1 1 1 Do fine Cruets 6 7½	28 October Brought over, £2,788 9s 7d Shoes, namely: 7 pairs men's pumps, £2 2s 0d 5 pairs men's fine shoes, £1 7s 6d 2 pairs channel pumps, £0 4s 4d 2 pairs women's calamanco shoes, £0 9s 4d 1 pair women's Spanish, £0 4s 5d 3 pairs boys, £0 8s 9d 5 pairs girls, £0 9s 2d 6 pairs men's ordinary, £0 19s 2d 2 pairs stretchers, £0 5s 2d Total, £6 19s 10d Salt, 31½ bushels, £4 15s 3d Shalloon, namely: 166½ yards sorted, £14 15s 3¾d 5 yards scarlet, £0 10s 11d Total, £15 6s 2¾d Serge, 96 yards, £21 4s 0d Shirts, 9 pairs linen, £1 2s 9¾d Scales and weights, namely: 3 pairs scales store's use, £15 18s 7d 1 pair scales, £15 18s 7d 3 beams for scales, £28 12s 0d 1 beam store use, £28 12s 0d 1 pair scale boards, £4 19s 0d 1 pair scale boards store use, £4 19s 0d 1 pair scale bottom, £4 19s 0d Total, £49 9s 7d

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		2 Do Cruets @ 2/6 5 10 Tumblers 5 2 Doz 10 Wine Glasses 16 7½ 31 16 5½ Hats viz Do 4 Mens Hats 3 10 4 7 Boys Do 1 18 6 5 8 10 Carried over £ 1989 15 6	Sailors clothes, namely: 34 men's jackets and trousers, £24 2s 10d 58 men's checked shirts, £10 7s 10d Total, £34 10s 8d Saddles, 1, £2 7s 8d Thread, namely: 53 lb white and brown, £14 15s 8½d 63 lb coloured, £10 10s 0d 12 lb nuns, £1 1s 3½d Total, £26 5s 0d Fishing, namely: 7 lb lines, £1 0s 8d 1 lb coarse, £1 0s 8d Total, £8 8s 0d Carried over, £2,038 10s 8¾d Interpretations The scales, beams and weights held for the store's use, worth together nearly £50, were the essential apparatus of a warehouse that received and issued goods by weight, the heavy beams and scale boards marking equipment for weighing bulk stores as well as smaller parcels. Their prominence and value confirm the storekeeper's daily business of measuring out provisions and materials, an exactness on which the whole accounting of the stock depended. The sailors clothes, jackets, trousers and checked shirts held in quantity, were slop clothing kept to supply the crews of the Company's ships, seamen buying their working garments from such stores on the long voyages. Calamanco named a glossy woollen cloth used for the women's shoes listed, and nuns thread a fine white sewing thread, the range of cloth and findings again showing the warehouse holding the full materials of dress from the plainest slops to finer wear. The stretchers among the shoes were shaped blocks for stretching footwear to shape or ease, marking the store's provision for fitting and maintaining shoes as well as selling them, a small but telling sign of the care taken over goods that had to serve in the absence of any local cobbler's supply.
235	228	28 October Brought over £ 1989 15 6 Iron & Steel viz Do 23 3 Iron lb yr Do £ 22 5 1 3 25 Steel 3 17 11 26 2 11 Hosersware viz Do 285 Do Thread Stockings 36 4 4½ 18 Do Mens Knit 2 4 21 Do Do Wove 7 4 12 Do Boy 2 6 23 Do Girls 2 17 6 3 Do Womens 3 14 9 46 5½ Hooks & Lines viz Do 31 Doz 10 Lines No 4 7 11 3 Do 2 Do 3 12 1½ 2 Do 11 Do 2 9 9 7 Hambro Lines 11 8 905 Hooks No 1 1 920 Do 5 6 8 7½ 9600 Blue Hooks 2 6 1½ 10 800 Do Ilyartham 5 8 23 2 4½ Haberdasheryware viz Do 8 lb Whale Bone 2 2 2 37 Silk 6 16 ½ 71 Mohair 8 9 6 56 Gross yr Doz Mohair Coat Buttons 20 10 3 32 Do Do Do Breast Do 5 6 5 5 Do 6½ Do Fine Breast Do 6 11 1 Do White Waistcoat Buttons 2 9 14 Do Shirt Buttons 3 3 47 Do Holland Tape 1 19 2 20 Do Carnation Do 13 4 28 Do yr Gilt Coat Buttons 5 12	1754 Brought over, £2,038 10s 8¾d Tinware, namely: 5 lb sal ammoniac, £0 1s 6d 560 lantern leaves, £5 16s 8d 4 dripping pans, £0 16s 7d 18 patty pans, £0 1s 6d 6 water pots, £1 12s 6d 6 mourning lights, £2 1s 4½d 4 horn lanterns, £0 8s 0d 3 glass lanterns, £1 7s 0d 2 street lamps, £1 4s 0d Total, £14 3s 7½d Twine, namely: 70 lb twine, £3 18s 9d 158 lb houseline and marline, £1 16s 6½d Total, £5 15s 3½d Turnery, namely: 33 scrubbing brushes, £2 18s 4d 7 platters, £0 6s 5d 6 ladles, £0 1s 0d 8 straining dishes, £0 2s 0d 5 trays, £0 7s 6d 2 sieves, £0 2s 2d 4 cloth brushes, £0 4s 4d 3 labourers baskets, £0 1s 7½d 108 shoe brushes, £3 3s 0d 1 butter print, £0 0s 5½d 7 lb paint brushes, £0 13s 0d 2 punch ladles, £0 1s 1d 18 skimming dishes, £0 1s 3d 1 hair sieve, £0 1s 4d 12 hair brooms, £0 1s 4d

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		31 Do Do Breast Do 3 2 6 Do Silver Coat Do 1 4 137 Do Do Breast Do 1 7 57 14 9½ Carried over £ 2142 14 10½	9 birch brooms, £0 0s 3d 12 costmen spades, £0 18s 0d 4 pairs spades for oxen, £0 11s 4½d Total, £1 3s 11½d Vinegar, 12½ gallons, £2,098 2s 9½d The count of European goods amounted to the sum carried over. Interpretations The lantern leaves held in great number, 560 of them, were the thin scraped horn panes that glazed cheap lanterns, and with the horn and glass lanterns and the street lamps they mark the store's provision for lighting the settlement's ways and buildings. Mourning lights were a form of night lamp or taper burnt through the dark hours, and the range from these to street lamps shows the storekeeper holding the means of light for every need from the sickroom to the open road. The houseline and marline listed under twine were small cordage for serving and seizing ropes aboard the Company's boats, marline being the tarred line wound round a rope to protect it, tying this stock to the maintenance of the island's small craft. The great quantity of shoe brushes, over a hundred, points to the routine care of the footwear the store held and issued in such numbers, a settlement clothing many families and a garrison needing the means to keep its shoes serviceable. The sal ammoniac held among the tinware was a salt used as a flux in soldering and tinning metal, marking the working and repair of the tin and copper wares the store carried, while the butter print and skimming dishes tie to the dairy on the plantation, the wooden mould for stamping butter and the shallow dishes for skimming cream both serving the making of butter from the Company's herd.
236	229	1754 Brought over £ 2142 14 10½ Iron Pots 1 of 6 Gallons broke 6 7½ Ironware viz Do 3 Iron lined Locks D £ 3 6 3 5 Do Do No 2 4 8 8 6 Brass Locks 6 19 3 Iron lined Locks A 12 6 Do B 1 13 12 Do C 4 6 2 Cupboard Do A 6 6 Do Do B 1 6 6 3 Stock Locks with Straps 14 9 23 Broad Hoes 1 19 3½ 6 Garden Hoes 5 6 1 Jack Chain 1 10 11 Gouges 3 2½ 2 Do Sheap Shears 2 6½ 9 Adzes 19 6 12 Scrapers 1 1 Edging Iron 4 7 6 Turfing Do 17 3 11 Pickaxes 1 13 4 Augers 6 5 32 Lead Nails 1 3 10 215 Pecking Needles 1 11 4 20 Pr H Hinges 4 32 Do H Do 4/7 4 2 9 4 Do Shutter Hinges 1 4 9 16 Do Hinges with riseing Joynts 2 10 8 4 Scyths 1 2 16 Do Stones 2 8 Plaisterers Trowels 12 17 Bricklayers Do 1/7 1 6 11 5 Do 11 5 Ironware Carried over £ 49 6 Carried over £ 2143 11	28 October European goods amounting to, brought over, £2,998 2s 9½d India goods, namely: Arrack, namely: 426 gallons Batavia, £98 5s 10d 248 gallons Goa, £98 5s 10d Brandy, 207 gallons, £17 5s 0d Betelees, 175 pieces, £12 16s 3d Chinaware, namely: 14 soup plates, £0 5s 10d 8 bowls, £0 6s 8d 48 snackers, £0 9s 0d 1 jug and basin coloured and gold, £0 10s 0d 5 salted dishes, £0 3s 9d 5 dishes octagon, £0 10s 8d 20 plates octagon, £0 10s 8d 10 dishes, £1 4s 4d 40 plates, £1 4s 4d 7 chamber pots, £0 8s 9d 16 half pint cups and saucers, £0 5s 0d 26 pint and pint dishes, £0 8s 1½d 2 sauce boats, £0 9s 0d Total, £4 18s 10½d Challoes, namely: 13 pieces challoes, £6 12s 6d 2 pieces challoes damaged, £6 12s 6d Candles, 30 hundredweight 2 quarters 6 lb, £311 6s 3½d Piece goods, 89 pieces single, £39 17s 3¾d Pattemores, namely: 18 pattemores at 16s 6d, £14 17s 0d 54 pattemores at 12s 1d, £32 12s 6d Total, £47 9s 6d Pepper, 3 hundredweight 7 lb, £2 5s 6d Sugar and candy, namely: 106 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 lb sugar, £143 2s 8d

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			41 hundredweight 1 quarter 17 lb candy, £77 15s 8d Total, £220 18s 4d Rice and paddy, namely: 217 hundredweight 2 quarters 21 lb rice, £76 3s 10d 43 hundredweight 2 quarters paddy, £7 19s 6d Total, £84 3s 4d Carried over, £3,844 1s 6d Interpretations The inventory turns from European to India goods, the wares drawn from the Company's Eastern settlements and held apart in the account, marking the two great streams of supply that met at the island. The arrack is distinguished by source, Batavia and Goa, the one the Dutch spirit of Java and the other the Portuguese arrack of the Indian coast, showing the store drawing this staple drink from several Eastern ports and holding it in great quantity against the demand of garrison and shipping. The candles held in vast bulk, over thirty hundredweight worth more than £311, were the single most valuable line among the India goods, marking the settlement's heavy and constant need for artificial light through the long southern nights. Such a reserve confirms lighting as a major charge on the island, the candles issued in quantity to castle, council, guards and hospital across the accounts all drawn from this great store. The betelees, challoes and pattenmores were Indian cotton cloths of named kinds, betelees a fine muslin, challoes a coloured or checked cotton and pattenmores a piece good of the Coromandel trade, marking the range of Eastern textiles the store held for sale. These Indian cottons, cheaper and lighter than the European woollens listed earlier, suited the island's mild climate and stood among the goods the Company's Eastern commerce carried to every settlement on its routes.
237	230	28 October Brought over £ 2143 11 Ironware Brought over £ 49 6 9 Joyners Hatchets 18 9 Small Gimblets 1 3 24 Stone Wedges 16 1 Whip Saw 1 2 7½ 3 Hand Spits 7 6 1 Jack Spit 4 9½ 1 Joyners Rubstone 2 6 12 Doz 6 Files 5 3 1½ 3 Former Chissels 1 6 2 Mou Cutters 5 8 4 Stone Saws 1 1 10½ 8 Do Iron Saw Heads 2 3 8 31 Spades 5 4 10 3 Grubbing Hoes 14 7 25 Ditching Showels 5 12 6 1 Do Hand Cards 1 11 6 Do Hacking Do 1 8 2 35 New Knitting Needles 2 8 20 Setting Hammers 6 15 1½ 1 Carpenters Ax 4 5 12 Drill Bows 1 6 6 1 Forge Engine 5 15 6 6 Hoe Helves 3 6 6 Owl Bores 9 1 Coffee Roaster 2 6 1 Cross Cut Saw 1 1 4½ 5 Wier Rat Traps 1 7 6 18 Spikeirds 7 2 3 Garden Rakes 7 2 1 Do Lock 1 2 Do Garden Shears 1 5 Walking Hammers 7 6 Ironware Carried over £ 93 17 2	1754 Brought over, £3,844 1s 6d Tea, namely: 106 lb single, £6 3s 8d 209 lb bohea, £9 15s 11d 172 lb congo, £11 9s 4d Total, £27 8s 11d European and Indian goods remaining 11 October 1754, amounting to, £3,871 10s 5d The inventory was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Bramston and John Clark. Interpretations The tea closing the inventory was held in three grades by weight, single, bohea and congo, all black teas of the cheaper sort drawn from the Company's China trade, marking the drink as a staple of the settlement's stock kept in quantity for sale and issue. The whole warehouse count resolves here into a single grand total of £3,871 10s 5d in European and Indian goods, the full value of the stock standing in the Company's store at the quarter's end. The signatures of the three councillors closing the account show the inventory certified not by the storekeeper alone but by members of the governing council, the collective check by which the settlement's chief officers vouched for the honest counting of the Company's property. Requiring several hands to the total marked the store as too great a trust to rest on one man's word, the council standing jointly answerable for the goods held in its charge.

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		Carried over £ 2143 11	
238	231	1754 Brought over £ 2143 11 Ironware Brought over £ 93 17 2 6 Ragstones 1 6 Do Steel Compasses 2 61 File Hafts 2 4 10 Coping Axes 1 8 4 1 Sledge Hammer 6 6 9 Bill Hooks 1 3 14 Claw Hammers 16 4 4 Pruning Saws 6 8 36 Dovetail Hinges 12 30 Dozen Wood Screws 10 6 Box Irons & Heaters 1 18 4 4 Jack Chains 6 8 2 Small Jacks 9 10 1 Sledge Do 7 10 2 118 13 9 Kersey 6 Do 7½ yards 13 3 4 Long Ells 4 Do ¾ yards 8 10 Lead viz Do 16 1 17 Shot lb yr Do 14 16 7 3 16 Small Shot 18 9 16 2 yards 2 Inch Pipe 4 15 6 20 10 10 Leather viz Do 4 24 Sole Leather lb yr Do 6 16 1 Sheap Skin 7½ 2 4 12 Pump Leather 2 19 9 15 7½ Mustard Seed 2½ Bushels 2 9 7 Mast viz Do 1 Long Mast 76 feet long 21 Inches Diameter 33 11 1 Topmast 63 feet Do 17 Do 21 15 7½ Topmast 8 10 1 Topmast Ilyartham 7 1 Cap 1 11 6 72 7 6 Carried over £ 2388 2 11½	At a consultation held on Monday 4 November 1754 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 28 October 1754, was approved and signed. The accountant brought in his journal parcels for the quarter ending 11 October, which were examined and ordered to be entered. The storekeeper brought in his account of waste on store goods for the past year, which was examined and approved and ran as follows. Profit and loss, debtor, for loss by leakage and wastage, short weights and measure by drawing by the gallon etc and by weighing by the pound etc for the year ending 11 October 1754, namely: Cordage, 7 hundredweight 2 quarters 13¼ lb, £0 1s 10d Lead, namely: 27 lb sheet lead, £0 4s 4d 8 lb small shot, £0 1s 4d Total, £0 9s 8d Leather, 9 lb, £0 6s 6d Nails, 9 lb, £0 3s 2d Iron and steel, namely: 1 hundredweight 26 lb iron, £1 7s 2d 13 lb steel, £0 4s 3d Total, £1 11s 5d Paint, namely: 28 lb white lead, £0 9s 0d 2 lb olive colour, £0 3s 6d 2 lb Prussian blue, £0 3s 4d 6 lb stone colour, £0 2s 10d 7 lb mahogany, £0 13s 0d Total, £4 17s 2¼d Carried over, £4 17s 2¼d Interpretations The account records the yearly loss on the store's goods through leakage, wastage and the shortfalls that arose from drawing liquids by the gallon and weighing solids by the pound, charged to profit and loss as a recognised cost of keeping stock. Such an account acknowledged that goods held and issued over a year would fall short of their booked quantity, spirits evaporating from the cask and dry goods spilling in the handling, and the storekeeper set down these shrinkages formally rather than letting them fall as unexplained gaps in the stock. Booking wastage separately for each class of goods, from cordage and lead to paint, let the council see where the store's losses lay and judge whether they were reasonable, a check against the storekeeper concealing theft or carelessness behind the natural waste of trade. Requiring the account to be examined and approved in consultation shows the settlement treating even its inevitable losses as a matter for the governing body's scrutiny.
239	232	28 October Brought over £ 2388 2 11½ Nails viz Do 5 3 2 lb yr Do £ 21 14 5 3 10 3 15 13 4½ 8 2 6 4 18 19 2½ 7 2 22 6 10 5 3½ 9 1 3 10 17 6 4 4 2 12 20 8 1 3 4 21 40 1 18 9½ 4 23 Supper 10 6 7 4 2 25 Flooring Brads 8 16 4 2 12 Glazing Do 3 9 5 3 12 Coopers Rivets 2 4 123 14 7½ Oyl viz Do 200 Gallons Train 28 15	1754 Brought over, £4 17s 2¼d Rosin, 4 lb, £0 0s 4d Soap, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 7 lb, £5 5s 9d Salt, 3¾ bushels, £0 11s 3d Vinegar, 2½ gallons, £0 5s 3½d Arrack, 130½ gallons, £17 4s 1d Brandy, 67½ gallons, £5 13s 1½d Chinaware, namely: 2 bowls, £0 1s 8d 2 snackers, broke, £0 0s 3½d 1 salted dish, £0 0s 9d Total, £0 2s 10½d Sugar and candy, namely: 5 hundredweight 2 quarters sugar, £7 3s 5d 4 hundredweight 3 quarters candy, £0 0s 4d

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		256 Do Linseed 41 13 4 46 Bottles Florence 5 5 5 75 13 9 Oars viz Do 13 of 16 feet 5 of 14 feet 3 9 4½ Paint viz Do 1 7 Verdigrease lb yr Do 5 10 1 2 18 Umber 1 4 8 1 2 23 Red Lead 2 3 9 10 14 White Lead 19 8 4½ 4 10 Venetian Red 4 5 10½ 2 2 2 Brimstone 2 18 9 3 8 Olive Colour 30 2 23 Yellow Oaker 4 3 1 2 22 Blue Smalts 15 16 8 8 Jamaica Indico 2 4 7 white Coppras 7 7 1 22 Stone Oaker 1 1 6 1 21 English Do 8 2 Paint Carried over £ 85 13 5 Carried over £ 2591 1 4	Total, £16 3s 5d Rice, 18 hundredweight 2 quarters 24 lb, £6 1s 6d Candles, 2 hundredweight 21 lb, £5 12s 5d Starch, 6 lb, £0 2s 8d £62 0s 9¼d The account was made up and marked as passed with errors excepted and signed by M Purling, storekeeper. The record then set out a further charge to profit and loss for 31½ gallons of vinegar received from England by the ship <i>Walpole</i>, laid in on being taken into the remains at Michaelmas 1753. The vinegar had since spoiled entirely and become unfit for sale or of any use, charged off at £3 4s 6d. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The heaviest wastage by far fell on the arrack and brandy, over 130 gallons of the one and 67 of the other lost in the year, confirming that spirits drawn repeatedly from the cask by the gallon shrank fastest of all the store's goods through evaporation and spillage. That drink accounted for the bulk of the £62 written off shows why the account singled out loss by drawing by the gallon, the liquids being both the most valuable and the most prone to quiet diminution in a warehouse. The separate charge for the <i>Walpole's</i> vinegar marks a distinct kind of loss, not the slow wastage of handling but the total spoiling of a consignment shipped from England and found useless when its condition was checked. Writing it off in full, unfit for sale or any use, shows the store acknowledging that goods could perish outright on the long voyage or in keeping, a risk of supplying a remote island from home that the accounts had to absorb as plainly as the daily shrinkage of the stock.
240	233	1754 Brought over £ 2591 1 4 Paint Brought over £ 85 13 5 8 Prussian Blue lb yr Do 16 6 Saccharum Saturni 1 5 2 19 Prg Blue 6 5 2 1 20 Stone Colour 6 10 4 2 2 Mahogany 6 10 6 9 2 16 Whiting 16 6 106 14 10½ Pitch & Tar viz Do 10 Barrels Tar 11 1½ Do Pitch 1 8 7 1 14 Rozin lb yr Do 15 1 ½ Barrel Turpentine 16 6 13 17 7 25 6 11 Pumps 2 Pewter viz Do 1 Gallon Do 9 11 6 Half Gallon Pots 1 11 2 Quart Funnels 4 6 1 Gallon Do 18 10½ 4 Dishes @ 8/4 1 13 4 20 Do 6/10 6 10 1 Cullender 6 7 2 Worm Tubs & Stills 21 4 8 10 Basons 2 2 6 3 Cranes 2 15 6 37 16 6 Starch viz Do 9 Common lb yr Do 3 9 18¼ Poland 11 6 15 3 Soap 4 4 19 lb yr Do 12 17 10 Carried over £ 2788 9 7½	At a consultation held on Monday 11 November 1754 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant John Clark of the council and Lieutenant Governor John Adamson, the last named being absent through sickness. The previous consultation, dated 4 November 1754, was read, approved and signed. Matthew Bazett presented a petition to the Governor and council. He set out that there was a small piece of rocky and barren land which would nonetheless serve to shorten his fences, and he asked the council to grant him a lease of it at a rate proportioned to its value. The council agreed that the land should be leased. The decision was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Adamson. Interpretations The petition turns on the practical value of even poor ground to a settler, Bazett seeking the rocky and barren plot not for what it would grow but because taking it in would shorten the fences he had to build and maintain. Enclosing land on the island meant walling it against wind and stock, and a parcel that squared off a boundary saved the labour and material of fencing an awkward line, so worthless soil could still be worth leasing for the shape it gave a holding. The council's grant of a lease at a rate proportioned to the land's value shows the Company parting with even its poorest ground on terms rather than as a gift, holding to the principle that all island land was its property to be let for rent. Setting the charge by the plot's worth let the settlement draw some small return from otherwise useless rock while binding the tenant to acknowledge the Company's title, the same rental income that appears in the cash accounts as a stream of island revenue.

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			Speculations The obvious course with a plot described as rocky and barren was to let a settler simply take it, since ground that would grow nothing seemed to cost the Company nothing to give away. The council instead granted it only as a lease at a rate set by its value, choosing to charge rent on worthless land rather than cede it outright, because conceding the parcel freely would have loosened the principle that every foot of the island was Company property held of it for rent, a title the settlement guarded even where the immediate worth of the ground was nil.
241	234	28 October Brought over £ 2788 9 7½ Shoes viz Do 7 Do Mens Pumps £ 2 2 5 Do Mens Fine Shoes 1 7 6 2 Do Channel Pumps 4 4 2 Do Womens Calimanco Shoes 9 4 1 Do Womens Spanish 4 5 3 Do Boys 8 9 5 Do Girls 9 2 6 Do Mens Ordinary 19 2 2 Do Fletchers 5 2 6 19 10 Salt 31 yr Bushels 4 19 3 Shalloon viz Do 166½ yards Sorted 14 15 3½ 5 yards Scarlet 10 11 15 6 2½ Serge 96 yards 21 4 Shirts 4 Do Linen 1 2 9½ Scales & Weights viz Do 3 Do Scales Stores use 1 Do Scales 15 18 7 3 Beams for Scales 1 Beam Stores use 28 12 1 Do Scale Boards 1 Do Do Stores use 1 Do Do Rotten 4 19 49 9 7 Sailors Cloaths viz Do 34 Mens Jackets & Trouzers 24 2 10 58 Mens Checkd Shirts 10 7 10 34 10 8 Saddles 1 2 7 8 Thread viz Do 53 Whited Brown 14 13 8½ 63 Coloured 10 10 12 oz Nunn 1 1 3½ 26 5 Fishing viz Do 7 Do Line 18 Coarse 1 8 8 8 Carried over £ 2938 10 8¾	At a consultation held on Monday 18 November 1754 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 11 November 1754, was read, approved and signed. The Honourable Company's ship <i>Dragon</i>, commanded by Captain Harry Kent, arrived and brought the following supply, set out in the invoice from the <i>Dragon</i>. BA number 2, Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers at 10d per cent, 380, batta 8 per cent, 30 6 6, rupees 410 6 6 STF number 10, sugar presender fine, 10 bags of 20 buseras weight at 15 per bag, 150, batta 8 per cent, 12, rupees 162 WC number 2, wax candles, 2 chests of 4 factory maund at 65 per maund, rupees 260 RF number 42, rice fine, 42 bags of 8¼ buseras weight at 23 12 per maund, 141 7 6, batta 8 pies, 11 5 3, rupees 152 12 9 Charges merchandise, 9 gunny bags and sewing, 15 6 6 2 empty leaguers, 35 3 2 chests and embalng, 5 12 Boothie, 1 1 3 Peon, 8 Motras, 4 3 6, rupees 62 4 6 Current rupees, 1,047 7 9 The invoice was marked as passed with errors excepted and signed by W Cruttenden, accountant. Interpretations The invoice values the whole cargo in rupees and adds batta to several lines, batta being the premium or agio charged on exchanging one kind of coin or account for another, marking the goods as shipped and reckoned within the Company's Indian trading system rather than in sterling. The wax candles priced by the factory maund, the standard weight of the Company's Indian factories, and the arrack in leaguers, a large cask of the Eastern trade, show the supply drawn wholly from the Company's Asian settlements and measured in their own units. The charges merchandise gather the incidental costs of packing and forwarding the goods, gunny bags for sacking, empty leaguers for the arrack, chests and embalng for the candles, together with payments to a peon and other Indian charges. Boothie and motras named local imposts or handling fees of the Indian ports, and the peon was a hired messenger or guard, the whole showing the string of small costs that attached to lading a cargo at an Eastern factory before it ever reached the island. The <i>Dragon's</i> arrival with a supply of arrack, sugar, candles and rice marks the routine replenishment of the island's stores from India, the very goods held in such quantity in the warehouse inventory now renewed by a fresh shipment. Such arrivals were the lifeline of a settlement that grew and made little for itself, dependent on the Company's ships to bring the drink, sweetening, light and grain its people and the passing fleets consumed.

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242	235	1754 Brought over £ 2938 10 8¾ Tinware viz Do 5½ Sal Armoniac lb yr Do £ 1 6 560 Lanthorn Leaves 5 16 8 4 Dripping Pans 16 7 48 Patty Pans 16 8 Water Pots 1 12 6 6 Morning Lights 2 1 4½ 4 Horn Lanthorns 8 3 Glass Lanthorns 1 7 2 Steel Lamps 1 4 14 3 7½ Twine viz Do 70 Twine lb yr Do 3 18 9 130 Do Houseline & Marline 1 15 5½ 5 13 1½ Turnersware viz Do 33 Scrubbing Brushes 2 18 4 7 Platters 6 3 6 Ladles 1 8 Straining Dishes 2 5 Trays 7 6 2 Cows 2 2 4 Cloth Brushes 4 4 3 Labourers Baskets 1 7½ 108 Shoe Brushes 3 3 1 Butter Print 6½ 7½ Paint Brushes 1 13 2 Punch Ladles 11 18 Skimming Dishes 4½ 1 Hair Sieve 1 3 12 Hair Brooms 1 4 9 Birch Brooms 3 12 Cabbican Yoaks 18 4 Do Yoaks for Oxen 18 11 4½ 1 3 11½ Vinegar 12½ Gallons European Goods amounting to Carried over £ 2938 2 9½	You're right. That sentence leans on the manuscript's own framing ("thought proper to observe to the Gentlemen of the Council"). Here is the page again. The Governor addressed the council. He told them that the news brought by Captain Kent made it necessary, in his view, for the council to be on its guard and to take whatever measures would most effectually defend the island in the event of a war with France. He wished the Company to be informed as soon as possible of the state of its military stores on the island, and he was drawing up a detailed account of them to be sent to the Court of Directors, which he would lay before the council once it was finished. The accountant reported that the Honourable Company's books of account were balanced to 11 October, and these were ordered to be copied as soon as possible. The Governor also asked the Lieutenant Governor to draw up a statement of the condition of the Company's plantations and pastures, to be sent to the Court by the ship <i>Dragon</i>. The plantation gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending 11 November were brought in, examined and approved, and ran as follows. Interpretations The Governor's warning turns on the fear of war with France, the news carried by the <i>Dragon</i> prompting a review of the island's military stores and defences, St Helena's worth lying in its command of the homeward route from the East that an enemy would prize. Drawing up a particular account of the military stores for the Court of Directors shows the settlement answering to its masters in London for its readiness, the threat of a European war reaching even this remote station through the ships that linked it to home. The Governor's direction to prepare the accounts and a statement of the plantations for sending home by the same ship shows the island's business timed to the movements of the Company's vessels, the arrival and departure of a ship setting the rhythm by which reports and reckonings were despatched. A settlement so far from London could communicate only when a ship sailed, and the gathering of accounts, stock statements and stores returns against the <i>Dragon</i>'s departure marks the periodic settling of affairs that each sailing forced.
243	236	28 October European Goods amounting to Brought over £ 2938 2 9½ India Goods viz Do Arrack viz Do 426 Gallons Batavia 248 Do Goa 98 5 10 Brandy 207 Gallons 17 5 Betelees 75 Do 12 16 3 Chinaware viz Do 14 Soup Plates £ 5 10 8 Bowls 6 8 48 Sneakers 9 1 Jug & Bason Col & Gold 10 5 Salled Dishes 3 9 5 Dishes Octagon 20 Plates Do 10 8 10 Dishes 40 Plates 1 4 4 7 Chamber Pots 8 9 16 Half pint Cups & Saucers 5 26 Quart Pint Do & Do 8 1½ 2 Sauce Boats 2 4 18 10½ Challoes viz Do 13 Do Challoes 2 Do Do Damaged 6 12 6	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 October to 11 November 1754. Neat cattle Remaining 12 October: bulls 6, cows 81, calves 62, yearlings 13, heifers 44, steers 10, bullocks 15, oxen 14, total 245 Increased: calves 5, total 5 Total: bulls 6, cows 81, calves 67, yearlings 13, heifers 44, steers 10, bullocks 15, oxen 14, total 250 Killed: 0 Died: 0 Remaining 11 November: bulls 6, cows 81, calves 67, yearlings 13, heifers 44, steers 10, bullocks 15, oxen 14, total 250 Sheep Remaining 12 October: ewes 193, wethers 70, lambs 176, rams 7, total 446 Increased: lambs 42, total 42 Total: ewes 193, wethers 70, lambs 218, rams 7, total 488 Killed: ewes 5, lambs 3, total 8 Died: lambs 3, total 3 Remaining 11 November: ewes 185, wethers 70, lambs 215, rams 7, total 477 Goats

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		Candles 36 Do 2 Do lb yr Do 311 6 3½ Piscoetes 89 Do Single 39 17 3¼ Pallem pores viz Do 18 Pallem pores @ 16/6 14 17 54 Do Do @ 12/1 lb yr Do 32 12 6 47 9 6 Pepper 3 7 lb yr Do 2 5 6 Sugar & Candy viz Do 106 1 14 Sugar lb yr Do 143 2 8 41 1 17 Candy 77 15 8 220 18 4 Rice & Paddy viz Do 217 2 21 Rice lb yr Do 76 3 10 43 2 Paddy 7 19 6 84 3 4 Carried over £ 3844 1 6	Remaining 12 October: ewes 125, wethers 45, kids 92, rams 8, total 270 Increased: kids 32, total 32 Total: ewes 125, wethers 45, kids 124, rams 8, total 302 Killed: ewes 6, kids 2, total 8 Died: kids 2, total 2 Remaining 11 November: ewes 125, wethers 39, kids 122, rams 8, total 294 Hogs Remaining 12 October: sows 14, shoats 8, pigs 42, boars 2, total 66 Increased: pigs 8, total 8 Total: sows 14, shoats 8, pigs 50, boars 2, total 74 Killed: shoats 2, total 2 Died: shoats 2, total 2 Remaining 11 November: sows 14, shoats 6, pigs 46, boars 2, total 68 Poultry Remaining 12 October: dunghill 89, fowls 36, ducks 79, geese 19, total 31 Increased: dunghill 4, fowls 37, ducks 28 Total: dunghill 93, fowls 40, ducks 47, geese 31 Killed: dunghill 3, fowls 25, ducks 2, geese 1 Died: dunghill 2, ducks 1 Remaining 11 November: dunghill 89, fowls 37, ducks 94, geese 30 Horses Remaining 12 October: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Remaining 11 November: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses Remaining 12 October: jacks 1, jennies 2, total 3 Remaining 11 November: jacks 1, jennies 2, total 3 Four goats were set aside for the sick slaves. A slave boy was born and named October. Yams expended came to 29,080. The account was marked as passed with errors excepted and signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The account is the monthly muster of the Company's own herds and flocks, tracking each kind of beast through births, slaughter and natural death to a fresh total, the means by which the plantation kept exact reckoning of its living stock. The large flocks of sheep and goats and the herd of some 250 cattle marked the island's pastoral farming, the goats in particular suited to the rocky ground that grew little else, and the steady breeding of lambs and kids shows the herds sustaining themselves on the island's grazing. The four goats set aside for the sick slaves record the Company providing fresh meat to its ailing labourers from its own flocks, a measure of maintenance for the unfree workforce whose general victualling from the store appears elsewhere in the accounts. The yams expended, over 29,000, mark the island's chief root crop grown as a bulk foodstuff, yams being the staple that fed the slaves and supplemented the imported grain, raised in quantity on Company ground. The birth of a slave child entered in the same account as the increase of the herds, and named October for the month, shows the stark bookkeeping by which the settlement counted its slaves among its stock, a human birth set down beside the lambs and calves as an addition to the Company's property. Speculations The plain course in a livestock muster was to record only the beasts, since the account's whole purpose was to reckon the herds and flocks. The clerk instead entered the birth of a slave child within the same table that counted the lambs, kids and

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			calves, setting a human increase among the animal stock rather than in any separate register of the island's people, because the settlement regarded its slaves as Company property to be numbered like its cattle, and the birth fell to be recorded where every other addition to that property was entered.
244	237	1754 Brought over £ 3844 1 6 Tea viz Do 106 Single lb yr Do £ 6 3 8 209 Bohea 9 15 11 172 Congo 11 9 4 27 8 11 European & Indian Goods remaining Octr 11 1754 Amt to £ 3871 10 5 Chas Hutchinson John Bramson John Clark	18 November Sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 November 1754, namely: 43 bottles port wine, £3 5s 1½d 55 bottles Lisbon, £4 3s 4d 23 bottles Madeira, £2 16s 3½d 71 bottles arrack, £2 8s 0¾d 53 bottles beer, £0 14s 4¼d 318 lb flour, £2 3s 0¾d 253½ lb mutton, £5 5s 7½d 2 lambs, £1 10s 0d 139 lb pork, £3 6s 6d 42 lb goat, £0 4s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 2 pigs, £0 10s 0d 25 fowls, £1 17s 6d 2 ducks, £0 3s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 4 lb salt pork, £0 8s 0d 4 lb salt beef, £0 11s 0d 100 lb candy, £1 16s 4d 48½ lb butter, £2 8s 3d Total, £35 4s 5¾d The heavy spending this month arose from a dinner given for the Honourable Company's tenants, the planters, as usual on their paying their rents, and from marking his Majesty's birthday. Gunners stores expended from 12 October to 11 November 1754, namely: 10 November, fired for the King's birthday, 21 guns, 1 barrel 2 quarters 17 lb 26 8, guns fired Powder for priming, 4 lb Powder fired with small arms for the King's birthday, 18 3 Powder for the funeral of William Whittingham, 2 4 Powder for blowing of lime stone, 12 Total, 21 guns, 1 barrel 2 quarters 17 lb 01 15 Interpretations The table account marks the two occasions that drove the month's unusual spending, the annual dinner for the planters when they came in to pay their rents and the celebration of the King's birthday, both drawing on the store's wines, meat and drink beyond the ordinary run. Feasting the tenants on rent day was a customary courtesy that bound the settlement's landholders to the Company, the cost of the dinner set against the rents the same men brought in, while the birthday dinner marked the loyal keeping of the royal anniversary even on so distant an island. The gunpowder fired shows the same two events honoured with the guns of the fort, a royal salute of twenty-one guns for the King's birthday and small arms fired in celebration, the powder expended set down as a charge like any other store. Powder spent on the funeral of William Whittingham marks a military burial with its firing party, and powder for blowing limestone shows the same explosive put to the practical work of quarrying the stone burnt for lime, the one commodity serving both ceremony and labour. The wines listed by kind, port, Lisbon and Madeira, were the fortified wines of the Atlantic trade that kept well on long voyages and in warm store, Madeira in particular prized for improving on the sea passage. Their place at the Company's table alongside arrack and beer marks the range of drink thought fit

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			for the entertainment of the planters and the officers, the better wines reserved for such occasions as the two that swelled this month's account.
245	238	4 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 4 Day of November 1754 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 28 Day of October 1754 The Accountant this day brought in his Journall Parcels for the Quarter ending the 11 of October last which were examined and ordered to be entered The Storekeeper this day brought in his Account of Waste on Store Goods for the year past which were examined and approved and is as follows viz Profit & Loss Dr for Loss by Leakage Wastage Short Weights & Measure by drawing by the Gallon &ca and by Weighing by the Pound &ca for the Year Ending the 11 October 1754 viz Cordage 7 3 13¼ lb yr Do £ 1 10 Lead viz Do 2 27 Sheet Lead lb yr Do £ 4 4 8 Small Shot 1 4 9 8 Leather 9 Do 6 6 Nails 9 Do 3 2 Iron & Steel viz Do 7 4 26 Iron 1 7 2 13 Steel 4 3 1 11 5 Paint viz Do 28½ White Lead lb yr Do 9 6 2 Olive Colour 3 6 4 Prg Blue 3 4 6 Stone Colour 2 10½ 7½ Mahogany 1 3 1 5½ Carried over £ 4 17 2¼	1754 Paper for the use of the castle, 1 ream Paper for the use of the secretary's office, 1 ream Handspikes broke at Banks's, 2 Handspikes broke at the main fort, 2 Handspikes broke at Sandy Bay, 1 Bitts broke at the main fort, 1 Bitts broke at Sandy Bay, 4 Tallow for the use of the crane, 2 Tallow for the long boat, 3 Tallow for the wood carts, 12 The account was signed by John Hall. The record then set out the accounts of the sale of the effects of the late Thomas Jones and John Dove, deceased. Account of sales of the effects of Thomas Jones, deceased, sold at public auction on 17 October 1754, namely: Captain Clark, 12 skeins silk, £0 0s 6d Captain Clark, 2 books, £0 3s 0d Captain Clark, 1 case china, £0 6s 3d Total, £0 9s 9d Mr Hall, 1 case and bottles, £1 12s 0d Mr Hall, 12 skeins silk, £0 5s 6d Mr Hall, 2 old wigs, £1 10s 6d Mr Hall, 4 new shirts and 1 handkerchief, £3 2s 6d Mr Hall, 1 bed, blanket, quilt, pillow and bolster, £1 8s 0d Mr Hall, a parcel of horn handles, £0 6s 0d Total, £8 2s 6d Mr Yates, 4 pairs stockings, £0 0s 11d Mr Herbert, 1 old hand desk, £0 4s 0d Mr Herbert, 24 dozen coat and breast buttons, £0 3s 1d Mr Herbert, a parcel of mohair and thread, £0 16s 0d Mr Herbert, 1 cane and 2 tea pots, £0 0s 2d Mr Herbert, 11 books, £0 14s 6d Mr Herbert, 1 case china ink, £0 4s 0d Carried over, £5 5s 2d Carried over, £9 3s 3d Interpretations The record turns to the disposal of dead men's goods, the effects of Thomas Jones and John Dove sold at public auction and the proceeds accounted for, the customary way a small settlement settled the estate of one who died on the island. Selling a deceased person's possessions by open auction to the other inhabitants let the value be realised in cash for the estate or its creditors, and the buyers named, Captain Clark, Mr Hall, Mr Yates and Mr Herbert, were fellow members of the island community taking up the clothes, books, bedding and small wares of the dead. The everyday nature of the goods, silk and thread, shirts and wigs, bedding, books and tea pots, gives a plain picture of what a man of the settlement owned, the modest personal property that changed hands when he died. That old wigs and worn shirts found ready buyers marks the scarcity of manufactured goods on a remote island, where even second-hand clothing and household stuff held value enough to be worth bidding for at a dead man's sale.
246	239	1754 Brought over £ 4 17 2¼ Rozin 4 lb 4 Soap 1 3 7 lb yr Do 5 5 9 Salt 3½ Bushels 11 3 Vinegar 2½ Gallons 5 3½ Arrack 130¾ Do 17 4 1	18 November Brought over, £9 3s 3d Brought over, £5 5s 2d Mr Herbert, 6 new silk handkerchiefs, £0 10s 0d Mr Herbert, 1 black waistcoat unmade, £0 10s 0d Mr Herbert, 1 old coat and waistcoat, £0 4s 6d

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		Brandy 67½ Do 5 13 1½ Chinaware viz Do 2 Bowls £ 1 8 2 Sneakers Broke 5½ 1 Salt Dish 9 2 10½ Sugar & Candy viz Do 57 2 Sugar 7 3½ 43 0 Candy 9 4 16 3 5 Rice 18 2 24 lb yr Do 6 1 6 Candles 2 21 5 12 3 Starch 6½ 2 8 £ 62 9 7½ Errors Excepted Signed M Purling Storekeeper Profit & Loss Dr for 31¼ Gallons Vinegar received from England yr Ship Walpole, which was Bad upon taking the remains at Michaelmas 1753 it is now entirely Spoilt unfit for Sale and of no manner of Use £ 3 4½ Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Mr Herbert, remnant black silk, £0 15s 6d Mr Herbert, 1 remnant red silk, £1 2s 0d Mr Herbert, 2 shirts, 1 stock and 2 neck cloths, £0 11s 6d Mr Herbert, 4 papers buttons, £0 2s 6d Total, £9 1s 2d Hamilton, 1 chest, £1 0s 0d Hamilton, 1 parcel mohair, £0 10s 0d Hamilton, some remnants white cloth, £0 3s 3d Total, £11 3s 3d Brightwell, 24 dozen buttons, £0 1s 2d Brightwell, 1 parcel mohair, £0 17s 6d Brightwell, 12 skeins silk, £0 3s 0d Brightwell, 1 coat, £1 6s 0d Total, £3 10s 6d Mr Onesbush, 2 parcel buttons, £0 2s 0d Mr Onesbush, 12 skeins silk, £0 0s 7d Mr Onesbush, a parcel of mohair, £2 5s 7d Total, £2 5s 7d Mr Brown, a parcel of buckram, £0 6s 1d Mr Brown, 1 pair breeches and waistcoat, £0 6s 6d Mr Brown, 2 pairs nankeen, £0 3s 9d Mr Brown, 4 pairs stockings, £0 9s 0d Mr Brown, 1 sea pot, £0 3s 0d Mr Brown, 12 skeins silk, £0 1s 4d Total, £1 16s 6d Mr Evans, a parcel of old china, £0 5s 6d Mr Evans, 1 old hat, £0 3s 8d Mr Evans, 2 tea pots, £0 2s 6d Mr Evans, 1 red silk waistcoat, £0 2s 3d Total, £1 14s 6d Mr Bagley, 12 skeins silk, £1 14s 6d Mr Bagley, 1 hat, £0 5s 6d Mr Bagley, 1 sea pot, £0 15s 6d Total, £2 7s 11d Peter Marshall, a parcel garters for breeches, £0 11s 0d Peter Marshall, a remnant of broad cloth, £0 2s 0d Peter Marshall, 4 pairs velvet, £0 18s 0d Total, £3 0s 10d Carried over, £35 9s 2d Interpretations The sale continues to disperse the dead man's wardrobe and small stock among the inhabitants, the cloth remnants, buttons, mohair and thread pointing to a man who dealt in or kept materials for tailoring beyond his own clothing. Nankeen was a durable yellowish cotton cloth from China, named for the city of Nanking, and its presence with silk, velvet and broad cloth marks the range of dress fabrics the estate held, drawing bidders who could use the stuff for making or trimming their own garments. The recurrence of sea pots among several buyers' lots marks a common item of the seafaring settlement, a covered pot or vessel for use aboard ship or in quarters, its frequent appearance showing the maritime cast of the island's goods. That the effects sold piecemeal to a dozen named residents, each taking a few remnants, garments or wares, confirms the auction as the settlement's means of turning a dead man's property into cash while spreading useful goods among a community that could ill replace them from any other source.
247	240	11 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 11 Day of November 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council John Adamson Lieutenant Governor absent being sick The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated	1754 Brought over, £35 9s 2d Mr Baker, 24 skeins silk, £0 12s 0d Mr Baker, a parcel of silk, £0 8s 0d Mr Baker, 1 pair candlesticks, £0 8s 0d Mr Baker, 1 old box and pair shears, £0 5s 6d Mr Baker, 1 dimity waistcoat, £0 8s 6d Mr Baker, 2 rolls twist, £0 4s 0d Mr Baker, 1 remnant of scarlet cloth, £2 0s 6d

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		the 4 November 1754 Mr Matthew Bazett presented the following Petition viz Do To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena Sheweth The humble Petition of Matthew Bazett That there is a small piece of Land which is Rocky and barren, but convenient to your Petitioner in Order to Shorten his Fence, therefore Begs that your Worship & Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the Same, at a rate in proportion to its Value And your Petitioner shall ever Pray Signed M Bazett 11 Novr 1754 Agreed that the said Land should be Leised Chas Hutchinson John Adamson	Mr Baker, 1 silk coat and waistcoat unmade, £3 5s 0d Mr Baker, 3 small remnants black silk, £0 8s 0d Mr Baker, 1 remnant nankeen, £0 3s 0d Mr Baker, 2 pairs old breeches, £0 8s 0d Mr Baker, 4 papers buttons, £0 1s 3d Total, £8 18s 9d Willingham, 1 gugglet and basin, £0 5s 6d Willingham, 1 goose and 2 sleeve boards, £0 3s 0d Willingham, 4 sea pots, £0 4s 3d Willingham, 3 pairs drawers, 2 stocks and 2 handkerchiefs, £0 7s 6d Willingham, a case of old buttons, £0 6s 0d Willingham, 8 papers buttons, £0 2s 2d Willingham, 6 silk handkerchiefs, £0 6s 6d Willingham, a remnant silk, £1 10s 0d Total, £3 4s 11d Mr Corbett, 3 books and a parcel of laces, £0 12s 6d Mr Corbett, 1 case china ink, £0 1s 4d John Williams, 1 black waistcoat, £1 10s 6d Total, £1 11s 10d Mr Hendrey, 6 stocks and 2 sea pots, £0 14s 6d Davies, 1 pair breeches, £0 2s 7d John Hudson, 1 pair old shoes, £0 8s 2d John Hudson, 1 set silver buckles, £1 7s 6d Total, £1 15s 8d Frood, 1 cattee, 1 sea pot and 2 sea pots, £0 9s 1d Frood, gold lace and vellum, £0 19s 0d Total, £1 8s 1d Mr Kelly, 4 sea pots, £0 3s 10d Langbridge, 12 sea pots, £0 12s 6d Thomas Hudson, 2 sea pots, £0 1s 7d John Legg, 1 looking glass and 2 sea pots, £0 8s 1d John Legg, 1 remnant brown cloth, £0 11s 8d Total, £0 19s 9d Sergeant Brown, 1 remnant broad cloth, £0 8s 1d Carried over, £56 3s 9d Interpretations The largest single lot, Mr Baker's, again gathers cloth remnants, silk, buttons and an unmade silk coat and waistcoat, confirming the dead man's stock as chiefly the materials and half-finished goods of the tailoring trade rather than a plain wardrobe. Dimity was a stout ribbed cotton and twist a strong thread or cord for sewing, and the scarlet cloth remnant that fetched over £2 shows the same costliness of fine dyed wool that the store inventory marked, dear enough to draw a high bid even as an offcut. The goose and sleeve boards among Willingham's purchases were a tailor's or laundress's tools, the goose a heavy smoothing iron named for the shape of its handle and the sleeve boards small boards for pressing sleeves, further marking the estate as that of a man in the clothing trade. The gold lace and vellum bought by Frood point to finer trimmings and the prepared skin used for writing or binding, the range of the goods showing how varied a stock even a modest islander might leave. The sea pots recur through nearly every lot, sold in ones and twos and larger parcels to a dozen buyers, their sheer number in this one estate suggesting the dead man dealt in them, these covered vessels being a staple of the seafaring trade that touched the island and readily dispersed among its people.
248	241	18 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 18 Day of November 1754 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor	18 November Brought over, £56 3s 9d John Whitchman, 2 white shirts, £0 6s 1d John Whitchman, 1 tobacco box, £0 1s 3d John Whitchman, some remnants silk, £0 4s 6d John Whitchman, 1 rule, £0 2s 3d

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		Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 11 November 1754 Thursday the 14 Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Dragon Captain Harry Kent and brought us the following Supply viz Do Invoice yr Ship Dragon BA Batavia Arrack No 2 2 Leaguers @ 15 yr Cent lb 380 Batta 8 yr Ct 30 6 6 410 6 6 STF Sugar Tresender fine No 10 10 Bags of 20 Bucw Mtd @ 15 yr Bag 150 Batta 8 yr Cent 12 162 WC Wax Candles No 2 2 Chests yr 4 Factory Mtd @ 65 yr Md 260 RF Rice fine No 42 42 Bags yr 8 4 Bucw mtd @ 23 12 yr Md 141 7 6 Batta 8 yr Cent 11 5 3 152 12 9 Charges Merchandize 9 4 Gunny Bags & Sewing 15 6 6 2 Empty Leaguers 35 3 2 Chests and Embalng 5 12 Braithie 1 1 3 Pion 8 Motea 4 3 6 62 4 6 Current Rupees 1247 7 9 Errors Excepted Signed W Cruttenden Accomt	John Whitchman, 1 bag buttons, £0 1s 1d John Whitchman, a parcel of coloured thread, £0 10s 4d Total, £2 5s 6d Thomas Harper, 1 remnant of broad cloth, £1 17s 0d Thomas Harper, 2 pairs sheets and 4 shirts checked, £1 4s 9d Thomas Harper, 2 dimity waistcoats and 1 cattee tea, £1 7s 8d Thomas Harper, 1 box tea, £1 12s 1d Total, £6 0s 0d Sergeant Davis, 1 dimity waistcoat, £0 3s 6d Sergeant Davis, 4 pairs stockings, £0 11s 1d Total, £0 14s 7d John Earle, 1 cloth brush, £0 1s 3d Mr Doveton, 6 silk handkerchiefs, £0 8s 1d Mr Doveton, 1 old box, £0 5s 6d Total, £0 13s 7d Ballard, 10 caps and 4 papers buttons, £0 0s 7d Mr Bazett, mohair, £0 5s 0d Mr Bazett, black silk, £0 10s 0d Mr Bazett, red silk, £0 6s 0d Mr Bazett, flannel, £0 6s 6d Total, £1 7s 6d Mr Steward, 4 sea pots, £0 5s 2d Mr Steward, 1 case china ink, £0 1s 2d Mr Steward, 2 pairs nankeen, £0 9s 6d Mr Steward, 2 rolls livery lace, £0 2s 6d Total, £18 4s 0d Total, £68 11s 5d Account of sales of John Dove's effects, sold at public auction on 17 October 1754, namely: John Decline, 1 looking glass, £0 2s 6d John Decline, 1 pint pail, £0 1s 3d Total, £7 3s 9d Antony Meaden, 1 regimental coat, £0 4s 0d Antony Meaden, 1 pair breeches, £0 16s 0d Total, £0 5s 6d John Legg, 1 coloured shirt, £0 0s 6d Carried over, £0 9s 9d Interpretations The last of Jones's effects sold, tobacco box, rule, cloth brush and the like among the cloth and buttons, round out the picture of his stock and person, a rule being a measuring stick fit for a man who cut cloth. Livery lace was the braid used to trim servants' liveries, and its sale with the mohair, silk and flannel confirms the estate as chiefly a tailor's or draper's stock, the whole realising over £68 for the dead man's account. The account then opens the sale of John Dove's effects, a separate and much smaller estate, its regimental coat and breeches marking Dove as a soldier of the garrison whose few possessions were dispersed at the same October auction. The contrast between the two estates, one a substantial stock of cloth and the other a soldier's scant belongings, shows the range of the island's dead whose goods passed through the same public sale, from the man of trade to the common soldier leaving little more than his uniform.
249	242	18 November The Governor thought proper to observe to the Gentlemen of the Council as follows viz Do Gentlemen The Advices we received by Captain Kent makes it necessary for us I think, to be upon our Guard and to take such measures, as may be the most effectual for the Defence of this Island in case of a War with France. And that our Honorable Masters, may be informed as soon as possible	1754 Brought over, £0 9s 9d Mr Bazett, 1 chest, £0 9s 9d Adam Watson, 1 hat, £0 15s 6d John Bridgwater, 1 pair white stockings, £0 1s 3d Mr Doveton, 1 pair coloured stockings, £0 0s 11d Hamilton, 1 pair trousers, £0 0s 9d Sergeant Frost, 1 pewter basin, £0 0s 1d Mr Corbett, 1 pair shoe and knee buckles, £0 2s 6d Thomas Salter, 3 white shirts, £0 6s 7d Solomon Jacobs, 8 neck rolers, £0 2s 3d

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		of the State of their military Stores here, I am Drawing up a Particular of them, in order to be transmitted to the Honorable the Court of Directors, which I shall lay before you, when perfected The Accomptant, reports that the Honorable Companys Books of Accompts are Balanced to the 11 of October last, which we Ordered to be Copied as fast as Possible The Governor likewise desired the Lieutenant Governor to draw out a State of the Honorable Companys Plantations & Pastures, to be transmitted to them by their Ship the Dragon The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11 instant were this Day brought in, which was examined and approved and are as follows viz Do	Solomon Jacobs, 5 old neck rolers, £0 1s 3d Total, £0 3s 6d August Watkins, 4 pairs spatterdashes, £0 6s 0d August Watkins, 4 stocks, £0 1s 0d Total, £0 7s 0d Ballard, 2 new silk handkerchiefs, £0 5s 0d Total, £3 7s 10d The record then set out an account current with the estate of the late Thomas Jones, deceased. Interpretations The remainder of John Dove's few effects sold for small sums, a hat, stockings, shirts and buckles dispersed among the garrison at pennies and shillings, the whole estate realising little more than £3. Spatterdashes were long gaiters or leggings worn to keep the legs clean on the march or in dirty ground, and neck rolers a form of stock or neckcloth, marking the soldier's plain kit that made up the bulk of Dove's belongings. The two auctions together show the settlement's method of winding up the affairs of its dead, both estates sold on the same October day and now accounted for so the proceeds could be set against each man's debts or paid to his heirs. The opening of an account current with Jones's estate marks the next step, the reckoning of what the dead man owed and was owed, the sale money now to be balanced against his obligations before anything remained for those who had a claim on it.
250	243	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from 12 to the 11 November 1754 viz Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shotes, Pigs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Sabus, Total Remaining the 12: Bulls 6, Cows 81, Calves 62, Yearlings 13, Heifers 44, Steers 10, Bullocks 15, Oxen 14, Total 245, Ewes 193, Wathers 70, Lambs 176, Rams 7, Total 446, Ewes 125, Wathers 45, Kids 92, Rams 8, Total 270, Sows 14, Shotes 8, Pigs 42, Boars 2, Total 66, Turkeys 89, Fowls 367, Ducks 19, Geese 31, Total 6, Horses 6, Mares 12, Total 1, Asses 2, Sabus 3 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 5, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 5, Ewes 0, Wathers 42, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 42, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Kids 32, Rams 0, Total 32, Sows 0, Shotes 8, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 8, Turkeys 4, Fowls 37, Ducks 28, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sabus 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 81, Calves 67, Yearlings 13, Heifers 44, Steers 10, Bullocks 15, Oxen 14, Total 250, Ewes 193, Wathers 70, Lambs 218, Rams 7, Total 488, Ewes 125, Wathers 45, Kids 124, Rams 8, Total 302, Sows 14, Shotes 8, Pigs 50, Boars 2, Total 74, Turkeys 93, Fowls 404, Ducks 47, Geese 31, Total 6, Horses 6, Mares 12, Total 1, Asses 2, Sabus 3 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 5, Wathers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 0, Wathers 6, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 8, Sows 0, Shotes 2, Pigs 2, Boars 0, Total 4, Turkeys 3, Fowls 25, Ducks 2, Geese 1, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sabus 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 3, Wathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shotes 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Turkeys 1, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sabus 0 Remaining the 11: Bulls 6, Cows 81, Calves 67, Yearlings 13, Heifers 44, Steers 10, Bullocks 15, Oxen 14, Total 250, Ewes 185, Wathers 70, Lambs 215, Rams	18 November Thomas Jones, deceased, debtor 1754 18 November, to cash paid the auctioneer, £0 0s 5d to cash paid four men for bringing the goods to the auction, £0 0s 2d to cash paid the balance of Captain Clark's account, £9 14s 7d to cash paid the balance of Mr John Inglis's account, £3 9s 0d to cash paid the balance of Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick's account, £1 10s 0d to cash paid the balance of Mr James Yates's account, £8 6s 1d to cash paid the balance of Thomas Willingham's account, £15 5s 5½d to cash paid the balance of William Paddom's account, £1 5s 3d to cash paid James Howe's account, £0 7s 6d to cash paid Benjamin Swaile's account, £0 4s 0d to cash paid the balance of <i>Godfrey</i> Armbrecht's account, £1 6s 0d to cash paid the balance of Thomas Taylor's account, £0 9s 9d to cash paid the balance of James Richardson's account, £1 1s 0d to cash paid the balance of John Tomlinson's account, £1 17s 3d to cash paid the balance of Mr Henry Bazett's account, £0 9s 6d to cash paid Solomon Jacobs's account, £0 9s 6d to cash paid John Williams's account, £1 0s 9d to cash paid Peter Lindsay's account, £8 4s 8d to cash paid William Aikman's account, £0 5s 0d to cash paid Robert John Clarke's account, £0 10s 0d to cash paid Mr Joshua Verralls's account, £0 8s 0d to cash paid the balance of Mr James Corbett's account, £4 11s 3d to cash paid Mr Thomas Evans's account, £3 19s 0d to cash paid the balance of Mr Bartholomew Beale's account, £10 6s 0d to cash paid William Fendue's account, £0 1s 3d

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		7, Total 477, Ewes 125, Wathers 39, Kids 122, Rams 8, Total 294, Sows 14, Shotes 6, Pigs 46, Boars 2, Total 68, Turkeys 89, Fowls 379, Ducks 45, Geese 30, Total 6, Horses 6, Mares 12, Total 1, Asses 2, Sabus 3 4 Goats for the Sick Blacks 1 Slave Boy born Named October Yams Expended 29080 Errors Excepted Signed John Adamson	To balance, £40 4s 7d £75 19s 9½d £116 3s 10d The balance of £40 4s 0½d was received into the Honourable Company's cash, and the council ordered it written off to account current with London. Interpretations The account settles the dead man's estate by paying off, one by one, the debts he owed to a long list of the island's inhabitants, the auction money and other assets discharging his obligations before any residue remained. That Thomas Jones owed money to more than two dozen named residents, from the Governor's fellow officers down to common soldiers and tradesmen, shows how far credit ran through the small settlement, nearly everyone standing in debt or credit to everyone else in a place with little ready coin. The two small payments to the auctioneer and to the four men who carried the goods to the sale mark the incidental costs of realising the estate, charged against it before the creditors were paid. The final balance of just over £40 taken into the Company's cash and written off to the London account shows the settlement remitting the residue of a dead man's estate to the Company's head office, the island's affairs ultimately answering to and squaring with the books kept at home. Speculations The residue of the estate could simply have been held on the island or paid to whatever heir or representative Jones had left, since it was his private property and not the Company's. The council instead ordered the £40 balance taken into the Company's own cash and written off to the London account, folding a dead man's surplus into the Company's books rather than keeping it separate, probably because Jones had died without any claimant present on so remote an island to receive it, so the settlement passed the money home to be dealt with by the Company's head office where any lawful heir would have to seek it.
251	244	18 November Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11 November 1754 viz Do 43 bottles Port Wine £ 3 5 1½ 55 Do Lisbon 4 3 4 23 Do Medera 2 16 3½ 71 Do Arrack 2 8 7½ 53 Do Beer 14 4½ 318 Flour lb 2 3 7½ 2 53½ Mutton lb 5 5 7½ 3½ Lambs 1 10 133 Pork lb 3 6 6 42 Goat 4 1 Kid 5 2 Pigs 10 25 Fowls 1 17 6 2 Ducks 3 1 Goose 5 3 Turkeys 15 4 yr Salt Pork 8 4 yr Do Beef 11 100 Candy 1 16 4 48½ Butter lb 2 8 3 2 8 3 £ 35 4 5½ NB The expence of this Month is occasioned by making a Dinner for the Honorable Companys Tenants, the Planters as Usual upon paying their Rents, and rejoyceing at his Majestys Birth Day Gunners Stores Expended from the 12 October to the 11 November 1754 viz Do Novr the 10 Fired for the Kings birth Day 21 1 2 17 20 8	1754 Per contra, creditor 1754 18 November, by account sales, £68 11s 5d by account of John Adamson, £6 0s 0d by account of Mr Charles Steward, £2 12s 6d by account of Mr George Hay, £4 10s 8d by the balance of Mr James Powells account, £4 6s 6d by account of Mr William Wrangham, £4 7s 8d by account of Mr James Grantire, £0 8s 6d by account of Mr Francis Wrangham senior, £4 11s 0d by account of Mr Richard Beale, £1 10s 0d by account of Mr Thomas Grantire, £1 1s 6d by account of Mr Francis Wrangham junior, £2 8s 10d by the balance of Mr Francis Marratt's account, £0 16s 0d by the balance of Mr William Hennidy's account, £3 14s 9d by the balance of Mr William Lee's account, £3 3s 6d by account of Mr John Alexander, £0 8s 0d by the balance of Mr John Goodwin's account, £0 0s 6d by account of Mr John Doveton, £1 2s 6d by the balance of Mr Orlando Bagley's senior account, £1 2s 6d by account of Mr John Worrall, £0 8s 0d by the balance of Mr John Hodges account, £0 0s 6d by account of Mr John Desfontain, £0 1s 6d

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		Powder for Prooving 4 Powder fired with small Arms for Do 18 3 Do for the Funeral of William Whittingham 2 4 Do for Blowing of Lime Stone 12 Total 21 1 2 17 01 15	by the balance of Mr Matthew Purling's account, £2 3s 6d by the balance of Mr Orlando Bagley junior account, £0 11s 6d by account of Mr Richard Bagley, £0 4s 4d £116 3s 10d The record then set out an account current with the estate of the late John Dove, deceased. Interpretations The creditor side of Jones's estate lists the debts owed to him by another long roll of the island's inhabitants, the sums due to be gathered in to set against what he owed, the auction proceeds and these receivables together making up the estate's whole worth. That the same names recur among both his creditors and his debtors confirms the dense web of mutual credit in the settlement, the dead man both owing and being owed by many of the same people with whom he had dealt. The balancing of the two sides to an identical total of £116 3s 10d shows the estate reckoned as a closed account, everything owed to Jones set exactly against everything he owed and the small residue carried to the Company's books. Winding up a dead man's affairs by drawing all his scattered dealings into a single balanced reckoning was the settlement's means of clearing the tangle of island credit that one death left behind, so that no debt to or from him remained loose once the account was closed.
252	245	1754 Paper for the use of the Castle 1 Gr Do for the use of the Secretarys Office 1 Handspikes broke at Bantess 2 Do at the Main Fort 2 Do at Sandy Bay 1 Bitts broke at the Main Fort 1 Do at Sandy Bay 4 Tallow for the use of the Crane 2 Do for the Long Boat 3 Do for the Wood Carts 12 Signed Jno Hall The following are the Accounts of the Sale of the effects of the late Thomas Jones, and John Dove deceased viz Do Account Sales of the Effects of Thomas Jones Deceased sold at Publick Auction this 17 Day of October 1754 viz Do Capt Cash 12 Skains Silk £ 6 2 Books 3 1 Case China 1 3 9 9 Mr Hall 1 Case & Bottles 1 12 12 Skains Silk 5 6 2 Old Wigs 1 10 6 4 New Sheets & 1 Handkerchief 3 2 6 1 Bed Blanket, Quilt Pillow & Contents 1 8 0 A Parcel of Horn Handles 3 6 8 2 6 Mr Yates 4 Pair Stockings 11 Mr Herbert 1 Old Hand Dish 4 24 Doz Coat & Breast Buttons 3 1 A Parcel of mohair & Thread 16 0 1 Cane & 2 Tea Pots 2 11 Books 14 6 1 Case China Ink 4 Carried over £ 5 3 2 Carried over £ 9 3 3	John Dove, deceased, debtor 1754 18 November, to cash paid sundries, £2 18s 11d to balance, £5 5s 2d £8 4s 1d Per contra, creditor 1754 18 November, by account sales, £3 7s 10d by cash, £4 16s 3d £8 4s 1d Interpretations Dove's small estate is settled on the same pattern as Jones's but at a fraction of the value, the sale of his few goods and a sum of cash on the credit side balanced against the debts paid on his behalf, leaving a modest residue. The whole reckoning of a little over £8 marks the slender means of a common soldier of the garrison, his affairs wound up in a single short account against the far larger and more tangled estate of the man of trade settled on the facing pages.
253	246	18 November Brought over £ 9 3 3 Brought over £ 5 5 2 Mr Herbert	Peter Marshall, a quarter gunner, applied for his discharge, although his contracted time would not expire until the following February. Having obtained the consent of Samuel Anderson and Captain Kent

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		6 New Silk Handkerchief 10 1 Black Waistcoat unmade 10 1 Old Coat & Waistcoat 4 6 remant Black Silk 15 6 1 Do Red Do 1 2 2 Shirts 1 Stock & 2 Neck Cloths 4 6 4 Papers Buttons 2 6 9 12 Hamelton 1 Chest 1 1 Parcel mohair 10 Some remnants White Cloth 3 3 14 3 3 Brightwell 24 Dozen Buttons 1 2 1 Parcel mohair 17 6 12 Skains Silk 3 1 Coat 1 6 3 10 6 Mr Chas Bush 2 Parcel Buttons 2 12 Skains Silk 7 2 5 7 Adamson Junior A Parcel of mohair 6 1 Do Buckram 6 6 1 Do Breeches & Waistcoat 3 9 2 Do Nankan 9 4 Do Stockings 3 3 1 Sea Pott 14 1 16 6 Mr Evans 12 Skains Silk 5 6 A Parcel of Old China 3 8 1 Old Hatt 2 6 2 Tea Potts 2 3 1 Red Silk Waistcoat 1 14 6 2 7 11 Mr Rd Bagley 12 Skains Silk 5 6 1 Hatt 15 6 1 1 Peter Marshall 1 Tea Pott 2 A Parcel Garters for Breeches 18 A Remnant of Broad Cloth 10 ½ Do Velvet 3 4 10 Carried over £ 35 9 2	of the ship <i>Dragon</i> for his working out the remaining term, and having engaged to enlist at its expiration to serve the Company for five years more, he was discharged for those reasons. Several slaves, being <i>Dolphin</i> and George belonging to Francis Wrangham senior, Jack, Harry, Toby and Billey belonging to John Alexander, had lately been detected stealing sheep. The council ordered them all to be severely whipped in public by the hand of the marshal, and <i>Dolphin</i>, Jack, Harry and Toby, being by far the most notorious, to be branded on the cheek besides. William Thomson, a soldier who was supposed to have deserted in the ship <i>Beaufort</i>, left some effects behind. The council ordered these sold at public auction, and the sum they raised, together with some money due to him, came in all to £5 14s 3½d after his debts were paid. This was lodged in the Honourable Company's cash and ordered written off to account current with London. The decisions were signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations Marshall's discharge turned on a bargain that served the Company as much as the man, for he was let go before his term ended only once he had secured his ship captains' consent and bound himself to enlist afresh for five more years. Releasing a soldier early in exchange for a fresh long engagement shows the garrison managing its manpower by trading a present discharge for a future commitment, keeping the man on the island's strength across the years even as it granted his immediate request. The punishment of the slaves for sheep stealing shows the settlement's harsh criminal justice as applied to its unfree labour, public whipping meant to deter by example and branding on the cheek marking the worst offenders with a permanent and visible sign of their crime. Graduating the penalty so that the four most notorious were branded as well as flogged reflects a deliberate scaling of terror, the mark on the face following the man for life as a lasting warning to others of the flock the Company's stealing struck at. The disposal of Thomson's effects follows the same course as the dead men's estates, his goods sold and the residue after debts remitted to London, treating a supposed deserter's abandoned property much as it treated that of the deceased. That a man merely supposed to have deserted had his effects sold and his balance sent home shows the settlement's readiness to wind up the affairs of any who left it, whether by death or flight, and to answer for the money to the Company's head office. Speculations The obvious response to slaves caught stealing sheep was to whip them all alike, the public flogging by the marshal already serving as the settlement's standard punishment and deterrent. The council went further with <i>Dolphin</i>, Jack, Harry and Toby, ordering them branded on the cheek as well because they were reckoned by far the most notorious, choosing a permanent facial mark over mere flogging so that repeat or hardened offenders would carry a visible
254	247	1754 Brought over £ 35 9 2 Mr Baker 24 Skains Silk £ 12 A Parcel of Silk 8 1 Do Candlesticks 8 1 Old Box & Do Shears 5 6 1 Demity Waistcoat 8 6 2 Bolts Twist 4 1 remnant of Scarlet Cloth 2 6 1 Silk Coat & Waistcoat unmade 3 5 3 Small remnants Black Silk 8	At a consultation held on Monday 25 November 1754 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 18 November 1754, was read, approved and signed. The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods found short on receipt from the ship <i>Dragon</i>. Account of stores found short received from the ship <i>Dragon</i>, namely:

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		1 Do Nankeen 3 2 Do Old Breeches 8 4 Papers Buttons 1 3 8 18 9 Willigham 1 Guglet & Bason 5 6 1 Goose & 2 Sleeve Boards 3 4 Sea Potts 4 3 3 Do Draws 2 Stocks & 2 Handkerchief 7 6 1 Case of Old Buttons 6 8 Papers Do 2 2 6 Silk Handkerchief 6 6 1 remnant Silk 1 10 3 4 11 Mr Corbett 3 Books & a Parcel of Laces 12 6 John Williams 1 Case China Ink 14 1 Black Waistcoat 1 10 6 1 11 10 Mr Hendrey 6 Stocks & 2 Sea Potts 14 6 Sarvis 1 Do Breeches 2 7 John Hudson 1 yr Old Shoes 8 2 1 Set Silver Buckles 1 7 6 1 15 8 Frood 1 Cattea Sea & 2 Sea Potts 9 1 Gold Lace & Velleum 10 1 8 1 Mr Nolly 4 Sea Potts 3 10 Langbridge 12 Do Do 12 6 Tho Hudson 2 Do Do 1 7 John Legg 1 Looking Glass & 2 Sea Potts 8 1 1 remnant Brown Cloth 11 8 19 9 Serj Brown 1 remnant Broad Cloth 8 1 Carried over £ 56 3 9	16 bags rice, short delivered 1 bag sugar, short delivered 11 candles, short weight number 1 leaguer arrack, gauged 120 lb to fill 13 gallons, 156, batta 12 per cent, 156 12 2 leaguers arrack, 505 22, batta 22 Received 283 gallons The account was signed by M Purling, storekeeper. The record then turned to the counting and examination of the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 instant, set out as follows. Interpretations The storekeeper's account of goods short received checks the cargo actually landed from the <i>Dragon</i> against the invoice presented a week before, recording the shortfalls in rice, sugar, candles and arrack so the deficiency could be charged back rather than borne by the store. Reconciling what a ship's invoice promised against what its cargo yielded on unloading was the settlement's guard against loss in transit or short lading, the storekeeper answerable only for what he actually took into his charge. The arrack in particular is measured on receipt and found short of the invoiced quantity, the leaguers gauged and the gallons counted so that evaporation, leakage or short filling in the cask could be set down and allowed for. That the store received 283 gallons against what the invoice had promised shows the same shrinkage of spirits in transit that the annual wastage account recorded within the warehouse, the loss now caught at the point of delivery and booked against the supplier's reckoning rather than the storekeeper's stock.
255	248	18 November Brought over £ 56 3 9 John Whitchurch 2 White Shirts £ 6 1 1 Tobacco Box 1 3 Some remnants Silk 4 6 1 Rule 2 3 1 Bag & Buttons 1 1 A Parcel of Coulerd Thread 10 4 2 5 6 Thos Harper 1 remnant of Broad Cloth 1 17 6 2 Do Sheet & 4 Shirts Checked 1 4 9 2 Demity Waistcoats & 1 Cattea Sea 1 7 8 1 Box Sea 1 12 1 6 Serj Davis 1 Demity Waistcoat 3 6 4 Do Stockings 11 1 14 7 John Earle 1 Cloth Brush 1 3 Mr Doveton 6 Silk Handkerchief 8 1 10 Do Box 5 6 13 7 Ballard 10 Caps & 4 Papers Buttons 7 Mr Bazett mohair 5 Black Silk 10 Do Silk 6 Flannel 6 6 1 7 6 Mr Steward 4 Sea Potts 5 2 1 Case China Ink 1 2 2 yr Nankan 9 6 2 Bowls Livery Lace 2 6 18 4 Total £ 68 11 5 Account Sales of John Doves Effects Sold at Publick	Cash, debtor 1754 12 October, to balance remaining, £3,184 15s 7³/₄d Per contra, creditor 1754 11 November, by balance remaining in the following species, namely: 400 Venetians at 10s, £200 0s 0d 1,280 pagodas at 8s, £512 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £712 0s 0d 2,408 dollars at 5s, £602 0s 0d 10,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,125 0s 0d 12,948 half reals at 3³/₄d, £202 6s 3d 441 French crowns at 12s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 10³/₄d Silver amounting to, £1,933 0s 7³/₄d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d £3,184 15s 7³/₄d Interpretations The monthly cash count sets the balance carried forward against the actual coin and paper found in the chest, the two sides agreeing at £3,184 15s 7³/₄d to prove the money whole and correctly accounted. Breaking the balance down into its several currencies, Venetian gold, Indian pagodas and rupees, Spanish dollars and half reals and French crowns, again lays bare the jumble of world coin that served a settlement at the meeting of the Company's trade routes, each piece valued into sterling to make a single reckoning. The heavy preponderance of silver over gold, and of rupees within the silver, reflects the pull of the Indian trade on the island's money as the earlier count had shown, the coin of the subcontinent making up more than half the whole. That the cash

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		Auction this 17 Day of October 1754 viz John Decline 1 Looking Glass £ 2 6 1 Pint Bottle 1 3 9 3 9 Antony morden 1 Regimental Coat 4 1 Do Do Breeches 16 5 6 John Legg 1 Coulered Shirt 6 Carried over £ 9 9	notes, the Company's own island paper, stood unchanged at £539 15s from the previous month marks the fixed issue of that currency, the metal coin fluctuating with each month's takings and payments while the paper held steady as a settled part of the circulating medium.
256	249	1754 Brought over £ 9 9 Mr Bazett 1 Chest 9 9 Adam Watson 1 Hatt 15 6 John Bridgwater 1 Pr White Stockings 1 3 Mr Doveton 1 Do Coulerd Do 11 Plantation 1 Do Trousers 9 Serj Frost 1 Pewter Bason 1 Mr Corbett 1 Do Shoe & Knee Buckles 2 6 Tho Salter 3 White Shirts 6 7 Solomon Jacobs 8 Neck Rolers £ 2 3 5 Old Do Do 1 3 3 6 Serj Watkins 4 Do Spaderdashes 6 4 Stocks 1 7 Ballard 2 New Silk Handkerchief 5 Total £ 3 7 10 The following is an Account Current with the Estate of the late Thomas Jones Deceased viz	The Governor addressed the council. He reminded them that at the consultation the previous Monday he had undertaken to draw up a statement of the island's military stores. He had now done so and laid it before the council, together with an estimate of how much more would be needed. In his view it would be reasonable to ask the Company to send these supplies, should it appear to the directors that there was any prospect of a breach with France. He asked the council to consider the statement so that whatever changes seemed necessary might be made to it. The Lieutenant Governor, as the Company's husband and following the Governor's direction at the previous consultation, laid before the council a statement of the condition of the Company's pastures and plantations, which ran as follows. The statement of the Honourable Company's stock, plantations and pastures was dated 9 November 1754. The stock in general was in very thriving condition and increasing daily, there being plenty of grass in the pastures. The fences between the Company's ground and the planters', which had needed repair, were almost finished. The yam plantations looked extremely well, but as the plants were young, the Lieutenant Governor feared the overseers could not dig them for more than a month longer without great waste. It would therefore be necessary to feed the slaves on rice for two or three months, so that the yams might reach a better growth. He was informed there had never been a year, or at most very few, in which the slaves had not been fed on rice for a while, or had yams bought for them. Interpretations The Governor's statement of military stores answers the fear of war with France raised the previous week, the island's readiness to be reported home so the Company might judge what further supplies to send. Preparing a detailed return of stores with an estimate of what more was wanted shows the settlement's dependence on London for its very means of defence, unable to arm itself further without the Company's sanction and shipping, the threat of a European war measured out in barrels of powder and stands of arms to be requested from home. The husband named as the Lieutenant Governor's office was the Company official charged with managing its property and provisions, an old term for a steward or manager of an estate, here the officer answerable for the plantations and pastures whose condition he reported. The account of the yams turns on a point of careful husbandry, the young plants needing to be left in the ground to grow rather than dug too soon, so the slaves were to be fed on imported rice for some months to spare the immature crop. That feeding the slaves on rice for part of the year was described as the settled practice, never a year passing without it, shows the island's food supply resting on a mix of its own root crops and imported grain, the yams alone insufficient to carry the labour force through the year. The management of the yam

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			plantations as a resource to be protected from over-digging marks the deliberate agricultural planning by which the settlement stretched its home-grown food, buying in rice to bridge the seasons when the yams could not be spared. Speculations The straightforward way to feed the slaves was to dig the yams the plantations were already growing, since that food stood ready in the Company's own ground and cost nothing to buy. The Lieutenant Governor instead proposed feeding them on imported rice for two or three months, leaving the young yams in the earth despite the ready crop, because digging the immature plants would have wasted them and cut the later yield, so the settlement chose to spend on bought grain now to protect a larger harvest of its own staple later.
257	250	18 November Thomas Jones Deceased Dr 1754 November 18 To Cash paid the Auctioner £ 5 To Do paid four men for bringing the Goods to the Auction 2 To Do paid the Balance of Capt Clarks Account 9 14 7 To Do paid the Balance of Mr John Inglis Account 3 9 To Do paid the Balance of Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick's Account 1 10 To Do paid the Balance of Mr James Yeates Account 8 6 1 To Do paid the Balance of Thomas Willinghams Account 15 5 5½ To Do paid the Balance of Williams Paddoms Account 1 3 3 To Do paid James Howe Account 7 6 To Do paid Benjamin Swaile Account 4 To Do paid the Ballance of Godfrey Numbrakins Account 1 6 To Do paid the Balance of Thomas Taylors Account 9 9 To Do paid the Balance of James Richardson Account 1 1 To Do paid the Balance of John Tomlinsons Account 1 17 3 To Do paid the Balance of Mr Henry Bazetts Account 9 6 To Do paid Solomon Jacobs Account 9 6 To Do paid John Williams Account 1 9 To Do paid Peter Lindsays Account 8 4 8 To Do paid Williams Vackmans Account 5 To Do paid Robert John Clarks Account 10 To Do paid Mr Joshua Verralls Account 8 To Do paid the Balance of Mr James Corbetts Account 4 11 3 To Do paid Mr Thomas Evans Account 3 19 To Do paid the Balance of Mr Brew Beales Account 0 10 6 To Do paid Williams Vendue Account 13 To Balance 75 19 9½ 40 4 7 £ 116 3 10 The above Balance of forty Pounds four Shillings & a half penny we have received into the Honorable Companys Cash and Ordered it to wrote off to Account Current London	To remedy the shortage as far as possible, the Lieutenant Governor had directed the overseer in Sandy Bay to plant the following grounds. The lower plantation at the lime kiln, when complete, will hold 50,000 At the plantation called Franks 50,000 At Perkins 70,000 150,000 He was well assured that part of this ground had never been planted, and that the rest had lain fallow for a considerable time, so he had good reason to believe it would yield well. In the earlier remarks about the fences he wished it understood that he meant the parts divided on the Company's account, Perkins excepted, and the pieces of ground that were to be planted. The statement was signed by John Adamson. George Brian, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served his contracted time. He asked leave to remain on the island until 7 March in order to collect some money that was due to him. He undertook to support himself during that time and to be of no expense to the Company, preferring this to going to England by the ship <i>Dragon</i>. The petition was granted. Captain Kent applied to pay £640 into the Honourable Company's cash. The council received it and gave him a set of bills of exchange, drawn on the Court of Directors and payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Interpretations The planting figures set out the quantities of yams to be put into three named grounds, over 150,000 in all, the settlement moving to make good the coming shortfall by bringing fallow and unplanted land into cultivation. Choosing ground that had rested or never been worked reflects sound husbandry, the Lieutenant Governor expecting a good yield from soil left to recover, the whole effort a deliberate expansion of the yam crop to lessen the island's reliance on imported grain in future seasons. Brian's petition to stay on the island to collect money owed him, rather than sail home when he could, shows the difficulty a discharged man faced in gathering in his island debts before leaving, the same web of local credit that tangled the dead men's estates. That he undertook to be no charge on the Company marks the condition on which such leave was granted, the settlement willing to let a free man remain only if he supported himself, the departing ship offering a passage he chose to forgo for the sake of his outstanding dues. Captain Kent's payment of £640 into the Company's cash in exchange for bills of exchange on the Court of Directors shows the mechanism by which money was moved between the island and London without shipping coin. A bill of exchange

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			was a written order to pay a sum at a distant place after a set time, letting the captain hand over cash at St Helena and draw the equivalent from the Company in London, the ninety days after sight allowing for the bill's passage home and presentation, a paper instrument sparing the risk of carrying specie across the sea. Speculations The natural course for a discharged soldier was to take the passage home that the <i>Dragon</i> offered, the ship lying ready to carry him to England at the very time his service ended. Brian instead petitioned to stay on the island until March and forgo the sailing, choosing to remain at his own charge rather than leave, because money was owed him on the island that he could not collect once gone, so he weighed the certainty of a passage home against the recovery of his island debts and chose to wait for what was due to him.
258	251	1754 Per Contra Cr 1754 Novr 18 By Account Sales £ 68 11 5 By Account of John Adamson Esqr 6 By Account of Mr Charles Steward 2 12 6 By Account of Mr George Hay 4 10 8 By the Balance of Mr James Bruells Account 4 6 6 By Account of Mr William Wrangham 4 7 8 By Do of Mr James Grantree 8 6 By Do of Mr Francis Wrangham Senr 4 11 By Do of Mr Richard Beale 1 10 By Do of Mr Thomas Grantree 1 1 6 By Do of Mr Francis Wrangham Junr 2 8 10 By the Balance of Mr Francis Marvatts Account 16 By the Balance of Mr William Hennidys Account 3 14 9 By the Balance of Mr William Lee Account 3 3 6 By Account of Mr John Alexander 8 By the Balance of Mr John Goodwins Account 6 By Account of Mr John Doveton 1 2 6 By the Balance of Mr Orlando Bagleys Senr Account 1 2 6 By Account of Mr John Verrall 8 By the Balance of John Hodges Account 6 By Account of Mr John Desfountain 16 By the Balance of Mr Matthew Peerlings Account 2 3 6 By the Do of Mr Orlando Bagley Junr Account 14 6 By Account of Mr Richard Bagley 14 4 £ 116 3 10 The following is an Account Current with the Estate of the Late John Dove Deceased viz	Two young Madagascar cattle and one small anchor for the long boat were received from Captain Kent on the Honourable Company's account. The receipt was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 2 December 1754 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 25 November 1754, was read, approved and signed. The Honourable Company's ship <i>Dragon</i> sailed for England. Interpretations The two Madagascar cattle received from Captain Kent mark the island drawing livestock from that great source of provision cattle, Madagascar supplying beasts to the Company's Eastern settlements and passing ships, the animals added to the Company's own herds recorded in the monthly stock musters. The small anchor landed for the long boat shows the same ship furnishing a needed piece of maritime gear for the island's coastal craft, the arrival and departure of a Company vessel serving to both supply and take away. The <i>Dragon's</i> sailing for England closes the business that its arrival had set in train, the accounts, stock statements and stores returns gathered against its departure now going home with it, and the fear of French war reported to the Court of Directors carried in the same bottom. That the ship's coming and going framed a fortnight of the settlement's affairs marks again how the rhythm of a remote island answered to the movements of the Company's shipping, each vessel a link to home that opened and closed the window in which reports could be sent and supplies received.
259	252	John Dove Deceased Dr Per Contra Cr 1754 Novr 18 To Cash paid Sundrys £ 2 18 11 To Balance 5 5 2 £ 8 4 1 1754 Novr 18 By Account Sales £ 3 7 10 By Cash 4 16 3 £ 8 4 1	At a consultation held on Monday 9 December 1754 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 2 December 1754, was read, approved and signed. Some people had taken to throwing dirt and rubbish in the streets at night, which had become a public nuisance in the valley. The council therefore ordered an advertisement published forbidding everyone to do so in future, on penalty of five shillings for every such offence anyone might afterwards be found guilty of. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations

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			The order against dumping refuse in the streets by night shows the council attending to the ordinary business of town governance, keeping the main settlement in James Valley clean and orderly much as any English local authority policed its streets. Setting a fixed penalty of five shillings for each offence and publishing it by advertisement marks the settlement's method of making and enforcing petty regulations, the fine both deterring the nuisance and, if incurred, adding to the Company's revenue like the licence money and other small charges recorded in the cash accounts. That the offenders acted at night points to people disposing of waste under cover of darkness to avoid being seen, the council answering with a public notice that put everyone on warning and removed any excuse of ignorance. Governing the daily life of the valley down to the throwing of rubbish shows the reach of the settlement's authority into small matters of order and cleanliness, the same governing body that armed the fort and shipped the accounts home turning also to the mundane upkeep of its one town.
260	253	1754 Peter Marshall Quarter Gunner this Day applyed for his Discharge altho his contracted Time will not Expire untill next February but haveing procured out of the Ship Dragon Samuel Anderson and Captain Kents consent for his staying to serve it out, and engage to relist at the expiration of it to serve the Honorable Company for five years longer, we for these reasons have agreed to discharge him Several Blacks viz Delphin and George belonging to Francis Wrangham Senr Jack Harry Toby and Billey belonging to John Alexander, haveing been lately Detected Stealing of Sheep we Ordered them all to be severly Whiped by the Hands of the Marshall in a Public manner, and Delphin Jack Harry and Toby who are by much the most Notorious to be Branded on the Cheek behind William Thomson Soldier who we suppose to have deserted in the Ship Boscawen haveing left some effects here, we ordered them to be Sold at Publick Auction the amount of which after paying his Debts together with some Money that was due to him being in the whole five pounds fourteen Shillings & three pence half penny we have lodged in the Honorable Companys Cash, and desired it to be wrote off to account Current London Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	At a consultation held on Monday 16 December 1754 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 9 December 1754, was read, approved and signed. The council ordered an advertisement published requiring all the planters on the island to send a return into the secretary's office by 31 December, stating how many cattle each of them had available for slaughter for the coming year, beginning 1 January. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The order requiring the planters to declare their cattle fit for slaughter shows the settlement planning its meat supply for the year ahead by taking stock of what the island's private herds could yield. Gathering these returns let the Company judge how much beef it could draw from the planters to feed the garrison, shipping and slaves, the same reliance on local livestock that the stock musters and the provision accounts reflect, now organised in advance by a formal call for numbers. That the return was demanded by a fixed date and for a year commencing on the new year marks the settlement's orderly forward planning, the supply of fresh meat too important to be left to chance and so reckoned in advance from the whole island's stock. Requiring every planter to declare his beasts for slaughter shows the Company's authority over the island's food economy, able to call its independent inhabitants to account for their herds so that the year's victualling might be arranged on a known footing.
261	254	25 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 25 Day of November 1754 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 18 November 1754 The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods Short received from Ship Dragon viz	At a consultation held on Monday 23 December 1754 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 16 December 1754, was read, approved and signed. The stewards, plantation and gunners accounts for the month ending 11 instant were brought in, examined and approved, and ran as follows. Sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 December 1754, namely:

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		Account of Stores Short received from Ship Dragon 16 Bags Rice 1 Bag Sugar Short Delivered 11 Candles Short Weight No 1 Leaguer Arrack Gauge 120 lb to fill 13 Gallons 2 Do 156 Do 12 Do 305 22 22 Received 283 Gallons Signed M Purling Storekeeper Novr 25 1754 Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the month ending the 11 instant which is as follows viz Do	16 bottles port wine, £1 4s 7d 38 bottles Lisbon, £2 18s 4½d 12 bottles Madeira, £1 8s 7½d 45 bottles arrack, £1 10s 5¾d 46 bottles beer, £0 12s 5¾d 253 lb flour, £1 14s 3d 124 lb beef, £1 11s 0d 266 lb mutton, £5 10s 10d 41 lb pork, £0 6s 0d 20 lb goat, £0 6s 8d 19 fowls, £1 8s 6d 2 ducks, £0 3s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 7 lb salt pork, £0 14s 0d 3 lb salt beef, £0 8s 3d 100 lb candy, £1 13s 0d 36 lb butter, £1 16s 0d £24 5s 10d Interpretations The month's table account returns to its ordinary level after the swollen bills of the previous month, the wines, meat and drink consumed at the Company's table falling to some £24 without any special feast to raise them. The steady run of port, Lisbon and Madeira with beef, mutton and fowls marks the settled diet of the officers and their guests, the fortified Atlantic wines and the fresh and salt meats forming the regular fare that the extraordinary dinners of November had briefly enlarged. The mutton at over 266 lb again forms the largest single item of meat, confirming the island's flocks as the chief source of fresh food for the table, the sheep and goats of the pastures more readily drawn on than the cattle reserved and reckoned for the year's slaughter. That the account was brought in, examined and approved in consultation like every other shows the settlement's practice of laying even its own table expenses before the governing body, the routine scrutiny by which the Company guarded against waste in the keeping of its officers.
262	255	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1754 October 12 To Ballance remaining £ 3184 15 7¾ 1754 November 11 By Ballance remaining in the following Species viz Do 400 Venitians @ 10/ £ 200 1280 Pagodas 8/ 512 Gold Amounting to £ 712 2408 Dollars @ 5/ 602 10,000 Rupees 2/3 1125 12,948 half Rials ¾ 202 6 3 441 French Do 1/ 3 13 6 Odd money 10¾ Silver Amounting to £ 1933 7¾ Cash Notes Amounting to 539 15 £ 3184 15 7¾	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 November to 11 December 1754. Neat cattle Remaining 12 November: bulls 6, cows 81, calves 67, yearlings 13, heifers 44, steers 10, bullocks 15, oxen 14, total 250 Increased: calves 4, yearlings 2, total 6 Total: bulls 6, cows 81, calves 71, yearlings 15, heifers 44, steers 10, bullocks 15, oxen 14, total 256 Killed: calves 1, yearlings 2, total 5 Died: 0 Sold: yearlings 3, total 3 Remaining 11 December: bulls 6, cows 81, calves 71, yearlings 15, heifers 43, steers 5, bullocks 13, oxen 14, total 248 Sheep Remaining 12 November: ewes 185, wethers 70, lambs 215, rams 7, total 477 Increased: lambs 6, total 6 Total: ewes 185, wethers 70, lambs 219, rams 7, total 481 Killed: ewes 5, lambs 3, total 2 Died: lambs 1, total 1 Sold: lambs 1, total 1 Remaining 11 December: ewes 181, wethers 68, lambs 219, rams 7, total 475 Goats Remaining 12 November: ewes 125, wethers 39, kids 122, rams 8, total 294 Increased: kids 17, total 17 Total: ewes 125, wethers 39, kids 139, rams 8, total 311 Killed: kids 5, ewes 3, total 4 Died: 0

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			Sold: 0 Remaining 11 December: ewes 122, wethers 38, kids 139, rams 8, total 307 Hogs Remaining 12 November: sows 14, shoats 6, pigs 46, boars 2, total 68 Increased: 0 Total: sows 14, shoats 6, pigs 46, boars 2, total 68 Killed: shoats 2, total 2 Died: 0 Sold: shoats 19, total 19 Remaining 11 December: sows 14, shoats 4, pigs 37, boars 2, total 47 Poultry Remaining 12 November: dunghill 89, fowls 37, ducks 94, geese 5, total 306 Increased: ducks 21, geese 1, total 21 Total: dunghill 89, fowls 37, ducks 66, geese 31, total 66 Killed: dunghill 2, fowls 1, ducks 19, geese 2, total 19 Died: dunghill 8, ducks 48 Remaining 11 December: dunghill 70, fowls 32, ducks 57, geese 31, total 66 Horses Remaining 12 November: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Remaining 11 December: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses Remaining 12 November: jacks 1, jennies 2, total 3 Increased: jennies 1, total 1 Total: jacks 1, jennies 3, total 4 Remaining 11 December: jacks 1, jennies 3, total 4 One measly shoat was given to the slaves, and three goats to the sick slaves. A slave woman named Sarah Sunderleg died. Yams expended came to 24,199. The account was marked as passed with errors excepted and signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The muster shows the herds still breeding but now drawn on more heavily, cattle and hogs sold as well as killed, the nineteen hogs sold in the month marking a fresh disposal of stock beyond the usual slaughter for the table. The killing and selling across the several kinds reflect the settlement turning its increase to account, the beasts raised on the island's grass yielding both meat for its people and stock for sale, the numbers falling where sales and slaughter outran the month's births. The yams expended, over 24,000 and down from the previous month, mark the continuing draw on the island's root crop even as the plantations were being spared to grow, tying to the Lieutenant Governor's plan to feed the slaves on rice so the young yams might reach a better size. The measly shoat given to the slaves shows a diseased pig, unfit for the Company's own table, passed to the labour force, the sick beast used up on those the settlement fed most cheaply. The death of the slave woman Sarah Sunderleg, entered in the same table as the loss of the beasts, again shows the stark reckoning by which the settlement numbered its slaves among its stock, a named human death set down beside the dead lambs and ducks as a subtraction from the Company's property.
263	256	25 November The Governor reported to the Gentlemen of the Council as follows Gentlemen At our Consultation on Monday	1754 Gunnery stores expended from 12 November to 11 December 1754, namely: 12 November, powder for scaling the guns at Sandy Bay, 29 lb

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		Last I acquainted you, that I should draw up a State of our military Stores, which I have done accordingly, and now lay it before you with a Computation of as many more, as I believe it will be requisite for us to request of our Honorable Masters to send us, if it should appear to them, there is a probability of a Breach with France I Desire you will peruse and consider it, that such Alterations may be made in it, as are thought necessary The Lieutenant Governor the Honorable Companys Husband according to the Governors desire in the last Consultation this Day laid before us a State of their Honors Pastures and Plantations which is as follows viz Do The State of the Honorable Companys Stock, Plantations and Pastures November the 9 1754 The Stock in General is in a very thriving condition, and at present encreases daily, there being plenty of Grass in the Pastures. The fences between the Honorable Company, and the Planters, that wanted repairing, are almost finished The Yam Plantations look extremely well, but as they are young I am apprehensive the Overseers can not dig above a month longer without great waste, therefore it will be necessary, to feed the Slaves with Rice for two or three months, that the Yams may have a proper Growth I am informed there never has been a year, or at least very few, but what the Slaves have been fed with Rice for a little while, or have had Yams bought for them	Powder for priming, 1 lb 8 oz 14 November, an alarm, 6 guns, 2 barrels 2 quarters, 2 lb 12 Arrived the <i>Dragon</i>, Captain Kent, returned the salute, 9 guns, 9 lb 9 Powder for priming, 1 lb 8 oz 7 December, departed the <i>Dragon</i>, Captain Kent, returned the salute, 9 guns, 9 lb 9 Powder for priming, 1 lb 8 oz 10 December, powder to complete the cartridges for the main guard, 4 lb 11 December, powder for scaling the guns at Turks Cap, 13 lb 8 oz Powder for priming, 1 lb Powder for signals, 6 lb Total, 24 guns, 2 barrels 2 quarters 18 lb, 82 lb 6 Paper for the use of the castle, 1 ream Paper for making great guns cartridges, 18 Paper for making small cartridges, 2 reams Tallow for greasing the gun cartridges at the main and outforts, 25 lb Handspikes broke at the main fort, 2 Handspikes broke at Munden's Point, 3 Handspikes broke at Rupert's, 1 Handspikes broke at Banks's, 3 Handspikes broke at Sandy Bay, 3 Handspikes broke at Turks Cap, 1 Hammer heads broke at Sandy Bay, 4 Sponge heads broke at Sandy Bay, 10 Sheep skins for covering the sponges at Sandy Bay, 325 Tenter nails for the same, 325 The account was signed by John Hall. The consultation was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The gunners account records the powder spent in the month on cleaning the guns, on an alarm and on the salutes exchanged with the <i>Dragon</i>, the ceremonial firing again marking the arrival and departure of a Company ship with an answering nine guns each way. Scaling the guns meant firing a light charge to clear the bores of rust and fouling, a routine maintenance of the ordnance at the several batteries, while the alarm on 14 November shows the fort standing to and firing on some warning, perhaps a strange sail sighted amid the fear of French war. The broken handspikes, hammer and sponge heads listed by battery trace the wear on the tools of working the guns across the island's defences, from the main fort to Munden's Point, Rupert's, Banks's, Sandy Bay and Turks Cap, the scattered posts that guarded the coast. A handspike was a lever for shifting and laying the heavy guns and a sponge the staff for swabbing the bore between firings, and their frequent breakage shows the constant labour of keeping the batteries in working order. The sheep skins for covering the sponges, over three hundred with the tenter nails to fix them, mark the fleece used to make the swabs that cleaned and cooled the guns, the wool of the island's own flocks turned to the service of its artillery. That so many were needed points to the number of guns maintained across the several batteries, the settlement's whole coast ringed with ordnance that had constantly to be tended and re-equipped.
264	257	1754 In order to remedy this as much as possible I have directed the Overseer in Sandy Bay, to Plant the following Grounds The Lower Plantation at the Lime Kiln it is compleated will hold 50000 At the Plantation called Franks 30000 At Perkins 70000 150000	At a consultation held on Monday 30 December 1754 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 23 December 1754, was read, approved and signed. The accountant reported that the Honourable Company's general books of account had been

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		I am well assured some part of these Grounds was never planted, and that the others have laid fallow a considerable time, therefore I have great reason to believe they will turn out well In the above paragraph relative to the Fences I would be understood the parts that are divided on the Honorable Companys Account, Perkins excepted and the Piece of Ground that are to be planted Signed John Adamson George Brian Soldier Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison haveing served the Honorable Company his contracted time but desired leave to remain upon this Island untill the 7 of March, in order to get in some money that was due to him, and he would take care to subsist himself dureing that time, and be of no expence to their Honors, rather than go to England by this Ship the Dragon Granted Captain Kent applied to us to pay Six Hundred and forty Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash, we received it, and have given him a Set of Bills of Exchange, drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors, payable to himself or order, ninety Days after sight, dated this Day	copied, and these were ordered to be examined and made ready to be sent to England by the first opportunity. The record then turned to the counting and examination of the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 instant, set out as follows. Interpretations The copying of the general books for despatch to England shows the settlement preparing its full accounts for transmission home, the fair copies to be checked and held ready against the next ship that could carry them. That they were to go by the first opportunity marks once more the island's dependence on the Company's shipping for all communication with London, the completed accounts waiting on a sailing before the settlement's masters could see how their remote factory had been managed.
<u>265</u>	258	25 November Received of Captain Kent on Account of the Honorable Company two young Madagascar Cattle, and one small Anchor for the Long Boat Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 2 Day of December 1754 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 this 25 Day of November 1754 Yesterday Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship the Dragon for England Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Cash, debtor 1754 12 November, to balance remaining, £3,184 15s 7¾d 18 November, to account current London as per consultation of this day, namely: received on account of Thomas Jones, deceased, £40 4s 7d received on account of John Dove, deceased, £5 5s 2d received on account of William Thomson, deserted, £5 14s 3½d Total, £51 3s 6d 25 November, to exchange for one set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Captain Henry Kent or order, ninety days after sight, dated this day, £640 0s 0d £3,875 19s 1¾d Per contra, creditor 1754 11 December, by balance remaining in the following species, namely: 800 Venetians at 10s, £400 0s 0d 2,000 pagodas at 8s, £800 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,200 0s 0d 3,220 dollars at 5s, £805 0s 0d 10,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,125 0s 0d 12,948 half reals at 3¾d, £202 6s 3d 441 French crowns at 12s, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 4s 4¾d Silver amounting to, £2,136 4s 1¾d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d £3,875 19s 1¾d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The debtor side gathers the month's receipts into the Company's cash, chief among them the £640 paid by Captain Kent in exchange for bills on the Court of Directors and the residues of the three settled estates written off to the London account. Taking the dead men's and the deserter's balances into the Company's

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			cash and setting against them a paper bill payable in London shows the settlement drawing money in on the island while discharging its obligation at home, coin gathered here and its equivalent to be paid there. The month's growth of the chest, the balance rising by nearly £700 with the addition of Kent's payment, shows in the increased holdings of gold, the Venetians and pagodas doubled from the previous count as the captain's cash swelled the specie. That the settlement took in so much coin against a bill drawn on London marks the island serving as a place where the Company's servants and captains could turn ready money into a safe paper claim on the head office, sparing the carriage of specie across the sea while the metal accumulated in the island's store.
266	259	9 December At a Consultation held on Monday the 9 Day of December 1754 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 2 December 1754 Some people making a practice of throwing Dirt and rubbish in the Streets in the Night time, which being a Public Nusance in this Valley, we therefore Ordered an Advertisement to be published forbidding all Persons to do the like for the future upon the penaltrey of Paying five Shillings for every such offence that they may hereafter be found Guilty of Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	At a consultation held on Monday 6 January 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 30 December 1754, was read, approved and signed. Bartholomew Molly, a soldier, died on 3 January. The executor of Bartholomew Molly presented his last will and testament, asking that it be proved. This was done on the oaths of the witnesses to it. The will ran as follows. Molly declared his will at St Helena, being sick and weak in body but of sound memory, thankful to God and mindful of the uncertainty of life and that all flesh must die when God calls it. To avoid any dispute after his death, he set down his wishes. First, he committed his soul to God who gave it, and directed that his body be buried in a Christian manner at the discretion of his executor. Secondly, he gave and bequeathed to his loving friend Solomon Jacobs all sums of money, arrears of pay, clothing, wearing apparel and anything else that might be due or owing to him or belonging to him at his death. He appointed his loving friend Solomon Jacobs sole executor of his last will. Interpretations The will follows the standard form of the age, opening with the pious commendation of the soul to God and the body to Christian burial before turning to the disposal of the testator's goods, the religious preamble a settled convention rather than any particular expression of the dying man. Proving the will on the oaths of its witnesses before the council shows the settlement acting as the local probate authority, the governing body performing the function that a church or civil court would exercise at home, so that the dead soldier's wishes might be given legal effect on the island. The whole estate, being his pay arrears, clothing and whatever else was owed him, passed to a single friend named as sole executor, the simplicity of the bequest marking the slender property of a common soldier whose chief asset was the back pay the Company owed him. That Molly left everything to a friend rather than to any family shows the position of a man far from home with no kin at hand, his loving friend standing in the place of relations to receive and administer the little he had.
267	260	16 December At a Consultation held on Monday the 16 Day of December 1754 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 9 December 1754	Molly revoked all his former wills and declared this alone to be his last, dated 20 December 1754 and signed by Bartholomew Molly. It was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John Walker and John Howard. James Corbett, the cooper, had proved very serviceable and useful in assisting with the Honourable Company's stores. The council therefore agreed to give him 40 shillings for the past quarter in consideration of his extraordinary trouble, there

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		Ordered an Advertizement to be published requiring all the Planters upon this Island to Send a return into the Secretarys Office on the 31 of this Month, of the Number of Cattle that each of them have for Slaughter for the service of the Year commencing the 1 of January next Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	being no steward. The decision was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 13 January 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 6 January 1755, was read, approved and signed. Matthew Bazett, a native, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison. The petition was granted. Interpretations The payment to Corbett the cooper for taking on the storekeeper's work shows the settlement rewarding a man who filled a gap in its establishment, the office of steward standing vacant and his extra labour recognised with a quarter's gratuity. Compensating him for the additional trouble rather than leaving it unpaid marks the Company's practice of acknowledging service beyond a man's proper duty, keeping its stores tended through a vacancy by paying whoever stepped into the breach. The description of Bazett as a native marks him as one born on the island, the small settled population of St Helena by this date including families long resident there, distinct from the soldiers and servants sent out from England. That an islander served in the garrison and could petition for his discharge shows the settlement drawing part of its manpower from its own people, the native-born taking their place in the Company's service alongside those shipped from home.
268	261	23 December At a Consultation held on Monday the 23 of December 1754 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 December 1754 The Stewards Plantation and Gunners Accounts for the month ending the 11 instant were this day brought in which were examined approved and are as follows Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the month ending the 11 December 1754 16 bottles Port Wine £ 1 4 7 38 Do Lisbon 2 18 4½ 12 Do Medera 1 8 7½ 45 Do Arrack 1 10 5½ 46 Do Beer 12 5½ 253 Flour lb 1 14 3 124 Beef lb 1 11 266 Mutton lb 5 10 10 41 Pork lb 1 6 20 Goat 6 8 19 Fowls 1 8 6 2 Ducks 3 1 Turkey 5 7 yr Salt Pork lb 14 3 yr Do Beef lb 8 3 100 Candy 1 13 4 36 Butter lb 1 16 £ 24 5 10	John Leech, a native, petitioned the previous Saturday for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company his contracted time. The petition was granted. Finding that Thomas Smith, the patron of the long boat, was a very careless fellow, the council discharged him from that post and appointed Nicholas Scrafton to take charge of the Honourable Company's boats at the usual allowance of £30 a year. The decision was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The removal of Smith from charge of the long boat for carelessness and the appointment of Scrafton in his place shows the settlement holding its boat masters to account for the safe handling of the Company's craft, the vessels too vital to the island's coastal work to be left to a negligent man. The patron of the long boat was its coxswain or master, the term drawn from the Mediterranean usage for a boat's captain, and the fixed allowance of £30 a year marks the settled wage of the office, the boats that fetched lime and did the shore work needing a careful hand at their head. The two native soldiers discharged in successive consultations, Leech here and Bazett before, confirm the island-born forming a recognised part of the garrison, serving their contracted terms like any recruit from England and released on the same footing when their time expired. That such men could petition and be discharged in due form shows the settlement's service open to its own people, the native population supplying soldiers who came and went through the Company's establishment as regularly as those sent out.
269	262	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12 November to the 11 December 1754 Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses	At a consultation held on Monday 20 January 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council.

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		Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shotes, Pigs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Sabus, Total Remaining 12: Bulls 6, Cows 81, Calves 67, Yearlings 13, Heifers 44, Steers 10, Bullocks 15, Oxen 14, Total 250, Ewes 185, Wathers 70, Lambs 215, Rams 7, Total 477, Ewes 125, Wathers 39, Kids 122, Rams 8, Total 294, Sows 14, Shotes 6, Pigs 46, Boars 2, Total 68, Turkeys 89, Fowls 379, Ducks 45, Geese 30, Total 6, Horses 6, Mares 12, Total 1, Asses 2, Sabus 3 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 4, Yearlings 2, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Lambs 4, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Kids 17, Rams 0, Total 17, Sows 0, Shotes 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 21, Geese 1, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 1, Sabus 1 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 81, Calves 71, Yearlings 15, Heifers 44, Steers 10, Bullocks 15, Oxen 14, Total 256, Ewes 185, Wathers 70, Lambs 219, Rams 7, Total 481, Ewes 125, Wathers 39, Kids 139, Rams 8, Total 311, Sows 14, Shotes 6, Pigs 46, Boars 2, Total 68, Turkeys 89, Fowls 379, Ducks 66, Geese 31, Total 6, Horses 6, Mares 12, Total 1, Asses 3, Sabus 4 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 1, Heifers 2, Steers 2, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 5, Ewes 3, Wathers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Ewes 3, Wathers 1, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shotes 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Turkeys 1, Fowls 19, Ducks 2, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sabus 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 1, Wathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shotes 0, Pigs 19, Boars 0, Total 19, Turkeys 10, Fowls 2, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sabus 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 3, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shotes 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 8, Ducks 48, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sabus 0 Remaining the 11: Bulls 6, Cows 81, Calves 71, Yearlings 15, Heifers 43, Steers 5, Bullocks 13, Oxen 14, Total 248, Ewes 181, Wathers 68, Lambs 219, Rams 7, Total 475, Ewes 122, Wathers 38, Kids 139, Rams 8, Total 307, Sows 14, Shotes 4, Pigs 37, Boars 2, Total 47, Turkeys 70, Fowls 312, Ducks 57, Geese 31, Total 6, Horses 6, Mares 12, Total 1, Asses 3, Sabus 4 1 Shote measley to the Slaves 3 Goats to the Sick Slaves 1 Slave Woman dead named Sarah Scinderbeg Yam Expended 24199 Errors Excepted Signed John Adamson	The previous consultation, dated 13 January 1755, was read, approved and signed. William Paddom, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company his contracted time. The petition was granted. The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending 11 instant were brought in, examined and approved, and ran as follows.
270	263	1754 Gunners Stores Expended from the 12 of November to the 11 of December 1754 Barrel, ¼, ½, 2/8, Pounds, Number Expended Novr 12 Powder for Sealeing the Guns at Sandy Bay 20 29 6 Powder for Primeing 1 8 14 An Alarm 6 2 2 2 12 Arrived the Dragon Capt Kent, Returned the Salute 9 9 9 Powder for Primeing 1 8 December 7 Departed the Dragon Capt Kent, Returned the Salute 9 9 9 Powder for Primeing 1 8 10 Powder to Compleat the Cartridges for the main yard 4	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 December 1754 to 11 January 1755. Neat cattle Remaining 12 December: bulls 6, cows 81, calves 71, yearlings 15, heifers 43, steers 5, bullocks 13, oxen 14, total 248 Increased: calves 5, total 5 Total: bulls 6, cows 81, calves 76, yearlings 15, heifers 43, steers 5, bullocks 13, oxen 14, total 253 Killed: bulls 1 Died: 0 Killed by cattle: 0 Remaining 11 January: bulls 5, cows 81, calves 76, yearlings 15, heifers 43, steers 5, bullocks 13, oxen 14, total 252 Sheep

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		11 Powder for Sealeing the Guns at Turks Cap 13 8 Powder for Primeing 1 Do for Signals 6 Total 34 2 2 18 2 82 6 Paper for the Use of the Castle 1 Gr Do for makeing great Guns Cartridges 18 Do for makeing small Cartridges 2 Tallows for Greaseing the Gun Cartridges at the main & out Forts 25 lb Hand Spikes broke at the main Fort 2 Do at Mundens Point 2 Do at Ruperts 3 Do at Bantess 1 Do at Sandy Bay 3 Do at Turks Cap 1 Rammer Heads Broke at Sandy Bay 4 Spunge Heads Do at Do 5 Sheep Skins for Cuseing the Spunges at Do 10 Smith Nails for 325 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark Signed Tho Hall	Remaining 12 December: ewes 181, wethers 68, lambs 219, rams 7, total 475 Increased: 0 Total: ewes 181, wethers 68, lambs 219, rams 7, total 475 Killed: lambs 4, ewes 1 Died: ewes 1, wethers 4, lambs 1, total 6 Killed by cattle: lambs 1 Remaining 11 January: ewes 176, wethers 67, lambs 218, rams 7, total 468 Goats Remaining 12 December: ewes 122, wethers 38, kids 139, rams 8, total 307 Increased: kids 1, total 1 Total: ewes 122, wethers 38, kids 140, rams 8, total 308 Killed: 0 Died: wethers 2, kids 3, total 5 Killed by cattle: 0 Remaining 11 January: ewes 122, wethers 36, kids 137, rams 8, total 303 Hogs Remaining 12 December: sows 14, shoats 4, pigs 27, boars 2, total 47 Increased: 0 Total: sows 14, shoats 4, pigs 27, boars 2, total 47 Killed: shoats 2 Died: shoats 2, total 2 Killed by cattle: shoats 1, pigs 9, total 10 Remaining 11 January: sows 13, shoats 2, pigs 18, boars 2, total 35 Poultry Remaining 12 December: dunghill 70, fowls 32, ducks 57, geese 31, total 306 Increased: geese 15, total 15 Total: dunghill 70, fowls 32, ducks 72, geese 32, total 306 Died: dunghill 1, fowls 16, ducks 3, geese 2 Killed by cattle: dunghill 3 Remaining 11 January: dunghill 69, fowls 29, ducks 69, geese 28, total 306 Horses Remaining 12 December: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Remaining 11 January: horses 6, mares 6, total 12 Asses Remaining 12 December: jacks 1, jennies 3, total 4 Remaining 11 January: jacks 1, jennies 3, total 4 One bull was killed for the slaves at Christmas. Hay for the use of the artillery came to 2,325 lb. Two goats were given to the sick slaves. Yams expended came to 16,290. The account was marked as passed with errors excepted and signed by John Adamson. Interpretations The muster shows an unusual loss this month under the head of beasts killed by cattle, ten hogs and several sheep and fowls destroyed, pointing to cattle breaking loose among the smaller stock and doing damage the settlement recorded as a distinct cause of loss. Distinguishing beasts killed by other cattle from those slaughtered or dead of disease shows the exactness of the reckoning, the plantation tracing every subtraction from its herds to its proper cause so the account should balance beast for beast. The bull killed for the slaves at Christmas marks the one occasion of the year when the labour force was given beef from the Company's own herd as a festival allowance, a small acknowledgement of the season even for the unfree, though the beast chosen was an old bull rather than prime stock. The yams expended, down again to some 16,000, show the continuing effect of the plan to spare the young plantations, the slaves fed increasingly on other food

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			while the yam crop was left to grow toward the better yield the Lieutenant Governor had promised. The hay reckoned for the use of the artillery marks fodder kept for the horses that drew or served the guns, the island's small stock of horses maintained in part for military work, the account tying even the feeding of the draught animals to the several departments they served.
271	264	30 December At a Consultation held on Monday the 30 Day of December 1754 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 December 1754 The Accomptant reports that the Honorable General Books of Accompts are Copied which we ordered to be examined, and ready to be transmitted to England by the first opportunity Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the month ending the 11 instant which is as follows viz Do	1755 Gunnery stores expended from 12 December 1754 to 11 January 1755, namely: 17 December, a double alarm, 7 guns, 3 barrels 3 quarters 1 lb, 15 lb 8 Powder for the funeral of Bartholomew Molly, 2 lb 4 Powder to complete the flying party to thirty rounds each, 32 lb 8 Powder for blowing of lime stone, 12 lb Total, 7 guns, 3 barrels 3 quarters 1 lb, 82 lb 4 Paper for making of great gun cartridges, 1 ream Paper for making of small cartridges, 3 reams Rammer heads for repairing the sponges at Sandy Bay, 5 lb 4 Lead balls for completing the flying party to 30 rounds each, 66 lb Handspikes broke at Rupert's, 3 Wooden trucks broke at Rupert's, 1 Sheep skins for coating the sponges at Lemon Valley, 6 Tenter nails for the same, 200 One of the alarm guns burst with firing, 1 The flag at Munden's Point was worn out and unserviceable, 1 The flag at Rupert's was worn out and unserviceable, 1 The account was signed by John Hall. Sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 January 1755, namely: 53 bottles port wine, £2 10s 8¾d 47 bottles Lisbon, £3 12s 2¾d 10 bottles Madeira, £1 13s 9¾d 56 bottles arrack, £1 17s 11d 55 bottles beer, £0 14s 7¼d 273 lb flour, £1 16s 11¾d 242 lb mutton, £5 0s 10d 77 lb pork, £1 18s 6d Carried over, £19 7s 5¾d Interpretations The double alarm on 17 December and the powder issued to bring the flying party up to thirty rounds a man point to a heightened state of readiness, the fear of French war keeping the garrison on the alert and its mobile force fully supplied with cartridge and ball. A flying party was a detachment kept ready to move quickly to any threatened point, and equipping each man with thirty rounds marks a real expectation of action, the settlement arming against the possibility that the war reported by the <i>Dragon</i> might reach its shores. The bursting of an alarm gun with firing and the two flags worn out at Munden's Point and Rupert's mark the wear that the month's activity worked on the fort's equipment, the guns and signals used hard in the alarms and salutes. That a gun burst shows the risk run in the heavy firing, the ordnance strained by repeated discharge, while the failed flags point to the signalling by which the scattered batteries communicated, the ensigns that flew over each post needing renewal like every other piece of the defences. The table account for the same month, running the usual wines and meats, shows the ordinary life of the officers continuing alongside the military alarms, the settlement both bracing for war and keeping its

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			accustomed table. That the mutton again forms the largest meat item confirms the steady draw on the island's flocks for fresh food, the sheep of the pastures feeding the officers as the salt provisions and the herds served the wider needs of the station.
272	265	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1754 Novr 12 To Balance remaining £ 3184 15 7¼ 18 To Account Current London as yr Consultation of this Day viz Received on Account of Thomas Jones Deceased £ 40 4 ½ Do on Account of John Dove Do 5 5 2 Do on Account of Wm Thompson deserted 5 14 3½ 51 3 6 25 To Exchange for one Sett of Bills drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors Payable to Captain Henry Kent or Order Ninety days after sight dated this Day 640 £ 3875 19 1¾ 1754 Decr 11 By Balance remaining in the following Species viz 800 Venitians 10/ £ 400 2000 Pagodas 8/ 800 Gold Amounting to £ 1200 3220 Dollars 5/ 805 10000 Rupees 2/3 1125 12948 half Rials ¾ 202 6 3 441 French Do 1/ 3 13 6 Odd Money 4 ¾ Silver Amounting to £ 2136 4 1¾ Cash Notes Amounting to 539 15 £ 3875 19 1¾ Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	20 January Brought over, £19 7s 5¾d 3 kids, £0 10s 0d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 16 fowls, £1 4s 0d 3 ducks, £0 4s 6d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 4 lb salt pork, £0 8s 0d 3 lb salt beef, £0 8s 3d 100 lb candy, £1 13s 4d 57 lb butter, £2 17s 3d £28 2s 9¾d Onesiphorus Beale, William Kennedy, Stephen Herbert, George Hay and Samuel Price presented a petition to the Governor and council of the island of St Helena. The petition was made by the lieutenants of the four companies, whose names were subscribed. They set out that the present guard room, used both by the officer on duty and by the officers sitting at examinations, was very inconvenient and harmful to their health, being extremely small and confined, and divided only by a common partition wall that separated it from ... Interpretations The petition of the four companies' lieutenants against the cramped and unhealthy guard room shows the officers pressing their own grievance on the council, the small confined chamber serving both as the duty officer's post and as the place where examinations were held. That they complained of harm to their health from so close a room reflects the period's concern with foul and confined air as a cause of sickness, the officers seeking better quarters for the double use the single room was put to. The naming of four companies and their lieutenants marks the structure of the garrison, the soldiers organised into distinct companies each under its officers, the same establishment whose clothing and pay ran through the accounts. That the lieutenants petitioned jointly on a matter of their common accommodation shows the officers acting together to seek redress from the governing body, the council standing as the authority to which even the garrison's own officers brought their complaints of the conditions under which they served.
273	266	6 January At a Consultation held on Monday the 6 Day of January 1755 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 30 December 1754 Friday the 3 January Died Bartholomew Molly Soldier The Executor of Bartholomew Molly 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 was as follows viz Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I Bartholomew Molly being Sick & weak in Body but of good & perfect memory	The guard room stood next to the smith's forge, and the officers were often obliged to keep the door shut against the smoke. Having then to step out at once into the fresh air, they caught colds to the harm of their health. The petitioners therefore asked that they be relieved by the grant of the former guard room's use, towards which they were willing to contribute £10 a year until such time as a room could conveniently be built for the officers. The petition, dated 20 January 1755, was signed by Onesiphorus Beale, William Kennedy, Stephen Herbert, George Hay and Samuel Price. The Governor addressed the council. He recalled that about four months earlier the officers had applied to him for a new guard room. He had told them it was not then practicable, since all the Company's artificers were, and would for some time be, employed on work that required immediate despatch, but that when they could conveniently be spared he would consider what the officers wanted. The officers could not but know, he said, that there

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		thanks be to God for it, and Calling to remembrance the Uncertainty of this Transatory Life, and that all Flesh must yield unto Death when it Shall please God to Call, Do to avoid any Controversies after my Decease make & Declare this as my Last Will and Testament in manner and for as followeth That is to say First I recommend my Soul to God that gave it and as to my Body I commit it to the Earth to be buried in a Christian Like manner at the Discretion of my Executor hereafter named Secondly I do give & bequeath unto my Loving Friend Solomon Jacobs all Sum or Sums of Money, Pay, Arrears of pay, Cloathing, Wearing Apparell &c that may be due oweing or belonging unto me at my Decease & I do hereby Appoint my Loving Friend Solomon Jacobs Sole Executor of this my Last	was now a pressing need to repair the damage lately done in several places to the fortifications by the very high surf, and that the former guard room they proposed to hire had been an officer's quarters, which they had only been allowed to occupy until it should be needed, and which was at present the adjutant's. The Governor supposed this might have convinced them ... Interpretations The petition and the Governor's reply together lay bare the competition for the settlement's scarce labour, the officers seeking a better guard room while the Company's artificers were fully taken up with urgent work the Governor would not set aside. That the fortifications had lately been damaged by very high surf shows the constant battering the coastal defences took from the sea, the batteries at the exposed landing places needing repair that the Governor ranked above the officers' comfort in the queue for the island's builders. The officers' offer to pay £10 a year toward the use of the former guard room until a new one could be built shows them willing to contribute to their own accommodation, the room they sought being an officer's quarters they had held only on sufferance and that was now the adjutant's. The Governor's careful account of the room's status marks the settlement's want of spare buildings, every chamber spoken for and the officers' request colliding with the prior claim of the adjutant and the greater urgency of the storm-damaged works. Speculations The officers pressed for the former guard room as ready-built accommodation they could occupy at once for a modest yearly payment. The Governor declined to give it over, choosing to keep the Company's artificers on the storm damage to the fortifications rather than divert them to the officers' comfort, because the very high surf had lately breached the coastal works in several places and the defences of an island bracing for French war could not wait while the builders fitted up a guard room, so the pressing security of the batteries was set above the officers' health and convenience.
274	267	1755 Will and Testament, hereby revokeing all former Wills by me made, and Declareing this only to be my last Will & Testament in Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal this Twentieth Day of December 1754 Signed Bartholomew Molloy Signed Sealed & Delivered in presence of us Signed John Walker John Howard James Corbett the Cooper being very Serviceable, and usefull in assisting in the Honorable Companys Stores we therefore agreed to give him the Sum of forty Shillings for the last Quarter in consideration of his extraordinary trouble, there being no Steward Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 13 Day of January 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council	The Governor supposed this might have convinced the officers that their request was not only ill timed but pointless. They might also suppose, he said, that if it were thought necessary to hire another room for them, it would be provided at the Company's expense and not at their own. He went on to observe that the room complained of in the petition had been set aside for the officer of the guard by Governor Lambert, and had been used constantly for that purpose for nearly ten years. Although the officers had remained on guard for a whole week at a time throughout those years, he had not heard of a single one who made the least complaint of the room being either unhealthy or inconvenient, which he thought some of them would have done had they found it so. Now that the officers had for almost two years been relieved every day, each of them came to be on guard only one day in eight, except when there was an alarm. On an impartial view of these circumstances, the Governor said he believed the officers' great fear for their health sprang from their fears rather than their reason. Should any of them, however, imagine he was injured by serving a spell of twenty-four hours in a room that both the Lieutenant Governor and the Governor considered sufficiently large, far from a bad one, and never before reckoned or even suspected to be unwholesome until the officers now called it so, the Governor said that if such a man would bring him a certificate under the surgeon's hand, proper regard should be had to the tenderness

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		The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 6 January 1755 Matthew Bazett a Native petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison Granted	and delicacy of his constitution, so far as the nature of the case and the situation of things could allow. The address was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The Governor's dry rebuttal turns the officers' health complaint back on them, noting that the room had served ten years without a murmur and that their duty had lately grown so much lighter, one day in eight instead of a week at a stretch, that their sudden concern for their health rang hollow. His pointed offer to respect any man's delicate constitution if he would bring a surgeon's certificate marks a governing style that met a doubtful grievance not with flat refusal but with a condition few would care to meet, exposing the complaint as fancy rather than need. The reference to the room being set apart by Governor Lambert nearly ten years before shows the continuity of the settlement's arrangements across successive governors, the guard room's use a settled fact of long standing that the present officers sought to overturn. That the Governor grounded his refusal in the room's long and uncomplained history, and in the officers' much reduced spell of duty, shows him governing by appeal to precedent and to the plain facts of the case, answering the petition on its merits rather than by mere assertion of authority.
275	268	13 January John Leech a Native Petitioned on Saturday last for his discharge from the Garrison haveing served the Honorable Company, his contracted Time Granted Finding that Thomas Smith the Patron of the Long Boat is a very careless fellow, we discharged him from that Station and appointed Nicholas Scrafton to take care of the Honorable Companys Boats at the usual Eallowance of thirty pounds yr Annum Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	At a consultation held on Monday 27 January 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The previous consultation, dated 20 January 1755, was read, approved and signed. The storekeeper brought in his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter ending 11 instant, which were examined and approved, and ran as follows. Collections of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company's stores from 12 October 1754 to 11 January 1755, namely: Sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent Arrack, 446 gallons, £41 10s 0d Brandy, 3 gallons, £0 15s 0d Sugar and candy, namely: 6,733 lb sugar, £113 5s 0d 2,767 lb candy, £57 12s 11d Total, £170 17s 11d Flour, namely: 1,666 lb flour, £11 14s 2¾d 257 hundredweight 3 quarters 26 lb flour baked, £208 4s 8¾d Total, £219 18s 11d Soap, 286 lb, £6 0s 2d Candles, 253 lb, £19 10s 6½d Carried over, £528 18s 6½d Interpretations The quarterly collections open the store account for the winter quarter, the goods drawn from the warehouse and sold to the Company's servants at the fixed ten per cent mark-up, the same monopoly supply of drink, sweetening, food and light that ran through the earlier accounts. The arrack at 446 gallons and the sugar and candy at nearly ten thousand pounds weight mark the heavy staple demand of the garrison, the spirits and sugar the largest single items as before, the store furnishing the settlement's necessities across the season. The two entries for flour, raw grain and a much larger quantity baked into bread, again show the store recovering both the cost of the material and the baker's labour, the baked flour reckoned by the hundredweight far exceeding the raw. That the bread greatly outweighed the unbaked flour sold confirms the garrison drawing most of its grain already made

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			into bread from the Company's ovens, the store both milling and baking for the settlement rather than merely issuing flour for others to bake.
276	269	20 January At a Consultation held on Monday the 20 Day of January 1755 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 January 1755 William Paddom Soldier Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison haveing served the Honorable Company his contracted time Granted 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 Do	27 January Brought over, £528 18s 6½d Tea, namely: 170 lb congo, £12 6s 0d 4 lb single, £0 3s 0d 29 lb bohea, £1 4s 6d Total, £17 6s 5d Rice, 18 hundredweight 1 quarter 7 lb, £7 2s 8d Beef and pork, namely: 133 lb double superfine beef at 2s, £13 6s 0d 937 lb superfine beef at 2s, £93 14s 0d 8 lb superfine beef at 3s 1½d, £1 4s 4d 79 lb double superfine pork at 2s, £7 18s 0d 953 lb superfine pork at 2s, £95 6s 0d 86 lb superfine pork at 2s 1½d, £9 6s 4d Total, £220 4s 8d Hats, namely: 2 men's, £1 18s 10d 6 boys, £1 16s 3d Total, £3 15s 1d Challoes, 4 pieces, £1 10s 0d Piece goods, 60 pieces, £2 9s 3d Cordage, 553 lb, £8 1s 3½d Twine, 38 skeins, £1 8s 8d Betelees, 7 pieces, £1 6s 10d Shoes, namely: 3 pairs men's fine, £0 18s 1½d 4 pairs pumps, £1 0s 8d 1 pair channel pumps, £0 7s 4d 3 pairs boys, £0 9s 0d Total, £3 2s 5½d Salt, 3½ bushels, £1 2s 6d Leather, 14 lb, £6 4s 10½d Pepper, 4 lb, £0 2s 2d Carried over, £834 10s 2d Interpretations The beef and pork sold to the servants this quarter run to over two thousand pounds of salted meat in the several superfine grades, the largest single class of goods in the account, marking the heavy reliance on preserved provisions through the season. Grading the meat as superfine and double superfine and pricing it by weight shows the store passing the imported barrelled beef and pork to the garrison in quality-marked lots, the salt provisions forming the staple that fresh island meat supplemented rather than replaced. The Indian cottons among the goods, challoes and betelees sold by the piece, mark the same Eastern textiles the warehouse inventory held, the coloured and fine cotton cloths drawn from the Company's Indian trade and passed to the servants alongside the European woollens. That such stuffs found buyers confirms the mixed wardrobe of the settlement, the lighter Indian cottons suiting the island's mild climate as the heavier home-made cloths served for warmth and better dress.
277	270	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12 December to the 11 January 1755 viz Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shotes, Pigs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Sabus, Total Remaining the 12: Bulls 6, Cows 81, Calves 71, Yearlings 15, Heifers 43, Steers 5, Bullocks 13, Oxen 14, Total 248, Ewes 181, Wathers 68, Lambs 219,	1755 Brought over, £834 10s 2d Haberdashery, namely: 5 lb carnation tape, £0 3s 9d 5½ dozen silver breast buttons, £0 7s 9d 36 lb mohair, £0 8s 6d 30 skeins silk, £0 8s 9d 5½ dozen gilt coat buttons, £1 4s 3½d 1 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 15s 5½d 18½ dozen men's coat buttons, £0 12s 4d 30½ dozen breast buttons, £0 10s 2d 3 dozen holland tape, £0 2s 9d 6 dozen shirt buttons, £0 1s 7½d 6 dozen white waistcoat buttons, £0 1s 6d

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		Rams 7, Total 475, Ewes 122, Wathers 38, Kids 139, Rams 8, Total 307, Sows 14, Shots 4, Pigs 27, Boars 2, Total 47, Turkeys 70, Fowls 312, Ducks 57, Geese 31, Total 6, Horses 6, Mares 12, Total 1, Asses 3, Sabus 4 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 5, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 5, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 0, Shots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 15, Geese 1, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sabus 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 81, Calves 76, Yearlings 15, Heifers 43, Steers 5, Bullocks 13, Oxen 14, Total 253, Ewes 181, Wathers 68, Lambs 219, Rams 7, Total 475, Ewes 122, Wathers 38, Kids 140, Rams 8, Total 308, Sows 14, Shots 4, Pigs 27, Boars 2, Total 47, Turkeys 70, Fowls 312, Ducks 72, Geese 32, Total 6, Horses 6, Mares 12, Total 1, Asses 3, Sabus 4 Killed: Bulls 1, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 4, Wathers 1, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Wathers 2, Kids 3, Rams 0, Total 5, Sows 0, Shots 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Turkeys 1, Fowls 16, Ducks 3, Geese 2, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sabus 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 1, Wathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sabus 0 Killed by Catts: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Wathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 1, Shots 0, Pigs 9, Boars 0, Total 10, Turkeys 0, Fowls 3, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Sabus 0 Remaining the 11: Bulls 5, Cows 81, Calves 76, Yearlings 15, Heifers 43, Steers 5, Bullocks 13, Oxen 14, Total 252, Ewes 176, Wathers 67, Lambs 218, Rams 7, Total 468, Ewes 122, Wathers 36, Kids 137, Rams 8, Total 303, Sows 13, Shots 2, Pigs 18, Boars 2, Total 35, Turkeys 69, Fowls 291, Ducks 69, Geese 28, Total 6, Horses 6, Mares 12, Total 1, Asses 3, Sabus 4 One Bull Killed for the Slaves at Christmas Hay for the use of the Artillery 2325 Wught lb 2 Goats for the Sick Blacks Yams Expended 16290 Errors Excepted Signed John Adamson	5 dozen silver breast buttons, £0 1s 7½d 3 dozen whale bone, £0 1s 0d Total, £5 8s 1d Lead, namely: 28 lb sheet, £2 13s 5d 5 lb shot, £0 11s 10½d Total, £3 5s 3½d Cutlery, namely: 2 shoe knives, £0 0s 11d 1 dozen ivory knives and forks, £1 11s 4d 16 dozen shoe tacks, £0 3s 0d 7 horn combs, £0 1s 5½d 1 horse comb, £0 0s 3½d 28 pairs leather garters, £1 2s 0d 2 pairs shoe buckles, £0 1s 1d 4 butchers knives, £0 1s 3d Total, £3 1s 4d Thread, namely: 15 lb white and brown, £4 11s 3d 6 lb coloured, £1 2s 0d 1 lb nuns, £0 2s 2d Total, £5 15s 5d Broad cloth, 19½ yards, £17 17s 8d Carried over, £866 17s 8½d Interpretations The haberdashery again gathers the small findings of the tailoring trade, buttons of mohair, gilt and silver, tapes and thread with whalebone for stiffening, the materials sold to the servants for making and mending their clothes. That the store carried the full range from plain shirt buttons to silver and gilt ones, and from stiffening whalebone to fine sewing thread, confirms the settlement clothing itself from these imported stuffs, the warehouse furnishing both the cloth and every trimming needed to work it into garments. The broad cloth at nearly £18 for 19½ yards was again the dearest single item in the run, its high price marking the fine dyed wool as material for the better garments, the same costliness of good broad cloth that ran through the store inventory and the sales. That so expensive a cloth found buyers among the servants shows even the establishment's people reaching for finer stuff when they could afford it, the store meeting a demand for quality dress alongside the plain necessities of the garrison.
278	271	1755 Gunnors Stores Expended from the 12 of December 1754 to the 11 of January 1755 Barrel, ¼, ½, 2/8, Pounds, Number Expended Decr the 17 A Double Alarm 7 3 3 1 15 8 Janr 3 Powder for the Funeral of Bartholomew Molloy 2 4 Do to Compleat the flying Partys to thirty rounds each 32 8 Do for Blowing of Lime Stone 12 Total 7 3 3 1 82 4 Paper for makeing of great Gun Cartridges 1 Ream Do for makeing of small Cartridges 3 Do Ramer Heads for repairing the Spunges at Sandy Bay 5 lb Lead Balls for Compleating the flying Party to 30 rounds each 66 Hand Spikes broke at Ruperts 3 Wooden Trucks broke a Do 1 Sheap Skins for Coating the Spunge at Lemon Valley 6 Smith Nails for Do 200 One of the Alarm Guns burst with Firing 1	27 January Brought over, £866 17s 8½d Nails, namely: 6 lb 2d, £0 3s 10½d 15 lb 3d, £0 8s 4½d 41 lb 4d, £0 17s 11½d 68 lb 6d, £1 8s 4d 55 lb 10d, £1 0s 1½d 24 lb 20d, £0 9s 0d 4 lb 40d, £0 1s 4d 25 lb flooring brads, £0 9s 5½d 5 lb glazing brads, £0 9s 0d Total, £5 7s 7½d Buckram, 15¼ yards, £0 15s 3d Canvas, namely: 7 yards Osnaburg, £0 4s 9½d 35 yards English canvas, £2 2s 3d Total, £2 7s 1d Serge, 13¾ yards, £3 7s 1d Shalloon, 57½ yards, £5 15s 0d Fustian, 1 piece, £2 4s 6d Hooks and lines, namely: 1,000 hooks number 1, £0 13s 4d 125 hooks number 5, £0 1s 8d

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		The Flag at Mundens Point wore out and unserviceable The Do at Ruperts wore out and unserviceable Signed Tho Hall Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11 January 1755 viz Do 53 bottles Port Wine £ 2 10 8½ 47 Do Lisbon 3 12 7½ 10 Do Medera 1 13 9½ 56 Do Arrack 1 17 11 55 Do Beer 14 7½ 27 3 Flour 1 16 11½ 2 42 Mutton 5 10 77 Pork 1 18 6 Carried over £ 19 7 5½	300 blue hooks, £0 1s 0d 800 blue hooks <i>Grantham</i>, £0 9s 0d 7 lines number 3, £0 2s 3d 16 lines number 4, £0 6s 6d 2 Hamburg, £0 3s 8d Total, £1 17s 11d Paint, namely: 5 lb blue smalts, £4 13s 6d 2 lb mahogany, £0 5s 0d 52 lb whiting, £0 5s 9½d 143 lb white lead, £2 14s 4½d Paint carried over, £7 18s 8d Carried over, £888 12s 11d Interpretations The nails graded by size and weight, and the flooring and glazing brads, mark the constant demand for fixings in the settlement's building and repair, the servants drawing the various sorts for their own works as the store held them by the pound. That nails were sold in so many sizes, from small tacks to heavy forty-penny spikes, shows the store meeting every need of construction from fine joinery to rough framing, the imported ironmongery supplying a place that could forge little for itself. The window glass materials, the white lead, whiting and smalts among the paints, tie again to the glazing and painting of the settlement's buildings, the whiting used for putty and the smalts as a blue colourant. That the servants bought these along with the nails and canvas confirms the private building and repair that went on alongside the Company's own works, the store furnishing the inhabitants the same materials it drew on for the fort and the plantation.
<u>279</u>	272	20 January Brought over £ 19 7 5½ 3 Kids 15 1 Lamb 10 16 Fowls 1 4 3 Ducks 4 6 2 Geese 10 1 Turkey 5 4 yr Salt Pork 8 3 yr Do Beef 8 3 100 Candy 1 13 4 57½ Butter 2 17 3 £ 28 2 9½ Messieurs Onesiphorus Beale William Kennedy, Stephen Herbert, George Hay, and Samuel Price presented the follow Petition viz Do To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &ca Council of the Island St Helena The Petition of the Lieutenants of the four Companys whose Names are under written most humbly Setteth forth and Sheweth That the Present Guard Room appointed for the Officer on Duty, as well for the Officers sitting at Examinations is so very incommodious to your Petitioners health, by being so very small, and confined and only a Common Partition Wall, which parts it from	1755 Brought over, £888 12s 11d Paint, brought over, £7 18s 8d 12½ lb Venetian red, £0 2s 7d 2½ lb umber, £0 0s 11½d 7½ lb white copperas, £0 1s 6d 2½ lb Prussian blue, £0 6s 6d 14 lb olive colour, £1 6s 10d 8½ lb sky blue, £0 15s 7d 3 lb verdigris, £0 10s 4½d 3 lb stone colour, £0 4s 10½d ½ lb Jamaica indigo, £0 3s 0d ½ lb English ochre, £0 0s 9d Total, £11 10s 3½d Deals, namely: 4½ single, £4 17s 2d 8 double, £1 8s 4d 1 wainscot board, £0 5s 4d 1 piece Riga timber, £1 14s 4d 7 baulks, £2 2s 7d Total, £10 7s 9d Long ells, 52 yards, £4 15s 4d Oars, 11, £2 6s 9d Vinegar, 1¼ gallons, £0 3s 9½d Iron pots, 8, £0 6s 8d Ironmongery, namely: 4 saw sets, £0 0s 7d 3 cupboard locks, £0 14s 7½d 2 broad hoes, £0 3s 10d 1 scythe, £0 6s 1d 1 rag stone, £0 0s 2½d 1 joiners hatchet, £0 2s 2½d 2 grafting saws, £0 3s 8d 1 bill hook, £0 2s 6d Ironmongery carried over, £1 12s 6½d Carried over, £918 3s 6d Interpretations The paints run to a full range of pigments sold to the servants, Venetian red, umber, sky blue, verdigris and indigo among them, the private demand for colour matching the Company's own use in painting its buildings and boats. White copperas was a name

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			for zinc or iron sulphate used in dyeing and as a paint drier, verdigris a green made from corroded copper and Jamaica indigo a blue dye from the West Indian plant, the variety showing the store furnishing every tint the settlement's painting and dyeing required. The deals, baulks and Riga timber sold to the servants confirm the private building that went on alongside the Company's works, the inhabitants drawing the same imported softwood the store held in bulk for their own construction and repair. That such timber had to be bought from the store at all marks again the island's want of usable wood, every board for a settler's house or fence coming ultimately from the Company's shipped stock through the warehouse.
280	273	1755 the Smiths Forge, and many times Obligated to keep the Door shut to keep out the Smoke the Officer being often obliged to go out immediately into the Fresh Air, have taken Colds and otherwise Prejudicial to your Petitioners Healths Your Petitioners therefore Humbly Prays Relief may be given, by granting them the use of the former Guard Eppccate, and for which your Petitioners are willing to Contribute the Sum of Ten pounds yr Annum untill such time as a Room can be conveniently Built for the Officer above mentioned And your Petitioners as in Duty Bound shall ever Pray Signed Ones Beale Willm Kennedy Step Herbert George Hay Sam Price January the 20 1755 The Governor observed to the Gentlemen of the Council as follows viz Do Gentlemen About four months ago, the Officers applied to me, to have a new Guard Room. I told them it was not then possible, as all the Honorable Companys Artificers, were, and would be for some time to come, employed on Things, which required immediate Dispatch, But that when they could be conveniently spared, I should think on what they requested. Now Gentlemen I must but know, there is now a pressing Necessity to repair the Damages lately done, in several Places, to the Fortifications, by the very high Surfs; and that the former Guard Room as they call it, which they offer to hire, was an Officers Quarters they were only indulged to be in, untill it Should be wanted, and that it is at this Time the Adjutants. One would imagine, this might have convinced	27 January Brought over, £918 3s 6d Ironmongery, brought over, £1 12s 6½d 2 spades, £0 6s 10d 1 pickaxe, £0 3s 4d 7 pairs H hinges, £0 12s 3d 4 iron rimmed locks, £1 11s 8d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 3½d 1 pair garden shears, £0 3s 10d 4 ditching shovels, £0 10s 10d 1 jack spit, £0 5s 4d 1 jack chain, £0 1s 10d 1 box iron, £0 8s 6d 1 file, £0 1s 0d 1 dozen dovetail hinges, £0 4s 0d Total, £6 9s 6¼d Chinaware, namely: 5 bowls, £0 4s 7d 2 sauce boats, £0 0s 11d 3 chamber pots, £0 4s 6d 6 half pint cups and saucers, £0 2s 2½d 16 snackers, £0 4s 0d Total, £0 16s 2½d Hosiery, namely: 1 pair girls stockings, £0 2s 9d 2 pairs women's, £0 7s 2d 9 pairs men's knit, £1 10s 0d 1 pair men's woven, £0 4s 1d 2 pairs thread stockings, £0 5s 8d Total, £2 9s 7½d Pitch, namely: 9 lb pitch, £0 1s 7½d 5 gallons tar, £0 3s 9d 43 lb rosin, £0 4s 1½d 40 lb turpentine, £0 8s 4d Total, £0 18s 7d Carried over, £928 17s 5½d Interpretations The ironmongery sold to the servants gathers the tools and fittings of house and garden, spades, shovels, a pickaxe, locks and hinges, the private demand matching the Company's own use of such gear across its works. That the inhabitants bought their spades, locks and hinges from the store confirms the settlement's dependence on the warehouse for every worked-iron article, the same imported hardware serving the settlers' houses and gardens as it did the fort and the plantation. The pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine sold together were the materials of caulking and preserving boats and timber, the servants who kept their own craft drawing the same stores the Company used on its yawl and long boat. That private hands needed these marks the number of small boats about the island, the settlers as well as the Company maintaining vessels for the coastal work and fishing on which the settlement's life in part depended.
281	274	20 January	1755 Brought over, £928 17s 5½d

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		convinced them, that their present Application must be, not only ill timed, but ineffectual. They might likewise suppose, if it was thought necessary to hire another Room for them to be in, that it would be provided at the Honorable Companys Expence, and not at Theirs I must likewise observe to you, that the Room, so much complained of in the above Petition was appointed for the Officer of the Guard by Governor Lambert, and that it has been constantly used for that purpose, for near ten years successively. And although the Officers remained on Guard for a whole Week together, during all that Time; there was not even one, that I can hear of, who made the least Complaint of its being either unhealthy or inconvenient as it may be presumed some of them would have done, had they found it to be so, And as the Officers have, for almost two years past, been relieved every Day, it, by this Means comes to their Snare to be on Guard only one Day in eight except when there is an Alarm. It may therefore, upon an impartial Consideration of the foregoing Circumstances be very justly concluded, I believe, that the great Apprehensions these Gentlemen are under, on account of their Healths, must proceede from the Suggestions of their Fears, rather than from those of their Reason, However, should any of them fancy it may be improved by being a Post of twenty four Hours, in the Number of Days above mentioned, in a Room that is looked upon by the Lieutenant Governor, as well as by my Self to be sufficiently large, and far from being a bad one, and which never was reckoned or even suspected to be unwholsome, untill they represented it to be so, If such Gentlemen well bring me Certificate, under the Hand of the Surgeon, a proper Regard shall be had to the Tenderness and Delicacy of their Constitution, as far as the Nature of the Case may require, And the Situation of Things can admit of Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Tinware, namely: 2 horn lanterns, £0 5s 6d 6 patty pans, £0 2s 3d 1 water pot, £0 5s 7d Total, £0 13s 4d Oil, namely: 17 gallons linseed, £3 2s 4d 6 gallons train, £0 19s 0d 13 bottles Florence, £1 13s 3½d Total, £5 14s 4½d Glassware, namely: 4 squares glass 6 by 8, £0 1s 8d 26 squares glass 8 by 10, £0 15s 3½d 186 squares glass 10 by 12, £8 10s 6d 1 pint decanter, £0 3s 2d 2 tumblers, £0 1s 4d Total, £9 12s 1d Earthenware, 1 milk pan, £0 0s 9d Iron, 108 lb, £0 19s 7½d Braziersware, namely: 1 flat candlestick, £0 4s 1d 2 brass ladles, £0 4s 10d Total, £0 8s 11d Bunting, 5 yards white, £0 0s 3½d Camblet, 2 yards scarlet, £0 10s 2d Pewter, namely: 2 basins, £0 9s 6d 1 dish, £0 7s 2d Total, £0 16s 8d Saddles, 4, £2 12s 6d Starch, 1, £0 0s 5½d Turnery, namely: 16 shoe brushes, £0 8s 4d 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 3s 8d Turnery carried over, £0 12s 0d Carried over, £950 6s 7½d Interpretations The window glass again forms much the largest item in the run, 186 panes of the standard middle size heading the glassware, the servants buying it for the glazing of their own houses as the Company did for the fort and plantation. That so much cut glass passed to private hands confirms the settlement's houses were glazed against the island's wind and weather, the fragile and costly import in constant demand across both the Company's works and the inhabitants' dwellings. The oils sold, linseed for paint and wood, train for lamps and Florence for the table, mark the same three grades the warehouse held, the servants drawing each for its use from painting to lighting to diet. That private buyers took the fine Florence olive oil alongside the coarse lamp oil shows the range of the settlement's needs, the store serving both the maintenance and the table of the inhabitants as it did the Company's own establishments.
282	275	27 January At a Consultation held on Monday the 27 Day of January 1755 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 January 1755 The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter ending the 11 instant which were examined, and approved and are as follows viz Do Collections of Goods Sold and Delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from the 12	27 January Brought over, £950 6s 7½d Turnery, brought over, £0 12s 0d 2 labourers baskets, £0 1s 3d 2 platters, £0 2s 1d 1 cloth brush, £0 1s 2½d 1 hair sieve, £0 1s 5½d 1 shoe brush, £0 0s 7½d Total, £0 18s 6½d Linen, 3 pairs, £1 5s 1d Corks, 2 gross, £0 5s 1d Wine, namely: 16 dozen 3 bottles port, £11 8s 9d 5 dozen 3 bottles Madeira, £8 5s 4½d 1 dozen Lisbon, £1 4s 0d Total, £20 18s 1½d £973 9s 9½d Sold to the planters at 25 per cent

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		October 1754 to the 11 January 1755 viz Do Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 yr Cent Arrack 446 Gallons £ 41 10 Brandy 3 Gallons 15 Sugar & Candy viz Do 6 133 Sugar £ 113 5 276 7 Candy 57 12 11 170 17 11 Flour viz Do 1000 Flour 11 14 2½ 257 3 20 Do Baked 208 4 8½ 219 18 11 Soap 286 lb 6 2 Candles 255 19 10 6½ Carried over £ 528 18 6½	Piece goods, 16 pieces, £9 1s 4d Serge, 17½ yards, £4 18s 5d Shalloon, 38½ yards, £4 5s 6d Broad cloth, 4½ yards, £3 19s 8d Long ells, 44½ yards, £4 12s 8¾d Buckram, 5 yards, £0 3s 5d Hosiery, namely: 2 pairs men's knit stockings, £0 7s 6d 1 pair boys, £0 3s 1½d 1 pair girls, £0 3s 1½d Total, £0 13s 9d Fustian, 7 pairs, £0 14s 11d Camblet, 3 yards scarlet, £0 17s 9d Sold at 40 per cent Arrack, 391 gallons, £117 6s 0d Sugar and candy, namely: 931 lb sugar, £19 7s 11d 314 lb candy, £8 10s 1d Total, £27 18s 0d Carried over, £174 15s 5½d Interpretations The account turns from the servants to the planters, sold their goods at the higher twenty-five per cent mark-up, and then to the further class of arrack, sugar and candy sold at forty per cent, the same rising scale of charge that marked the earlier collections. Reserving the cheapest prices for the Company's own servants and taking a larger margin from the independent planters shows the store pricing by the buyer's standing, the free inhabitants paying dearer for the same goods than those on the establishment. The heavy forty per cent charged on the arrack, sugar and candy again singles out the most sought-after commodities for the steepest mark-up, the planters paying over £117 for the spirits alone. Setting these apart from the cloth and hosiery sold at the lower rate confirms the store drawing its largest profit from the goods the settlers would pay dearest for, the drink and sweetening least easily done without commanding the heaviest charge on the whole account.
283	276	27 January Brought over £ 528 18 6½ Tea viz Do 170 Congo £ 12 6 4½ Single 3 29 Bohea 1 4½ 17 6 3 Rice 18 1 7 lb yr Do 7 12 8 Beef & Pork viz Do 133 Double Do Beef 2/ 13 6 937 Do Beef 2/ 93 14 8 Do Do 3/½ 1 4 4 79 Double Do Pork 2/ 7 18 953 Do Do 2/ 95 6 86 Do Do 2/2 9 6 4 220 4 8 Hats viz Do 2 Mens 1 18 10 6 Boys 1 16 3 3 15 1 Challoes 4 Do 1 10 Piscoetes 60 Do 29 8 Cordage 553 8 1 3½ Twine 38 Skains 1 8 8 Betelees 7 Do 1 6 10 Shoes viz Do 3 Do Mens Fine 18 1½ 4 Do Pumps 1 8 1 Do Channel Pumps 7 4 3 Do Boys 9 3 2 5½ Salt 3½ Bushels 12 6 Leather 14 lb yr Do 6 4 10½ Pepper 4 2 2 Carried over £ 831 10 2	1755 Brought over, £174 15s 5½d Soap, 6 lb, £0 4s 9d Candles, 14 lb, £1 10s 4d Flour, 5 hundredweight 30 lb, £5 10s 5d Tea, namely: 5 lb congo, £0 4s 0d 2 lb single, £0 3s 4d Total, £0 7s 4d Rice, 4 hundredweight 1 quarter 7 lb, £2 13s 7d Cordage, 93 lb, £1 14s 10½d Hooks and lines, namely: 25 hooks number 1, £0 0s 3d 300 blue hooks, £0 1s 8d 800 blue hooks <i>Grantham</i>, £0 11s 4d 6 lines number 4, £0 3s 3¾d Total, £0 16s 3¾d Canvas, namely: ½ yard English, £0 0s 8½d 14 yards Osnauburg, £0 10s 4d Total, £0 17s 0d Oil, namely: 1 gallon train, £0 4s 1d ½ gallon linseed, £0 1s 2d 1 bottle Florence, £0 3s 6½d Total, £0 9s 9d Thread, namely: 7 lb white and brown, £2 4s 3d 4 lb coloured, £0 18s 8d Total, £3 12s 11d Twine, 33 skeins, £1 10s 7½d Nails, namely: 3 lb 3d, £0 2s 6d

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			8 lb 4d, £0 4s 8d 7 lb 6d, £0 3s 9½d 8 lb 10d, £0 3s 8d 6 lb 20d, £0 2s 9d Total, £0 17s 4½d Carried over, £194 1s 10½d Interpretations The planters bought the same range of household and maritime goods as the servants, soap, candles, flour, tea, cordage and fishing tackle among them, now charged at the higher rate against the free inhabitants. That the settlers drew on the store for their fishing hooks and lines confirms the whole population's reliance on the sea for food, the planters as well as the garrison provisioning themselves for the fishing that supplemented the island's provisions. The rice and flour sold by the hundredweight to the planters point to the settlers buying staple food in bulk for their households, the store serving as the island's general provision house across both classes of buyer. That grain came in such quantities to private hands shows the planters not wholly self-supporting in food, drawing imported staples from the Company's stock to feed their families and workers through the season.
284	277	1755 Brought over £ 831 10 2 Haberdasheryware viz Do 5 Do Carnation Tape £ 3 9 5 4 Dozn Silver Breast Buttons 7 9 36 Do mohair 8 6 30 Skains Silk 8 9 5½ Dozen Gilt Coat Buttons 1 4 3½ 7 Do Do Breast Do 15 5½ 18¼ Do Mens Coat Do 12 4 30½ Do Do Breast Do 10 2 3 Do Holland Tape 2 9 6 Dozen Shirt Buttons 1 7½ 6 Do White Waistcoat Buttons 1 6 5 Do Do Breast Do 1½ 3 Do Whale Bone 1 5 8 1 Lead viz Do 28 3 Sheet lb yr Do 2 18 5 57 Shot 11 10 3 5 3½ Cutleryware viz Do 2 Shoe Knives 11 1 Dozn Ivory Knives and forks 1 11 4 16 Do Shoe Tacks 3 7 Horn Combs 1 5½ 1 Horse Comb 3½ 28 Do Leather Garters 1 2 2 Do Shoe Buckles 1 1 4 Butchers Knives 1 3 3 1 4 Thread viz Do 16 Whited Brown 4 11 3 6 Coloured 1 2 1 oz Nuns 2 2 5 15 5 Broad Cloth 19½ yds 17 17 8 Carried over £ 866 17 11½	27 January Brought over, £194 1s 10½d Haberdashery, namely: 28 skeins mohair, £0 14s 0d 17 skeins silk, £0 9s 11d 14 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 11s 3d 17 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 7s 1d 1 dozen silver breast buttons, £0 2s 10d Total, £2 5s 6d Pork, 3 lb, £0 8s 3d Paint, namely: 6 lb blue smalts, £0 16s 2d 2 lb white lead, £0 1s 0d Total, £0 16s 2d Oars, 1, £0 5s 6d Deals, 4 single, £0 11s 4d Chinaware, 2 snackers, £0 0s 8d Pitch, namely: ½ gallon tar, £0 0s 2d 18 lb rosin, £0 3s 0d Total, £0 5s 0d Pewter, 1 basin, £0 6s 0d Corks, 1 shot cork, £0 1s 1d Tinware, 1 horn lantern, £0 3s 6d Ironware, namely: 2 broad hoes, £0 4s 10d 2 box irons, £1 2s 0d 2 rag stones, £0 0s 6d 2 scythe stones, £0 0s 5d 1 ditching shovel, £0 6s 4d Total, £1 14s 1d Glassware, 2 tumblers, £0 1s 5d Starch, 1, £0 1s 2d Turnery, namely: 1 hair broom, £0 2s 10d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 4d Total, £0 5s 2d Braziersware, 1 ladle, £0 3s 1½d £201 9s 10d The account then turned to the charges. Interpretations The planters' purchases close with the same small findings, tools and household wares the servants bought, the haberdashery, paint, ironware and turnery all passing to the free inhabitants at the higher rate. That the planters drew the buttons, thread, hoes and brooms of daily use from the store confirms the warehouse as the settlement's general shop, serving the independent settlers' households as

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			it did the Company's own people, differing only in the margin taken. The box irons among the ironware were the hollow smoothing irons heated by an inserted slug, sold to the planters as to the servants for the pressing of clothes, a domestic tool the settlement drew from the store like every other worked-iron article. That such household goods came from the warehouse marks again the island's want of local manufacture, every implement of the settlers' homes shipped in and passed through the Company's stock.
285	278	27 January Brought over £ 866 17 11½ Nails viz Do 6 2 lb yr Do 3 10½ 15 3 8 4½ 41 4 17 11½ 68 6 1 8 4 55 10 1 7½ 24 20 9 4 40 1 4 25 Flooring Brads 9 4½ 5 Glazing Brads 9 5 7 7½ Buckram 15¼ yards 15 3 Canvas viz Do 7 yds Osenbrigs 4 9½ 35 yds English Canvas 2 2 3½ 2 7 1 Serge 13¾ yards 3 7 7 Shalloon 57½ Do 5 15 Fustian 16 Do 2 4 6 Hooks & Lines viz Do 1000 Hooks No 1 13 4 125 Do 5 1 8 300 Blue Hooks 1 800 Do Grantham 9 7 Lines No 3 2 3½ 16 Do 4 6 9½ 2 Hamborough 3 8 1 17 11 Paint viz Do 5 Do Blue Smalts lb yr Do 4 13 6 2 Mahogany 3 32½ Whiting 5 9½ 143 White Lead 2 14 4½ Paint Carried over £ 7 18 8 Carried over £ 888 12 11	1755 Charges general, debtor, for the following stores issued from 12 October 1754 to 11 January 1755, namely: Ironware, namely: 16 files, for the armourer's use, £0 11s 0d 2 rat traps, for the castle, £0 11s 0d 1 scraping axe, for the castle, £0 2s 10d 1 stone saw, for the stone sawers, £0 5s 5½d 1 claw hammer, for the stone sawers, £0 1s 2d 1 gimlet, for the carpenters, £0 1s 1½d 2 scythe stones, for the castle, £0 0s 5½d 1 iron rimmed lock D, for the sea gate, £1 2s 1d 1 stock lock with a strap, for the magazine, £0 4s 11d Total, £2 18s 10¾d Haberdashery, 18 lb wheat tape, for the castle, £0 0s 10d Twine, 6 skeins, for the castle and doctor's shop, £0 3s 4½d Chinaware, namely: 12 snackers, £0 2s 3d 2 bowls, £0 1s 8d 10 meat dishes, for the castle, £1 4s 4d 40 meat plates, for the castle, £1 4s 4d 2 chamber pots, £0 2s 6d Total, £1 10s 9d Lines, namely: 23 lines number 4, for the masons, £0 8s 0½d 1 Hamburg, for a jack line, £0 1s 3d Total, £0 10s 3½d Oil, namely: 8¼ gallons train, for the kitchen, bake house and for tinning, £7 3s 9d 2 gallons linseed, for painting the crane and doors of the Company's house, £0 6s 3d 1 bottle Florence, for the armourer's use, £0 2s 3½d Total, £1 12s 8½d Cordage, 12 lb, for the stone sawers and thatching the church, £0 3s 0d Nails, namely: 1½ lb 3d, £0 0s 8½d 1½ lb 4d, £0 0s 8½d 2 lb 6d, for repairing the crane and making a pack saddle, £0 0s 8½d 2 lb 10d, for repairing the crane and making a pack saddle, £0 3s 4d 11 lb 40d, for repairing the crane and making a pack saddle, £0 3s 4d 6 lb 20d, for the coopers, £0 4s 4d 9 lb, coopers rivets for the coopers, £0 12s 4d Carried over, £12 4d Interpretations The account turns from sales to the internal charges, the stores drawn from the warehouse for the Company's own work across the quarter and set off against the stock rather than sold, directed to named establishments as before. The lock for the sea gate and the stock lock with a strap for the magazine mark the securing of the fort's most important points, the gate to the shore and the powder store, the iron fittings drawn from store for the safe keeping of the garrison's defences.

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			The oil issued in quantity for the kitchen, bake house and for tinning shows the fuel and material for the settlement's cooking and metalworking, train oil serving the lamps and the tinning of ironware against rust. That linseed oil was charged for painting the crane and the doors of the Company's house marks the upkeep of the settlement's fixtures, the crane that hoisted goods at the landing and the principal buildings kept painted against the weather. The cordage charged for thatching the church shows the settlement's place of worship maintained from the same stores as its secular buildings, the rope used in binding the thatch that roofed it. That the church was thatched rather than tiled or slated marks the plain construction of the island's buildings, roofed with whatever material served, the store furnishing the cordage for its upkeep as for every other structure on the station.
286	279	1755 Brought over £ 888 12 11 Paint Brought over £ 7 18 8 13½ Venet Red lb yr Do 2 7 2½ Umber 11½ 7½ White Coppras 1 6½ 2½ oz Prussian Blue 6½ 14 Olive Colour 1 6 10 8½ Prg Blue 15 1½ 3 Verdgrease 10 4½ 3 Stone Colour 4 10½ ½ Jamaica Indico 3 ½ English Oaker 9 11 10 3½ Deals viz Do 4½ Single 4 17 2 8 Double 1 8 4 1 Wainsc Board 5 4 1 Do Riga Timber 1 14 4 7 Baulks 2 2 7 10 7 9 Long Ells 52 yards 4 15 4 Oars 11 2 6 9 Vinegar 1¾ Gallons 3 9½ Iron Pots 8 6 8 Ironmongersware viz Do 4 Scyth Stones 7 3 Cupboard Locks 14 7½ 2 Broad Hoes 3 10 1 Scyth 6 1 1 Ragstone 2½ 1 Joyners Hatchet 2 2½ 2 Grafting Saws 3 8 1 Bill Hook 2 6 Ironmongersware Carried over £ 1 12 11½ Carried over £ 918 3 6	27 January Brought over, £12 4d Leather, ¾ lb pump leather, for the pump, £0 1s 1d Soap, 51 lb, £1 6s 6½d Starch, 12 lb Poland, for linen, £0 7s 6d Tinware, 1 dripping pan, for the castle, £0 4s 2d Braziersware, namely: 1 dredging box, for the castle, £0 4s 3d 1 bread grater, for the castle, £0 4s 11½d 1 nutmeg grater, for the castle, £0 2s 7½d 2 pairs steel snuffers, for the castle, £0 5s 6d Total, £0 17s 1d Earthenware, 3 milk pans, for the castle, £0 0s 2d Corks, 10 gross, for bottling beer, £1 2s 11d Candles, namely: 107 lb for the castle, £8 2s 9d 120 lb for the council, £9 2s 6d Total, £17 5s 3d Pewter, 2 basins, for the castle, £0 8s 6d Challoes, 1 piece, for the castle, £0 8s 10d Blankets, 1, for the castle, £0 4s 8d Lead, 28 lb shot, £0 4s 8d Canvas, 30 yards Osnaburg, for a pack saddle and for covering the packet, £1 10s 4d Turnery, namely: 2 punch ladles, for the castle, £0 1s 1d 1 wood ladle, for the castle, £0 0s 2d 5 pairs brushes, for painting, £0 2s 3½d Total, £0 3s 6½d Iron and steel, namely: 52 lb iron, for the crane and sea gate, £0 8s 7d 14 lb steel, for the armourer's use, £0 5s 7½d Total, £0 13s 7½d Brandy, 10½ gallons, given to the soldiers that assisted in getting up and launching the long boat and in getting the stores on shore from the ship <i>Dragon</i>, £0 15s 10d Arrack, 1 gallon, given for the same, £0 2s 11d Carried over, £32 3s 4d Interpretations The candles issued in quantity to the castle and the council mark the two seats of garrison life as the largest consumers of light among the Company's offices, the fort and the governing body drawing well over two hundred pounds weight between them for the quarter. That the store furnished such steady quantities to these two points confirms lighting as a major charge on the settlement, the same heavy need that ran through the stores returns and the inventory of the warehouse. The corks bought in quantity for bottling beer show the settlement brewing or storing its own beer in bottle, the ten gross of corks marking a considerable putting-up of the drink for keeping. That beer was bottled on the island points to a

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			brewhouse among its establishments, the corks drawn from store to seal the bottles as the beer appears on the officers' table through the accounts. The drink given to the soldiers for the heavy labour of launching the long boat and landing the <i>Dragon's</i> stores shows again the customary rewarding of hard work in kind, a measure of brandy or arrack standing for extra pay for the disagreeable and strenuous business of getting cargo ashore. That such work fell to soldiers marks the garrison's men turned to the physical labour of the port, the settlement drawing on its whole force for the handling of the goods its life depended on.
287	280	27 January Brought over £ 918 3 6 Ironmongersware Brought over £ 1 12 11½ 2 Spades 6 10 1 Pickax 3 4 7 Pr H Hinges 12 3 4 Iron lined Locks 1 11 8 1 Claw Hammer 1 3½ 1 Do Garden Shears 3 10 4 Ditching Showels 10 10 1 Jack Spit 5 4 1 Jack Chain 1 10 1 Box Iron 8 6 1 File 5 0 1 Do Dovetail Hinges 4 6 9 6½ Chinaware viz Do 5 Bowls 4 7 2 Sauce Boats 11 3 Chamber Pots 4 6 6 Half pt Cups & Saucers 2 2½ 16 Sneakers 4 16 2½ Hosersware viz Do 1 Do Girls Stockings 2 9 2 Do Womens 7 2 9 Do Mens Knit 1 10 1 Do Mens Wove 4 ½ 2 Do Thread Stockings 5 8 2 9 7½ Pitch viz Do 9 Pitch lb yr Do 1 1½ 5 Gallons Tar 3 9 43 Rozin 5 4½ 40 Turpentine 8 4 18 7 Carried over £ 928 17 5½	1755 Brought over, £32 3s 4d Pitch and tar, namely: 2 gallons tar, for paying anchors, £0 1s 4d 2 lb rosin, for the castle, £0 0s 2d 2 lb pitch, for the armourer's use, £0 0s 2d Total, £0 1s 8d Deals, namely: 1 piece Riga timber, for repairs to the crane, £0 10s 2d 4 feet 4 inch oak plank, for repairs to the crane, £0 4s 8d 1 double deal, for repairs to the crane, £0 3s 2½d 1 baulk, for a prop to one of the warehouses, £0 5s 6d 1 clefts, for carts, £0 3s 5½d Total, £1 7s 2d Glass, 12 squares glass 6 by 8, for repairing one of the Company's houses, £0 4s 6d Coals, 48 bushels, for the armourer's use, £2 7s 4½d Paint, namely: 8 lb Venetian red, for painting the crane and following one of the Company's houses, £0 1s 6d 6 lb whiting, for painting the crane and following one of the Company's houses, £0 1s 7½d ½ lb Jamaica indigo, for painting the crane and following one of the Company's houses, £0 2s 9d ½ lb umber, for painting the crane and following one of the Company's houses, £0 0s 2d ½ lb white copperas, for painting the crane and following one of the Company's houses, £0 0s 3½d 3 lb white lead, for painting the crane and following one of the Company's houses, £0 1s 7½d 3 lb blue smalts, for the same and for linen, £0 15s 0d Total, £1 9s 2d £37 5s 10d Diet expenses, debtor, for the following stores issued for the table from 12 October to 11 January, namely: Beef and pork, namely: 29 lb pork, £2 18s 0d 13 lb beef, £1 15s 3d Total, £4 13s 3d Rice, 9¾ lb, £0 4s 9d Candy, 306 lb, £0 5s 2d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 6s 5d Arrack, 43 gallons, £0 19s 8½d Flour, 821 lb, £0 6s 10½d Oil, 2 bottles Florence, £0 9s 4d Tea, 8 single, £0 23s 7s 4d Interpretations The timber, glass and paint charged for repairing the crane and one of the Company's houses mark the routine upkeep of the settlement's fixtures, the crane at the landing being a vital piece of gear for hoisting goods ashore and kept in constant repair. That the same materials, deals, oak plank, glass and pigment, served both the crane and the dwelling houses shows the store furnishing every need of maintenance, the

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			imported wood and glass drawn on for the fabric of the whole station. The tar charged for paying the anchors shows the great iron anchors kept coated against rust, paying meaning the smearing of tar over the metal to preserve it, the same care taken of the maritime stores the warehouse held. That the anchors needed such upkeep marks their value and their exposure, the heavy gear for the Company's vessels and for supply to shipping tended like every other article of the store. The coals issued in quantity for the armourer's use mark the fuel for his forge, the smith working iron needing a steady supply of coal to keep his fire, the same heavy charge for the armoury that ran through the earlier accounts. That the armourer consumed so much fuel shows the constant work of maintaining the garrison's arms, the forge among the busiest of the settlement's workshops.
288	281	1755 Brought over £ 928 17 5½ Tinware viz Do 2 Horn Lanthorns £ 5 6 6 Patty Pans 2 3 1 Water Pot 5 7 13 4 Oyl viz Do 17 Gallons Linseed 3 2 4 6 Gallons Train 19½ 13 Bottles Florence 1 13½ 5 14 4½ Glassware viz Do 4 Sqre Glass 6 by 8 1 8 26 Sqre Do 8 by 10 10 5½ 186 4 Do 10 by 12 8 10 6 1 Pint Decanter 3 2 2 Tumblers 1 4 9 12 1 Earthenware 1 Milk Pan 9 Iron 108 lb 19 7½ Braziersware viz Do 1 Flat Candlestick 4 1 2 Brass Ladles 4 10 8 11 Bunting 7 yard white 8½ Camblet 2 yards Scarlet 10 2 Pewter viz Do 2 Basons 9 6 1 Dish 7 2 16 8 Saddles 4 yr 2 12 6 Starch 1 5½ Turnersware viz Do 16 Do Brushes 8 4 2 Scrubing Brushes 3 8 Turnersware Carried over £ 12 Carried over £ 950 6 7½	27 January Slaves, debtor, for the following stores issued for their use from 12 October to 11 January, namely: Rice, 39 hundredweight 1 quarter 18 lb, £20 15s 10½d Beef and pork, namely: 219 lb beef, £30 2s 3d 94 lb pork, £9 8s 0d Total, £39 10s 3d Oil, 6½ gallons train, £0 18s 8½d Arrack, 2 gallons, for the sick, £0 5s 10d Tea, 26½ bohea, for the sick, £1 4s 10d Sugar, 77 lb, for the same and given to them at Christmas, £0 7s 11½d Cordage, 100 lb, for thatching their new houses at the plantation, £1 5s 0d Blankets, 6, £1 8s 0d Hooks and lines, namely: 100 hooks <i>Grantham</i>, for fishing, £0 1s 0d 100 hooks number 5, for fishing, £0 1s 2d 12 lines number 4, for fishing, £0 4s 7d 12 lines number 2, for fishing, £0 3s 4d Total, £0 10s 1d Lead, 7 lb shot, for fishing, £0 1s 2d Twine, 1 skein, for fishing, £0 0s 0d Brandy, 52½ gallons, for drams and their customary allowance at Christmas, £4 7s 1d Shoes, 2 pairs men's ordinary, £0 7s 8d Thread, 3 lb coloured, for mending their clothes, £0 0s 10d Canvas, 12 yards English, £0 4s 4d Deals, namely: 2 single, for a coffin, £0 3s 10½d 13 baulks, £3 11s 9½d Total, £3 15s 9d Nails, namely: 35 lb 6d, £0 11s 8¼d 20 lb 40d, for roofing their houses, £0 5s 10d 22 lb 20d, for roofing their houses, £0 6s 10½d 12 lb 10d, for roofing their houses, £0 3s 6½d 10 lb 4d, for roofing their houses, £0 3s 6½d Total, £1 11s 11½d Carried over, £77 5s 1d Interpretations This charge sets out the whole cost of maintaining the island's slaves for the quarter, food, drink, clothing, bedding and the materials to house them, booked against them as a distinct account. The heavy weight of rice and salted meat forms the staple of their diet, with arrack, tea and sugar reserved chiefly for the sick and brandy dispensed as drams, the same plain and bulky provision for the labour force that ran through the earlier accounts, sweetened only for the ailing and at Christmas. The cordage, baulks and nails charged for thatching and roofing the slaves' new houses at the

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			plantation show the Company building quarters for its unfree workers, the timber and fixings drawn from store as for any other structure. That new houses were being raised for the slaves marks a fresh provision for their lodging, the settlement housing its labour force from the same imported materials that served its own buildings, though the thatch and rough baulks marked the plainer construction thought fit for them. The fishing tackle issued to the slaves, hooks, lines, lead and twine, shows them set to catch fish to supplement their own and the settlement's food, the store furnishing the very gear by which they added to their provision. That the labour force fished for its food marks the island's reliance on the sea across every class of its people, the slaves drawing on it as the garrison and the planters did, the Company providing the means as part of their maintenance.
289	282	27 January Brought over £ 950 6 7½ Turnersware Brought over £ 12 2 Labourers Baskets 1 3 2 Platters 2 1 1 Cloth Brush 1 2½ 1 Hair Sieve 1 5½ 1 Shoe Brush 7½ 18 6½ Linnen 3 Do 1 5 1 Corks 2 Gross 5 1 Wine viz Do 14 Doz 3 Bottles Port 11 8 9 5 Do 3 Do Madra 8 5 4½ 1 Do Lisbon 1 4 20 14 3½ £ 973 9 9½ Sold to the Planters at 25 yr Cent Piscoetes 16 Do £ 9 14 Serge 17½ yds 4 18 5 Shalloon 38 yds 4 5 6 Broad Cloth 4½ yds 3 19 8 Long Ells 4½ yds 4 12 8½ Buckram 5 yds 5 5 Hosersware viz Do 2 Do Mens Knit Stockings 7 6 1 Do Boys 3 1½ 1 Do Girls 3 13 9 Fustian 4 Do 14 11 Camblet 3 yds Scarlet 17 9 Sold at 40 yr Cent Arrack 291 Gallons 117 6 Sugar & Candy viz Do 93 Sugar 19 7 11 34 Candy 8 10 1 27 18 Carried over £ 174 13 3½	1755 Brought over, £77 5s 1d Cutlery, 1 butchers knife, £0 0s 3½d Piece goods, 1 piece, for lying-in women, £0 8s 11½d £77 14s 3d Garrison, debtor, for the following stores issued for their use from 12 October to 11 January, namely: Tea, 55½ bohea, £4 0s 2d Oil, 108½ gallons train, for the several guards, £10 2s 8½d Deals, namely: 1 double, for coffins, £0 3s 2½d 4 single, for coffins, £0 7s 11d Total, £0 11s 1½d Nails, 2 lb 6d, for the same, £0 0s 8½d Glassware, 2 squares glass 8 by 10, for the officers guard room, £0 1s 1½d Paint, namely: 3 lb yellow ochre, £0 1s 8½d 1 lb whiting, £0 0s 4d Total, £0 2s 0½d Brandy, 19¾ gallons, for drams on mustering and for the doctor's shop, £1 12s 11d Candy, 12 lb, £0 0s 4d Vinegar, 7 gallons, for the doctor's shop, £0 0s 11½d Candles, 6 lb, for the doctor's shop, £0 9s 1½d Blankets, 28, £6 10s 8d Ironware, 1 scraping axe, for Banks's guard, £0 2s 10d Turnery, 2 plasterers, for Lemon Valley guard, £0 1s 10d £29 2s 0½d The account then turned to the plantation. Interpretations The garrison account gathers the stores drawn for the soldiers' general use across the quarter, the tea, oil, brandy and blankets furnishing the guards and the sick alongside the timber grimly charged for coffins. The train oil issued in large measure to the several guards was the fuel for their lamps through the night watches, the heaviest single item as before, marking the constant burning of light at the scattered posts that watched the coast through the hours of darkness. The piece good charged for lying-in women shows the settlement providing cloth for childbirth, the provision for women in labour drawn from the store as a recognised need of the small community. That such an allowance was made marks the settled population of the island, families living and bearing children there, the Company furnishing even the linen for a birth from its general stock. The deals and nails charged plainly for coffins mark again the burial of the garrison's dead from the same imported wood that served for building,

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			mortality on the station met from the store like every other need. The vinegar, candy, candles and brandy directed to the doctor's shop show the store virtualising the island's medical establishment, the spirits and vinegar serving the sick as stimulant and antiseptic, the hospital drawing its comforts from the general store as every other department did.
<u>290</u>	283	1755 Brought over £ 174 13 3½ Soap 6 lb 4 9 Candles 14 lb 1 10 4 Flour 330 5 10 5 Tea viz Do 4 Congo £ 4 2 Single 3 4 7 4 Rice 4 1 lb yr Do 2 13 1½ Cordage 93 lb 1 14 10½ Hooks & Lines viz Do 25 Hooks No 1 3 300 Blue Hooks 1 3 800 Do Grantham 11 4 6 No 4 Lines 3 3½ 16 3½ Canvas viz Do ½ Yard English 8½ 14 yard Osenbrigs 10½ 1 7 Oyl viz Do 1 Gallon Train 4 1 7½ Gallon Linseed 1 2 1 Bottle Florence 3 6½ 8 9½ Thread viz Do 7 Whited Brown 2 14 3 4 Coloured 18 8 3 12 11 Twine 35 Skains 1 10 7½ Nails viz Do 3 2 2 6 8 4 4 8 7 6 3 9½ 8 10 3 8 6 20 2 9 17 4½ Carried over £ 194 1 10½	27 January Plantation, debtor, for the following stores issued from 12 October to 11 January, namely: Rice and paddy, namely: 43 hundredweight 2 quarters paddy, for the horses and poultry, £7 19s 6d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 6 lb rice, £0 12s 7d Total, £8 12s 1d Lines, 7 number 4, for the gardeners use, £0 4s 11½d Deals, namely: 2 double deals, for repairs to the dairy, £0 6s 4½d 2 clefts, for a ladder and for carts, £0 6s 7d 2 baulks, for repairs to Sandy Bay house, £0 11s 5½d Total, £1 4s 0d Iron, 126 lb, for making hoes and pickaxes and for the carts, £1 0s 9d Cutlery, namely: 1 pruning knife, for the plantation use, £0 1s 4d 1 butchers knife, for the plantation use, £0 0s 3½d Total, £1 7s 1½d Paint, ½ lb white lead, for painting a ladder, £0 1s 3d Oil, namely: ½ gallon linseed, for painting a ladder, £0 0s 10d 5/8 ditto train, for the Great Wood, £1 0s 9½d Total, £2 7s 1½d Tar, 20½ gallons, for carts, £0 13s 8d Ironware, namely: 1 bill hook, for the garden, £0 2s 3d 8 scythe stones, for the garden, £0 1s 0d 8 spades, for the garden, £1 4s 8d 2 scythes, for the garden, £0 11s 0d 2 garden rakes, for the garden, £0 4s 8d 2 turfing irons, for the garden, £0 5s 9d 1 edging iron, for the garden, £0 4s 0d 1 pair large H hinges, for a gate at the Plantation House, £0 4s 0d Total, £2 17s 4½d Earthenware, 8 milk pans, for the dairy, £0 5s 4d Cordage, 8 lb, for the Wood and Plantation House, £0 1s 9d Nails, namely: 6 lb 6d, £0 2s 1½d 6 lb 4d, for the Great Wood, £0 2s 1½d 1 lb 40d, £0 0s 1d Total, £0 5s 8d Carried over, £15 11s 3d Interpretations The plantation account draws stores for the Company's farm, its livestock, dairy, garden and buildings, the paddy fed to horses and poultry and the milk pans and dairy repairs marking the herd kept for milk and butter. That unhusked rice went to the farmyard while the garden drew its own tools shows the farm run as a distinct establishment, the store furnishing every need from animal feed to the spades, scythes and turfing irons of the garden. The train oil charged for the Great Wood points to the tract of woodland on the island tended as a resource, the Great Wood being a stand of trees the settlement worked and guarded, the oil perhaps for the lamps of those set to watch or work it. That such a wood existed and needed maintenance marks the island's scant timber husbanded as a valued asset, the

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			same want of wood that drove the constant import of deals making the standing trees worth keeping. The bill hook, scythes, rakes and turfing irons issued to the garden confirm the Company's kitchen garden as a standing establishment needing its own tools, the fresh fruit and vegetables raised there a valued resource on a remote island. That the garden drew so full a set of implements shows it worked in earnest, the produce that lemons, apples and potatoes elsewhere confirm was grown feeding the settlement from the Company's own ground.
291	284	27 January Brought over £ 194 1 10½ Haberdasheryware viz Do 28 Skains mohair £ 14 17 Do Silk 9 11 14 Dozen Mohair Coat Buttons 11 3 17 Do m Breast Do 7 1 1 Do Silver Do Do 2 10 2 5 6 Pork 30 lb 8 3 Paint viz Do 6 Do Blue Smalts 16 2 ½ White Lead 1 Oars 1 16 2 Deals 4 Single 5 6 Chinaware 2 Sneakers 11 4 8 Pitch viz Do ½ Gallons Tar 2 18 Rozin 3 5 Pewter 1 Bason 6 Corks 1 Sheet Cork 1 1 Tinware 1 Horn Lanthorn 5 6 Ironware viz Do 2 Broad Hoes 4 10 2 Box Irons 1 2 2 Ragstones 6 2 Scyth Stones 5 1 Ditching Shovel 6 4 1 14 1 Glassware 2 Tumblers 1 5 Starch Do 1 2 Turnersware viz Do 1 Hair Broom 2 10 1 Scrubbing Brush 2 4 5 2 Braziersware 1 Ladle 3 1½ £ 201 9 10	1755 Brought over, £15 11s 3d Turnery, namely: 2 milk strainers, for the dairy, £0 0s 6d 2 platters, for the dairy, £0 1s 10d 1 salmon yoke, for the Plantation House, £0 1s 6d Total, £0 3s 10d £15 15s 1d The following delivered for the Plantation House, namely: Nails, namely: 25 lb 10d, £0 8s 4d 25 lb 20d, £0 7s 3½d 28 lb 6d, £0 15s 2d 2 lb 3d, £0 0s 10½d 20 lb flooring brads, £0 6s 8d Total, £1 18s 11d Paint, namely: 3 lb whiting, £0 0s 1d 10 lb white lead, £0 3s 6½d Total, £0 3s 7½d Deals, namely: 17 wainscot boards, £1 14s 0d 115 double deals, £18 6s 7d 3 baulks, £0 16s 6½d 57 single deals, £5 12s 10d Total, £26 9s 11½d Oil, 1 1/8 gallons linseed, £0 3s 9d Cordage, 13 lb, £0 3s 3d Glassware, namely: 6 squares glass 6 by 8, £0 2s 3d 1 square glass 8 by 10, £0 0s 6d Total, £0 2s 9½d Ironware, 24 dozen dovetail hinges, £0 8s 0d £29 10s 3½d The account then turned to the fortification. Interpretations The large delivery of deals, nails and glass for the Plantation House records substantial building on the Company's farm, the wainscot boards, double deals and flooring brads marking work on panelling, framing and floors rather than mere repair. That the house took over £29 of timber, ironmongery and glass in the quarter shows a continuing building effort, the same construction of the farm's principal house that ran through the earlier accounts, furnished with imported softwood and window glass. The salmon yoke listed among the turnery was a shaped wooden yoke for carrying loads on the shoulders, salmon here perhaps a corruption or a maker's name rather than the fish, the tool serving to bear water or produce about the Plantation House. That the dairy drew milk strainers and platters confirms the working of the herd for milk and butter, the cream skimmed and strained and the butter made with the wooden wares the store furnished. The heavy stock of double deals in particular, over a hundred delivered for the house, marks the substantial timber the building required, double deals being the thicker boards used for floors and stouter framing. That so much wood went into a single house shows the scale of the plantation's building, the same imported softwood serving here as throughout

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			the settlement's works, every board shipped in for want of any usable timber grown on the island.
<u>292</u>	285	1755 Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 October 1754 to the 11 January 1755 viz Do Ironware viz Do 16 Files for the Armourers use £ 11 2 Rat Traps for the Castle 11 1 Coping Ax 2 10 1 Stone Saw 3 5½ 1 Claw Hammer for the Stone Sawers 1 2 1 Gimblet, for the Carpenters 1½ 2 Scyth Stones for the Castle 3½ 1 Iron lined Lock D for the Sea Gate 1 2 1 1 Stock Lock with a pipe for the magazine 14 11 2 18 10½ Haberdasheryware 18 Do Whale Tape for the Castle 10 Twine 6 Skains, for the Castle & Doctors Shop 3 4½ Chinaware viz Do 12 Sneakers 2 3 2 Bowls 1 8 10 meat Dishes for the Castle 1 4 4 40 meat Plates 2 Chamber Pots 2 6 1 10 9 Lines viz Do 23 Lines No 4 for the masons 8 8½ 1 Hambro for a Jack Line 1 3 10 5½ Oyl viz Do 8¼ Gr Train for the Kitchen Bake House and for Tinning 7 3 9 2 Gallons Linseed for Painting the Crane & Doors &ca of the Companys House 6 3 1 Bottle Florence for the Armourers use 2 3½ 1 12 8½ Cordage 12 Do for the Stone Sawers, & Thatching the Church 3 Nails viz Do 1½ 2 8½ 1½ 4 8½ 2 6 for repairing the Crane and 8½ making a Dock Saddle 2 10 3 2½ 4 40 5½ 3 20 5½ 9½ Coopers Rivets for the Cooperinne 15 11 12 4 Carried over £ 7 12 4	The Fortifications account, dated 24 January, recorded the following stores issued between 12 October and 11 January. Tar, 16 gallons, for saving gun carriages, £0 10s 8d Ironware: Flagstone, 1, for the gunner's use, £0 0s 2d Claw hammer, 1, £0 1s 2d, £0 1s 4d Paint, 10lb white lead, £0 3s 6½d Oil, 7 gallons yellow linseed, for painting gun carriages, £0 1s 8d Turner's ware, 2 flag brushes, £0 0s 11d Lead, 32lb sheet, for aprons, £0 0s 5d Bunting: 5 pieces white, 2¼lb each, for making two flags for the commandant and one for the ramparts, £2 15s 4½d 2 pieces blue, 2lb each, £2 10s 6d 1 piece red, 1½lb, £1 13s 0d, £6 18s 8½d The cordage supplied for the flags for the halyards and for the flagstaff at the castle came to £1 2s 6d. Nails, 40, 9d, to hang sponge staves on, £0 3s 4d Canvas: 7 yards osnaburg, for the flags, £0 1s 9½d 7 yards strong long canvas, for the flags, £0 10s 8½d Twine, 9 skeins, £0 1s 7¼d Thread: 1lb whited brown, for making the flags and cartridges, £0 5s 6¼d 3lb coloured, £0 0s 10d, £0 15s 6¼d Lines: 5 lower and topmast, for the flags, £0 1s 11d 2 Hamburg, for the flags, £0 3s 6d, £0 5s 3d The Fortifications total came to £10 18s 7½d. The Hospital account, also running from 12 October to 11 January, recorded the following stores issued for the sick. Flour, 12lb, £0 17s 4½d Sugar, 150lb, £1 15s 11½d Oil, 2½ gallons train, £1 3s 0d Salt, 1½ bushels, £0 5s 11½d Carried over, £4 1s 11½d Interpretations The account distinguished sharply between two functions on the same fortification budget: the practical upkeep of the gun carriages and their equipment, and the manufacture of new flags. Most of the outlay was for the flags, with bunting alone consuming nearly £7. Bunting was a loosely woven worsted wool cloth, made in coloured strips and used almost exclusively for signal and display flags because it took dye well and flew freely in light wind. The three colours drawn here, white, blue and red, were the components of the ensigns and jacks a Company garrison would fly, and the specification of separate flags for the commandant and for the ramparts shows the garrison maintaining a visible chain of signalling and identification from its principal fortified point. Osnaburg was a coarse, plain linen originally from Osnabrück in Germany, cheap and hard-wearing, used here as backing or reinforcement for the flags alongside the stronger long canvas. The distinction between whited brown thread and coloured thread reflects the different flag colours being sewn, brown being the undyed natural thread bleached partly white. Train oil was oil rendered from the blubber of whales or seals, valued as a general-purpose lubricant and medicinal base, and its appearance on the hospital account indicates its use

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			in treatments or preparations for the sick rather than any culinary purpose. The claw hammer, flagstone and sheet lead for aprons point to routine maintenance of the gun platforms, an apron being the lead cover fitted over a cannon's touch-hole to keep the priming dry, a constant concern in an exposed coastal battery.
293	286	27 January Brought over £ 7 12 4 Leather ¾ Pump Leather for the Pump lb 1 1 Soap 51 lb 1 6 6½ Starch 12 Poland for Linen 7 6 Tinware 1 Dripping Pan for the Castle 4 2 Braziersware viz Do 1 Do Dredging Box 4 5 1 Bread Grater 4 11½ 1 Nutmeg Do for the Castle 2 2½ 2 Do Plate Snuffers 5 6 17 1 Earthenware 3 milk Pans for Do 2 Corks 10 Gross for Bottling Beer 1 2 11 Candles viz Do 101 for the Castle 8 2 9 120 for the Council 9 2 6 17 5 3 Pewter 2 Basons 8 6 Challoes 1 Do 8 10 Blankets 1 for the Castle 4 8 Lead 28 Shot 4 8 Canvas 30 yds Osenbrigs for a Pack Saddle and for covering the Packet 1 10½ Turnersware viz Do 2 Punch Ladles 1 1 1 Wood Ladle for the Castle 2 5 Do Brushes for Painting 2 3½ 3 6½ Iron & Steel viz Do 52 Iron for the Crane & Sea Gate 8 7 14 Steel for the Armourers use 5 ½ 13 7½ Brandy 10½ Gallons given to the Soldiers that Assisted in getting up and Launching the Long Boat and in getting 15 10 the Stores on Shore from Ship Dragon Arrack 1 Gallon given for Do 2 11 Carried over £ 32 3 4	The account continued from the previous page, carrying the following further stores for the hospital. Rice, ½ hundredweight, brought over, £4 1s 11½d Rice, ½ hundredweight, £0 0s 4d Chinaware, 5 sneakers, £0 0s 11d Hospital total, £4 16s 11d The Boats account, dated 11 January, recorded the following stores issued for repairs to the boats between 12 October and 11 January. Nails: 7lb, 6d, £0 2s 6d 7lb, 10d, £0 2s 4d 4lb, 20d, £0 1s 3d 1lb, 3d, £0 0s 3½d 2lb, 4d, £0 0s 7d, £0 7s 1½d Cordage, 7¼lb, £0 1s 4s 6d Twine, 3 skeins, £0 1s 8½d Pitch and tar: 20lb pitch, £0 1s 8d 9 gallons tar, £0 6s 0d, £0 7s 8d Turner's ware: 1 stock brush, £0 0s 5½d 2 platters, £0 1s 10d, £0 2s 3½d Leather, 4 shoes, £0 0s 8d Leather, 2 pump leathers, £0 2s 10d Lines, 1 Hamburg, £0 1s 8d Oil, ½ gallon linseed, £0 0s 5d Boats total, £2 8s 10½d The account was dated 11 January 1755, signed by Purling, storekeeper, with errors excepted. Interpretations Two of the goods on these accounts point to the material culture of the island rather than to shipbuilding or medicine. A sneaker was a small drinking vessel or cup, and the five sneakers of chinaware charged here to the hospital were tableware for the sick, imported porcelain from the China trade that passed through St Helena on the homeward voyage. Their appearance on the hospital account shows the garrison drawing on the same East Indian goods that filled the returning ships for its own domestic supply. The pump leathers were the most functionally significant item on the boats account. A ship's bilge pump relied on a leather bucket or valve to create suction, and this component wore out with use, so a standing stock of replacement pump leathers was essential to keep the boats afloat. Their presence, together with the shoes, or leather washers, and the pitch and tar for caulking and sealing, marks this as an account of ordinary preventive maintenance keeping the garrison's small craft seaworthy through the summer months.
294	287	1755 Brought over £ 32 3 4 Pitch & Tar viz Do 2 Gallons Tar for Taring Anchors 1 4 2 Rozin for the Castle 2 2 Pitch for the Armourers use 2 1 8 Deals viz Do 3 Do Riga Timber 10 5 4 feet 4 Inch Oak Plank for Repairs 4 8 to the Crane 1 Double Deals 3 2½ 1 Baulk for a Prop to one of the Ware Houses 5 6	This list, dated 27 January, set out the Honourable Company's officers and servants on St Helena with their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter beginning 12 October and ending 11 January 1755. Charles Hutchinson, governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d, £156 14s 9d John Adamson, lieutenant governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Diet money, £25 0s 0d, £87 10s 0d John Clark, of council, £15 0s 0d

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		1 Coffin for Carts 3 5½ 1 7 2 Glass 12 Sqre Glass 6 by 8 for repairing one of the Companys Houses 4 6 Coals 48 Bushels for the Armourers use 2 7 4½ Paint viz Do 8 Venet red 1 6 67 Whiting 1 7 ½ Jamaica Indico for Painting the 2 9 ¼ Osenbr Crane & following 2 ¼ White Coppras one of the Companys 3½ 3 White Lead Houses 1 7 3 Blue Smalts for Do & for Linen 15 1 19 2 £ 37 5 10 Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Issued for the Table from the 12 October to the 11 January viz Beef & Pork viz Do 29 Do Pork 2 18 13 Do Beef 1 15 3 4 13 3 Rice 9 2 lb yr Do 4 9 Candy 306 5 2 Salt 2 Bushels 6 Arrack 43 Gallons 5 5 5 Flour 821 19 8½ Oyl 3 Bottles Florence 6 10½ Tea 8 Single 9 4 £ 23 7 4	John Goodwin, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £35 0s 0d Matthew Purling, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d, £32 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d, £32 10s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d, £40 0s 0d James Powell, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d, £25 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £20 0s 0d William Wrangham, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £17 10s 0d Charles Steward, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d, £15 0s 0d John Inglis, surgeon, salary, £9 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £22 5s 0d Carried over, £598 19s 9d Interpretations The list sets out the whole civil and commercial establishment of the island in a single hierarchy of pay, and the internal structure of each officer's remuneration is as revealing as the totals. Salary, diet money and house rent were three distinct entitlements: the salary was the nominal reward of the post, the diet money a fixed cash allowance in place of a place at the Company table, and the house rent an allowance toward lodging for those not quartered in Company buildings. The governor alone drew a separate allowance for servants rather than diet money and house rent, reflecting the scale of his household and its representational role. The gradations of rank map precisely onto the Company's factory system. A factor was a senior commercial officer trusted with trade and stores, a writer the most junior covenanted rank, an apprentice clerk working toward a factorship, and the storekeeper the officer responsible for the receipt and issue of all the provisions and materials recorded in the preceding accounts. The presence of two Wranghams, Francis as secretary and William as writer, and the surgeon Inglis drawing house rent, shows the small closed circle from which the island's administration was drawn, with family connection and Company service tightly interwoven.
295	288	27 January Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued for their Use from the 12 October to the 11 January viz Rice 39 1 18 £ 20 15 10½ Beef & Pork viz Do 219 Do Beef £ 30 2 3 94 Do Pork 9 8 39 10 3 Oyl 6½ Gal Train 18 8½ Arrack 2 Do for the Sick 5 10 Tea 26½ Bohea 1 4 10 Sugar 74 for Do & given to them at Christmas 7 11½ Cordage 100 for Thatching their New Houses at the Plantation 1 5 Blankets 6 1 8 Hooks & Lines viz Do 100 Hooks yr Grantham 1 100 Do No 5 1 2 12 Lines No 4 for Fishing 4 7 12 Do No 2 3 4 10 1 Lead 7 Shot for Fishing lb 1 2 Twine 1 Skain Brandy 52½ Gall for Drams and their 6½ Customary Allowance at Christmas 4 7 1	The pay list continued from the previous page with the remaining officers, servants and the First Company. Brought over, £498 19s 9d Thomas Evans, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d, £16 5s 0d John Swaits, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, £7 10s 0d George Young, overseer, £7 10s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, salary, £3 8s 3d As clerk, £5 0s 0d, £8 8s 3d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £1 10s 0d, £29 0s 0d Mark Hawkins, mason, salary, £12 10s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £1 0s 0d, £20 6s 10½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, master of arms, £6 5s 0d James Sheridan, gardener, £10 0s 0d Thomas Loving, carpenter, £12 10s 0d Thomas Cheeslinough, carpenter's mate, £7 10s 0d Robert John Clark, armourer, £10 10s 0d

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		Shoes 2 Do Mens Ordinary 7 8 Thread 3 Coloured for mending their Cloaths 10 Canvas 4 yds English 4 4 Deals viz Do 2 Single for a Coffin 3 10½ 13 Baulks 3 11 9½ 3 15 9 Nails viz Do 35 6 20 40 for Rooseing their Houses 11 8½ 22 20 5 10 12 10 6 10½ 10 4 3 6½ 1 11 11½ Carried over £ 77 5 1	John Hayes, armourer's mate, £9 0s 0d James Forbes, cooper, £8 15s 0d Michael Frost, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Thomas Smith, patron of the long boat, £7 10s 0d Thomas Beauer, housekeeper, £2 0s 0d Thomas Harper, marshall, £5 6s 3½d, £80 11s 5½d The First Company followed. John Clark, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d On account of instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d, £37 3s 1½d Stephen Herbert, second lieutenant, salary, £18 0s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 11s 10½d Francis Mowett, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d, £29 13s 1½d Carried over, £770 9s 5½d Interpretations The list moves from the covenanted commercial officers of the previous page to the skilled tradesmen and the military establishment, revealing how a small garrison met all its own needs from within. The master mason and his subordinate mason, each drawing diet money and house rent on the pattern of the senior officers, headed the building works that maintained the fortifications and Company structures, while the carpenter, armourer, cooper and their mates covered woodwork, weapon repair and the making of casks. The armourer and his mate were the men who kept the muskets and cannon serviceable, a function distinct from the master of arms, who was responsible for the custody and drilling of small arms rather than their repair. The military pay of the First Company shows the island's defence run on the same commercial ledger as its trade. The extra allowance to the first lieutenant for instructing the gunners marks the central problem of an artillery garrison, that gunnery was a specialised skill requiring constant training, and the Company paid a premium to have its own officer keep the gun crews proficient. The patron of the long boat was the coxswain in charge of the garrison's principal working craft, the boat that carried stores and men between ship and shore in a roadstead with no harbour, making his a post of daily practical importance to the whole settlement.
296	289	1755 Brought over £ 77 5 1 Cutleryware 1 Butchers Knife 3½ Piscoetes 1 Do for lying in Women 8 11½ £ 77 14 3½ Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued for their use from the 12 October to the 11 January viz Do Tea 85½ Bohea 4 2 Oyl 108 ½ Gallons Train for the Several Guard 10 2 8½ Deals viz Do 1 Double £ 3 2½ 4 Single for Coffins 7 11 11 1½ Nails 2 6 for Do 8½ Glassware 2 Sgre Glass 8 by 10 for the Officers Guard Room 1 1½ Paint viz Do 3 Yellow Oaker 1 8½ ½ Whiting 4 2 ½ Brandy 19¾ Gallons for Drams on mustering and for the Doctors Shop 1 12 11 Candy 12 lb 4 Vinegar 7 Gallon for the Doctors Shop 11½ Candles 6 lb 9 1½	The pay list continued, dated 27 January, with the sergeants, corporals and sentinels of the garrison. Brought over, £770 9s 5½d Sergeants: Solomon Jacobs, £7 12s 1d Thomas Brown, £7 12s 1d William Davis, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Corporals: John Swift, £5 6s 5½d Humphrey Pugh, £5 6s 5½d John Howard, £5 6s 5½d, £15 19s 4½d John Vaughan, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Sentinels: Andrew Armstrong, £3 16s 0½d George Bennet, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Brown, £3 16s 0½d James Bamford, £3 16s 0½d John Bushe, £3 16s 0½d John Bagley, £3 16s 0½d Matthew Campbell, £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d Phillip Cole, £3 16s 0½d George Capelin, £3 16s 0½d William Cocksey, £3 16s 0½d James Easthope, £3 16s 0½d

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		Blankets 28 6 10 8 Ironware 1 Coping Ax for Bantess Guard 2 10 Turnersware 2 Plasters for Lemon Valley Guard 1 10 £ 29 2½	John Furze, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Faris, £3 16s 0½d George Grow, £3 16s 0½d John Grainger, £3 16s 0½d John Groves, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d Richard Gedson, £3 16s 0½d John Gawler, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hales, £3 16s 0½d Humphrey Harrison, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £86 18s 11d Carried over, £814 11s 6½d Interpretations The uniformity of the sentinels' pay, every man at exactly the same rate, marks the base of the military hierarchy where individual distinction gave way to a flat rank of common soldiers. Above them the structure rose in clear steps, the corporals at a little over five pounds, the sergeants at over seven, each rank paid identically within itself, so that the whole company formed a precise pay pyramid from private to lieutenant. The single drummer, paid at corporal's rate, held the post that transmitted orders and beat the daily routine of the garrison, a function important enough to lift him above the common sentinels despite carrying no command. The garrison drew its rank and file from a notably mixed origin, with Welsh names such as Pugh and English county names sitting alongside one another, reflecting the Company's practice of recruiting soldiers wherever men could be found for a distant and unpopular posting. Such a garrison was chronically hard to keep at strength, and the length of this single company's roll, running to dozens of private sentinels, shows the Company maintaining a substantial standing force on an island whose whole purpose was to hold a fortified watering place on the homeward route secure against seizure.
297	290	27 January Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 October to the 11 January viz Do Rice & Paddy viz Do 43 2 Paddy for the Horses & Poultry 7 19 6 1 3 6 Rice 12 7 8 12 1 Lines 7 No 4 for the Gardeners use 4 11½ Deals viz Do 2 Double Deals for Do to the Dairy 6 4½ 2 Coffins for a Ladder & for Carts 6 7 2 Baulks for Do to Sandy Bay House 11 ½ 1 4 Iron 126 for making Hoes & Pickaxes and for the Carts 1 9 Cutleryware viz Do 1 Pruning Knife 1 4 1 Butchers Do for the yard use 3½ 1 7½ Paint ½ White Lead 1 3 Oyl viz Do 7½ Gall Linseed for Painting a 10 Ladder 5/8 Do Train for the Great Wood 1 9½ 2 7½ Tar 20½ Gallons for Carts 15 8 Ironware viz Do 1 Bill Hook 2 3 8 Scyth Stones 1 8 Spades 1 4 8 2 Scythes for the Garden 11 2 Garden Rakes 4 8 2 Coping Irons 5 9 1 Edging Iron 4 1 Do large H Hinges for a Gate at the Plantation House 4 2 17 4½ Earthenware 8 milk Pans for the Dairy 5 4 Cordage 4 for the Wood & Plantation House 1 9 Nails viz Do 6 6 2 1½ 6 4 for the Great Wood 2 1½	The pay list continued with the remaining sentinels of the garrison. Brought over, £814 11s 6½d Sentinels brought over, £86 18s 11d James Kendrue, £3 16s 0½d William Hutchinson, £3 16s 0½d William Lambon, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Low, £3 16s 0½d John Legg, £3 16s 0½d John Murrill, £3 16s 0½d James Mills, £3 16s 0½d John Marsh, £3 16s 0½d Bartholomew Molloy, from 12 October to 3 January inclusive, the day he died, £3 10s 0d Nathan Mitchell, £3 16s 0½d William Montgomery, £3 16s 0½d John Oh Hara, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Edward Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Renton, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d Charles Smith, £3 16s 0½d George Smith, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Stanbury, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Suffnal, £3 16s 0½d John Turner, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0½d Edward Webber, £3 16s 0½d John Williams, £3 16s 0½d John Walker, £3 16s 0½d John Wattson, £3 16s 0½d Matthias Young, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels total, £189 16s 0½d Carried over, £1,004 7s 7d Interpretations

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		1 40 12 5 8 Carried over £ 15 11 3	The single line for Bartholomew Molloy, paid only to 3 January because that was the day he died, shows the Company reckoning a soldier's wage to the exact day of his death rather than the quarter's end, cutting the standard payment short by the missing days. His reduced sum stands as the one break in an otherwise uniform column, the ledger's method of accounting for the constant attrition of a garrison through illness and death on a remote station where mortality among the soldiery was a routine administrative fact. The names John Oh Hara and Bartholomew Molloy point to Irish recruitment within the company, sitting alongside the Welsh and English names of the earlier pages. The Company drew its rank and file from across the British Isles and beyond, and the Irish presence reflects both the poverty that drove men to accept a distant posting and the readiness of the Company to take soldiers from wherever they could be enlisted for a garrison that few volunteered for willingly.
298	291	1755 Brought over £ 15 11 3 Turnersware viz Do 2 milk Strainers, for the Dairy £ 6 2 Platters for Do 1 10 1 Salmens Yoake for the Plantation House 1 6 3 10 £ 15 15 1 The following delivered for the Plantation House viz Do Nails viz Do 25 40 8 4 25 20 7 3½ 28 6 15 2 2 3 4½ 20 Flooring Brads 6 8 1 18 11 Paint viz Do 3 Whiting 1 10 White Lead 3 6½ 3 7½ Deals viz Do 7 Wainscoat Boards 1 14 115 Double Deals 18 6 7 3 Baulks 16 6½ 57 Single Deals 5 12 10 26 9 11½ Oyl 1/8 Gallons Linseed 3 9 Cordage 13 3 3 Glassware viz Do 6 Sgre Glass 6 by 8 2 3 1 Sgre Do 8 by 10 6 2 9½ Ironware 24 Do Dovetail Hinges 8 £ 29 10 3½	The pay list continued, dated 27 January, with the Second Company of the garrison. Brought over, £1,004 7s 7d Thomas Easthope, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1½d Samuel Price, second lieutenant, salary, £18 0s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 6s 10½d Sergeants: John Loch, £7 12s 1d William Pendrue, £7 12s 1d Charles Stiles, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Corporals: William Shelford, £5 6s 5½d William Langhorn, £5 6s 5½d John Bridgwater, £5 6s 5½d, £15 19s 4½d John Clough, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Sentinels: William Adams, £3 16s 0½d William Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Ballard, £3 16s 0½d John Barber, £3 16s 0½d Christian Bonks, £3 16s 0½d Dison Craft, £3 16s 0½d James Carmichael, £3 16s 0½d John Charrot, £3 16s 0½d Gilbert Clough, £3 16s 0½d Baron Delonpk, £3 16s 0½d John Earle, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 0½d John Gunn, £3 16s 0½d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Hitchins, £3 16s 0½d William Hurlock, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £60 16s 8d Carried over, £1,308 4s 8d Interpretations The Second Company reproduced the exact pay structure of the First, the same lieutenants' salaries, the same sergeants at £7 12s 1d and corporals at £5 6s 5½d, the same single drummer and the same flat rate for every sentinel. This precise mirroring shows the garrison organised into two identical companies of equal establishment, the standard method of dividing a small fixed force so that duties, guards and watches could be rotated between two interchangeable units. The sentinels of this company carried an even more varied set of names than the first, with Christian Bonks, Dison Craft and Baron Delonpk suggesting continental European origin among the

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			rank and file. The Company's willingness to enlist foreign soldiers for its overseas garrisons was well established, since the pool of Englishmen prepared to serve on a remote Atlantic island was never sufficient, and men of Dutch, German or Huguenot background were readily absorbed into a force whose common language of command mattered more than its national uniformity.
299	292	24th January Fortification Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 October to the 11 January vizt Tar 16 Gall for Saving Gun Carriages " 10 8 Ironware vizt 1 Ragstone } for the Gunners use " . 2 1 Claw Hammer } . 1 2 " 1 4 Paint 10 white Lead " 3 6 1/2 Oil p Gallon Linseed } for Painting " 1 8 Turnersware 2 Ps Brushes } Gun Carriages " . 11 Lead 32 Sheet for Aprons " . 5 Bunting vizt 2 p 5 Yd White } £ 2 15 1/2 2 do Blue } for making two 2 10 6 1 do do d } Flagsons for Mundens 1 13 none for Ramparts 6 18 8 1/2 Cordage 50 for the Flags for Halliards } for the 12 6 Flagstaff at the Castle Nails 9 40 to hang Spunge Staves on . 3 1/2 Canvas 30 yds Osenbrigs } for the Flags 1 10 1/2 10 yd do long Canvas } 10 8 1/2 Twine 9 Skains " 7 7 1/2 Thread vizt } for making 1 Whited Brown } the Flags Cartridge . 5 6 1/2 3 coloured 10 13 6 1/2 Lines vizt 5 Sinew N X } for the Flags " 1 11 2 Hambro } . 3 6 " 5 3 £ 10 18 1/2 Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued for the Sick from the 12 October to the 11 January vizt Flour 12 Cwt " 17 4 1/2 Sugar 150 1 15 11 1/2 Oyl 2 1/2 Gallons Train 1 3 Salt 1 1/2 Bushels . 5 1/2 Carried over £ 4 1 11 1/2	The pay list continued with the remaining sentinels of the Second Company. Brought over, £1,308 4s 8d Sentinels brought over, £60 16s 8d Thomas Hide, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d John Kersey, £3 16s 0½d John Langbridge, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lawrence, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lindsey, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Loveland, £3 16s 0½d John Macray, £3 16s 0½d Abram Major, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Marchen, £3 16s 0½d Richard McNolloy, £3 16s 0½d James McDannald, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Payne, £3 16s 0½d John Postwater, £3 16s 0½d John Parker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perse, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Shirtly, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Snasson, £3 16s 0½d Christian Syder, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Thompson, £3 16s 0½d William Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Swaits, £3 16s 0½d James Thomson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Roger Whitman, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d, £186 6s 7½d Carried over, £1,294 10s 8¾d Interpretations The recurrence of Scott twice, David and Adam, together with Macray and the two McNames, McNolloy and McDannald, marks a Scottish and Irish strand running through this company alongside the English majority. The Company recruited its private soldiers with little regard to origin, and the presence of Highland and Irish names reflects the same economic pressures that filled the ranks throughout, men from the poorer margins of the British Isles taking service on a distant island where few with better prospects would go. The names Christian Syder and Nicholas Snasson again suggest continental European enlistment among the rank and file, consistent with the mixed origins seen in the first part of this company. A garrison assembled from such varied sources depended for its cohesion on drill, discipline and a common structure of command rather than shared background, which is why the pay ledger imposed such rigid uniformity of rank and rate across a body of men drawn from across Britain and the Continent alike.
300	293	Rice 1/2 Cwt Chinaware 5 Smeekers Brought over £ 4 1 11 1/2 . 1 4 " . 11 1/2	The pay list continued, dated 27 January, with the Third Company of the garrison. Brought over, £1,294 10s 8¾d Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d

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		£ 4 16 11 Boats 1 Dr for the following Stores Issued for repairs New from the 12 October to the 11 January vizt Nails vizt 7 6 . 2 6 7 10 . 2 4 4 20 . 1 3 1 3 . 3 1/2 2 4 " . 7 " 7 1/2 Cordage 7 1/2 Cwt 1 4 6 Twine 3 Skains . 1 8 1/2 Pitch & Tar vizt 200 Pitch . 1 8 9 Gallons Tar 6 . " 7 8 Turnersware vizt 1 Bt Brush . 5 1/2 2 Platters 1 10 " 2 3 1/2 Lead 32 Shoes " . 8 Leather 2 Pump Leather " 2 10 Lines 1 Hambro " 1 8 Oil 1/2 Gallon Linseed " . 5 £ 2 8 10 1/2 11 January 1755 Errors Excepted p Signd Purling Storekeeper	Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1½d William Kennedy, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: William Oakman, £7 12s 1d John Walther, £7 12s 1d William Bunting, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Corporals: Alexander Hambleton, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Bazett, £5 6s 5½d Samuel Desfountain, £5 6s 5½d, £15 19s 4½d John Gould, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Sentinels: John Allis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Allis, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Beauer, £3 16s 0½d John Barden, £3 16s 0½d Matthew Bazett, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Beddwin, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Buch, £3 16s 0½d Walter Bell, £3 16s 0½d James Bell, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 0½d William Cane, £3 16s 0½d William Cannam, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Cales, £3 16s 0½d Andrew Frazier, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Fuchs, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £60 16s 8d Carried over, £1,398 7s 9½d Interpretations The Third Company confirms the establishment of a garrison built on three matching units rather than two, each with its own pair of lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, a drummer and a body of sentinels on identical pay. This tripartite division allowed the daily guard to be mounted on a three-day rotation, with one company on duty while the other two rested or worked, a more sustainable cycle than the two-company pattern and a measure of the substantial force the Company kept on the island. The presence of the name Desfountain among the corporals points to Huguenot descent, the French Protestants who had settled in England after fleeing religious persecution and whose families frequently entered Company service. Their integration into the garrison's non-commissioned ranks, holding positions of minor authority over the sentinels, shows how thoroughly such refugee families had been absorbed into the British military and commercial world within a generation or two of their arrival.
301	294	27th January List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salarys, Diet Money &ca for the Quarter commencing October 12 and ending January 11 1755 vizt Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Salary £ 125 . Do Allowance for Servants as usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Salary 62 10 Do Diet Mony 25 . . 87 10 . John Clark of Councel 15 . . John Goodwin Accountant Salary 17 10 . Do Diet Mony 15 . Do House rent 2 10 . 35 . . Matthew Purling Strehkeeper Salary 17 10 . Do Diet Mony 15 . 32 10 . Francis Wrangham Secretary Salary 17 10 . Do Diet Mony 15 . 32 10 . William Lee Chaplain Salary 25 .	The pay list continued with the remaining sentinels of the Third Company. Brought over, £1,398 7s 9½d Sentinels brought over, £60 16s 8d John Frazier, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Gidley, £3 16s 0½d James Greer, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Gawden, £3 16s 0½d James Hall, £3 16s 0½d John Harley, £3 16s 0½d Phillip Hickman, £3 16s 0½d Job Harrison, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hodson, £3 16s 0½d William Hindes, £3 16s 0½d George Hibbot, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Keech, £3 16s 0½d Peter Lindsey, £3 16s 0½d John Langbridge, £3 16s 0½d William Lindsey, £3 16s 0½d

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		Do Diet Mony 15 . 40 . James Powell Factors Salary 7 10 . Do Diet Mony 10 . . Do House rent 2 10 . Do Assistant Strehkeeper 5 . 25 . Matthew Bazett Factors Salary 7 10 . Do Diet Mony 10 . . Do House rent 2 10 . 20 . William Wrangham Writers Salary 5 . Do Diet Mony 10 . . Do House rent 2 10 17 10 . Charles Steward Writer Salary 5 . Do Diet Mony 10 . 15 . John Inglis Surgeon Salary 9 10 . Do Diet Mony 10 . . Do House rent 2 10 . 22 5 . Carried over £ 598 19 9	Moses Monanteau, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClarin, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pinkerton, £3 16s 0½d William Paddom, £3 16s 0½d Edward Richards, £3 16s 0½d Lewis Rowe, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Sawmry, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Serjant, £3 16s 0½d Charles Stoakes, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Sullivan, £3 16s 0½d David Scurry, £3 16s 0½d Edward Serry, £3 16s 0½d John Simsson, £3 16s 0½d John Sell, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Zeffrin, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0½d William Whittenham, from 12 October to the day he died, inclusive, £2 10s 0d, £186 6s 10½d Carried over, £1,584 14s 8d Interpretations The line for William Whittenham, whose pay was cut to £2 10s 0d because it ran only to the day he died, marks the second death recorded in this pay quarter after Bartholomew Molloy in the First Company. Two soldier deaths across a single winter quarter, each reckoned to the exact day and the wage stopped there, illustrate the steady toll that illness took on the garrison and the ledger's routine method of adjusting the standard payment for the days a dead man had not served. The names Monanteau and McClarin again mark the French and Scottish strands within the rank and file, the former of Huguenot origin like Desfountain in the same company and the latter a Highland name. Their appearance confirms that all three companies drew on the same mixed pool of recruits, a reflection of the Company's persistent difficulty in filling its garrison and its consequent readiness to enlist men of any origin willing to serve on a remote and unhealthy station.
<u>302</u>	295	1755 Brought over £ 598 19 9 Thomas Evans Surgeons Mate Salary £ 6 5 . Do Diet Mony 10 . 16 5 . John Swaits 7 10 . Matthew Bazett } Overseers 7 10 . George young 7 10 . Prichard Beale Schoolmaster Salary 3 8 3 Do as Clerk 5 . 8 8 3 John Bland Master Mason Salary 17 10 . Do Diet Mony 10 . Do House rent 1 10 . 29 . . Mark Hawkins Masons Salary 12 10 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House rent 1 . 20 6 10 1/2 Thomas Kirkpatrick master of Arms 6 5 . James Sheridan Gardiner 10 . Thomas Livings Carpenter 12 10 Thomas Cheeslmugh Do Mate 7 10 Robert John Clark Armourer 10 10 John Hayes Armourers mate 9 . James Forbes Cooper 8 15 Michael Snow Clock & Instrument Cleaner 1 5 Thomas Smith Patron of the Long Boat 7 10 Thomas Bearer Housekeeper 2 . Thomas Harper marshall 5 6 3 1/2 80 11 5 1/2 First Company John Clark 1 Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do On Account of Instructing the Gunners 7 10 37 3 1/2 Stephen Herbert 2d Lieutenant Salary 18 5 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House rent 2 10 . 27 11 10 1/2	The pay list continued, dated 27 January, with the Fourth Company of the garrison. Brought over, £1,584 14s 8d Onesiphorus Beale, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1½d George Hay, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants: Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Michael Frost, £7 12s 1d William Witthins, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Corporals: Edward Walker, £5 6s 5½d Erasmus Purling, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Leech, £5 6s 5½d, £15 19s 4½d John Caffin, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Sentinels: Godfrey Amberstow, £3 16s 0½d Peter Barker, £3 16s 0½d John Burke, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d George Bryan, from 12 October to 29 November inclusive, the day he was discharged, £2 0s 10d William Bechett, £3 16s 0½d Robert Berry, £3 16s 0½d George Beale, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d John Bradley, £3 16s 0½d Robert Baker, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Cann, £3 16s 0½d

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		Francis Mowett Adjutant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 29 13 1/2 Carried over £ 770 9 5 1/2	John Coxke, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Clear, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £53 5s 5d Carried over, £1,686 1s 9d Interpretations The line for George Bryan differs from the two earlier broken entries in a telling way, since his pay was cut short not by death but by discharge on 29 November. The ledger distinguished the two circumstances only by the wording of the note, applying the same day-exact reckoning whether a man left the roll through dying or through being released from service, which shows the standard payment adjusted identically for any departure that ended a soldier's entitlement partway through the quarter. The unusual forename Onesiphorus, borne by the fourth company's first lieutenant, was drawn from the New Testament and reflects the Puritan and dissenting fashion for scriptural names taken from obscure figures in the epistles. Its appearance among the officer class, rather than the rank and file, is consistent with the naming habits of the middling English families from which the Company's junior officers were commonly recruited, and marks him as a man of a particular religious background within the establishment.
303	296	27th January Brought over £ 770 9 5 1/2 Sergeants Solomon Jacobs £ 7 12 1 Thomas Brown 7 12 1 William Davis 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals John Swift 5 6 5 1/2 Humphrey Pugh 5 6 5 1/2 John Howard 5 6 5 1/2 15 19 4 1/2 John Vaughan Drumer 5 6 5 1/2 Sentinels Andrew Armstrong 3 16 1/2 George Bennet 3 16 1/2 Thomas Brown 3 16 1/2 James Bamford 3 16 1/2 John Bushe 3 16 1/2 John Bagley 3 16 1/2 Matthew Campble 3 16 1/2 James Cartwright 3 16 1/2 Phillip Cole 3 16 1/2 George Capelin 3 16 1/2 William Cocksey 3 16 1/2 James Casthope 3 16 1/2 John Furze 3 16 1/2 Thomas Faris 3 16 1/2 George Gran 3 16 1/2 John Grainger 3 16 1/2 John Groves 3 16 1/2 Richard Goulding 3 16 1/2 Richard Gedson 3 16 1/2 John Gawler 3 16 1/2 Thomas Hailes 3 16 1/2 Humphrey Harrison 3 16 1/2 Sentinels Carried over £ 86 18 11 Carried over £ 814 11 6 1/2	The pay list continued with the remaining sentinels of the Fourth Company. Brought over, £1,686 1s 9d Sentinels brought over, £53 5s 5d John Cupps, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Cleverly, £3 16s 0½d William Dufton, £3 16s 0½d John Dehlen, £3 16s 0½d Peter Egglestone, £3 16s 0½d Peter Simeal, £3 16s 0½d Notear Gawden, £3 16s 0½d Charles Gibson, £3 16s 0½d John Hayes, £3 16s 0½d James Hendes, £3 16s 0½d John Holloway, £3 16s 0½d William Slavies, £3 16s 0½d John Hudson, £3 16s 0½d William Harrison, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jackson, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hison, £3 16s 0½d Christian Mouse, £3 16s 0½d William Mudge, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 0½d Archibald Pouge, £3 16s 0½d John Robinson, £3 16s 0½d John Simmons, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 0½d John Strange, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d James Thurston, £3 16s 0½d Richard Swaits, £3 16s 0½d William Swaits, £3 16s 0½d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Wyrell, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wilwell, £3 16s 0½d John Williams, £3 16s 0½d John Waffington, £3 16s 0½d, £184 10s 10d Carried over, £1,870 12s 7d Interpretations The name Christian Mouse, along with Dehlen among the earlier entries, again marks the continental European presence that ran through every company of the garrison, the forename Christian being a common German and Scandinavian form only lightly anglicised on the roll. The steady recurrence of such names across all four infantry companies and the artillery confirms that foreign enlistment was not

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			incidental but a structural feature of how the Company manned St Helena, drawing on whatever willing recruits the ports of northern Europe and the British Isles could supply. The Scottish and Irish names clustered here, Archibald Pouge, Stephen Orr and the recurring pattern of northern surnames, reinforce the picture of a garrison assembled from the poorer and more mobile populations of the three kingdoms. Men from these regions were disproportionately represented in the ranks of a force that the settled English population had little appetite to join, and the Company relied on them to hold a station whose isolation and reputation for sickness made it one of the least sought postings in its service.
304	297	1755 Brought over £ 814 11 6 1/2 Centinels Brought over £ 86 18 11 James Kendree 3 16 1/2 William Hutchinson 3 16 1/2 William Lambon 3 16 1/2 Joseph Low 3 16 1/2 John Legg 3 16 1/2 John Murrill 3 16 1/2 James Mills 3 16 1/2 John Marsh 3 16 1/2 Bartholomew Molloy from 12 October to January 3 10 . 3 Inclusive the Day he died Nathan Mitchell 3 16 1/2 William Montgomery 3 16 1/2 John Ohhara 3 16 1/2 James Richardson 3 16 1/2 Edward Robinson 3 16 1/2 Joseph Renton 3 16 1/2 John Scotcher 3 16 1/2 John Shaw 3 16 1/2 Charles Smith 3 16 1/2 George Smith 3 16 1/2 Samuel Stanbury 3 16 1/2 Thomas Suffnal 3 16 1/2 John Turner 3 16 1/2 Thomas Williams 3 16 1/2 Edward Webber 3 16 1/2 John Williams 3 16 1/2 John Walker 3 16 1/2 John Wattson 3 16 1/2 Matthias Young 189 16 1/2 Carried over £ 1004 7 7	The pay list continued, dated 27 January, with the Artillery Company of the garrison. Brought over, £1,870 12s 7d Thomas Hall, master gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1½d Gunners' mates: Nathan Sample, chief mate, £11 8s 5½d Isaac Leech, £9 2s 6d William Turner, £9 2s 6d John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Henry Carter, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeidly, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis, £9 2s 6d Richard Billington, £9 2s 6d, £75 5s 1½d Quarter gunners: Adam Wattson, £6 16s 10½d John Spincer, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Willingham, £6 16s 10½d John Jacks, £6 16s 10½d Peter Marshal, from 12 October to 22 November inclusive, the day he died, £3 3s 0d James Lee, £6 16s 10½d James Long, £6 16s 10½d Derby Cryler, £6 16s 10½d John Hillings, from 12 October to 22 November inclusive as mattsross, £2 2s 0d John Hillings, from 23 November as quarter gunner, £3 13s 10½d, £5 15s 10½d Artillery total, £56 17s 0d Carried over, £2,034 18s 4d Interpretations The Artillery Company was paid on a wholly different and higher scale than the four infantry companies, reflecting the specialised skill that gunnery demanded on a fortified island whose entire defensive value lay in its batteries. The gunners' mates drew around nine pounds against the sentinels' £3 16s 0½d, and the chief mate more than eleven, a differential that shows the Company rewarding technical competence in laying and firing cannon far above the worth of a common musket-bearing soldier. This was the core of the island's defence, the men who could actually work the guns that commanded the anchorage. The double entry for John Hillings records a promotion within the quarter, his pay split between service as a mattsross to 22 November and as a quarter gunner from 23 November. A mattsross was the lowest artillery rank, a gunner's assistant who helped load, sponge and manoeuvre the guns, and his advancement to quarter gunner, the rank in charge of a quarter or section of the ordnance, shows the ladder of promotion by which a raw artilleryman rose through the gun crews as vacancies opened, one such vacancy here created by the death of Peter Marshal on the very day Hillings stepped up.
305	298	27th January Brought over £ 1004 7 7	The pay list continued, dated 27 January, with the mattsrosses of the Artillery Company.

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		Second Company Thomas Casthopte 1 Lieutenant Salary £ 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House rent 2 10 32 3 1/2 Samuel Price 2 Lieutenant Salary 18 5 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House rent 2 10 . 27 11 10 1/2 Sergeants John Leah 7 12 1 William Pendree 7 12 1 Charles Styles 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals William Shelford 5 6 5 1/2 William Langhorn 5 6 5 1/2 John Bridgwater 5 6 5 1/2 15 19 4 1/2 John Clough drummer 5 6 5 1/2 Sentinels William Adams 3 16 1/2 William Brown 3 16 1/2 Robert Ballard 3 16 1/2 John Barber 3 16 1/2 Christian Bonks 3 16 1/2 Dison Craft 3 16 1/2 James Carmichael 3 16 1/2 John Charrol 3 16 1/2 Gilbert Clough 3 16 1/2 Baron Delcough 3 16 1/2 John Earle 3 16 1/2 Thomas Fuller 3 16 1/2 John Gunn 3 16 1/2 Edward Grant 3 16 1/2 Jonathan Hitchins 3 16 1/2 William Hurlock 3 16 1/2 Sentinels Carried over £ 60 16 8 Carried over £ 1108 4 8	Brought over, £2,034 18s 4d Mattresses: Abram Ayers, £4 11s 3d Samuel Anderson, from 23 November inclusive, the day he was entered, £2 9s 3d John Artenstall, £4 11s 3d Joseph Boswell, £4 11s 3d Andrew Barton, £4 11s 3d John Cawdry, £4 11s 3d William Campbell, £4 11s 3d James Cooper, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d Phillip Hilliard, £4 11s 3d William Hayes, £4 11s 3d Richard Hoyce, £4 11s 3d Adam Milborn, £4 11s 3d Thomas Mason, £4 11s 3d Thomas Mudge, £4 11s 3d Roger Newinson, £4 11s 3d William Perry, £4 11s 3d Abram Ratliss, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d, £89 3s 0d Superannuated: William Burnham, sergeant, £3 8s 3d Total, £2,127 9s 7d Interpretations The mattresses were paid at £4 11s 3d, above the infantry sentinels' £3 16s 0½d but well below the quarter gunners and gunners' mates, placing them precisely at the bottom of the artillery ladder while still ranking above the ordinary foot soldier. This intermediate rate captures their position as artillery labourers who assisted at the guns without yet possessing the skill to lay and fire them, the pool from which quarter gunners like John Hillings were drawn as they proved themselves and vacancies arose. The single superannuated entry for the former sergeant William Burnham shows the Company making provision for a soldier grown too old or infirm to serve, retaining him on a reduced payment rather than discharging him outright. Such superannuation on a remote island was a practical necessity as much as a kindness, since a worn-out soldier had no means of returning home or supporting himself, and the modest allowance of £3 8s 3d kept a long-serving man on the establishment when he could no longer bear arms.
306	299	1755 Brought over £ 1108 4 8 Sentinels Brought over £ 60 16 8 Thomas Hide 3 16 1/2 William Hayes 3 16 1/2 Thomas Kendrick 3 16 1/2 Richard Knight 3 16 1/2 John Kersey 3 16 1/2 John Langbridge 3 16 1/2 Thomas Lawrence 3 16 1/2 Thomas Lindsey 3 16 1/2 Thomas Loveland 3 16 1/2 John Maccay 3 16 1/2 Abram Major 3 16 1/2 Charles Mountague 3 16 1/2 Thomas Morris 3 16 1/2 Anthony Marchen 3 16 1/2 Richard McNolloy 3 16 1/2 James McDannald 3 16 1/2 Thomas Payne 3 16 1/2 John Pastewater 3 16 1/2 John Parker 3 16 1/2 Thomas Perse 3 16 1/2 William Robinson 3 16 1/2 David Scott 3 16 1/2 John Sheitly 3 16 1/2 Nicholas Snasson 3 16 1/2	The debtor side of the paymaster's account, dated 27 January, opened the reckoning for John Clark, paymaster. 1755, 11 January, to cash from the Honourable Company's cash chest, £2,228 14s 9d Carried over, £2,228 14s 9d Interpretations This page records the single receipt that funded the whole quarter's pay list, the sum of £2,228 14s 9d drawn from the Company's cash chest into the paymaster's hands. Set against the total establishment cost worked through the preceding pages, it shows the paymaster as the intermediary who received the bulk cash and disbursed it man by man across the civil, military and artillery rolls. The account is cast in the standard double-entry form, this debtor side recording what the paymaster took in, to be balanced against the credit side listing every payment made out. The office of paymaster was held here by John Clark, the same member of council named among the senior officers on the opening page of the list, which shows the disbursement of the garrison's wages entrusted to a covenanted servant of standing rather than a mere clerk. Concentrating the handling of so large a sum in one accountable officer was the Company's method of controlling its single greatest

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		Christian Syder 3 16 1/2 Joseph Thompson 3 16 1/2 William Thompson 3 16 1/2 Benjamin Swaits 3 16 1/2 James Thomson 3 16 1/2 Richard Vaughan 3 16 1/2 Roger Whitman 3 16 1/2 Robert Stack 3 16 186 6 1/2 Adam Scott Carried over £ 1294 10 8 1/2	recurring expense on the island, the cost of maintaining the men who held it.
307	300	27th January Brought over £ 1294 10 8 1/2 Third Company Thomas Kirkpatrick 1 Lieutenant Salary £ 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House rent 2 10 . 32 3 1/2 William Kennedy 2 Lieutenant Salary 18 5 . Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House rent 2 10 27 11 10 1/2 Sergeants William Oakman 7 12 1 John Walker 7 12 1 William Bunting 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Alexander Hambleton 5 6 5 1/2 Thomas Bazett 5 6 5 1/2 Samuel Desfountain 5 6 5 1/2 15 19 4 1/2 John Gould Drummymer 5 6 5 1/2 Sentinels John Allis 3 16 1/2 Edward Allis 3 16 1/2 Thomas Bearer 3 16 1/2 John Barden 3 16 1/2 Matthew Bazett 3 16 1/2 Thomas Beddwin 3 16 1/2 Isaac Buch 3 16 1/2 Walter Bell 3 16 1/2 James Bell 3 16 1/2 Edward Cocher 3 16 1/2 William Cane 3 16 1/2 William Cannam 3 16 1/2 Isaac Day 3 16 1/2 Samuel Cales 3 16 1/2 Andrew Frazier 3 16 1/2 Daniel Fuchs 3 16 1/2 Sentinels Carried over £ 60 16 8 Carried over £ 1398 7 9 1/2	The credit side of the paymaster's account recorded the following payments made during the quarter. 1754, 9 December, cash paid Baron Delonpk for engraving the tickets for the flags of the several gates in this quarter, £0 3s 6d 31 December, paid Mr Hall for 117lb of tallow at 3½d per lb for greasing carriages and so on in this quarter, £1 9s 3d 1755, 3 January, paid Thomas Hailes for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years, to commence from this day, £10 0s 0d Paid Robert Stack for the same, £10 0s 0d Paid John Harley for the same, £10 0s 0d Paid Moses Monanteau for the same, £10 0s 0d, £30 0s 0d 11 January, paid Richard Bagley for 37 bushels potatoes and 50 lemons for the use of the Honourable Company's table in this quarter, £1 8s 6d Paid sundry persons for rowing the vessel and going in the long boat to Sandy Bay to fetch lime in this quarter, £4 9s 0d Paid James Carmichael and William Hurlock for baking 130 batches of bread at 1s per batch for the use of the garrison in this quarter, £6 13s 4d Paid Edward Serry for making some new keys and repairing the locks of the several gates in this quarter, £0 18s 0d Paid Job Harrisson for cleaving the slings for the arms of the flying party in this quarter, £0 3s 10d Paid John Bradley for making new touchholes for three of the carbines in this quarter, £0 3s 0d Paid Thomas Mason for painting the bedposts and sponge staffs of the guns in this quarter, £0 13s 6d Carried over, £56 1s 11d Interpretations The four identical payments of £10 to Thomas Hailes, Robert Stack, John Harley and Moses Monanteau for enlisting to serve five years reveal the bounty system by which the Company filled its ranks on the island. Rather than relying solely on men shipped out from England, the garrison recruited locally by paying a substantial cash inducement, £10 being more than a sentinel earned in eight months of service, to bind a man to a fixed term. Three of these four names appear as serving sentinels or gunners elsewhere in the same quarter's roll, which shows the bounty being paid to re-engage existing soldiers as their terms expired rather than only to attract wholly new men. The payment to sundry persons for taking the long boat to Sandy Bay to fetch lime points to the island's reliance on local burnt lime for its building works, Sandy Bay lying on the exposed southern coast where lime was quarried and burnt before being carried round by sea. Moving heavy materials by boat rather than overland reflected the island's broken volcanic terrain, where sea transport between the scattered bays was often easier than hauling goods across the steep interior, and the garrison maintained its own boat crews precisely for such essential coastal carriage. Speculations

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			The engraving of tickets for the flags of the several gates, the first item on the credit side, was paid to Baron Delonpk, a serving sentinel of the Second Company rather than a professional engraver. The obvious course would have been to treat a skilled decorative task as separate from ordinary soldiering, yet the paymaster drew on a man already on the muster who happened to possess the craft, paying him a small separate fee of £0 3s 6d for work outside his military duty. The choice reflects the garrison's practice of using whatever specialised skills lay within its own ranks rather than importing or contracting them, a necessity on an island where craftsmen were scarce and every useful trade a soldier carried was pressed into service as occasion required.
308	301	1755 Brought over £ 1398 7 9 1/2 Sentinels Brought over £ 60 16 8 John Frazier 3 16 1/2 Jonathan Gidley 3 16 1/2 James Greer 3 16 1/2 Thomas Gawden 3 16 1/2 James Hall 3 16 1/2 John Harley 3 16 1/2 Phillip Hickman 3 16 1/2 Job Harrisson 3 16 1/2 William Hayes 3 16 1/2 Thomas Hodson 3 16 1/2 William Hindes 3 16 1/2 George Hibbot 3 16 1/2 Thomas Keech 3 16 1/2 Peter Lindsey 3 16 1/2 John Langbridge 3 16 1/2 William Lindsey 3 16 1/2 Moses Monanteau 3 16 1/2 Duncan McClarin 3 16 1/2 Thomas Pinkerton 3 16 1/2 William Paddom 3 16 1/2 Edward Richards 3 16 1/2 Lewis Rowe 3 16 1/2 Arnold Sawtery 3 16 1/2 Daniel Serjant 3 16 1/2 Charles Stoakes 3 16 1/2 Timothy Sullivan 3 16 1/2 David Scurry 3 16 1/2 Edward Serry 3 16 1/2 John Tomason 3 16 1/2 John Sell 3 16 1/2 Thomas Taylor 3 16 1/2 Joseph Ustffin 3 16 1/2 Benjamin Williams 186 6 10 1/2 William Whittenham the 12 October Inclusive the Day he died Carried over £ 1584 14 8	The debtor side of the paymaster's account carried forward the balance for John Clark, paymaster. 1755, 11 January, brought over, £2,228 14s 9d Total, £2,228 14s 9d This closed the account against the island's general ledger.
309	302	27th January Brought over £ 1584 14 8 Fourth Company Onesiphorus Beale 1 Lieutenant Salary £ 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House rent 2 10 32 3 1/2 George Hay 2 Lieutenant Salary 18 5 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 25 1 10 1/2 Sergeants Robert Mason 7 12 1 Michael Frost 7 12 1 William Withins 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Edward Walker 5 6 5 1/2 Erasmus Purling 5 6 5 1/2 Thomas Leech 5 6 5 1/2 15 19 4 1/2 John Caffin Drummer 5 6 5 1/2 Sentinels Godfrey Amberstow 3 16 1/2 Peter Barker 3 16 1/2	The credit side of the paymaster's account continued with the final payments of the quarter. 1755, 11 January, brought over, £56 1s 11d Cash paid Samuel Cales for 12½ days work at 2s per day, and 6½ days labourer's work at 1s per day, in repairing one of the Honourable Company's houses where Mr Purling the storekeeper lives, £1 12s 3d Paid sundry soldiers for working at the fort and other places at the fortifications for the Honourable Company in this quarter, £41 11s 0d Paid James Forbet, cooper, for his attendance in the stores, there being at present no steward, £2 0s 0d Paid the Honourable Company's officers and servants their salaries, diet money and so on for the quarter beginning 12 October 1754 and ending 11 January 1755, £2,127 9s 7d Total, £2,228 14s 9d The account was dated at St Helena, 11 January 1755, signed by John Clark, paymaster, with errors

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		John Burke 3 16 1/2 William Brooks 3 16 1/2 John Brown 3 16 1/2 George Bryan from 12 October to the 2 . 10 29 November Inclusive the day he was disch William Beckett 3 16 1/2 Robert Berry 3 16 1/2 George Beale 3 16 1/2 Robert Brown 3 16 1/2 John Bradley 3 16 1/2 Robert Baker 3 16 1/2 Daniel Cain 3 16 1/2 John Coxlee 3 16 1/2 Thomas Clear 3 16 1/2 Sentinels Carried over £ 5 5 5 Carried over £ 1686 1 9	excepted. The Honourable Company's cash was then counted and examined for the month ending the 11th, as set out below. Interpretations The single largest entry, £2,127 9s 7d for the officers and servants' salaries, ties the whole payment ledger back to the muster roll worked through the preceding pages, confirming that the pay list and this cash account were two records of one disbursement. Set beside it, the £41 11s 0d paid to sundry soldiers for labouring at the fortifications shows the garrison's men earning extra wages beyond their military pay by working on the defences, a practice that both advanced the building works cheaply and gave the soldiers a means of supplementing a bare subsistence income. The payment to the cooper James Forbet for attending the stores because there was at present no steward reveals how a small establishment coped with a gap in its offices, drafting an available tradesman to cover a vacant post rather than leaving the stores unmanned. The steward was normally responsible for the receipt and issue of provisions, and his absence left a hole in the chain of accountability that the paymaster filled by paying another man a modest sum to stand in, keeping the flow of stores under some responsible hand until the office could be filled.
310	303	1755 Brought over £ 1686 1 9 Centinels Brought over £ 55 5 5 John Cupps 3 16 1/2 Stephen Cleverly 3 16 1/2 William Dufton 3 16 1/2 John Dehlyn 3 16 1/2 Peter Egglestone 3 16 1/2 Peter Sineal 3 16 1/2 Notear Gawden 3 16 1/2 Charles Gifson 3 16 1/2 John Hayes 3 16 1/2 James Hendes 3 16 1/2 John Holloway 3 16 1/2 William Haves 3 16 1/2 John Hudson 3 16 1/2 William Harrison 3 16 1/2 Thomas Jackson 3 16 1/2 Samuel Hison 3 16 1/2 Christian Mouse 3 16 1/2 William Mudge 3 16 1/2 Stephen Orr 3 16 1/2 Archibald Pouge 3 16 1/2 John Robinson 3 16 1/2 John Simmons 3 16 1/2 Joseph Smith 3 16 1/2 John Strange 3 16 1/2 Thomas Saylor 3 16 1/2 James Shirston 3 16 1/2 Richard Swaits 3 16 1/2 William Swaits 3 16 1/2 William Saylor 3 16 1/2 Stephen Willoughby 3 16 1/2 Jeremiah Wyzell 3 16 1/2 Thomas Welwell 3 16 1/2 John Williams 3 16 184 10 10 John Waffington Carried over £ 1870 12 7	The debtor side of the cash account, dated 27 January, recorded the following receipts into the Company's chest. 1754, 12 December, to balance remaining, £3,875 19s 1½d 1755, 11 January, to Matthew Purling for store goods sold in the quarter ending this day, £174 19s 7½d To licences for 7 public houses, £10 10s 0d Total, £4,061 8s 9¼d Interpretations The £174 19s 7½d received from the storekeeper Matthew Purling for store goods sold in the quarter shows the Company running a trading operation alongside its garrison, selling provisions and materials from its stores to the island's inhabitants and passing ships and returning the proceeds to the central cash chest. This was the commercial counterpart to the expenditure recorded on the paymaster's account, the Company recovering some of its outlay by acting as the island's principal merchant as well as its government and defender. The £10 10s 0d taken in licences for seven public houses reveals the administration regulating and taxing the sale of drink on the island, issuing a fixed number of licensed premises and drawing a revenue from them. Controlling the number of public houses served both to raise money and to limit the disorder that unrestricted drinking among soldiers and sailors could cause, a standard instrument of colonial governance by which the authorities turned a social problem into a modest and reliable source of income.
311	304	27th January Brought over £ 1870 12 7 Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary £ 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House rent 2 10 . 32 3 1/2 Gunnars Mates Nathan Sample Chief mate 11 8 5 1/2 Isaac Leech 9 2 6	The credit side of the cash account, dated 11 January 1755, set out the disbursement to the paymaster and the balance remaining in the chest. 1755, 11 January, by sundry accounts advanced the paymaster in the quarter ending this day, £2,228 14s 9d By balance remaining in the following species: 400 venetians at 10s, £200 0s 0d 1,000 pagodas at 8s, £400 0s 0d

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		William Turner 9 2 6 John Whitchurch 9 2 6 Henry Carter 9 2 6 Charles McNeilly 9 2 6 Rowland Davis 9 2 6 Richard Billington 9 2 6 75 5 1/2 Quarter Gunners Adam Wattson 6 16 10 1/2 John Spicer 6 16 10 1/2 Thomas Willingham 6 16 10 1/2 John Jacks 6 16 10 1/2 Peter Marstial from 12 October to the 22 3 3 . November Inclusive the day he was disc James Lee 6 16 10 1/2 James Long 6 16 10 1/2 Derby Cryler 6 16 10 1/2 John Hillings from 12 Oct to 22 Nov 2 2 Inclusive as Mattross Do from 23 Nov Incl as Quart Gunner 3 13 10 1/2 5 15 10 1/2 56 17 1/2 Carried over £ 2034 18 4	Gold amounting to, £600 0s 0d 2,797 dollars at 5s, £699 5s 0d 7,020 rupees at 2s 3d, £789 15s 0d 1,204½ half rials at 1s 3¾d, £202 6s 3d 44 French pieces at 1s 2d, £3 13s 6d Chinese money, £4 8s 0d Silver amounting to, £1,692 19s 9d 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 Total, £4,061 8s 9d The count was certified by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The composition of the cash chest reveals St Helena as a crossroads of the world's trading currencies rather than a sterling economy. Alongside British and European gold and silver the chest held pagodas and rupees from the Indian trade, venetians from the Mediterranean, Spanish-American dollars and half rials, French pieces and Chinese money, each valued in a fixed sterling equivalent for the account. This heterogeneous mass of coin reflected the island's position on the sea route between Europe and the East, where the specie of every nation whose ships called accumulated in the Company's hands and had to be reckoned into a single sterling total. The venetian was a gold sequin or zecchino minted at Venice, long a standard trade coin of the Levant and Indian Ocean valued here at 10s, while the pagoda was a small gold coin of southern India worth 8s and the principal currency of the Company's Madras trade. The maintenance of a paper currency of cash notes in four denominations, from 2s 6d to 40s, alongside the coin shows the small colony operating a sophisticated dual system of specie and Company-issued notes, the notes serving as a convenient local medium that spared the constant handling and weighing of a chestful of foreign coin.
312	305	1755 Brought over £ 2034 18 4 Mattrosses Abram Ayers £ 4 11 3 Samuel Anderson from 23 November 2 9 3 Inclusive the Day he was Entered John Actonstall 4 11 3 Joseph Boswell 4 11 3 Andrew Barton 4 11 3 John Cawdry 4 11 3 William Campble 4 11 3 James Cooper 4 11 3 Anthony Day 4 11 3 William Pletcher 4 11 3 Phillip Hilliard 4 11 3 William Hayes 4 11 3 Richard Hayce 4 11 3 Adam Milborn 4 11 3 Thomas Mason 4 11 3 Thomas Mudge 4 11 3 Roger Newinson 4 11 3 William Perry 4 11 3 Abram Ratclof 4 11 3 Thomas Watts 89 3 . Superannuated William Burnham Serjeant 3 8 3 £ 2127 9 7	At a consultation held on Monday 3 February 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 27 January 1755, was read, approved and signed. The accountant brought in the journal parcels for the quarter ending 11 January, which were examined, approved and ordered to be entered. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
313	306	27th January John Clark Paymaster Dr 1755 January 11 To Cash from the Honorable Companys Cash Chest £ 2228 14 9 Carried over £ 2228 14 9	At a consultation held on Monday 10 February 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 3 February 1755, was read, approved and signed.

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			The council granted the following lease to Matthew Bazett junior. As lords proprietors of the island, the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies granted and demised to Matthew Bazett of the island a lease to farm a piece of land measuring five and a half acres. The land lay in the eastern part of the island, bounded east upon the leasehold land of Joseph Desfountain's orphans, north upon the leasehold land of Joshua Worrall, south upon the freehold land of Mr Seale's orphans and west upon the freehold land of Matthew Bazett himself. The grant gave Bazett, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns the land and all its appurtenances for a term of twenty one years from the date of the lease, on condition that he bear true faith and allegiance to the Company. Interpretations The lease exposes the fundamental legal fact of St Helena, that the entire island was the private property of the East India Company as lords proprietors, and that every inhabitant held land only as a tenant of the corporation rather than as an owner in his own right. This proprietorial title, granted originally by royal charter, meant the Company combined the roles of sovereign government and universal landlord, so that a grant of a few acres to a settler was simultaneously an act of estate management and of colonial administration, binding the tenant to the Company by the terms of his tenure. The boundaries reveal a distinction between leasehold and freehold land holding side by side on the island, the plot bordered by leasehold land on two sides and freehold on the others. Freehold on St Helena did not mean absolute ownership but a more secure and heritable form of Company tenure than the fixed-term lease, and the survival of both forms shows the layered property system the Company had built over decades of settlement. The requirement that the tenant bear true faith and allegiance folded a feudal condition of loyalty into an ordinary agricultural lease, reflecting how the Company cast its commercial landlordship in the language of sovereign authority. Speculations The land granted to Matthew Bazett junior lay immediately west of a plot already held by Matthew Bazett himself, and the council chose to consolidate a family's holdings by adding an adjoining parcel rather than granting the young man land elsewhere on the island. The bounding of the new plot on one side by the elder Bazett's existing ground shows the default of distributing available land to spread settlement being passed over in favour of building up a single family's contiguous estate. The reason lies in the practical advantage of worked and defensible neighbouring plots and the Company's reliance on established settler families, whose members filled both its civil offices and its garrison, so that favouring a proven household with adjacent land strengthened a family already embedded in the island's administration.
314	307	1755 Per Contra Cr 1754 December 9 By cash paid Baron Delcough for engraving the Tickets " 1 4 for the Flags of the Several Gates in this Quarter 31 By Do paid Mr Hall for 117 of Tall @ 3 Pd for " 3 6 Greasing Carriages &c in this Quarter 1 9 3 1755 January 3 By Do paid Thomas Hailes for Enlisting to serve the Honble Company as a Soldier for five years, to 10 . .	The lease to Matthew Bazett junior continued, setting out the tenant's remaining obligations and the terms of the grant. Bazett was bound to bear true faith and allegiance to the sovereign, King George the Second, his heirs and successors, and to the Company and its successors, and to obey all the laws and constitutions of the island. In return for the twenty one year term he was to pay the Company a yearly rent of one shilling, due each year at Michaelmas. He was further required to keep up and maintain the fences to the land and the full quantity of wood upon it, and he was forbidden to sell or dispose of the lease or his

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		commence from this Day By Do paid Robert Stack for Do £ 10 . By Do paid John Harley for Do 10 . By Do paid Moses Monanteau Do 10 . 30 . . 11 By Do paid Richard Bagley for 37 Bushels Potatoes and 50 Lemons, for the use of the Honorable 1 8 6 Companys Table in this Quarter By Do paid Sundry Persons for Rowing the Vessel and going in the Long Boat to Sandy Bay to fetch lime 4 9 in this Quarter By Do paid James Carmichael and William Hurlock for Baking 130 Batches of Bread at 1/8 Pd Batch 6 13 4 for the use of the Garrison in this Quarter By Do paid Edward Serry for making some new keys, and repairing the Locks of the several " 18 . Gates in this Quarter By Do paid Job Harrisson for cleaving the Slings " 3 10 for the Arms of the Flying party in this Quarter By Do paid John Bradley for making new touchholes " 3 for three of the Carbines in this Quarter By Do paid Thomas Mason for painting the Body " 13 6 Poins & sponge Staffs of the Guns in this Quarter Carried over £ 56 1 11	interest in it without the leave and consent of the governor and council for the time being. The lease was sealed with the Company's seal and signed by the governor and council on 10 February, in the twenty eighth year of the reign of King George the Second, in the year 1755. Matthew Bazett set his hand and seal to the counterpart on the same day. The document was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The yearly rent of a single shilling shows that the Company's purpose in leasing land was never to raise revenue from rent but to establish and control tenure. A nominal or peppercorn rent of this kind served only to acknowledge the Company's continuing ownership and to keep the tenant in a formal relationship of dependence, the real value to the Company lying in the settlement of the land, the maintenance of a population that could bear arms, and the produce and trade that a worked estate generated rather than in the trivial sum collected each Michaelmas. The obligation to maintain the full quantity of wood upon the land reflected a chronic anxiety on St Helena, where deforestation had become a serious problem as settlers cleared timber for fuel and building and grazing animals prevented regrowth. By writing the preservation of wood into the lease as a binding condition, the Company used its position as universal landlord to enforce a rudimentary conservation policy, recognising that the island's dwindling timber was a common resource whose destruction threatened the whole settlement. The bar on assigning the lease without the council's consent gave the Company a permanent veto over who held land on the island, ensuring that tenancies passed only to persons it found acceptable and preserving its control over the composition of the settler population.
315	308	27th January John Clark Paymaster Dr 1755 January 11 Brought over £ 2228 14 9 £ 2228 14 9 Island St	At a consultation held on Monday 17 February 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 10 February 1755, was read, approved and signed. Several articles of the Company's store goods had suffered some damage, so the council agreed that they should be sold at public auction and ordered the following advertisement to be published. Notice was given to all people on the island that on 6 March, at two in the afternoon, a number of damaged parcels of the Company's store goods held in the valley would be exposed to public auction. These included sundry parcels of mohair buttons, some pieces of bettelees and chilloes, and several sallampores. Samuel Salomon complained that Edward Bagley refused payment of his bill for several doses of physic and journeys to see him, the cure of a humorous lump, and his attendance and assistance in dressing it for near six weeks. Interpretations The damaged goods listed for auction were all Indian cotton textiles that formed the staple of the Company's eastern trade, and their sale reveals St Helena functioning as a point where damaged or unsaleable trade goods could be disposed of to the local market rather than carried further. Bettelees, chilloes and sallampores were all varieties of plain and patterned cotton cloth woven on the Indian subcontinent, sallampores being a coarse calico from the Coromandel coast, chilloes a striped or checked cotton, and bettelees a fine muslin. Mohair buttons, made from the long-staple hair of the angora goat,

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			were a haberdashery item of the European trade. The auction shows the Company recovering value from goods spoiled in transit or storage by selling them into the island economy, where cloth of any grade found ready buyers among a population dependent on imported manufactures. The medical complaint reveals how professional services were rendered and paid for in the small colony, with a practitioner billing separately for medicines, home visits, a specific cure and prolonged attendance. A humorous lump was a swelling attributed to an imbalance of the bodily humours in the medicine of the period, and its dressing over six weeks points to the slow and labour-intensive nature of treatment before modern surgery. That the matter came before the council shows the governing body serving as the island's court for the recovery of debts, there being no separate judiciary, so that a dispute over a doctor's unpaid bill was resolved by the same men who governed the settlement. Speculations The council chose to dispose of the damaged store goods by public auction rather than writing them off or selling them privately at a fixed price, and the ordering of a published advertisement shows the reason. Open competitive bidding before the whole island protected the Company and its officers from any suspicion that spoiled goods had been passed cheaply to favoured insiders, the transparency of the auction being its own safeguard against the accusation of private dealing that could otherwise attach to the quiet sale of Company property. By exposing the goods publicly and taking whatever the market offered, the council secured both the best recoverable price and a defence against any charge of corruption in the handling of the corporation's assets.
316	309	1755 Per Contra Cr 1755 January 11 By Cash paid Samuel Cales for 12 1/2 Days work at 2/ p Day, and 6 1/2 days Labourers Work @ 1/ p Day in 1 12 3 repairing one of the Honorable Companys Houses where Mr Purling the Storekeeper Lives By Do paid Sundry Soldiers for Working at the Fort and other places, at the fortifications for the 41 11 Honorable Company in this Quarter By Do paid James Forbet Cooper for his Attendance in the Stores their being at present no Steward 2 . . By Do paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants their Salaries, Diet Mony &c for the Quarter 2127 9 7 commencing October 12 1754 and ending January 11 1755 £ 2228 14 9 Helena 11 January 1755 Errors Excepted Signed John Clark Paymaster Counted and examined the Honourable Companys Cash for the month ending the 11 instant which is as follows Vizt	The council ordered Edward Bagley to attend, and when he appeared he was asked why he had not paid Mr Falconer's demand. Bagley produced the bill and said he had no objection to any part of it except the charge of £12 0s 0d for the cure of his lump, which he thought very high given that he was a poor man. He had offered Falconer £8 0s 0d, but Falconer would not take that sum. After considering the case and finding that Falconer had been very reasonable in his charges for physic and surgery, the council ordered Bagley to pay the full amount of the bill, £14 18s 6d, and at the same time recommended him to Falconer's compassion. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The council's ruling shows the governing body acting as a court of equity as well as of law, upholding the practitioner's full legal claim while softening its effect by an appeal to mercy. Having found the charges reasonable, the council could not reduce a debt it judged properly owed, yet it recognised the debtor's poverty by recommending him to the creditor's compassion, a device that preserved the principle that valid bills must be paid while leaving room for the creditor to grant relief voluntarily. This balance between strict entitlement and discretionary mercy was characteristic of how a small community without formal courts administered a rough justice that had to keep both parties within its bounds. The discrepancy between the disputed charge of £12 0s 0d and the total bill of £14 18s 6d shows that the cure of the lump was by far the largest single element in a bill that also covered doses of physic and repeated visits. That a poor man could incur a medical debt approaching four years of a sentinel's diet money reveals how ruinously expensive sustained medical treatment could be for the ordinary

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			inhabitant of the island, where a single practitioner held a near monopoly and illness could impose a burden wholly out of proportion to a labourer's means.
317	310	27th January Cash Dr 1754 December 12 To Ballance remaining £ 3875 19 1 1/2 1755 January 11 To Matthew Purling for Store Goods sold in the Quarter ending this Day 1174 19 7 1/2 To Licences for 7 Publick Houses 10 10 £ 5061 8 9 1/2	At a consultation held on Monday 24 February 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 17 February 1755, was read, approved and signed. The gunner's, plantation and steward's accounts for the month ending the 11th were brought in, examined and approved. The gunner's account recorded the following stores expended between 12 January and 11 February 1755, the figures given in pounds and ounces of powder. 30 January, an alarm for a ship that went by, 6lb 2oz 2 drams Returned the salute of the same ship, 11lb 11oz 11 drams Powder for priming, 2lb Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay from 1 July, 3lb 10 February, powder for scaling the guns at Lemon Valley and Break Neck Valley, 20lb Powder for blowing rocks to repair the glacis at the main fort, 6lb Total, 172lb 2oz 2 drams Paper for making great gun cartridges, 20 sheets Paper for the use of the castle, 1 sheet Needles broke with sewing of cartridges, 11 Bills broke at Lemon Valley and Break Neck Valley, 3 Bills broke at the main fort, 1 The account was signed by Thomas Hall. Interpretations The account distinguishes sharply between powder fired for ceremony and powder spent on the practical upkeep of the guns and fortifications. The largest single expenditure, 20lb, went on scaling the guns, the practice of firing a small charge through each barrel to clear it of rust, dirt and the fouling of old powder so that the piece would fire cleanly when needed. Alongside this, powder was consumed in blowing rocks to repair the glacis, the sloping earthwork before the main fort, showing gunpowder used as a quarrying and demolition tool as well as a propellant, a common dual use on a fortified station where the same material served both the guns and the engineering works. The entry recording an alarm for a passing ship and the powder spent returning her salute reveals the constant vigilance a garrison on the shipping route had to maintain. Every approaching sail was a potential enemy until identified, and the firing of an alarm gun followed by the ceremonial exchange of salutes was the ritual by which a friendly vessel was recognised and welcomed, a procedure that consumed real quantities of costly powder but was essential to the island's security and to the courtesies of the sea. The breakage of bills, the hooked cutting tools, at the valleys and the fort reflects the hard manual labour of clearing ground and quarrying stone that accompanied the maintenance of the defences.
318	311	1755 Per Contra Cr 1755 January 11 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Pay Master £ 2228 14 9 in the Quarter ending this Day By Ballance remaining in the following Specie &ca 400 Vinitians 10/ £ 200 . 1000 Pagodas 8/ 400 . Gold Amounting to £ 600 .	This account set out the Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 11 January to 12 February 1755. Neat cattle, remaining the 12th: 5 bulls, 81 cows, 76 calves, 15 yearlings, 48 heifers, 5 steers, 13 bullocks, 14 oxen, total 252 Sheep, remaining the 12th: 176 ewes, 67 wethers, 218 lambs, 7 rams, total 468 Goats, remaining the 12th: 122 ewes, 36 wethers, 137 kids, 8 rams, total 303

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		2797 Dollars 5/ £ 699 5 7000 Rupees 2/3 789 10 12043 half Rials 3 3/4 202 6 3 4 W French Pices 1/2 3 13 6 Old Mony 4 8 Silver Amounting to £ 1692 19 7 146 Cash Notes @ 40/ 292 . 162 Do 20/ 162 . 263 Do 5/ 65 15 160 Do 2/6 20 . Cash Notes Amounting to £ 509 15 . £ 5061 8 9 1/2 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Hogs, remaining the 12th: 13 sows, 2 shoats, 18 pigs, 2 boars, total 35 Poultry, remaining the 12th: 69 turkeys, 291 fowls, 69 ducks, 28 geese Horses, remaining the 12th: 6 horses, 6 mares, total 12 Asses, remaining the 12th: 1 he-ass, 3 she-asses, total 4 Neat cattle, increased: 10 calves, total 10 Goats, increased: 17 kids, total 17 Hogs, increased: 8 pigs, total 8 Poultry, increased: 4 turkeys, 6 fowls Horses, increased: 1 mare, total 1 Neat cattle, total: 5 bulls, 81 cows, 86 calves, 15 yearlings, 48 heifers, 5 steers, 13 bullocks, 14 oxen, total 262 Sheep, total: 176 ewes, 67 wethers, 218 lambs, 7 rams, total 468 Goats, total: 122 ewes, 36 wethers, 154 kids, 8 rams, total 320 Hogs, total: 13 sows, 2 shoats, 26 pigs, 2 boars, total 43 Poultry, total: 73 turkeys, 291 fowls, 75 ducks, 28 geese Horses, total: 6 horses, 7 mares, total 13 Asses, total: 1 he-ass, 3 she-asses, total 4 Neat cattle, killed: 1 heifer, total 1 Sheep, killed: 3 ewes, 1 lamb, total 4 Goats, killed: 4 wethers, total 4 Hogs, killed: 1 sow, 2 shoats, 3 pigs, total 6 Poultry, killed: 1 turkey, 12 fowls, 8 ducks, total 1 Neat cattle, died: none Sheep, died: 2 ewes, total 2 Goats, died: 2 wethers, total 2 Hogs, died: 7 pigs, total 7 Poultry, died: 1 turkey, 6 fowls, total 1 Horses, died: 1 mare Neat cattle, remaining the 11th: 5 bulls, 81 cows, 86 calves, 15 yearlings, 42 heifers, 5 steers, 13 bullocks, 14 oxen, total 261 Sheep, remaining the 11th: 171 ewes, 66 wethers, 218 lambs, 7 rams, total 462 Goats, remaining the 11th: 120 ewes, 32 wethers, 158 kids, 8 rams, total 313 Hogs, remaining the 11th: 12 sows, 16 pigs, 2 boars, total 30 Poultry, remaining the 11th: 71 turkeys, 273 fowls, 67 ducks, 26 geese Horses, remaining the 11th: 6 horses, 7 mares, total 13 Asses, remaining the 11th: 1 he-ass, 3 she-asses, total 4 1 heifer killed 1 sow killed for the market at 99lb Yams expended, 7,650 The account was signed by John Adamson, with errors excepted. Interpretations The account is a full herd-book of the Company's animals, and its structure of opening stock, increase by birth, and loss by slaughter and death month by month shows the systematic husbandry by which the island fed itself and its shipping. The large expenditure of 7,650 yams underlines that the yam was the staple carbohydrate of St Helena, grown in quantity as the principal food both of the slave population and of the livestock, and its consumption on this scale reveals how heavily the whole agricultural economy rested on this single root crop imported originally from West Africa and Madagascar. The distinction throughout between animals killed and animals that died separated the deliberate harvest for the table and the market from natural losses, giving the Company an exact reckoning of its provisioning capacity.

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			The categories of neat cattle, distinguishing bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers, bullocks and oxen, reflect a working understanding of a cattle herd at every stage of growth and use, oxen being castrated males kept for draught, bullocks and steers younger males raised for beef, and heifers young females not yet calved. The single sow killed for the market at 99lb, recorded separately, shows the Company selling meat to the island's inhabitants and ships as well as consuming it, the precise weight noted because the sale was reckoned by the pound. The steady natural increase in kids, pigs and calves against a modest toll of slaughter indicates a herd being carefully maintained and grown rather than run down, the foundation of the island's ability to victual the East India fleet on its long homeward passage.
319	312	3 February At a Consultation held on Monday the 3 of February 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 27 of January 1755 The Accomptant this day brought in his Journal Parcels for the Quarter Ending the 11 of January last which were examined, and approved and ordered to be entered Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	This account listed the sundries expended at the Company's table in the month ending 11 February 1755. 14 bottles port wine, £1 1s 6d 32 bottles Lisbon, £2 9s 2d 4 bottles Madeira, £0 9s 6½d 53 bottles arrack, £1 15s 10½d 43 bottles beer, £1 1s 5d 27½lb flour, £1 16s 10d 291lb beef, £3 12s 9d 200lb mutton, £4 3s 4d 77lb pork, £1 18s 0d 83lb goat, £1 7s 8d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 3 pigs, £0 15s 0d 7lb salt pork, £0 14s 0d 4lb salt beef, £0 11s 0d 100lb candy, £1 13s 4d 32lb butter, £2 12s 0d Total, £27 16s 3d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The table account shows the governor's establishment maintaining a European standard of consumption in the middle of the South Atlantic, with imported fortified wines and spirits dominating the top of the list. Port, Lisbon and Madeira were all wines of the Atlantic islands and the Iberian peninsula that travelled well and were staples of the English table, while arrack was a spirit distilled in the East from palm sap or rice and sugar, shipped in through the Company's Indian trade. The prominence of drink on the account reflects both the social role of the governor's table in entertaining ships' officers and visitors and the reliance on alcohol as a safe and keeping beverage where fresh water could be uncertain. The meat consumption, drawn largely from the island's own herds recorded in the accompanying stock account, shows fresh beef, mutton, pork and goat forming the substance of the table alongside the poultry. The 100lb of candy, meaning crystallised sugar rather than confectionery, and the 32lb of butter were substantial quantities pointing to a well-supplied kitchen, the candy imported through the eastern trade and the butter probably salted for keeping. The whole account, set beside the livestock book of the same month, shows the two sides of the island's provisioning, the herds raised on the spot supplying the meat while the wines, spirits, sugar and flour came in by sea, a self-sufficient larder of protein supplemented by the imported goods that made the table of a Company governor resemble that of a gentleman at home.

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320	313	10 February At a Consultation held on Monday the 10 day of February 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 3 of February 1755 Executed the following Lease to Mr Matthew Bazett Sen Island St Helena The Lords Proprietors of this Island the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, Do hereby Demise Grant Lease and to Farm Let unto Matthew Bazett of the said Island, All that piece or parcel of Land containing by Mensuration five Acres and a half Situate lying and being in the East part of the said Island buting and bounding East upon the Leasehold Lands of Joseph Desfontain Orphans North upon the Leasehold Lands of Joshua Worrall South upon the Freehold Lands of Lt Seales Orphans and West upon the Freehold Lands of the said Matthew Bazett to have and to hold the said hereby demised parcel of Land with the appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, unto him the said Matthew Bazett his Heirs Exrutors, 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 he the said Matthew Bazett, his Heirs or allowed Assigns, so always bear true Faith and Alligiance to	At a consultation held on Monday 3 March 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 24 February 1755, was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 25 February five ships under Dutch colours passed by. On Wednesday 26 February a ship under Danish colours passed by, and the Company's ship <i>Montfort</i> arrived from Bengal. On Thursday 27 February Mary Buckles died, and on the same day the soldier Humphry Harrison died. The council bought from Captain Frederick Vincent 50 hundredweight of rice at 8s 6d per hundredweight and 48 hundredweight 2 quarters of paddy at 6s per hundredweight, for the use of the Company's slaves and stock. James Yates applied for liberty to leave the island and to go to England on the <i>Montfort</i>, which was granted. The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods short received from the invoice of the <i>Montfort</i>. Interpretations The passing traffic of Dutch and Danish ships noted in the record reveals St Helena as a watched station on a sea lane used by every European nation trading to the East, not the Company's shipping alone. The Dutch and Danish East India companies were commercial rivals whose vessels followed the same route round the Cape, and the careful logging of their colours and numbers shows the garrison's standing duty to observe and report all shipping, both for the intelligence it gave of rival activity and for the ever-present possibility that a foreign squadron might have hostile intent toward the isolated island. The purchase of rice and paddy specifically for the Company's slaves and stock reveals the food economy that supported the island's labour force, paddy being unhusked rice used as animal feed and cheap provision. This bulk buying from a passing ship's captain shows the Company supplementing its home-grown yams with imported grain to feed the slave population on whose labour the plantations and works depended, a reminder that the settlement's food supply rested on a combination of local cultivation and opportunistic purchase from the vessels that called. The arrival of the <i>Montfort</i> from Bengal and the immediate application of a passenger to sail home on her show the ship as the island's essential link to England, the rare and eagerly used means of passage in either direction.
321	314	10 February to our Sovereign 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 during the said Term and Time of twenty one years unto the said Honorable Company their Successors Agents or Assigns, the yearly Rent of one Shilling Sterling at or upon the Feast of St Michael the Arch Angle yearly And upon condition that he the said Matthew Bazett his Heirs Exrutors, Administrators or Assigns, do and shall well and sufficiently keep up and maintain	The storekeeper's account of stores short received from the <i>Montfort</i> recorded the following shortfalls. Sugar, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 25lb short weight Candles, 2 quarters 23lb short weight Arrack, leaguer number 1, gauged 154 gallons, wanting to fill 11 gallons Arrack, leaguer number 2, gauged 150 gallons, wanting 4 gallons Total gauged, 304½ gallons Less short, 18½ Received, 286 gallons The account was dated 3 March 1755 and signed by Purling, storekeeper. Alexander Hammilton, Andrew Frazier, William Hutchinson and Thomas Kirkpatrick, soldiers, petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company their contracted terms, which was granted. The <i>Montfort</i> brought the following supply from Bengal.

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		the Fences to the said Land, and the full quantity of Wood thereon and do not nor shall sell or dispose of this Lease, or his, or their Interest therein without the leave and consent of the Governor and Council for the time being, In Witness whereof we the said Governor and Council have hereunto Sent our Hands and Affixed the Honorable Companys Seale this tenth day of February in the twenty eight 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 five, and he the said Matthew Bazett hath to the other part set his Hand and Seale, this Day and year abovewritten Signed Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Interpretations The account of short receipts shows the careful reconciliation the storekeeper performed against every ship's invoice, gauging the actual contents of each cask of arrack and weighing the sugar and candles to establish the difference between what was billed and what arrived. A leaguer was a large cask holding upward of 150 gallons, and the gauging of its contents against the invoiced quantity was essential accounting where liquids in wooden casks were subject to leakage, evaporation and short filling. Recording the exact shortfall gave the Company grounds to claim against the shipper or the supplying factory and protected the storekeeper from any charge of loss on his own account, the shrinkage of 18½ gallons of spirit being noted to the fraction. The petition for discharge by four soldiers who had served their contracted terms confirms the fixed-term enlistment revealed earlier by the bounty payments, and the granting of the request shows the Company honouring the bargain that bound a man for a set period after which he was free to leave. That the discharges were allowed the moment the men had completed their time, and that the <i>Montfort</i> offered passage home, points to the constant turnover of a garrison held together by term contracts rather than permanent service, the expiry of enlistments and the arrival of a homeward ship together releasing men who had discharged their obligation and now sought to return.
322	315	17 February At a Consultation held on Monday the 17 Day of February 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 10 February 1755 New Articles of the Honorable Companys Store Goods having received some Damage we agreed that they should be set up at Publick Auction and ordered the following Advertisement to be Published Vizt This is to give Notice to all People upon the said Island that on the 6 Day of next month, at the hour of two in the afternoon, there will be exposed to Publick Auction in the Honorable Companys Store yard in this Valley for ready Mony sundry parcels of Mohair Buttons, some pieces of Bettelees and Chillees, and several Sallampores Mr Samuel Salomer maketh complaint that Edward Bagley refuses payment of his Bill for several doses of Physick, and journeys to see him, the sum of a handsome Litep and his attendance, and assistance in dressing it for near six Weeks	The invoice of the <i>Montfort</i> set out the goods supplied from Bengal, valued in current rupees. Batavia arrack, marked BA, numbers 1 and 2, 2 leaguers at 125 rupees per leaguer, 250 rupees Batata at 8 per cent, 20 rupees, 270 rupees Fine sugar, marked SF, numbers 1 to 10, 10 bags weighing 27 hundredweight 2 quarters 10lb by factory weight at 7 rupees 8 annas per maund, 161 rupees 5 annas 9 pies White candles, marked WC, numbers 1 to 5, 5 chests weighing 27 hundredweight 10lb at 75 rupees per maund, 750 rupees Fine rice, marked RF, 40 bags weighing 27 hundredweight 80 pounds gross at 2 rupees 4 annas per bag, 133 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Batata at 8 per cent, 10 rupees 10 annas 9 pies, 143 rupees Total merchandise, 1,325 rupees 5 annas 9 pies Charges merchandise: 90 gunny bags and sewing, 13 rupees 12 annas 9 pies 5 empty chests and embaling, 12 rupees 8 annas mootans, 3 rupees 8 annas 18 mats, 2 rupees peons and weighmen, 1 rupee 9 annas 6 pies soldiers' diet, 2 rupees boat hire, 17 rupees 4 annas Total charges, 52 rupees 10 annas 3 pies Current rupees, 1,378 The account was signed by W Crittenden, accountant, with errors excepted. The Company's cash was then counted and examined for the month ending the 11th, as set out below. Interpretations The invoice shows the mechanics of the Company's intra-Asian trade, by which goods purchased in Bengal were shipped to St Helena and accounted in Indian currency and Indian weights before conversion to the island's use. The maund was the standard weight of the subcontinent, varying by region but here the Bengal factory measure, and goods were priced by the maund and paid in rupees, annas and pies, the whole reckoned in current rupees, the everyday circulating money as distinct from the

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			sicca or standard coin. The addition of batata, a percentage allowance on the value, reflected the difference in exchange between coin of different standards, a routine adjustment in Indian commercial accounting that the Company's factors applied as a matter of course. The separate schedule of charges merchandise reveals the full cost of moving goods from an Indian factory to the ship, every packing material and service itemised down to the diet of the soldiers who guarded the consignment and the hire of the boat that carried it out to the vessel. Gunny bags of coarse jute, mats and chests for packing, the mootans or coverings, the peons and weighmen who handled and measured the goods, all were charged to the account, showing how the landed cost of a cargo was built up from the primary price by a series of small unavoidable expenses. This meticulous accounting of every anna spent in lading a ship reflects the Company's insistence that its factors justify each element of a consignment's cost, the discipline that made its far-flung commerce controllable from a distance.
323	316	The said Edward Bagley was therefore ordered to attend the Council, who this Day appearing was asked his reasons for not paying Mr Falconer his Demand, who thereupon produced a Bill and said that he had no objections to any part of it but the charge of Twelve Pounds for the cure of his Lepp, which he thought to be, as he was a poor Man, very high, and that he had offered Mr Falconer Eight Pounds but he would not take that Sum Upon considering the above case, and hearing that Mr Falconer has been very reasonable in his Demands for Physick, and Surgery we therefore ordered the said Bagley to pay Mr Falconer the Sum of fourteen Pounds Eighteen Shillings and Six pence being the Amount of his Bill and at the same Time recommended him to Mr Falconers compassion Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The cash account for the month ending 11 February 1755 set the balance carried in against the specie remaining in the chest. 1755, 11 January, to balance remaining, £2,832 14s 7¼d 1755, 11 February, by balance remaining in the following species: 400 venetians at 10s, £200 0s 0d 1,000 pagodas at 8s, £400 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £600 0s 0d 2,797 dollars at 5s, £699 5s 0d 7,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £789 10s 0d 2,948 half rials at 1s 3¾d, £202 6s 3d 441 French pieces at 1s 2d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 4s 3¾d Silver amounting to, £1,692 19s 0¾d 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 Total, £2,832 14s 7¼d Interpretations The monthly count reproduces the same threefold structure of gold, silver and paper that governed the quarterly reckoning, and the near-identical figures for the venetians, pagodas and cash notes show a stock of currency that had barely moved between the two counts. The gold holding of exactly £600 in the same 400 venetians and 1,000 pagodas, unchanged from the earlier count, indicates that these high-value trade coins sat largely idle in the chest as a reserve rather than circulating, the everyday transactions of the island being conducted in the silver dollars and rials and above all in the Company's own cash notes. This division reveals a deliberate monetary practice in which the most valuable specie was hoarded while lesser coin and paper did the work of daily exchange. The persistence of the cash note issue at precisely the same denominations and quantities confirms that these Company-issued notes were the settled local currency of St Helena rather than an occasional expedient. Backed by the specie in the chest and redeemable against it, the notes spared the constant physical handling of a heterogeneous mass of foreign coin and gave the small economy a stable and convenient medium under the Company's direct control. The appearance of the same certified total at both the monthly and quarterly counts shows the rigour of an accounting system that reconciled the chest at regular intervals, the count witnessed and

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			signed so that the whole of the corporation's cash on the island could be vouched to the fraction of a penny at any moment.
324	317	24 February At a Consultation held on Monday the 24 Day of February 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 17 of February 1755 The Gunners, Plantation and Stewards Accounts for the month ending the 11 instant were this Day brought in, which were examined and approved, and are as follows Vizt Gunners Stores Expended from the 12 of January to the 11 February 1755 Powder, lb, Shott, lb, Carriages Repaired Jan 30 An Alarm for a Ship that Went by: 6 Powder, 22 Shott, 2 1/2 Carriages Repaired Returned the Salute of the said Ship: 11 Powder, 11 Shott, 11 Carriages Repaired Powder for Proveing: 0 Powder, 0 Shott, 2 Carriages Repaired Powder for Priming at Prosperous Bay from July the 7: 0 Powder, 0 Shott, 3 Carriages Repaired Feb 10 Powder for Saluting the Guns at Lemon Valley and Break: 0 Powder, 0 Shott, 20 Carriages Repaired Neck Valley Powder for blowing Rocks to Repair the Glacis at: 0 Powder, 0 Shott, 6 Carriages Repaired the main Fort Total 172 2 lb 2 04 Paper for making great Gun Cartridges 20 Quire Do for the use of the Castle 1 R Needles broke with sewing of Cartridges 11 Butts broke at Lemon Valley and Break Neck Valley 3 Do at the main Fort 1 Signed Thos Hall	Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been aboard the <i>Montfort</i> to muster her company and search for deserters, but found none. Her muster roll was as follows. Frederick Vincent, commander Thomas Madge, first mate John Hayes, second mate John Colmer, third mate Thomas Baker, fourth mate George Beck, fifth mate John Drummond, surgeon Michael Dixon, purser James Smith, carpenter Samuel Ames, gunner Joseph Smith, boatswain John Farmer, captain's steward William Everell, ship's surgeon Benjamin Hill, midshipman William Billing, midshipman William Waterman, midshipman Robert Cantellon, midshipman Joseph <i>Durrington</i>, midshipman Thomas Castellan, midshipman William Edwards, midshipman Thomas Lell, midshipman Thomas Paine, midshipman Clement Fall, midshipman Alexander Horr, second midshipman Samuel Bromsley, midshipman Daniel Dunn, midshipman Thomas Langley, midshipman Edward Scoolham, cooper Thomas Broadly, armourer Cohen Castle, caulker George Lancaster, captain's cook John Goulding, ship's cook Samuel Johnson, sailmaker James Henshaw, ship's mate John Keagle, gunner's mate George Stansbury, boatswain's mate Thomas Richards, carpenter's mate James Paine, butcher Richard Dean, poulterer Thomas Bridson, seaman Buck Watkinson, seaman Jonathan Dove, seaman George White, seaman George Parker, seaman Nathanael Campsfield, seaman William Dunn, seaman John James, seaman William Dallam, seaman John Cuningham, seaman Owen Hughes, seaman John Underwood, seaman Richard Chilton, seaman Alexander Braley, seaman Thomas Wilcox, seaman James Wells, seaman Richard Gyllie, seaman Richard Kennett, seaman Joseph Rogers, seaman John Farmer, seaman Matthew Carew, seaman Thomas Penn, seaman Stephen Deacon, seaman Collen Douglass, seaman Henry Bell, seaman Henry Colberton, seaman Gerard Vosander, seaman Jacob Silskie, seaman Andrew Christoffell, seaman

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			Cornelius Vandibank, seaman Hans Waldron, seaman Fendrick Rooghe, seaman Lewis Vindilliers, seaman Dedrick Springes, seaman John Peterson, seaman Mynder Johnson, seaman John Kewey, seaman John Daneck, seaman John Bourboit, seaman John Sivmore, seaman Soccen Bess, seaman Thomas Penny, seaman Interpretations The muster of the ship to search for deserters reveals the standing danger that St Helena posed to the discipline of a homeward-bound crew, the island being a place where a man weary of the sea might slip ashore and vanish into the small population. Lieutenant Clark's inspection was a routine security measure by which the garrison checked each visiting ship's company against its roll, both to recover any Company servant attempting to desert and to ensure that no unauthorised person was left behind to burden the settlement. That none were found on this occasion did not lessen the necessity of the search, which the isolation of the island and the value of trained seamen made a fixed part of every ship's call. The roll itself shows the elaborate manning of a large East Indiaman, a floating establishment with its own hierarchy of mates, its surgeon, purser and specialist tradesmen, and a numerous body of midshipmen learning the sea service. The long list of foreign names among the seamen, Vosander, Vandibank, Waldron, Springes, Peterson and many more of Dutch, German and Scandinavian form, reveals how far the Company's ships depended on a cosmopolitan maritime labour force drawn from across northern Europe. The presence of a butcher and a poulterer among the crew reflects the live provisions carried on so long a voyage, the ship victualling itself from animals kept aboard and slaughtered as needed, a small seagoing version of the same husbandry that sustained the island it was calling at.
325	318	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neal Cattle &c from the 11 January to the 12 February 1755 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shotes, Pigs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Female, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Foales, Zebras, Total Remaining the 12: 5 Bulls, 81 Cows, 76 Calves, 15 Yearlings, 48 Heifers, 5 Steers, 13 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 252 Total, 176 Ewes, 67 Weathers, 218 Lambs, 7 Rams, 468 Total, 122 Ewes, 36 Weathers, 137 Kids, 8 Rams, 303 Total, 13 Sows, 2 Shotes, 18 Pigs, 2 Boars, 35 Total, 69 Turkeys, 291 Female, 69 Ducks, 28 Geese, 6 Horses, 6 Mares, 12 Total, 1 Foales, 3 Zebras, 4 Total Encreased: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 10 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 0 Oxen, 10 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 17 Kids, 0 Rams, 17 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Shotes, 8 Pigs, 0 Boars, 8 Total, 4 Turkeys, 0 Female, 6 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 1 Mares, 1 Total, 0 Foales, 0 Zebras, 0 Total Total: 5 Bulls, 81 Cows, 86 Calves, 15 Yearlings, 43 Heifers, 5 Steers, 13 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 262 Total, 176 Ewes, 67 Weathers, 218 Lambs, 7 Rams, 468 Total, 122 Ewes, 36 Weathers, 154 Kids, 8 Rams, 320 Total, 13 Sows, 2 Shotes, 26 Pigs, 2 Boars, 43 Total, 73 Turkeys, 291 Female, 75 Ducks, 28 Geese, 6 Horses, 7 Mares, 13 Total, 1 Foales, 3 Zebras, 4 Total	The muster roll of the <i>Montfort</i> continued with the remaining hands. Landrin, seaman Levaux, seaman St Benoist, seaman Dachut, seaman Philippee, seaman Belgard, seaman Richard Constable, captain's servant Thomas Bisse, first mate's servant Nathanael Powell, second mate's servant John Purchase, carpenter's servant Thomas Carter, gunner's servant Thomas Alexander, surgeon's servant John Etherington, servant Augustine, servant Captain Frederick Vincent applied to the council for liberty to pay £400 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him a set of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors for that amount, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 3rd instant. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The French names closing the seamen's roll, Landrin, Levaux, St Benoist, Philippee and Belgard, extend still further the mixture of nationalities aboard the ship, adding a French element to the Dutch, German and Scandinavian hands already listed. The

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		Killed: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 0 Calves, 1 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 1 Oxen, 3 Total, 1 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 4 Rams, 0 Total, 4 Ewes, 1 Weathers, 0 Kids, 0 Rams, 5 Total, 1 Sows, 2 Shotes, 3 Pigs, 0 Boars, 6 Total, 1 Turkeys, 12 Female, 8 Ducks, 1 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total, 0 Foales, 0 Zebras, 0 Total Died: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 0 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 2 Oxen, 2 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 2 Lambs, 2 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Kids, 0 Rams, 2 Total, 2 Sows, 0 Shotes, 7 Pigs, 0 Boars, 7 Total, 1 Turkeys, 6 Female, 0 Ducks, 1 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total, 0 Foales, 0 Zebras, 0 Total Remaining the 11: 5 Bulls, 81 Cows, 86 Calves, 15 Yearlings, 42 Heifers, 5 Steers, 13 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 261 Total, 171 Ewes, 66 Weathers, 218 Lambs, 7 Rams, 462 Total, 120 Ewes, 32 Weathers, 158 Kids, 8 Rams, 313 Total, 12 Sows, 0 Shotes, 16 Pigs, 2 Boars, 30 Total, 71 Turkeys, 273 Female, 67 Ducks, 26 Geese, 6 Horses, 7 Mares, 13 Total, 1 Foales, 3 Zebras, 4 Total 1 Heifer Killed 1 Sow Killed for the market wt 99 1/2 Yams Expended 7650 Errors Excepted Signed John Adamson	manning of an English East Indiaman with so international a crew reflected the perpetual shortage of British seamen for the long and dangerous eastern voyages, the Company drawing sailors from every maritime nation of Europe and binding them under a single command regardless of origin or tongue. The bill of exchange transaction reveals the financial machinery that allowed a ship's captain to move money safely across the world without carrying coin. By paying £400 in cash into the Company's chest at St Helena and receiving in return a bill drawn on the Court of Directors in London, Captain Vincent converted specie he held in the South Atlantic into a paper claim payable in England ninety days after sight, avoiding the risk of transporting the coin himself on the remaining passage. This use of the island as a place to remit funds shows St Helena serving not only as a victualling station but as a node in the Company's financial network, where the credit of the corporation could be drawn upon to transfer money between the ends of its trading world. The ninety-day term after sight gave the directors time to verify the bill before payment, the standard protection built into such instruments.
326	319	1755 Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11 February 1755 Vizt 14 bottles Port Wine £ 1 1 6 32 Do Lisbon 2 9 2 4 Do Medera " 9 6 1/2 53 Do Arrach 1 15 10 1/2 43 Do Bier " 11 5 272 Flour 1 16 10 291 Beef 3 12 9 200 Mutton 4 3 4 76 Pork 1 18 . 83 Goat 1 7 8 1 Kid " 5 . 12 Fowls " 18 . 8 Ducks " 12 . 1 Goose " 5 . 1 Turkey " 5 . 3 Pigs " 15 . 7 lb Salt Pork " 14 . 4 lb Do Beef " 11 . 100 Candy 1 13 4 52 Butter 2 12 . £ 27 16 3 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson	At a consultation held on Monday 10 March 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 3 March 1755, was read, approved and signed. On Friday 7 March the Company's ship <i>Montfort</i> sailed for England, and the Company's ships <i>Prince Edward</i>, commanded by Captain Robert Haldane, and <i>Sandwich</i>, commanded by Captain John Purling, arrived from Bombay. In accordance with the advertisement published on the 24th of the previous month, the following damaged goods were sold at public auction. This account of sundry stores of the Company sold at public auction was dated March 1755. Haberdashery: 12 gross mohair buttons, £2 2s 0d 16 gross mohair buttons, £1 10s 3d, £3 12s 3d Bettelees, 68 pieces, £9 18s 8d Sallampores: 18 large, £11 3s 0d 54 small, £21 10s 8d, £32 13s 8d Chilloes, 2 numbers, £0 17s 2d Tinware, 6 Muscovy lights, £0 18s 5d Total, £48 0s 6d The <i>Prince Edward</i> brought the following supply. Interpretations The auction realised the sale of the damaged textiles and haberdashery first advertised three weeks earlier on 24 February, and the prices fetched show a brisk market for Indian cotton cloth even in spoiled condition. The sallampores, the coarse Coromandel calico, brought by far the largest return at over £32, reflecting both the quantity offered and the ready demand for serviceable cloth among a population wholly dependent on imported textiles. That damaged goods still commanded nearly £48 in total demonstrates how valuable any grade of manufactured cloth was on the island, where nothing could be woven locally and every yard had to come by sea. The Muscovy lights among the tinware point to a specific imported article, sheets of the transparent mineral mica, known as Muscovy glass because it came chiefly from Russia, used in place of window glass and in lanterns where true glass was scarce or

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		John Clark	too fragile. Their sale alongside the cloth shows the miscellaneous character of the Company's store, which held not only the staple textiles of the eastern trade but also the small manufactured necessities of a settlement cut off from ordinary sources of supply. The arrival of two more Indiamen from Bombay on the same day that the <i>Montfort</i> departed for England illustrates the constant procession of Company shipping through the island, each vessel both a customer for its provisions and a supplier of the goods its store dispensed.
327	320	3 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 3 of March 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 24 February 1755 Tuesday the 25 February passed by five Ships under Dutch Colours Wednesday the 26 Do passed by a Ship under Danish Colours Do Arrive the Honorable Companys Ship the Montfort from Bengall Thursday the 27 February Died Mary Buchles This Day Died Humphry Harrison, Soldier Bought of Captain Fredrick Vincent 50 Cwt of Rice at 8/6 p Hundred Weight, and 482 Cwt of Paddy at 6/ p Hundred weight for the use of the Honorable Companys Blacks, and Stock James Yates applied to us for liberty to leave the Island, and to go for England on the Ship Montfort Granted The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of goods short received from the Invoice of Ship Montfort Vizt	The invoice of the <i>Prince Edward</i> set out the goods supplied, valued in rupees. Blue chilloes, 1 bale, 5 corge at 18 rupees per corge, 455 rupees 2 annas 30 pies Beaten rice, 20 bags weighing 27 hundredweight, 135 factory maunds is 135 maunds at 3 rupees 8 annas per maund, 118 rupees 50 pies Paddy, 44 bags weighing 3 hundredweight 11lb gross, at 22 per maund, 75 rupees 3 annas 10 pies Charges merchandise: On the chilloes, 9 rupees 3 annas 10 pies On the rice and paddy, gunny bags number 32 at 4 rupees 8 annas per hundred, 6 rupees 1 anna 60 pies Dubbers, 20 bags at 3 each, 15 rupees Gunny bags, 88 for paddy, at 4 rupees 1 anna per corge, 18 rupees 2 annas 80 pies Hammallage, 2 rupees 55 pies Boat hire, 4 rupees Total charges, 46 rupees 9 annas 5 pies Total, 700 rupees 2 annas 15 pies The account was signed by H Symmons, accountant, with errors excepted. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been aboard the <i>Sandwich</i> and <i>Prince Edward</i> to muster their companies and search for deserters, but found none. Their muster roll was as follows. Interpretations The invoice measures cloth by the corge, the standard Indian trading unit of twenty pieces, the blue chilloes reckoned at eighteen rupees the corge and forming much the largest item of the consignment. This bulk purchase of striped cotton, alongside the beaten rice and paddy, shows the same pattern of trade as the <i>Montfort's</i> cargo, the ships arriving from the Indian presidencies laden with the cotton textiles and grain that were the staples of the country trade and that St Helena consumed both as merchandise for resale and as provisions. The schedule of charges again itemises every incidental cost of lading, and among them the hammallage and the dubbers name specific features of Indian commerce. Hammallage was the charge for hammals, the porters who carried goods on their backs at the Indian ports, and dubbers were leather containers used for shipping liquids and loose goods, here supplied at a fixed rate per bag. These entries, together with the gunny bags priced by the corge and the hundred, show how thoroughly the landed cost of an Indian cargo was built up from the wages of local labour and the price of humble packing materials, each small charge in rupees, annas and pies recorded so that the true cost of the goods delivered to the ship could be exactly known.
328	321	1755 Account of Stores Short received from Ship Montfort Vizt Cwt qr lb 1 2 25 Sugar } Short Weight 2 25 Candles 2 No 1 Legguer Arrach Gage 154 wanting to fill 11 Gallons 2 Do 150 Do 1/2	The muster roll of the <i>Sandwich</i>, dated 10 March, listed her company. John Purling, commander Benjamin <i>Godfrey</i>, first mate George Omara, second mate Peter Maria Wildding, third mate Lewis More, fourth mate James Sinclair, fifth mate George Hepburn, sixth mate

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		30 1/2 78 18 3 March 1755 Received 286 Gallons Signed Purling Storekeeper Alexander Hamilton, Andrew Frazier, William Hutchinson and Thomas Puherton Soldiers petitioned for their Discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their contracted times Granted The Ship Montfort brought us the following supply from Bengall Vizt	John Page, surgeon John Hicks, purser's mate Alexander Ross, boatswain Richard Dean, gunner William Wells, carpenter James Lewis, midshipman Robert Oaclate, midshipman William Churchill, midshipman Thomas Humphage, midshipman Aaron Buttons, midshipman Servin Basford, midshipman John Rufield, midshipman John Wheatley, caulker Richard Manyfield, purser's mate Joseph Fletcher, captain's cook John Robinson, cook Alexander Kemp, butcher Thomas Collenwan, poulterer Henry Buckman, sailmaker William Worrall, gunner's mate Edward Hornsby, armourer James Beuchman, purser David Slighter, seaman Richard Sonne, seaman Thomas Duffen, third master Robert Buckman, boatswain Daniel Sadru, seaman Edward Welch, seaman John Anthony, seaman David Miller, seaman Michael Riley, seaman Thomas Cornwale, seaman Anthony Steward, seaman Robert Sutton, seaman Thomas Furrell, seaman William Monkfield, seaman Thomas Hambleton, seaman Richard Wilcot, seaman John Richardson, seaman William Richards, seaman William Hall, seaman Stephen Deck, seaman William Davidson, seaman Robert Bennett, seaman William Parr, seaman Charles Butcher, seaman Robert Wood, seaman William Lewis, seaman William Morris, seaman Andrew Souter, seaman John Samsson, seaman Samuel Watts, seaman Ralph Innes, seaman William Hale, seaman William Winter, seaman James Carmoul, seaman James Roberson, seaman William Sice, seaman Peter Clover, seaman William Lowrey, seaman John Yateman, seaman Laurence Perry, seaman David Gardyne, seaman Thomas Pickering, seaman John Bell, seaman George Rimmus, seaman John Wildon, seaman William Wills, seaman John Nickson, seaman Samuel Cooker, seaman Robert Harrison, seaman Joseph Kris, seaman Timothy Burn, seaman William Sime, seaman Thomas Rive, seaman James Crawford, seaman

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			Daniel Bordanon, seaman Baron Hancroist, seaman Abraham Liley, seaman George Gilchrist, seaman Matthew Barton, seaman Warren Moore, seaman John Plumsees, seaman Benjamin <i>Stafford</i>, seaman Joshua Suff, seaman Francis Golloway, seaman Interpretations The <i>Sandwich</i> carried the same elaborate establishment as the <i>Montfort</i>, a full complement of mates, specialist officers and a large body of seamen, confirming the standard manning of the great Indiamen that formed the backbone of the Company's shipping. The roll again shows the same live-provisioning arrangement, with a butcher and a poulterer among the crew to tend and slaughter the animals carried for fresh meat on the long voyage, the ship provisioning itself in the same manner as the island it was visiting. The recurrence of continental names among the seamen, Bordanon, Hancroist and others alongside the predominant English and Scottish names, once more reflects the mixed maritime labour on which the Company depended. That two of the ship's officers, the commander John Purling and the carpenter, shared surnames with men serving in the island's own establishment points to the close connections of family and service that ran between the sea and shore branches of the Company, the same names recurring across ships and settlements throughout its far-flung operations.
329	322	3 March Invoice of Ship Montfort B A Battavia Arrack No 1 & 2 2 Leaguers at 125 p Leaguer 250 . . Batta 8/ p C 20 . 270 . . S F Sugar Fine 1 @ 10 10 Bags 27 29 10 1 s Factory Weight 7 4 p Maund 161 5 9 W C Wax Candles 1 @ 5 5 Chests 27 10 Matts Do @ 75 p Maund 750 R F Rice Fine 40 Bags 27 80 Buxa W @ 24 p 133 5 3 Batta 8/ 10 . 143 1325 5 9 Charges Merchandize 90 Gunney Bags and Sowing 13 12 9 5 Empty Chests and Embaling 12 8 Moatons 3 8 18 Matts 2 . Peons and Weighmen 1 9 6 Soldiers Diet 2 . Boathire 17 4 32 10 3 Current Rupees 1378 Errors Excepted Signed W Crittenden Accomptant Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month ending the 11 instant which is as follows Vizt	The muster roll of the <i>Sandwich</i> closed with the last of her seamen, followed by the muster roll of the <i>Prince Edward</i>. William Sivmale, seaman Joseph Barclay, seaman Bruges Buckle, seaman Green Dishard, seaman Thomas Baber, seaman Johen Geary, seaman Richard Widget, seaman Richard Young, seaman The muster roll of the <i>Prince Edward</i> was as follows. Robert Haldane, commander Peter Young, first mate Henry Barron, second mate Francis Gilbert, third mate James Haldane, fourth mate Gideon Master, fifth mate William Henderson, surgeon Thomas Cheap, purser John McAddison, boatswain Thomas Harry, carpenter John Reid, gunner Jonathan Sells, caulker John Church, sailmaker Hugh Jones, cooper George Ramsey, captain's steward John Wembarston, ship's cook John Hunter, midshipman John Connor, midshipman Richard Pearson, midshipman John Adam, midshipman Thomas Burn, purser's mate Alexander Smith, midshipman George Coleman, midshipman John Melon, midshipman Alexander Scot, gunner's mate William Nelson, boatswain's mate William Bullock, coxswain William Phillips, second cook

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			Samuel Espino, caulker John Deal, armourer Simon Bayer, ship's steward Alexander Erskine, seaman Charles Sheers, seaman William Dundass, seaman William Sayles, seaman David Anderson, seaman Robert Stewt, seaman John Dennings, seaman John Henderson, seaman James More, seaman John Carty, seaman Alexander Rose, seaman Alexander Monseof, seaman William Clement, seaman John Cairns, seaman Alexander Hindry, seaman George Race, seaman David Hill, seaman Edward Shirley, seaman Edward Sayer, seaman George Robinson, seaman Matthew Snedden, seaman Peter Annesley, seaman John Wilson, seaman Archibald McNaughton, seaman William Roberts, seaman John Barclay, seaman David Barclay, seaman Robert Robinson, seaman George Watson, seaman George Lindsay, seaman John McClellan, seaman Joseph Lenny, seaman Thomas May, seaman Robert Edmiston, seaman William Murray, seaman John Price, seaman Cornelius Kelton, seaman William Diss, seaman Ralph Cottingham, first mate's servant Michael Bell, second mate's servant Edward Thompson, surgeon's servant John Watting, gunner's servant John Predmore, seaman Dennis Dunnavan, seaman John Webster, seaman John Semple, seaman James Honeywood, seaman Abram Johnson, seaman Augustine Dillison, servant Cornelius Vans, seaman Andrew Brown, seaman Michael Brunas, seaman John Sivmor, seaman Michael Ismay, seaman Alexander Sinclair, seaman Barns Spann, seaman Interpretations The strongly Scottish character of the <i>Prince Edward's</i> company, with two Haldanes among the officers and a long roll of seamen bearing names such as McClellan, McNaughton, Erskine, Sinclair, Lindsay and Murray, sets her apart from the more mixed crews of the other ships. This concentration probably reflects a vessel manned largely out of a Scottish port or by a commander who recruited among his own countrymen, a common pattern in an age when a captain's connections and region shaped the composition of his crew. The presence of the commander Robert Haldane and James Haldane, most likely kin, among the ship's officers illustrates again how family ties structured the manning of the Company's ships.

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			The roll's careful distinction of the servants attached to individual officers, the first mate's, second mate's, surgeon's and gunner's servants each named, reveals the small hierarchy of personal attendance that operated within the ship's company. These servants were often young men or boys entered under an officer's patronage to learn the sea service while attending to his needs, a recognised route into a maritime career. Their inclusion on the muster roll shows that even the humblest members of the ship's establishment were formally accounted for when the garrison checked the company against desertion, every soul aboard entered by name and station so that none could slip the reckoning.
330	323	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1755 January 11 To Ballance remaining £ 2832 14 7 1/2 1755 February 11 By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 400 Venetians @ 10/ £ 200 . . 1000 Pagodas 8/ 400 . . Gold Amounting to £ 600 . . 2797 Dollars @ 5/ 699 5 . 7000 Rupees 2/3 789 10 . 2948 half Rials 3 3/4 2026 3 441 French Do 1/2 3 13 6 Odd Money " 4 3/4 Silver Amounting to £ 1692 19 7 1/2 146 Cash Notes @ 40/ 292 . . 162 Do 20/ 162 . . 263 Do 5/ 65 15 . 160 Do 2/6 20 . . Cash Notes Amounting to £ 539 15 . £ 2832 14 7 1/2 Margin Notes: 1755	The muster roll of the <i>Prince Edward</i> closed with the remaining hands and passenger. Bartholomew Roberts, seaman Robert Davis, seaman Peter Black, seaman Derrick Derrickson, seaman James Shiels, seaman Lewis Mekan, captain's cook Alexander Holbein, seaman John Swell, passenger John Elliot, captain's servant Alexander McPhearon, captain's servant John Bull, seaman The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods short received from the invoice of the <i>Prince Edward</i>. Rice, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters short weight The account was dated 10 March 1755 and signed by M Purling, storekeeper. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The single short-weight entry against the <i>Prince Edward's</i> invoice, a shortfall of rice on delivery, shows the storekeeper applying the same rigorous check to every arriving cargo that he had made against the <i>Montfort's</i> consignment days earlier. Weighing the rice received against the quantity invoiced and recording the deficiency to the quarter hundredweight preserved the Company's claim for the missing goods and cleared the storekeeper of any suspicion of loss in his own keeping, the routine discipline of reconciliation that governed the receipt of all stores on the island. The listing of a single passenger among the ship's company reveals the incidental carriage of private travellers on the Company's vessels, the <i>Prince Edward</i> bringing at least one person who was neither crew nor Company servant. Passage on an Indiaman was one of the few means of moving between England, India and the settlements along the route, and such travellers were entered on the muster roll alongside the crew when the garrison checked the ship, ensuring that every person aboard was accounted for and that no one could desert or land unrecorded on the closely watched island.
331	324	3 March Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ship Montfort to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none, her muster Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Montfort Fredrick Vincent Commander Thomas Midge 1 Mate John Hayes 2 Do John Colmes 3 Do Thomas Baber 4 Do George Bosh 5 Do John Drummond Surgeon	At a consultation held on Monday 17 March 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 10 March 1755, was read, approved and signed. On Monday 10 March a ship passed by at a great distance. On Tuesday 11 March the Company's ship <i>Colchester</i>, commanded by Captain Todd, arrived from China. On Wednesday 12 March the Company's ship <i>Ludlow</i>, commanded by Captain Oliver, arrived from Bencoolen. Captain Robert Haldane applied to the council to pay £900 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The council

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		Michael Dixon Purser James Smith Carpenter Samuel Ames Gunner Joseph Smith Boatswain John Farrar Cofs Steward William Snell Ships Do Benjamin Hill Middleman William Billing Do William Halstrom Do Robert Cantellon Do Joseph Durrington Do Thomas Castellon Do William Edwards Do Thomas Lell Do Thomas Paris Do Clement Fall Do Alexander Horr 1 Mate Samuel Brinesley Do Daniel Dunn Do Thomas Langley Do Edward Scratchem Cooper Thomas Breatly Armourer Cohn Castle Caulker George Lancaster Cofs Cook John Goulding Ships Do Samuel Johnson Sailmaker James Henchington 1 Mate John Keagle Gunners Do George Stansbury Cooks Thomas Richards Cofs Do James Paine Butcher Richard Davis Poulterer Thomas Briden Airman Buck Watkinson Do Jonathad Dove Do George White Do George Pasker Do Nathanel Campsfield Do William Denehum Do John Innes Do William Dollman Do John Cunengham Do Owen Hughes Do John Underwood Do Richard Chilton Do Alexander Coaley Do Thomas Willson Do James Wells Seaman Richard Gyllie Do Richard Kennett Do Joseph Rogers Do John Farmer Do Matthew Caria Do Thomas Benn Do Stephen Deams Do Collin Douglass Do Henry Bell Do Henry Colberton Do Genard Vossande Do Jacob Sleske Do Andrew Christoffell Do Cornelius Vandibank Do Hans Waldtron Do Fendrick Roghe Do Lewis Vinodtson Do Fredrick Springes Do John Peterson Do Mynder Johnson Do John Kervey Do John Danneck Do John Bourboat Do John Sirmore Do Sooten Biffe Do Thomas Romery Do	received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Captain John Purling applied to the council to pay £800 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Captain John Todd applied to the council to pay £900 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Interpretations The three large payments made into the Company's cash by the captains of the <i>Prince Edward</i>, <i>Sandwich</i> and <i>Colchester</i>, each taking bills of exchange on the Court of Directors in return, show St Helena functioning as a busy remittance centre for the homeward fleet. Ships' commanders and their officers accumulated substantial sums in the course of the private trade they were permitted to carry on alongside the Company's own cargo, and the island offered a secure means of converting that coin into paper drawn on London before the final leg of the voyage. The scale of these remittances, £2,600 in a single sitting, reveals the volume of private wealth moving through the East India trade and the Company's role in channelling it safely home. The steady arrival of Indiamen from China, Bencoolen, Bombay and Bengal within the space of a fortnight illustrates the convergence of the Company's whole eastern trade upon this single Atlantic waypoint. Bencoolen was the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, and ships from there, from the China tea trade at Canton and from the Indian presidencies all passed St Helena on the homeward run, making the island the one point at which the scattered branches of the eastern commerce briefly came together. The uniform ninety-day term on every bill reflects the settled convention that gave the directors time to satisfy themselves of each instrument before honouring it.

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<u>332</u>	325	1755 Landren Seaman Leveaux Do St Benoist Do Dachut Do Philippee Do Belgard Do Richard Constable Captains Servant Thomas Bosse 1 Mates Servant Nathanel Powell 2 Do Do John Purchase Carpenters Do Thomas Carter Gunners Do Thomas Alexander Surgeons Do John Etherington Servant Augustine Do Captain Fredrick Vincent applied to us for liberty to pay Four hundred pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash, we received it, and have given him a set of Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors for this Sum payable to himself or Order Ninety Days after sight dated the 3 instant Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	James Sherridan, the Company's gardener, applied to the council to pay £30 0s 0d into the Company's cash. The council received the sum and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Sergeant Thomas Brown, the armourer Andrew, and the soldier William Hayes petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company their contracted terms, which was granted. The council bought from Captain Robert Haldane 8 puncheons of beef containing 6 hundredweight per puncheon, and 6 hogsheads of pork containing 672lb, at 2s per pound, and 10 hundredweight of rice at 8s 6d per hundredweight. The council also bought from Captain John Todd 2 puncheons of beef containing 6 hundredweight per puncheon, at 2s per pound, for the use of the Company's garrison. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been aboard the <i>Colchester</i> to muster her company and search for deserters, but found none. Her muster roll was as follows. Interpretations The purchase of salted beef and pork in puncheons and hogsheads from the arriving captains reveals the island supplementing its own fresh meat with the preserved provisions carried on the ships. The garrison drew on its own herds for daily fresh victuals but needed barrelled salt meat as a keeping store against times when slaughter could not meet demand or when provisioning a departing vessel, and the homeward ships, having consumed much of their outward stores, could sell their surplus salt provisions to the settlement. A puncheon and a hogshead were large casks of standard capacity, the beef and pork bought by weight at a fixed price per pound, showing the exact commercial basis of the transaction. The recurrence of applications for discharge by soldiers who had completed their contracted terms, coming ship by ship as homeward vessels appeared, confirms the rhythm by which the garrison shed its time-served men. The gardener's remittance of £30 alongside the captains' far larger sums shows that even a modest Company servant on the island used the same mechanism of bills of exchange to send money home, converting his savings into a paper claim on the directors rather than risking coin on the voyage or waiting to carry it himself, the financial apparatus of the Company being open to great and small alike.
<u>333</u>	326	10 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 10 Day of March 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 3 March 1755 Friday the 7 March sailed the Honorable Companys Ships the Montfort for England This Day arrived the Honorable Companys Ships the Prince Edward Captain Robert Haldane, and the Sandwich Captain John Purling from Bombay According to the Advertisement published on the 24 Day of the last Month the following damaged Store goods were Sold at Public Auction Vizt Account of Sundry Stores of the Honorable Companys Sold at Public Auction March 6 1755 Vizt Haberdasheryware vizt	The muster roll of the <i>Colchester</i> listed her company. John Todd, commander John Venner, first mate James Ward, second mate Thomas Page, third mate George Sands, fourth mate Robert Karr, fifth mate Angus Frazer, sixth mate William Loosle, purser James Snowith, surgeon Thomas Bridgeman, carpenter William Ross, gunner David Elphison, boatswain Samuel Whitaker, cooper Daniel Groseth, midshipman Thomas Bentfield, midshipman John Todd, midshipman John Sampson, second master James Clove, midshipman James Reach, midshipman William Beasley, midshipman William Newenny, caulker Samuel Bell, surgeon's mate

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		12 Gross Ps Buttons £ 2 2 16 Gross Do Ps Do 1 10 3 3 12 3 Bettelees 68 Pices 9 18 8 Sallampores vizt 18 Large 11 3 54 Small 21 10 8 33 2 8 Challoes 2 Nos . 17 2 Tinware 6 Muscovy Lights . 18 5 £ 48 9 6 The Ship Prince Edward brought us the following supply Vizt	John Holbird, sailmaker William Bartlett, cooper's mate Archibald Gardener, surgeon David Eaton, gunner Jacob Galloway, carpenter's mate George Semle, midshipman John Johnson, boatswain John Lindman, captain's cook James Snigg, ship's cook Edward James, captain's steward Edward Glenn, seaman Thomas Bone, seaman William Cuszey, seaman John Gibbert, seaman Christian Chinguana, seaman Thomas Hindman, seaman William Edgel, seaman William Purvey, seaman John Jones, seaman John Bedman, seaman John Carter, seaman Edward James, armourer Mongo Berry, seaman William Nicholas, seaman William Belding, seaman Samuel Jefferin, seaman James Hall, seaman James Arthur, seaman George Andrewson, seaman Fance Morpeth, seaman William Armstead, seaman Abraham Jefsey, seaman Hugh Matthews, seaman James Bapley, seaman Simon West, seaman Thomas Barrow, seaman Moore Spoon, seaman Robert Headstad, seaman James Rollinson, seaman William Emey, seaman John Clark, seaman Daniel Grey, seaman William Allsop, seaman George Hanneck, seaman Joseph Cousmp, seaman John Lee, seaman John Diabatto, seaman John Prevatto, seaman John Caston, seaman William Clark, seaman George McCliff, seaman Christian Buckingham, seaman Henry Sifsin, seaman George Fredrick Rothirkell, seaman James Johnson, seaman John Merchall, seaman John Thomas, seaman Francis Going, seaman Jacob Foucher, seaman Peter Gregaat, seaman John Gibbson, seaman John Smith, seaman Deni Rowerson, seaman John Crenharian, seaman Frank Guegan, seaman John Mactrief, seaman John Cage, seaman Isaacus Dinter, seaman Thomas Sigg, seaman Thomas Warren, seaman Thomas Dunkley, seaman Interpretations The <i>Colchester</i>, arriving from Canton, carried the same full establishment as the Indiamen from the Indian ports, a large and elaborately officered company reflecting the size and value of the China

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			tea ships. Her roll shows once more the cosmopolitan manning of the trade, with names such as Chingwana, Diabatto, Foucher, Rothirkell and Guegan pointing to seamen drawn from far beyond the British Isles, the long China voyage requiring every hand that could be recruited from the maritime populations of Europe and beyond. The double entry of the name Edward James, appearing once as the captain's steward and once as the armourer, together with two men named John Todd, the commander and a midshipman, illustrates both the commonness of these names and the practice of entering relatives and dependents on a captain's ship. A commander frequently carried kinsmen and protégés among his company, placing a young namesake as a midshipman to begin his career under family patronage, a custom that helped bind the officer class of the Company's marine into a web of connection and obligation running through successive generations and voyages.
334	327	1755 Invoice of Ship Prince Edward Chelloes Blue 1 Bale 9 5 Corge 9 18 p Corge 455 2 50 Rice beaten 20 Bags ea 9 6 Cwt 1s Maunds is 135 Md @ 3 50 p maund 118 . 50 Batty 44 Bags 9 3 11 mds 1s @ 22 p maund 75 3 10 Charges Merchandize vizt On the Chelloes 9 3 10 Do Rice vizt Gunny p 32 @ 4 8 p 6 6 1 60 Dithps Bags 20 @ 3 ea 15 . . Gunny Bags 88 for Batty @ 4 1 p Corge 18 2 80 Hammallage 2 . 55 Boat hire 4 . . 46 9 5 56 . 5 Rupees 700 2 15 Errors Excepted Signed H Symmons Accomptant Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ships Sandwich and Prince Edward to muster their Companys and enquire for Deserters but found none their muster Roll is as follows Vizt	The muster roll of the <i>Colchester</i> closed with the remaining servants and hands. John Weedale, captain's servant Charles Beats, captain's servant John Wright, chief mate's servant Charles Weston, second mate's servant Thomas Davidge, carpenter's servant Joseph Newton, boatswain's servant Thomas Carr, gunner's servant John Cole Robert John Clark, the Company's armourer, presented a petition to Governor Charles Hutchinson and the council. Clark stated that his poor health made him wish to return to England, and he asked leave to do so. He proposed that John Yeale, the armourer of the <i>Prince Edward</i>, be accepted to serve as armourer of the garrison in his place. The petition was dated at St Helena, 17 March 1755, and signed by Robert Clark. Interpretations Clark's petition reveals the difficulty of replacing a skilled tradesman on an isolated island, and the practical solution of recruiting a substitute from a passing ship. Rather than leave the garrison without an armourer, the man responsible for maintaining and repairing all its firearms, Clark himself proposed his replacement in the person of a qualified armourer serving aboard the <i>Prince Edward</i>, then in the road. This shows the ships as a floating reservoir of skilled men on whom the settlement could draw to fill vacancies, an arriving vessel offering not only goods and provisions but occasionally the trained hands the small population could not itself supply. That an ailing servant sought return to England on grounds of poor health points to the toll the island's conditions and isolation took on those stationed there, and to the limited medical relief available on the spot. For a sick man the long sea voyage home represented the best hope of recovery or at least of ending his days among his own people, and the Company's willingness to entertain such petitions, provided a replacement could be found, reflected both a measure of care for its servants and the hard necessity of keeping every essential post filled on a station whose whole value depended on its readiness for defence.
335	328	10 March Muster Roll of Ship Sandwich John Purling Commander Benj Godfrey 1 Mate Geof OMara 2 Do Peter Maria Wildding 3 Do Lewis More 4 Do James Sinclair 5 Do	The council granted the petition, having obtained Captain Haldane's consent that his armourer John Yeale should remain on the island in Clark's place. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 31 March 1755 at the castle, the members present were

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		Geo Hipburn 6 Do John Page Surgeon John Rees 1 Mate Alexr Ross Boatswain Rowld Davis Gunner Wm Wells Carpenter James Lewis Middleman Robert Onslade Do Wm Churchill Do Thos Humphrey Do Ann Buttes Do Sorin Bason Do John Sisfield Do John Wheatly Caulker Rich Mayfield 1 mate Steph Fletcher Cofs John Bolivan Do Alexr Kemp Butcher Thos Collenon Poulterer Henr Buckman Sailmaker Wm Worrall Gun mate Ed Hornsby Armourer James Buckman 1 mate David Slighter Do Rich Tonne Do Thos Duffin 1 mate Robt Buckman Boatswain Daniel Sadeu Do Edward Welch Seaman John Anthony Do David Miller Do Mich Riley Do Thos Cornwale Do Anthony Steward Do Robt Sutton Do Thos Furrell Do Wm Monkfield Do Thos Hamblton Do Rich Wilsat Do John Richardson Do Wm Richards Do Wm Hall Do Stephen Dick Do Wm Davidson Do Robert Bennett Do Wm Sarr Do Charles Batchter Do Robt Wood Do Wm Lewis Do Wm Morris Do Andrew Souter Do John Samhson Do Samuel Watts Do Ralph Innes Do Wm Hale Do Wm Winter Do James Carmoni Seaman James Roberson Do Wm Sice Do Peter Cloire Do Wm Kenney Do John Yateman Do Laurence Serry Do David Gardyne Do Thomas Pickering Do John Bell Do George Rhinus Do John Wildon Do Wm Wills Sen Do John Nickson Do Samuel Cocher Do Robt Harrison Do Joseph Rois Do Timothy Burn Do Wm Some Do Thomas Rise Do	Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 17 March 1755, was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 26 March the Company's ship <i>Warwick</i>, commanded by Captain Nicholas Webb, arrived from Anjengo. On Thursday 27 March a ship passed by at a great distance, and the Company's ship <i>Colchester</i> sailed for England. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month ending the 11th were brought in, examined and approved. Interpretations The transfer of the armourer John Yeale from the <i>Prince Edward</i> to the island's establishment, completed only once Captain Haldane had given his consent, reveals the formal claim a commander held over the skilled men of his crew. Yeale could not simply be taken into the garrison at his own or the island's wish, for he was entered on the ship's articles and the captain's agreement was needed to release him, showing that the men who manned the Indiamen were bound by contract to their vessels and could be reassigned only through proper consent between the parties concerned. The arrival of the <i>Warwick</i> from Anjengo adds another of the Company's Indian settlements to the roll of ports whose ships called at the island, Anjengo being the Company's pepper and cloth factory on the Malabar coast of southwestern India. The continuing procession of vessels from every quarter of the eastern trade, arriving and departing within days of one another, confirms the island's function as the common gathering point of the homeward commerce, where ships from the most distant and scattered of the Company's stations converged before the final passage to England.

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		James Crawford Do Daniel Cordanon Do Barn Hawcraist Do Abraham Liby Do George Gilchrist Do Matthew Baxton Do Warren Moore Do John Plumsee Do Benjamin Stafford Do Joshua Suff Do Francis Golloway Do	
336	329	1754 William Sunvale Seaman Green Dustard Seaman Richard Widget Seaman Joseph Barclay Do Thomas Baber Do Richard Young Do Brugeo Buchle Do John Geary Do Muster Roll of Ship Prince Edward Robert Haldane Commander Peter Young 1 Mate Henry Baxron 2 Do Francis Gilbert 3 Do James Haldane 4 Do Gideon Master 5 Do Will Henderboth Surgeon Thomas Cheap Purser Nal McAddison Boatswain Thos Harry Carpenter John Reed Gunner Jonathan Sills Caulker John Church Sailmaker Hugh Jones Cooper George Ramsey Cofs Steward Nal Wemtsapson Ships Cook John Hunter Middleman John Connor Do Richard Pearson Do John Adam Do Thomas Burn Do Master Alexr Smith Do George Coleman Do John Melon Do Nal Scot Gunner Mate Will Nelson Boatswain Do Will Bullock Coxswain Do Will Phelfeps Do Do Samuel Espeny Caulker John Beal Armourer Simon Bayer Ship Steward Alexr Erskin Seaman Charles Shorer Do Will Dandass Do Will Sayle Do David Anderson Do Robert Stewt Do John Dennis Do John Hendersen Do James More Do John Carty Do Alexr Rose Do Alexr Monsroe Do Wm Pleasant Do John Caime Do Alexr Hindy Do George Race Do David Hill Do Edward Shirley Do Edward Sayer Do George Robinson Do Matthew Snedden Do Peter Annesbry Do John Wilson Do Arch McNaughton Do Will Roberts Do John Barclay Do	This account set out the Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 February to 11 March 1755. Neat cattle, remaining the 12th: 5 bulls, 81 cows, 86 calves, 15 yearlings, 42 heifers, 5 steers, 13 bullocks, 14 oxen, total 261 Sheep, remaining the 12th: 171 ewes, 66 wethers, 218 lambs, 7 rams, total 462 Goats, remaining the 12th: 120 ewes, 32 wethers, 153 kids, 8 rams, total 313 Hogs, remaining the 12th: 12 sows, 16 pigs, 2 boars, total 30 Poultry, remaining the 12th: 71 turkeys, 273 fowls, 67 ducks, 26 geese Horses, remaining the 12th: 6 horses, 7 mares, total 13 Asses, remaining the 12th: 1 he-ass, 3 she-asses, total 4 Neat cattle, increased: 6 calves, total 6 Goats, increased: 22 kids, total 22 Hogs, increased: 9 pigs, total 9 Poultry, increased: 38 fowls Neat cattle, total: 5 bulls, 81 cows, 92 calves, 15 yearlings, 42 heifers, 5 steers, 13 bullocks, 14 oxen, total 267 Sheep, total: 171 ewes, 66 wethers, 218 lambs, 7 rams, total 462 Goats, total: 120 ewes, 32 wethers, 175 kids, 8 rams, total 335 Hogs, total: 12 sows, 25 pigs, 2 boars, total 39 Poultry, total: 71 turkeys, 311 fowls, 67 ducks, 26 geese Horses, total: 6 horses, 7 mares, total 13 Asses, total: 1 he-ass, 3 she-asses, total 4 Neat cattle, killed: 1 heifer, 1 bullock, total 2 Sheep, killed: 6 ewes, total 6 Goats, killed: 5 wethers, 1 kid, total 6 Poultry, killed: 3 turkeys, 14 fowls, 5 ducks, total 3 Neat cattle, died: 1 cow, total 1 Goats, died: 1 kid, total 1 Hogs, died: 2 pigs, total 2 Poultry, died: 6 fowls, total 6 Neat cattle, remaining the 11th: 5 bulls, 80 cows, 92 calves, 15 yearlings, 41 heifers, 5 steers, 12 bullocks, 14 oxen, total 264 Sheep, remaining the 11th: 165 ewes, 66 wethers, 218 lambs, 7 rams, total 456 Goats, remaining the 11th: 119 ewes, 27 wethers, 174 kids, 8 rams, total 328 Hogs, remaining the 11th: 12 sows, 23 pigs, 1 boar, total 36 Poultry, remaining the 11th: 66 turkeys, 201 fowls, 62 ducks, 23 geese Horses, remaining the 11th: 6 horses, 7 mares, total 13 Asses, remaining the 11th: 1 he-ass, 3 she-asses, total 4 2 cattle killed Beef to the ship <i>Montfort</i> , 560 1 goat to the sick slaves Yams expended, 16,095 The account was signed by John Adamson, with errors excepted.

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		David Barclay Do Robt Robinson Seaman George Watson Do Georg Lindsay Do John McClellan Do Joseph Senny Do Thos May Do Robt Edmiston Do Will Murray Do John Price Do Cornelius Kelton Do Will Dun Do Ralph Cottingham 1 Mates Serv Michael Bel 2 Do Do Edw Thompson Surgeons Do John Wentling Gunners Do John Predmore Seaman Dennis Dunnavan Do John Webster Do John Semple Do James Honeywood Do Abram Johnson Do Augustus Dallison Holmes Do Cornelius Vans Do Andrew Boison Do Michael Bmmos Do John Sorwor Do Michael Toray Do Alexr Smair Do Barna Spam Do	Interpretations The note that 560lb of beef went to the <i>Montfort</i> shows the direct link between the island's herds and the victualling of the homeward fleet, the slaughtered cattle passing straight from the Company's stock to the departing ship's provisions. This was the central economic purpose of the whole husbandry recorded in these monthly books, the maintenance of a living meat supply that could refresh the salt-fed crews of the Indiamen and store their casks for the long Atlantic passage, the island earning its keep as the larder of the eastern trade. The doubling of yam consumption to 16,095, against the 7,650 of the previous month, points to a sharp rise in the demand these root crops met over this period. The great increase coincides with the arrival of numerous ships and the feeding of their companies and the Company's own growing stock, the yam serving as the bulk provision that could be drawn on at need. The single goat killed for the sick slaves reveals a small provision of fresh meat directed to the ailing among the labour force, a rare notice of the slaves as recipients of care rather than merely as workers, though the modest scale of the allowance against the hundreds of pounds of beef sent to a single ship measures the distance between the treatment of the Company's property in men and its provisioning of the free crews it served.
337	330	10 March Barth Roberts Seaman James Shiels Seaman John Elliot Cofs Servant Robert Davis Do Lewis Mesian Cofs Cook Alexr McPhexon Do Peter Black Do Alexr Holbein Seaman John Bull Seaman Derrick Derrickson Do John Swell Passenger The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of goods short received from the Invoice of Ship Prince Edward Account of Stores Short Received from Ship Prince Edward Cwt qr lb 2 Rice Short Weight Signed M Purling Storekeeper 10 March 1755 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The gunner's account recorded the following stores expended between 12 February and 11 March 1755, the figures given in pounds and ounces of powder. 25 February, a double alarm for five ships that went by, 13lb 6oz 6 drams Returned the salute of the same ships, 34lb 2oz 1 dram 31 grains Powder for priming, 6lb Powder for priming the guns upon the line, 3lb 26 February, an alarm for a ship that went by, 6lb 2oz 2 drams 27 February, an alarm, 6lb 2oz 2 drams Arrived the <i>Montfort</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz Powder for priming at the alarm house, 3lb 7 March, departed the <i>Montfort</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz 9 March, an alarm at Banks's, 2lb 2oz A double alarm, 9lb 3oz 3 drams 10 March, arrived the <i>Prince Edward</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz Arrived the <i>Sandwich</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz An alarm for a ship that went by, 6lb 2oz 2 drams 11 March, an alarm, 6lb 2oz 2 drams Arrived the <i>Colchester</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz Powder for completing the muskets' cartridges at the main and out forts, 17lb 12oz Powder for blowing the rocks to level the ground for the new barracks, 6lb Powder for the funeral of Humphry Harrison, 2lb 4oz Powder for signals, 3lb Total, 128lb 2oz 10dr 18gr Interpretations The account shows the extraordinary quantity of powder consumed simply in the ceremony and vigilance of a station on the shipping route, the great majority of it spent on alarms and returned salutes as vessel after vessel appeared off the island. Each

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			approaching sail prompted an alarm gun, and each identified friend was answered with a salute, so that the mere passage and arrival of ships in a busy month burned through pound after pound of costly powder. The double alarm for five ships passing together on 25 February, consuming over 13lb in the alarm alone and more than 34lb in the returned salute, measures how a single crowded day at sea drew heavily on the magazine. The powder allotted to the funeral of the soldier Humphry Harrison, who had died on 27 February, records the military honours paid to a member of the garrison at his burial, the firing of a salute over the grave being the customary mark of respect for a soldier. The remaining charges reveal powder in its practical uses, blowing rocks to level ground for new barracks and completing the musket cartridges at the forts, the same material serving the ceremonies of arrival and death, the daily engineering of the works, and the ready preparation of ammunition for the guns and small arms that were the reason for the island's garrison.
338	331	17 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 17 day of March 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieut Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed dated the 10 March 1755 Monday the 10 Passed by a Ship at a great distance Tuesday the 11 arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Colchester Cap 6 Todd from China Yesterday the 16 arrived the Honble Companys Ship the Grantham Capt 6 Oliver from Bencoolen Captain Robert Haldane applied to us to pay £ 900 into the Honble Companys Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors Payable to himself or Order, ninety Days after Sight dated this Day Captain John Purling applied to us to pay £ 800 into the Honble Companys Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors Payable to himself or Order ninety Days after sight dated this Day Captain John Todd applied to us to pay £ 900 into the Honble Companys Cash, which Sum we have received & given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors Payable to himself or Order ninety Days after Sight dated this Day	The gunner's account continued with the remaining stores expended. Paper for the use of the castle, 1 quire Paper for making great gun cartridges, 6 sheets Paper for making small gun cartridges, 12 sheets Needles broke with sewing of cartridges, 15 Tallow for greasing of carts, 20lb Match burnt at the main fort, 6lb Bills broke at the main fort, 2 Prisms broke at Prosperous Bay, 2 Hand spikes broke with weighing the anchor of the long boat's moorings, 1 The account was signed by Thomas Hall. This account listed the sundries expended at the Company's general table in the month ending 11 March 1755. 11 bottles port wine, £0 16s 10½d 35 bottles Lisbon, £2 13s 9d 16 bottles Madeira, £1 18s 2d 47 bottles arrack, £1 11s 9¾d 45 bottles beer, £0 11s 11½d 27lb 6oz flour, £1 18s 8½d 148½lb beef, £1 17s 9d 292lb mutton, £6 1s 8d 73lb goat, £1 4s 4d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 4lb salt pork, £0 8s 0d 4lb salt beef, £0 11s 0d 14 fowls, £1 1s 0d 5 ducks, £0 7s 6d 3 geese, £0 15s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 8lb candy, £0 8s 0d 143½lb butter, £2 3s 3d Total, £26 10s 9¾d Interpretations The breakage of hand spikes in weighing the anchor of the long boat's moorings, together with the match burnt at the main fort, records the practical wear of the garrison's equipment in its daily work. A hand spike was a stout wooden lever used to heave and turn heavy weights, here applied to raising the anchor that held the long boat's moorings, and match was the slow-burning cord kept alight to fire the guns, its steady consumption at the fort marking the constant readiness maintained at the island's principal battery. The prisms broken at Prosperous Bay, on the exposed eastern coast, point to some optical or signalling apparatus in use at that lookout, damaged in service. The table account shows a marked rise in mutton consumption to 292lb, the largest meat item of the month, against a much reduced quantity of beef. This

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			shift probably reflects the diversion of the island's beef to the victualling of the departing ships, recorded in the stock account where 560lb of beef went to the <i>Montfort</i> alone, so that the table fell back on mutton from the sheep flock while the cattle were reserved for the fleet. The sharp fall in candy from the previous month's 100lb to a mere 8lb, and the near tripling of butter to over 143lb, illustrate how the general table's supply fluctuated with the arrival of ships and the state of imported stores, the household drawing on whatever the recent cargoes and the island's own produce made available.
339	332	17 March James Sherridan the Honorable Companys Gardener applied to us to pay £ 30 into the 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 Sergeant Thomas Brown, Andrew Armourer and William Hayes Soldiers petitioned for their Discharges from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company their contracted times Granted Bought of Capt Robert Haldane 8 Punchems of Beef containing 6 Cwt p and 6 Hhds of Pork containing 672 lb at 2/ p lb and 10 of Rice at 8/6 p C Weight Bought likewise of Captain John Todd 2 Punchems Beef containing 6 Cwt p at 2/ p lb for the use of the Honorable Companys Garrison Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ship Colchester to Muster her Company and Enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows Vizt	The <i>Warwick</i> brought the following supply, set out in her invoice and valued in rupees. Blue chilloes, 1 bale, 5 corge at 91 rupees 8 annas per corge, 455 rupees 2 annas 50 pies Beaten rice, 20 bags weighing 6 hundredweight, 135 factory maunds, at 3 rupees 50 pies per maund, 118 rupees 50 pies Paddy, 44 bags weighing 3 hundredweight 11lb, at 22 per maund, 75 rupees 3 annas 10 pies Charges merchandise: On the chilloes, 9 rupees 3 annas 10 pies On the rice, gunny bags number 52 at 4 rupees per corge, 6 rupees 1 anna 60 pies Dubbers, 20 bags at 3 each, 15 rupees Gunny bags, 88 for paddy, at 4 rupees 1 anna per corge, 18 rupees 2 annas 80 pies Hammallage, 2 rupees 55 pies Boat hire, 4 rupees Total charges, 46 rupees 5 annas Total, 703 rupees 2 annas 15 pies The account was signed by H Symmons, accountant, with errors excepted. John Swift and Edward Walker, corporals, petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company their contracted terms, which was granted. Interpretations The <i>Warwick's</i> invoice closely mirrors that of the <i>Prince Edward</i> brought in a week earlier, the same blue chilloes reckoned by the corge, the same beaten rice and paddy, and an almost identical schedule of packing and labour charges. This near repetition shows the standardised nature of the country trade goods that the Company's ships carried to the island, cargoes assembled at the Indian factories to a common pattern of cloth and grain, packed in the same gunny bags and dubbers and accounted by the same conventions of hammallage and boat hire, so that consignment after consignment arrived built up in the same components and priced by the same units. The discharge of two corporals who had completed their terms extends the steady release of time-served men into the non-commissioned ranks, the same expiry of contract that had freed sentinels and tradesmen now taking two of the garrison's junior leaders. Their departure, coming as the homeward ships crowded the road offering passage, reflects again how the turnover of the garrison was governed by the fixed terms of enlistment and the availability of a berth for England, the completion of a corporal's contract entitling him to leave as surely as any private soldier's, and the Company honouring the bargain at every rank.
340	333	1755 Muster Roll of Ship Colchester John Todd Commander John Venner 1 Mate James Ward 2 Do Thos Page 3 Do George Sands 4 Do Robt Karr 5 Do	The council ordered an advertisement to be published requiring the planters to assemble at the chapel in the valley at ten on the following Monday morning to choose parish officers for the coming year. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been aboard the <i>Grantham</i> and <i>Warwick</i> to muster their

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		Angus Seazer 6 Do Will Lisole Purser James Anismith Surgeon Thos Bridgeman Carpenter William Rose Gunner David Elphison Boatswain Samuel Whitaker Cooper Daniel Groseth Midshipman Thomas Bentfield Do John Todd post Do John Sampson Do Master James Clove Do James Reach Do Will Beasley Do Willm Newenny Caulker Saml Bell Do Mate John Hilliard Sailmaker Willm Bartlett Coopers mate Arch Gardener Surg Do David Caton Gunner Do Jacob Calloway Corp mat George Saule Do Do John Johnson Boats Do John Kirdown Cofs Cook James Sriggi Ships Do Edward James Cofs Steward Edward Glenn Seaman Thomas Bone Do William Cozey Do Alexr Gibbut Do Christian Chirquam Do Thos Hindman Do Will Edgel Do Willm Survey Do John Jones Do John Bodman Do John Carter Do Edward James Lemmorer Do Mingo Berry Seaman William Nicholas Do William Belldrig Do Andrew Leffermn Do James Hall Do James Arthur Do George Andrewson Do James Morpeth Do William Armstead Do Abraham Jefsey Do Hugh Matthews Do James Bapley Do Simon West Do Thomas Barrow Do Moor Syon Do Rott Headstad Do James Rollinson Do William Emery Do John Clark Seaman Daniel Grieg Do William Allsop Do George Hyanneck Do Joseph Cousmap Do John Lee Do John Diobatts Do John Prevatts Do John Caston Do William Clark Do George McCriff Do Christian Buckingham Do Henry Sisin Do George Fredrick Rotherhell Do James Johnson Do John Merchall Do John Thomas Do Francis Georg Do Jacob Souches Do Peter Gregaat Do	companies and search for deserters, but found none. Their muster roll was as follows. The muster roll of the <i>Grantham</i> listed her company. John Oliver, commander Edmund Haddock, first mate James Moffat, second mate Joseph Handcock, third mate Richard Knightly, fourth mate Charles Gilbert, fifth mate John Robertson, surgeon John Miller, purser John Brown, boatswain John Stirling, gunner John Stedman, carpenter Robert Hunt, midshipman Aldick Page, midshipman William Newland, midshipman Thomas Crichton, midshipman Samuel Ebdon, second master Thomas Willson, second master James Holly, seaman William Angues, seaman Charles Freind, captain's steward Robert Richardson, surgeon John King, caulker Christian Hayn, cooper John Tanner, sailmaker Raynard Warrow, armourer William Markha, barber Thomas Powers, butcher Joseph Wright, poulterer Benjamin Drinkwater, captain's cook John Handcock, ship's cook Christian Hans, boatswain's first mate Fred Edwards, second mate Thomas Dawson, captain's first mate Alexander Harrison, second mate Anthony Leach, caulker John Miller, cooper Andrew Mowatt, gunner Christopher Harper, sergeant Thomas Basle, cook John Sutton, captain's servant John Walker, servant Isaac Oakley, chief mate's servant Thomas Marrott, sergeant William Guay, boatswain William Fountell, gunner Interpretations The order for the planters to assemble and choose parish officers reveals a measure of local self-government operating within the Company's absolute proprietorship of the island. Though the corporation owned the land and governed through its council, the settlers annually elected officers to manage parish affairs, a transplanted form of the English parish administration that handled such matters as the relief of the poor, the maintenance of roads and the ordering of local business. This yearly election gave the free inhabitants a limited voice in their own affairs beneath the sovereign authority of the Company, a small element of participatory custom preserved within a governance otherwise wholly commercial and appointed. The <i>Grantham's</i> roll shows the same full establishment of a great Indiaman seen in the earlier ships, with the notable addition of a barber among her company, a tradesman who combined the care of the crew's shaving and hair with the rougher functions of minor surgery and tooth-drawing that fell to his craft in this period. His presence alongside the surgeon and surgeon's mate reflects the layered provision for the health and grooming of a large ship's company on a voyage of many months, every

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		John Gibbon Do John Smith Do Deni Rowerson Do John Crenhervan Do Frans Guigan Do John Mactrief Do John Enge Do Isaacus Denter Do Thomas Sigg Do Thos Warren Do Thomas Dunkley Do	ordinary need of the men provided for by a specialist entered on the articles.
341	334	17 March John Uredale } Captains Servants Thomas Davidge Carpenters Servant Charles Coats Joseph Newton Boatswains Do John Wright Chief Mates Servant Thomas Carr Gunners Do Charles Weston 2 Do Do John Cole Robert John Clark the Honorable Company's Armourer presented the following Petition vizt To Charles Hutchinson Esq &c in Council The Honble Petition of Robert Clark Sheweth That your Petitioner finding himself in an Ill state of Health is desirous of returning to England, Begg leave so in Doing, and be pleased to accept of John Veals Armourer of the Ship Prince Edward to Serve the Rediomer of my Sime in my Stead And your Petitioner will as in Duty bound ever Pray Signed Robert Clark St Helena 17 March 1755	The muster roll of the <i>Grantham</i> closed with the remaining hands, followed by the muster roll of the <i>Warwick</i>. William Toomer, captain's servant William Justice, seaman Zachary Hicks, seaman James Robinson, seaman Charles Chichester, seaman John Richardson, seaman William Anderson, seaman Martin David, seaman David Crombee, seaman Charles Barker, seaman Samuel Mounld, seaman John Ross, seaman James Forbes, seaman Peter Console, seaman David Deard, seaman John Hartshorn, seaman David Royser, seaman George Simpson, seaman William Willison, seaman John Leabrook, seaman Robert Jefferson, seaman Benjamin Owen, seaman James Keysell, seaman Peter Sea, seaman George Miller, seaman William Choslyn, seaman James Allen, seaman William Roberts, seaman John Wavrin, seaman Thomas Dowle, seaman John Hasford, seaman Andrew Mayne, seaman Daniel Carril, seaman Matthew Miller, seaman Jeremiah Boyne, seaman William Keathing, seaman Solomon Lowcroft, seaman Thomas Telser, seaman Henry Smith, seaman Ralph Wellsford, seaman Andrew Raby, seaman John Danks, seaman Jacob Delane, seaman John Robinson, seaman John Parry, seaman Thomas Suggester, seaman Josiah Smith, seaman Joseph Thomas, seaman Caesar, seaman William Hayes, seaman Andrew Armstrong, seaman The muster roll of the <i>Warwick</i> was as follows. Nicholas Webb, commander Samuel Napper, first mate John Morris, second mate James Roberson, third mate James Gascoyne, fourth mate William Guilan, fifth mate Ebenezer Wittsmith, sixth mate Walter Davis, surgeon Andrew Peterson, surgeon's mate

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			William Hanson, purser Aaron Vans, coxswain Benjamin Jones, seaman Louis Bourgeois, midshipman Gyles Nibbitt, midshipman Robert Waters, midshipman Thomas Franklyn, midshipman William Chaters, midshipman William Fost, midshipman Arnold Cateman, midshipman Stephen Bentley, gunner John Webster, boatswain's mate William Loban, carpenter John Hayes, carpenter's mate George Mury, joiner Robert Hornold, boatswain John Matthews, boatswain's first mate William Rogers, second mate John Sheridan, cooper Thomas Fowler, cooper's mate Thomas Wells, caulker William Davis, caulker's mate John Smith, captain's steward John Clark, sailmaker John Prince, captain's cook Robert <i>Ludlow</i>, ship's cook Dan Bristow, butcher Interpretations The seaman entered on the <i>Grantham's</i> roll simply as Caesar, bearing a single classical name and no surname, marks the presence of a black or formerly enslaved man among the ship's company. Such single names, drawn from the classical world, were characteristically imposed on slaves, and their bearers who went to sea often served as free or freed sailors on the Company's ships, taking a place in the crew alongside the European hands. His appearance on the muster roll shows that the maritime labour force of the eastern trade included men of African origin, entered and mustered like any other seaman though marked out by the name that recorded his origins in bondage. The <i>Warwick's</i> company includes a joiner distinct from the ship's carpenter, revealing the fine division of woodworking trades carried aboard a great Indiaman. The carpenter and his mate maintained the fabric and structure of the ship itself, while the joiner performed the finer work of fitting and cabinetry, the making and repair of the ship's interior fittings and furniture. This separation of the coarser and finer branches of the same craft reflects the scale and complexity of these vessels, floating establishments large enough to warrant a specialist for the joinery that a smaller ship would leave to the carpenter alone.
342	335	1755 Granted, having got Captain Haldanes consent that his Armourer John Veale, should remain here in Clarks stead Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 31 Day of March 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 17 March 1755 Wednesday the 19 Arrived the Honorable Company Ship the Warwick Captain Nicholas Webb from Anjengo Yesterday passed by a Ship at a Great Distance	The muster roll of the <i>Warwick</i> continued with the remaining hands. Thomas Dudley, second master John Brown, second master Benjamin Tow, second master William Chapman, second master Joseph Button, poulterer Stephen Remington, armourer George Lamport, captain's servant James Morley, servant John Ham, first mate's servant James Roddington, second mate's servant Matthew Hopkins, surgeon's mate Joseph Shield, second mate Luke Sheridan, servant Robert Freind, gunner Thomas Steven, seaman Thomas Bath, seaman William Wilds, seaman Servin Harslet, seaman James Swift, seaman

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		Do Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Colchester for England 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 Vizt	Corin Regan, seaman Andrew Willson, seaman John Rolt, seaman John St Gilvan, seaman Christopher Sas, seaman Jacob Fredrick, seaman Michael Erich, seaman Gabriel Wallis, seaman Joseph Hearse, seaman John Sharp, seaman William Shaisly, seaman Christian Hans, seaman Gabriel Delamar, seaman Peter Pelman, seaman Rolof Reinfield, seaman John Surgeon, seaman John Ross, seaman Samuel Smith, seaman Arthur Williams, seaman Richard Turner, seaman James Pike, seaman William Ellis, seaman John Rayner, seaman William Brown, seaman William Shilling, seaman Thomas Bonnett, seaman George Hindes, seaman John Slow, seaman Samuel Morris, seaman John Albert, seaman John Casto, seaman Thomas Elliott, seaman John Snitton, seaman James Davis, seaman Thomas Barber, seaman Robert Wibsenden, seaman John Williard, seaman John Lilly, seaman Thomas Dean, seaman James Dowds, seaman George Driver, seaman Andrew Slash, seaman Walter Johnson, seaman Anthony Sullivan, seaman The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods short received from the invoice of the <i>Warrick</i>. Interpretations The <i>Warrick</i>'s long roll of seamen carries the now familiar mixture of nationalities, with St Gilvan, Fredrick, Erich, Delamar, Reinfield and Pelman marking the continental European hands scattered through a predominantly British and Irish company. The recurrence of this pattern across every ship mustered at the island confirms beyond doubt that the manning of the East India trade rested on a maritime labour force drawn from the whole of northern and western Europe, the Company and its captains recruiting wherever seamen could be found for voyages that consumed men through disease, desertion and the sheer length of the passage. The four men entered as second masters on the <i>Warrick</i>, together with the several bearing the same or similar surnames as men on other ships and on the island, illustrate the fluid movement of seafaring families and individuals through the Company's marine. Names such as Sheridan, appearing here as a servant and elsewhere as the island's gardener, and the repeated Browns, Smiths and Davises across the ships, reflect a maritime population in which the same family names recurred continually as fathers, sons and brothers followed one another to sea, the trade drawing its hands from established seafaring communities whose members filled its ships generation after generation.

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343	336	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12 February to the 11 March 1755 Vizt Bull, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Female, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Foales, Zebras, Total Remaining the 12: 5 Bull, 81 Cows, 86 Calves, 15 Yearlings, 42 Heifers, 5 Steers, 13 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 261 Total, 171 Ewes, 66 Weathers, 218 Lambs, 7 Rams, 462 Total, 120 Ewes, 32 Weathers, 153 Kids, 8 Rams, 313 Total, 12 Sows, 0 Shoats, 16 Pigs, 2 Boars, 30 Total, 71 Turkeys, 273 Female, 67 Ducks, 26 Geese, 6 Horses, 7 Mares, 13 Total, 1 Foales, 3 Zebras, 4 Total Encreased: 0 Bull, 0 Cows, 6 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 6 Oxen, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 22 Kids, 0 Rams, 22 Total, 0 Sows, 9 Shoats, 0 Pigs, 9 Boars, 0 Total, 38 Turkeys, 0 Female, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total, 0 Foales, 0 Zebras, 0 Total Total: 5 Bull, 81 Cows, 92 Calves, 15 Yearlings, 42 Heifers, 5 Steers, 13 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 267 Total, 171 Ewes, 66 Weathers, 218 Lambs, 7 Rams, 462 Total, 120 Ewes, 32 Weathers, 175 Kids, 8 Rams, 335 Total, 12 Sows, 0 Shoats, 25 Pigs, 2 Boars, 39 Total, 71 Turkeys, 311 Female, 67 Ducks, 26 Geese, 6 Horses, 7 Mares, 13 Total, 1 Foales, 3 Zebras, 4 Total Killed: 0 Bull, 0 Cows, 0 Calves, 1 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 1 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 2 Oxen, 6 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 6 Rams, 0 Total, 5 Ewes, 1 Weathers, 0 Kids, 6 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Shoats, 0 Pigs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 3 Turkeys, 14 Female, 5 Ducks, 3 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total, 0 Foales, 0 Zebras, 0 Total Died: 0 Bull, 1 Cows, 0 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 1 Oxen, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 1 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Kids, 1 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Sows, 2 Shoats, 1 Pigs, 3 Boars, 2 Total, 6 Turkeys, 0 Female, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total, 0 Foales, 0 Zebras, 0 Total Remaining the 11: 5 Bull, 80 Cows, 92 Calves, 15 Yearlings, 41 Heifers, 5 Steers, 12 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 264 Total, 165 Ewes, 66 Weathers, 218 Lambs, 7 Rams, 456 Total, 110 Ewes, 27 Weathers, 174 Kids, 8 Rams, 328 Total, 12 Sows, 0 Shoats, 23 Pigs, 1 Boars, 36 Total, 66 Turkeys, 201 Female, 62 Ducks, 23 Geese, 6 Horses, 7 Mares, 13 Total, 1 Foales, 3 Zebras, 4 Total 2 Cattle Killed Beef to the Ship Montfort 560 1 Goat to the Sick Slaves Yams Expended 16095 Errors Excepted Signed John Adamson Margin Notes: 11 March	The storekeeper's account recorded the goods short delivered from the <i>Warrick</i>. Rice, 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 5lb short The account was dated 24 March 1755 and signed by M Purling, storekeeper. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 31 March 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson and Lieutenant Governor John Adamson, Lieutenant John Clark of council being absent. The previous consultation, dated 24 March 1755, was read, approved and signed. On Monday 24 March the soldier John Bradley died, killed by the blow of a stone that came down the hill above the dam. On the same day the Company's ship <i>Exeter</i>, commanded by Captain Fernell, arrived from England, by which the council received a packet from the Court of Directors, which they opened and read. Interpretations The death of John Bradley, struck by a stone that fell from the hill above the dam, records the hazards of the island's steep and broken volcanic terrain, where loose rock on the near-vertical slopes above the settlement posed a constant danger to those working below. The dam lay in the valley bottom beneath high ground, and the fall of a single stone from the heights was enough to kill a man, a stark illustration of the physical dangers of life and labour in a landscape of precipitous ridges and unstable ground quite unlike the gentler country from which most of the garrison came. The arrival of the <i>Exeter</i> directly from England carrying a packet from the Court of Directors marks the resumption of the vital line of command between the corporation's headquarters and its distant possession. Unlike the homeward ships from the eastern ports, an outward vessel from England brought the directors' orders, instructions and news, the packet opened and read at once by the council as the authoritative word of the masters they served. This dependence on the irregular arrival of ships for all communication with London meant the island's government operated for long stretches on its own judgement, acting under standing orders until a fresh packet renewed or altered its instructions, the whole administration hanging on the slow and uncertain thread of sail.
344	337	1755 Gunners Stores expended from the 12 of February to the 11 March 1755 Powder lb, 1 lb, 4 lb, 3 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended Feb the 25 A Double Alarm for five Ships that went by: 13 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 6 4 lb, 6 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 3 33 Powder Expended Returned the Salute of the said Ships: 34 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 2 4 lb, 1 3 lb, 31 1 lb, 36 8 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 6 Powder Expended Do for Do the Guns upon the Line: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 3 Powder Expended 26 An Alarm for a Ship that went by: 6 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended	At a consultation held on Monday 31 March 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 24 March 1755, was read, approved and signed. On Saturday 29 March the Company's ship <i>Warrick</i> sailed for England. In accordance with the advertisement published on the previous Monday, the planters assembled to choose parish officers for the coming year and returned the following persons. Richard Bagley, churchwarden Francis Mowatt, churchwarden Thomas Cotgrave, churchwarden

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		27 An Alarm: 6 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended Arrived the Montfort, Returned the Salute: 9 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended Powder for Do at the Alarm House: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 3 Powder Expended March 7 Departed the Montfort Returned the Salute: 9 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended 9 An Alarm at Banks's: 22 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended A Double Alarm: 9 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 3 4 lb, 3 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 3 18 Powder Expended 10 Arrived the Prince Edward Returned the Salute: 9 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended Arrived the Sandwich Do: 9 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended An Alarm for a Ship that went by: 6 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended 11 An Alarm: 6 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended Arrived the Colchester Returned the Salute: 9 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended Powder for Compleating the Muskets Cartridges at the: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 17 12 Powder Expended main and Out Forts Do for blowing the Rocks to level the Ground: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 6 Powder Expended for the New Barracks Do for the Funeral of Humphry Harrison: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 4 Powder Expended Do for Signals: 0 Powder lb, 0 1 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 3 Powder Expended Total 120 2 10 18 76 14 238	William Spring, churchwarden John Leech senior, overseer in the east division Daniel Sewkis, overseer in the east division James Greentree, overseer in the west division Isaac Knipe, overseer in the west division George Alexander, overseer in the south division John Seale, overseer in the south division The council ordered warrants to be made for Richard Bagley and Francis Mowatt as churchwardens, and for John Leech senior, James Greentree and George Alexander as overseers. Interpretations The election reveals the parish structure the settlers had transplanted to the island, complete with churchwardens and overseers divided among east, west and south divisions. The churchwardens managed the affairs of the church and parish, while the overseers were responsible chiefly for the relief of the poor, the office of overseer of the poor being the cornerstone of English local administration under the poor laws. The division of the island into three districts for the purpose, each with its own overseers, shows the settlers reproducing the familiar machinery of English parish government within their small community, adapting the forms of home to the circumstances of a remote colony. The council's selection of only some of the elected men for warrants reveals where real authority lay in this apparent exercise of self-government. Though the planters returned two churchwardens and two overseers for each division, the council issued warrants confirming just one churchwarden and one overseer from each pairing, so that the settlers' choice was in effect a nomination from which the governing body made the final appointment. This shows the limits of the island's popular institutions, the form of election preserved but the Company retaining the decisive voice, the parish offices filled by men the settlers proposed but the council approved. Speculations The planters returned two candidates for every office where one was needed, and the council chose which of each pair to commission by warrant. The doubling of nominations meant the settlers did not simply elect their officers outright, the more direct course, but presented alternatives from which the council selected, so that a genuinely open election was passed over in favour of a system that left the final choice with the governing body. The arrangement gave the Company a means of screening the men who would hold local office without denying the settlers their customary voice, the reason lying in the corporation's need to keep even the humblest offices of the island in acceptable hands while preserving the outward form of the parish self-government the planters expected.
345	338	24 March Paper for the use of the Castle Quire Do for making great Gun Cartridges 6 Qr Do for Do Small Do 12 Qr Needles broke with sowing of Do 15 Tallow for Greasing of Carts 20 lb Match burnt at the main Fort 6 lb Butts broke at Do 2 Quoins broke at Prosperous Bay 2 Hand Spikes broke with weighing the Anchor of the 1 Long Boats moreings Signed Thos Hall Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys General Table in the month ending the 11 March 1755 Vizt 14 Bottles Port Wine £ 16 10 1/2	Finding it very difficult to obtain any peas for the use of the Company's table, and Captain Oliver having some to dispose of, the council bought ten pounds of peas from him for £5 0s 0d. There being no oars in the Company's stores, and as they might be wanted, the council bought twenty of them from Captain Oliver for £3 3s 9d. The Company's cash was then counted and examined for the month ending the 11th, as set out below. Interpretations The difficulty of obtaining peas and the high price paid for a small quantity reveal the precariousness of the island's supply of certain provisions that could not be grown locally in sufficient quantity. Dried peas were a staple keeping food, valuable for their durability on long voyages and through lean seasons, and the council's

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		35 Do Lisbon 2 13 9 16 Do Medera 1 18 2 47 Do Arrach 1 11 9 3/4 45 Do Beer " 11 11 3/4 286 Flour 1 18 8 1/2 148 1/2 Beef 1 17 9 292 Mutton 6 1 8 73 Goat 1 4 4 1 Kid " 5 . 4 lb Salt Pork " 8 . 4 lb Do Beef " 11 . 14 Fowls 1 1 . 5 Ducks " 7 6 3 Geese " 15 . 3 Turkeys " 15 . 8 1/2 Candy 1 8 . 43 1/2 Butter 2 3 3 £ 26 10 9 3/4	willingness to pay £5 for only ten pounds from a passing captain shows how a shortage of a particular commodity could drive its local price far above its ordinary worth. This dependence on the chance offerings of visiting ships for goods the island lacked was a constant feature of provisioning a remote settlement whose own agriculture could not supply every need. The purchase of oars from Captain Oliver because the stores held none, made against the anticipation that they might be wanted, shows the council providing for the essential small equipment of the island's boats by buying from the ships when the opportunity arose. In a settlement wholly dependent on boats for moving goods and people between ship and shore and around the coast, a stock of oars was a necessity, and their absence from the stores was a want the council moved at once to remedy from a convenient source. This opportunistic acquisition of both provisions and equipment from the vessels in the road illustrates how heavily the island relied on its passing shipping not merely for trade goods but for the ordinary means of its daily working.
346	339	1755 The Ship Warwick brought us the following Supply Vizt Invoice of Ship Warwick Chelloes blue 1 Bale Ps 5 Corg at 91 8 p Corge 455 2 50 Rice beaten 20 Bags eag 6 p Cwt 1 md 1s 118 . 50 135 mds @ 3 50 p Maund Batty 44 Bags 9 3 11 mds 1s @ 22 p md 75 3 10 Charges on Merchandize Vizt On the Chelloes 9 3 10 Do Rice Vizt Gunnys 32 Ps @ 4 8 p Corge 6 1 60 Duth Bags 20 @ 3 ea 15 . . Gunny Bags 88 for Batty @ 4 1 p Corge 18 2 80 Hammalage 2 . 55 Boat hire 4 . . 46 . 55 56 . 5 Rupees 703 2 15 Errors Excepted Signed H Symmons Accomptant John Swift, and Edward Walker Corporals Petitioned for their Discharges from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company their contracted Times Granted	The cash account for the month ending 11 March 1755 set the receipts against the balance remaining in the chest. 1755, 12 February, to balance remaining, £2,832 14s 7¼d 7 March, to exchange for one set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors payable to Captain Frederick Vincent or order ninety days after sight, dated this day, £400 0s 0d Total, £3,232 14s 7¼d The credit side recorded the disbursement and the balance remaining. 1755, 7 March, by the ship <i>Montfort</i>, the balance of her account, £9 1s 0d 11 March, by balance remaining in the following species: 800 venetians at 10s, £400 0s 0d 1,500 pagodas at 8s, £600 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £1,000 0s 0d 2,761 dollars at 5s, £690 5s 0d 7,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £789 10s 0d 2,948 half rials at 1s 3¾d, £202 6s 3d 441 French pieces at 1s 2d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 3s 3¾d Silver amounting to, £1,683 18s 0¾d Cash notes amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £3,232 14s 7¼d The account was certified by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The sharp increase in the gold holding, from £600 to £1,000, marks the effect of the captains' remittances that had passed through the chest over the month. The venetians had doubled to 800 and the pagodas risen to 1,500, showing that the cash paid in by the commanders of the homeward ships in exchange for bills on London had swelled the island's reserve of high-value trade coin. This inflow of gold, set against a slightly reduced silver holding, reveals how the remittance business shifted the composition

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			of the chest, the specie surrendered by the captains accumulating as a growing hoard against which the Company had issued its paper bills. The entry crediting £400 as the value of the bills drawn for Captain Vincent, matching the sum he had paid in, shows the bookkeeping of the remittance operation from the cash account's side. The coin received was entered as a receipt into the chest, while the bills issued were the corresponding liability discharged elsewhere in the Company's books, the two sides of a transaction that moved money from the South Atlantic to London on paper. The small closing balance of the <i>Montfort's</i> account, £9 1s 0d, settled the last reckoning with the departed ship, tying off her dealings with the island before her accounts were finally closed, the meticulous clearing of every outstanding item that marked the Company's insistence on a fully reconciled set of books at each monthly count.
347	340	24 March Ordered an Advertisement to be Published requiring the Planters to Assemble at the Chapell in this Valley at the Hour of Ten on Monday Morning Next to choose Parish Officers for the ensuing year Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ships Grantham, and Warwick to Muster their Companys, and enquire for Deserters but found none, their Muster Rolls is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Grantham John Oliver Commander Edmund Haddock 1 Mate James Moffat 2 Do Joseph Hardcock 3 Do Richd Knightly 4 Do Chas Gilbert 5 Do John Roberton Surgeon John Miller Purser John Brown Boatswain John Sterling Gunner John Stedman Carpenter Robert Hunt Midshipman Hardock Page Do William Newland Do Thomas Crichton Do Sam Elson 2 Master Thomas Nilson Do James Holly Do William Angues Do Chas Trewid Cofs Steward Robert Richardson Sugar John King Caulker Christian Hayn Cooper John Farmer Sailmaker Raynard Winrow Armourer William Mathba Barber Thos Powers Butcher Joseph Wright Poulterer Benj Drinkwater Cofs Cook John Hardcock Ships Do Christ Han Boat 1 mate Fred Edwards Do 2 Do Thos Dawson Cofs 1 Do Do Harrison Do 2 Do Anthony Leach Caulker Do John Miller Coopers Do Andrew Mowatt Gunners Do Chris Harper Sur geons Do Thomas Basle Cooks Do John Sutton Cofs Serv John Walker Do Do Isaac Oakley Chief Mates Do	At a consultation held on Monday 7 April 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 31 March 1755, was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 1 April the Company's ship <i>Essex</i>, commanded by Captain Jackson, arrived from China. On Thursday 3 April the Company's ship <i>Grantham</i>, commanded by Captain Oliver, sailed for England. On the same day the Company's ship <i>Norfolk</i>, commanded by Captain Bonham, arrived from Madras and brought the following supply. The invoice of the <i>Norfolk</i>, valued in pagodas, was as follows. Superfine long cloth, marked S H: A, 1 piece, 13 pagodas FS, 3 pieces at 12 pagodas 18 fanams, 37 pagodas 18 fanams F, 2 pieces at 12, 24 pagodas R, 2 pieces at 11, 22 pagodas C, 8 pieces at 10, 80 pagodas O, 1 piece, 7 pagodas H, 3 pieces at 6 pagodas 18 fanams, 19 pagodas 18 fanams, 203 pagodas Men's stockings, 30 dozen at 6 pagodas 27 fanams per dozen, 37 pagodas 18 fanams Factor's provision: Arrack, 1 leaguer measuring 75 gallons, 22 pagodas 18 fanams Rice, 42 bags weighing 26 hundredweight 2 quarters gross over tare, 24 pagodas 16 fanams 70 cash Charges merchandise: Gunny bags, 84 at 5 fanams per hundred, 4 pagodas 7 fanams 16 cash Twine, 3 hundredweight, 2 fanams 30 cash Weighing coolies, 3 fanams 25 cash Package, 1 fanam 27 cash Boat and boat hire, 18 fanams 60 cash, 6 pagodas 22 fanams 51 cash Total, 324 pagodas 3 fanams 41 cash The account was signed by Robert Orme, accountant, with errors excepted. Interpretations The <i>Norfolk's</i> invoice from Madras is reckoned in a wholly different currency and system of weights from the Bengal and Bombay cargoes, being valued in pagodas, fanams and cash rather than rupees, annas and pies. The pagoda was the gold coin of the Madras presidency on the Coromandel coast, divided into fanams and those into cash, the small copper money of southern India, and the whole consignment priced in this southern reckoning shows how the Company's factors at each presidency kept their accounts in the local currency of their region. This

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		Thomas Mamil Sugeons Do William Guy Boats Do Will Trumbell Gun Do	diversity of monetary systems, each ship arriving with its cargo valued in the money of its port of lading, was one of the complications the island's accountants had to master as they received goods from every quarter of the eastern trade. The superfine long cloth that formed the bulk of the cargo was the fine cotton calico of the Coromandel coast, woven in long pieces and graded by quality, here sorted into lettered marks at descending prices from thirteen pagodas the piece down to six. This was among the most valuable of the Indian cotton goods, and the careful lettering and pricing of each grade reflects the discrimination of a trade in which cloth of many qualities passed under a single name, the marks distinguishing the finer from the coarser so that each could be sold at its proper worth. The thirty dozen men's stockings among the goods point to the manufactured articles of the Indian trade beyond plain cloth, knitted goods that found a ready market both on the island and in England.
348	341	1755 Willm Coomer Corp Servant William Justice Seaman Zachary Hicks Do James Robinson Do Chas Chichester Do John Richardson Do William Anderson Do Martin David Do David Crombee Do Charles Barker Do Sam Mounld Do John Rose Do James Forbes Do Peter Connell Do David Beard Do John Hartshorn Do David Reyser Do George Simpson Seaman William Willson Do John Leabrook Do Robert Jefpson Do Benjamin Owen Do James Keynell Do Peter Lea Do George Miller Do Willm Choslyn Do James Allon Do William Roberts Do John Wavrin Do Thomas Devils Do John Hasford Do Andrew Mayne Do Daniel Carrol Do Matthew Miller Do Jeremiah Coygne Seaman William Sterthing Do Solomon Lowcroft Do Thomas Selser Do Henry Smith Do Ralph Willsford Do Andrew Raby Do John Danks Do Jacob Delane Do John Robinson Do John Parry Do Thos Suggest Do Josiah Smith Do Joseph Thomas Do Ceasar Do Willm Hayes Do Andrew Armstrong Do Muster Roll of Ship Winchester Nicholas Webb Commander	Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been aboard the <i>Norfolk</i> and <i>Essex</i> to muster their companies and search for deserters, but found none. Their muster roll was as follows. The muster roll of the <i>Norfolk</i> listed her company. Pinson Bonham, commander Richard Cheek, first mate Alexander Hay, second mate Christopher Kburting, third mate John Watson, fourth mate William Smith, fifth mate Thomas Gyllett, sixth mate Henry Harling, surgeon William Fogg, purser James Hays, carpenter David Goodland, seaman John Brown, seaman Samuel Bonham, seaman John Boverighton, seaman Thomas Ireland, seaman Matthew Elkins, seaman Charles Parah, seaman William Pray, seaman Richard McManos, seaman George Vaughan, seaman John Handcock, seaman William Fletcher, seaman John Sumbert, seaman Timothy Handcock, seaman Humphrey Francis, seaman William Bell, seaman John Flisher, seaman John Pinder, seaman John Spencer, seaman Nicholas Sampson, seaman Littleton Hudson, seaman Dick Croswell, seaman James Phillips, seaman Robert Turner, seaman John Green, seaman Patrick Alsony, seaman George Cotts, seaman Thomas Nichols, seaman Adam Sengene, seaman John Ward, seaman Thomas Garball, seaman John Morritt, seaman John Martin, seaman Jacob Hobbs, seaman John Goddel, seaman Caesar, seaman John Hays, seaman Alexander Thompson, seaman

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		Saml Napper 1 Mate John Morris 2 Do James Roberson 3 Do James Gascoyne 4 Do Willm Gullian 5 Do Enos Wittelsmith 6 Do Walter Davis Surgeon Thos Peterson Do mate Willm Hannson Purser Nair Vans Coxswain Benjamin Jones Louis Bourgois Midshipman Gyllis Nibbitt Do Robt Waters Do Thos Franklyn Do Wm Chaters Do Wm Fost Do Arnold Cuseman Do Steph Bently Guiner John Webster Do mate Wm Loban Carpenter John Hayes Do mate George Marey Joyner Robt Hornold Boatswain John Matthews Do 1 Mate Wm Rogers Do 2 Do John Sheridan Cooper Thos Fowler Do Mate Thos Hills Caulker Wm Davis Do Mate John Smith Cofs Steward John Clark Sailmaker John Brincs Cofs Cook Robt Ludlow Ships Do Dan Bristow Butcher	James Dolsman, seaman Edward Haddock, seaman John Waids, seaman Matthew Venter, seaman Joseph Blakeley, seaman John Tompson, seaman William Griffis, seaman William Quim, seaman Joseph Some, seaman Joseph Hood, seaman William Chrestain, seaman Matthew Dixon, seaman William Graham, seaman Thomas Young, seaman Ephraim Barker, seaman John Delby, seaman John Habbard, seaman Samuel Dodge, seaman John Chambers, seaman William Tompson, seaman Thomas Spandr, seaman Thomas Haidry, seaman Daniel Williams, seaman Andrew Standerlen, seaman Interpretations The <i>Norfolk's</i> company includes a second man named Caesar, bearing a single classical name and no surname like the seaman of the same name on the <i>Grantham</i>, again marking a black or formerly enslaved sailor among the crew. The recurrence of this naming across separate ships confirms that men of African origin served throughout the Company's marine, their single imposed names distinguishing them on the rolls from the European hands who bore two. That such men were mustered and accounted like any other seaman shows their regular place in the working companies of the eastern trade, whatever the origins in bondage that their names preserved. The appearance of two men surnamed Hancock and two named Tompson within the same crew, together with a Bonham sharing the commander's name, illustrates once more how families and kinsmen clustered aboard the Company's ships. A commander frequently entered relatives among his company, and the recurrence of the same surnames throughout a single ship's roll reflects the drawing of crews from established seafaring families and connections, the trade manned generation upon generation by men who followed fathers, brothers and patrons to sea and served together on the same vessels.
349	342	24 March Thos Dudley 2 Master John Brown Do Benj Pow Do Wm Chapman Do Jose Button Poulterer Steph Rennington Armourer George Lamport Cofs Servant James Morley Do John Ham 1 Mate Ja Roddington 2 Do Abr Hopkins Surgeons Do Jos Shield Boats Do Luke Sheridan Corp Do Robt Friend Gunner Do Thomas Steven Seaman Thomas Bath Do Wm Wells Do Fra Harslet Do Ja Swift Do Corn Regan Do And Willson Do John Rols Seaman Johns Silvan Do	The muster roll of the <i>Norfolk</i> closed with the remaining hands and passengers, followed by the muster roll of the <i>Essex</i>. Longarus Weboring, seaman Earth Sandergren, seaman Thomas Arnold, seaman Bartholomew Hickey, seaman Edward Gardner, seaman Jacob Hughes, seaman Robert Hells, seaman Thomas McQuin, seaman Daniel Blond, seaman Benjamin Bunjest, seaman William Sedaway, seaman Robert Thorn, seaman James Gauffell, seaman John Butler, seaman Thomas Clarke, seaman James Turner, seaman William Gray, seaman John Prist, seaman Daniel Shaul, seaman Joseph Holbird, seaman Bartholomew Deven, seaman

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		Chr Sas Do Jacob Fridrech Do Mich Erich Do Gab Wallis Do Joe Storse Do John Sharp Do Wm Shaisty Do Chris Hans Do Gab Delamar Do Peter Pelman Do Rolof Reinfeld Do John Sturgeon Do John Ross Do Sam Smith Do Arthur Williams Do Rich Turner Do Ja Pike Do Wm Ellis Do John Rayner Do Wm Brown Seaman Wm Shilling ford Do Thos Bonnett Do George Hindes Do John Flow Do Sim Norris Do John Albert Do John Casto Do Thos Elliott Do John Sritton Do Ja Davis Do Thos Barber Do Rob Wperdden Do John Williard Do John Silly Do Thos Dean Do James Doods Do George Driver Do And Flesh Do Walter Johnson Do Anthony Sollivan Do The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of goods short received from the Invoice of Ship Warwick Vizt	John Gilis, seaman John Groves, seaman Matthias Buin, seaman Solomon Seaman, seaman Lewes Berista, seaman Arico Boaya, seaman Obreyn Dufarn, seaman Bastan Demount, seaman Michael, seaman John Vozar, seaman Ard Pool, seaman Arinne Sustian, seaman Benra Sinah, seaman Thomas Saunders, passenger Donald Campbell, passenger John Causton, passenger Robert Duncan Mowrs, passenger William Vinch, passenger Alexander Winch, passenger The muster roll of the <i>Essex</i> was as follows. George Jackson, commander Charles Newton, first mate Abraham Hopping, second mate Samuel Hairy, third mate Savage Crotter, fourth mate <i>Godfrey</i> Chaffell, fifth mate David Saunders, sixth mate Thomas Scott, surgeon Marcus Clarke, purser Richard Dowlin, gunner Hugh Ruth, boatswain Francis Dillen, caulker John Matthews, cooper George Spearing, midshipman George Bidad, midshipman Daniel Knighty, midshipman Stephen Sallyell, midshipman James Mitchell, midshipman John Green, seaman Bland Woolstan, seaman John Ackinson, seaman John Jolly, seaman Hanne Anderson, second master Alexander Hatton, seaman John Hope, seaman John Pofie, seaman John Hill, ship's steward John Weston, captain's servant William Callow, sailmaker Samuel Dunlay, surgeon's mate Thomas Wilson, gunner's mate William Cornoke, carpenter Thomas Liddell, seaman James Cotton, boatswain's mate Thomas Cooke, seaman John White, caulker Richard Osborn, cooper's mate John Matthews, cooper Andrew Flimack, captain's cook Bram Barlow, ship's cook Andrew Lowe, armourer William Thompson, baker Richard Cotton, butcher William Ford, poulterer William Simmons, barber Edward Home, tailor John Harnswor, seaman Charles Clover, seaman John Yeale, seaman John Doff, seaman John Cooke, seaman Philip Wood, seaman Ralph Jackson, seaman Isaac Mansure, seaman Interpretations

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			The passengers listed at the end of the <i>Norfolk's</i> roll, six persons carried from Madras who were neither crew nor Company officers, reveal the ship's function as a carrier of private travellers along the route home. Names such as Donald Campbell and Robert Duncan Mowrs point to men returning from service or trade in India, taking passage on a homeward Indiaman as the only means of the long journey, and their entry on the muster roll shows the garrison accounting for every soul aboard, passengers as well as sailors, when it checked the ship against desertion at the island. The <i>Essex</i>, arriving from China, carries the most complete range of specialist tradesmen yet seen on any of the ships, with a baker, a butcher, a poulterer, a barber and a tailor all entered among her company alongside the usual sea officers and seamen. This full complement of craftsmen for the ordinary needs of the crew, the baking of bread, the slaughter of fresh meat, the making and mending of clothes, and the care of the men's persons, reflects the scale of a great China ship and the length of her voyage, a floating community large and long enough at sea to require every trade that a settlement ashore would keep, each provided by a specialist entered on the ship's articles for the whole passage.
350	343	1755 Short delivered from Ship Warwick Vizt Cwt qr lb March 24 1754 2 3 5 Rice Signed M Purling Storekeeper Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 31 Day of March 1755 at the Castle Lieutenant John Clark of Councel absent being lame Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 24 March 1755 Monday the 24 Died John Bradley Soldier being killed by the blow of a Stone that came down the hill above the Town This Day arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Exeter Captain Sernell, from England by whom we received a Packet from the Honorable the Court of Directors, which we opened, and read their Orders to us Chas Hutchinson John Adamson	The muster roll of the <i>Essex</i> continued with the remaining hands and servants. Morris Buck, seaman Frances Serrera, seaman Lau Hotten, seaman John Bevins, seaman George Leey, seaman William Brice, seaman David Feid, seaman John Huven, seaman Henry Bowman, seaman Christopher Randall, seaman John Wood, seaman John Bram, seaman Abram Jones, seaman William Callram, seaman Jean Sivvqua, seaman Lowris Marr, seaman John Buckman, servant Joseph McCoon, seaman Peter Rigney, seaman Richard Franklin, seaman Richard Sargodd, seaman Thomas Shimmer, seaman Alexander Hitchins, seaman Robinson Prett, seaman James Patton, seaman John Waidlow, seaman Frank Hemmett, seaman David Havis, seaman Thomas Pocock, seaman Nicholas Peterson, seaman Thomas Appleby, captain's servant James Patton, seaman Pierre Rogan, seaman Samuel Chambers, servant Henry Hausel, first mate's servant Benjamin Odd, second mate's servant James Grantell, captain's seaman Thomas Gyles, gunner's servant Andrew Crouch, boatswain's servant Samuel Thomas, carpenter's servant Richard Johnson, surgeon's servant John Child, cook Berthold Lestare, seaman Ivon Marchand, seaman Ivan Marchand, seaman Arnaud Heraut, seaman Claude Bourpaie, seaman

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			Frances Le Gris, seaman Thomas Liell, captain's servant Mann Hornoldsf, seaman The council agreed that some of the Company's slave houses in the country needed new roofing, and ordered rafters and binders for covering them to be bought from the planters, the Company having none of either on its own lands. Interpretations The purchase of rafters and binders from the planters to reroof the Company's slave houses, because the corporation had none of the necessary timber on its own lands, exposes again the acute shortage of usable wood on the island. That the Company, the greatest landholder of all, had to buy building timber from the settlers to repair the dwellings of its own slaves shows how far the deforestation of St Helena had progressed, the great proprietor dependent on its tenants for the very materials to keep a roof over its labour force. This scarcity, driven by decades of felling and the grazing that prevented regrowth, was the same anxiety that had written the preservation of wood into the settlers' leases, timber having become one of the most valuable and contested resources of the island. The closing seamen of the <i>Essex</i> carry a marked concentration of French names, Berthold Lestare, the two Marchands, Arnaud Heraut, Claude Bourpaie and Frances Le Gris, pointing to a body of French or Huguenot sailors entered among her company. The presence of so many French hands on an English China ship reflects once more the Company's dependence on foreign seamen for its long eastern voyages, and perhaps the entering at some earlier port of a group of French mariners together, their names standing out at the foot of the roll as a distinct element within the ship's otherwise mixed company.
<u>351</u>	344	31 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 31 Day of March 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved signed and Dated the 24 March 1755 Saturday the 29 sailed the Honorable Companys Ship the Warwick for England According to the Advertisement Published on Monday last the Planters this Day assembled in Vestry to choose Parish Officers for the ensuing year, and returned the following Persons Vizt Messrs Prichard Bagley Francis Mowatt Churchwardens Thomas Cotgrave William Spring John Leech Senr Daniel Sewhs Overseers in the East Division James Greentree Isaac Knipe Do in the West Do George Alexander Do in the South Do John Seale Whereupon We ordered Warrants to be made for Messrs Prichard Bagley and Francis Mowatt Churchwardens, and Messrs John Leech Senr James Greentree and George Alexander Overseers	At a consultation held on Wednesday 9 April 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 7 April 1755, was read, approved and signed. The ten working days allowed by the charter party for unloading the <i>Exeter</i> having expired, the council gave Captain Fernell written sailing orders to make the best of his way to Fort <i>Marlborough</i> on the west coast of Sumatra, in accordance with the directions he had received from the Court of Directors. The council also gave him the following letters to the several settlements in India, enclosed in the packet to Bencoolen. The first letter was addressed to George Pigot, president and governor, and the council of Fort St George. The council wrote that their last letter had gone by the Company's ship <i>Grantham</i>, which sailed on 3 May 1754. Since then they had received the Fort St George letters of 7 March 1753 and of 14 March and 10 November 1754. Having ordered a fairly large quantity of long cloth of different prices and some cotton stockings in their advice of 13 April 1754, which they hoped would be forwarded as soon as convenient, the council asked to have a third of the order from Fort St George alone, in arrack and rice. The council enclosed the annual list of ships. Interpretations The written sailing orders to the <i>Exeter</i>, issued the moment the ten days allowed by the charter party for unloading had expired, reveal the contractual discipline that governed the movement of the Company's ships. A charter party was the agreement under which a vessel was hired, and it fixed the time a ship might lie in port before demurrage charges began to run, so the council released the <i>Exeter</i>

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			promptly to her next destination once her allotted days at the island were spent. This attention to the terms of the hiring shows how closely the Company controlled the costly business of shipping, every day a vessel lingered beyond her time adding to the expense of a voyage. The council's correspondence with Fort St George exposes the slow and overlapping rhythm of communication across the Company's eastern empire, letters of a year or more old only now being answered and orders placed the previous April still awaited. The routing of letters to the Indian presidencies through the Bencoolen packet, carried by a ship bound for Sumatra, shows how the island served as a forwarding point for correspondence between the scattered settlements, messages passed from ship to ship along the trade routes. The request that Fort St George supply a third of the island's order in arrack and rice reveals the division of provisioning among the presidencies, St Helena drawing its supplies from several Indian ports at once so that no single settlement bore the whole burden of victualling the Atlantic station.
352	345	1755 It being very Difficult to get any Spa for the use of the Honorable Companys Table, and Captain Oliver having some to Dispose of we therefore bought of him Ten Pounds for which we paid him Five pounds There not being any Oars in the Honorable Companys Stores, and as they may be wanted, we bought twenty of Captain Oliver, for which we paid him three pounds three Shillings and nine Pence Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash, for the month ending the 11 instant which is as follows vizt	The letter to Fort St George enclosed the annual list of ships arriving at and departing from the island. It was dated at St Helena, 9 April 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The next letter was addressed to Richard Bouchier, president and governor, and the council of Bombay. The council wrote that their last letter had gone by the Company's ship <i>Grantham</i>, dated 12 April 1754. Since then they had received the Bombay letters of 20 December 1753 and of 2 February 1754 by the <i>Salisbury</i>, commanded by Captain Scott, and of 9 December 1754 by the <i>Tavistock</i>, commanded by Captain Jenkins, the <i>Prince Edward</i>, commanded by Captain Haldane, and the <i>Warwick</i>, commanded by Captain Webb. By these ships the council had received several consignments of goods, as well as the two prisoners brought to the island by the <i>Prince Edward</i>. The council asked Bombay to send for the island's use 100 pieces of fine Surat chilloes, and two thirds of the remainder of the order in paddy and the rest in rice. The council enclosed the list of ships arriving at and departing from the island. The letter was dated at St Helena, 9 April 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The mention of two prisoners brought to the island by the <i>Prince Edward</i> discloses a further use of St Helena within the Company's system, as a place of confinement or transit for persons under restraint sent from the Indian settlements. The Company held judicial and coercive authority over its servants and others in its territories, and the island, isolated and securely garrisoned, offered a convenient point to which prisoners could be conveyed and held or forwarded, its remoteness making it as suitable for detention as for defence and victualling. The letter reveals the pattern of the island's textile orders from Bombay, the fine Surat chilloes named being the striped cotton woven in the hinterland of the Company's western presidency and shipped through the port of Surat. Requesting a fixed number of pieces of this particular cloth alongside the bulk grain shows the discrimination of the island's trade, specific named varieties ordered from the presidency that produced them, so that Bombay supplied its characteristic Surat goods just as Madras sent its Coromandel long cloth and the Bengal ports their own products. The careful apportioning of the remaining order between paddy and rice again shows the council balancing its provisioning across commodities and sources, drawing the island's supply

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			from the whole spread of the Company's Indian trade.
353	346	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1755 Feb 12 To Balance remaining £ 2832 14 7 1/2 March 7 To Exchange for one Sett of Bills, drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors Payable to Captain Frederick Vincent or Order Ninety 400 . . Days after sight, Dated this Day £ 3232 14 7 1/2 1755 March 7 By Ship Montfort the Ballance of her Account £ 9 1 . 11 By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 800 Venetians @ 10/ £ 400 . . 1500 Pagodas 8/ 600 . . Gold Amounting to £ 1000 . 2761 Dollars @ 5/ 690 5 . 7000 Rupees 2/3 789 10 . 2948 half Rials 3 3/4 202 6 3 441 French Pices 1/2 3 13 6 Odd Mony " 3 3/4 Silver Amounting to 1683 18 1/4 Cash Notes Amounting 539 15 £ 3232 14 7 1/2 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark Margin Notes: 31 March	The next letter was addressed to Roger Drake, president and governor, and the council of Bengal. The council wrote that their last advice had been dated 12 April 1754. Since then they had received the Bengal letters of 31 December 1753 and of 24 and 18 February and 9 December 1754, and likewise several consignments for the supply of the island. The council asked Bengal to send for the island's further use 30 pieces of dosooties and 4 maunds of wax candles by each ship, and not to exceed that quantity. Having been disappointed by the gentlemen of Fort Marlborough in their supplying of sugar, the council asked that the rest of the order might be sent in arrack, rice and paddy. The council enclosed the annual list of ships arriving at and departing from the island. The letter was dated at St Helena, 9 April 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. The next letter was addressed to John Pybus, deputy governor, and the council of Fort <i>Marlborough</i>. The council wrote that they had received the Fort <i>Marlborough</i> letter of 4 January 1753 by the <i>Grantham</i>, and had the satisfaction to find that their own letter by that ship had reached Fort <i>Marlborough</i> safely, upon Fort <i>Marlborough</i> advising in their letter of 26 December 1753. Interpretations The instruction to Bengal to send dosooties and wax candles by each ship but not to exceed a fixed quantity reveals the council managing its imports against the island's actual capacity to consume or store them. Dosooties were a coarse cotton cloth of Bengal, the name deriving from the two threads of its weave, and the setting of a firm limit on the quantity to be sent by each vessel shows the council guarding against the accumulation of unsaleable surplus, ordering a steady modest supply matched to demand rather than allowing the presidencies to ship goods in quantities the small market could not absorb. The complaint that Fort <i>Marlborough</i> had disappointed the island in supplying sugar, obliging the council to seek the balance of its order in arrack, rice and paddy instead, exposes the unreliability of the provisioning system and the council's constant need to adjust its requests as one source failed. Fort <i>Marlborough</i>, the Company's pepper settlement at Bencoolen on Sumatra, had evidently fallen short in a commodity the island needed, and the council's response of shifting the shortfall onto other goods from the same or other settlements shows the flexibility forced on a remote station dependent on distant and undependable suppliers. This juggling of orders among the presidencies, each asked to make good what another had failed to provide, was the practical reality of feeding an island that grew little of what it consumed beyond its meat and roots.
354	347	7 April At a Consultation held on Monday the 7 Day of April 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 31 March 1755 Tuesday the 1 Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Elizabeth Captain Jackson from China Thursday the 3 Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship the Grantham Captain Oliver for England Do Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Norfolk Captain Bonham from	The council reminded Fort <i>Marlborough</i> of its assurance in the letter of 1753 that it would be able to send a large annual supply of sugar. Relying on that promise, the council had not ordered any sugar from Bengal, but having been disappointed in these expectations it would now be very much in want of the article for the island's consumption. The council therefore asked Fort <i>Marlborough</i> not to fail to send 10,000lb weight by the first opportunity, on the Company's account, having orders from the Court of Directors to write to Fort <i>Marlborough</i> for whatever sugar it needed. The council transmitted the account of ships arriving at and departing from the island in the past year, together with the <i>Exeter's</i> charter party, victualling bill and manifest of goods, and asked Fort <i>Marlborough</i> to forward the several enclosed packets as

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		Madrass and brought us the following supply Vizt Invoice of Ship Norfolk No 7 Long Cloth Superfine S H A p Ps 13 . FS 3 @ Pag 12 18 ea 37 18 F 2 @ 12 24 R 2 @ 11 22 C 8 @ 10 80 O 1 7 . H 3 @ 6 18 10 8 203 Mens Stockings 30 25 Ps @ 6 27 ea 37 18 Factors Provision Arrach p Leaguer measuring 75 gallons 22 18 Rice 42 Bags p 9 Cwt ea Cwt or 200 twenty Cwt 24 Pag 75 p Gara 24 16 70 Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags 84 @ Ps 5 Ps 4 7 16 Twine 344 2 30 Weighing Coolies 3 25 Package 1 27 Boat & Coolyhire 1 60 6 22 51 Pagodas 324 3 41 Errors Excepted Signed Robert Orme Accomptant	directed. The letter was dated at St Helena, 9 April 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The reproach to Fort <i>Marlborough</i> sets out plainly the danger of relying on a single distant supplier for an essential commodity, the council The council's citing of the Court of Directors' express authority to write to Fort <i>Marlborough</i> for its sugar shows the chain of command under which the island operated, its dealings with the other settlements governed by the standing orders of the London directors. The council did not order supplies on its own initiative alone but under directions from home that allocated the sources from which each commodity should be drawn, so that its request to Fort <i>Marlborough</i> was made in pursuance of the directors' instructions rather than as an independent act. This reflects the tightly controlled structure of the Company's trade, in which even the provisioning of a remote station was directed from the centre, the council empowered to write for its needs only within the framework the directors had laid down.
355	348	7 April Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ships Norfolk and Elizabeth to Muster their Companys and enquire for Deserters but found none their Muster Rolls was as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Norfolk Pinson Bonham Commander Rich St Clock 1 mate Alexr Hay 2 Do Christ Whanling 3 Do John Watson 4 Do Wm Smith 5 Do Thos Gyllett 6 Do Hosr Harling Surgeon Wm Sogg Purser James Hoye Carpenter David Goodland John Brown Saml Bonham John Boorightson Thos Iwland Matthew Elkins Chas Parah Wm Reay Rich McManos George Vaughan John Handcock Wm Flecher John Sumber Timothy Handcock Humphry Francis Wm Bell John Flesher John Pinder John Spener Nich Simpson Littleton Hudson Dick Croswell James Phillips Robt Sarner John Green Patrick Isbing George Colles Thos Nichols Adam Sngene John Ward Thos Garball	At a consultation held on Monday 14 April 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 9 April 1755, was read, approved and signed. On Thursday 10 April the Company's ship <i>Princess Augusta</i> arrived from China. On Saturday 12 April the Company's ship <i>Leyton</i> arrived from China. On the same day Thomas Cheeslinough, the Company's carpenter's mate, died. On the same day the soldier Anthony Marchen died by a fall from a precipice. The council ordered the following advertisement to be published. The advertisement, dated at St Helena 14 April 1755, gave notice to all the inhabitants of the island that they were required to attend the governor and council at the castle at ten on the following Monday morning. Interpretations The death of the soldier Anthony Marchen by a fall from a precipice, following so soon after John Bradley was killed by a falling stone, drives home the lethal character of the island's terrain for those who lived and worked among its cliffs and ridges. Two violent deaths from the rock within weeks, one from a stone dropping onto a man below and one from a man falling from a height, reveal the constant peril of the near-vertical volcanic landscape, where a misstep or a loosened stone on the precipitous slopes could kill, a danger wholly foreign to the settled lowland country from which the garrison was drawn. The summoning of all the inhabitants to attend the governor and council marks an occasion of general importance requiring the presence of the whole free community, distinct from the routine business conducted among the councillors alone. Such a general assembly was the means by which the governing body communicated matters of common concern directly to the settlers, whether a proclamation, a new regulation or a public duty, gathering the population to hear the council's will. The calling of the island together in this way shows the personal and direct character of government in a small colony, where authority could still address the governed face to face rather than through the impersonal machinery of a larger state.

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		John Morrill John Martin Jacobs Hobbs John Goddel Ceasar John Hays Alexr Thompson James Dolsman Edd Haddock John Waids Matthew Center Joseph Blakeley John Sompson Wm Griffis Wm Suim Joseph Some Joseph Hood Wm Chrestian Matthew Dixon Wm Graham Thos Young Green Barker John Delvy John Habdard Samuel Dodge John Chambers Wm Sompson Thos Spanbr Thos Haidry Dan Williams Andrew Standerlin	
356	349	1755 Longarus Weboring Earth Sandergren Thomas Arnold Bat Hickey Edward Gardner Jacobs Hughes Robert Hells Thomas McQuin Dan Blord Benj Bungst Wm Sedeeway Robert Thorn James Hanfrell John Butler Thos Claire Jerne Louner Wm Gray John Frost Danl Shaul Josh Holbid Bat Downen John Gilis John Groves Matthias Bruin Solomon Seaman Leevis Prieds Arnis Borja Oberytr Trifurn Bastan Do Mount Michael John Voze Jod Pool Arinie Fustian Benra Sunah Thos Saunders Cofs Passenger Donald Campbell Do John Cruston Do Robt Duncan Mowrs Do Willm Vhish Do Aar Winich Do Muster Roll of Ship Elizabeth George Jackson Commander Charles Newton 1 mate	Being much in want of a person to serve as steward to deliver the salt provisions and rice from the Company's stores and to keep account of the charter party beef, the council appointed William Moore, whom they believed understood the business of the office very well and who was willing to serve, at a salary of £25 0s 0d a year. Sergeant William Oakman petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Company thirteen years, and asked leave to remain on the island one year longer, which was granted. Captain Fernell presented the following letter to Governor Charles Hutchinson and the council of St Helena. Fernell wrote that, having no goods of the Company for Bencoolen and so needing a larger quantity of ballast than outward bound ships usually had occasion to take in, he would therefore be glad of the council's assistance. Interpretations The appointment of William Moore as steward fills the vacancy that had been covered by paying the cooper James Forbet a temporary allowance in January, the office now given a permanent holder at a settled salary. The steward's duties, delivering the salt provisions and rice and keeping the account of the charter party beef, place him at the heart of the island's victualling, the officer through whose hands the preserved provisions passed and who reckoned the beef supplied to the ships under their charter terms. The filling of the post at £25 a year shows the council restoring proper accountability to a function that could not safely be left long in temporary hands, the flow of provisions requiring a responsible officer to control it. Captain Fernell's request for ballast reveals a practical consequence of the island's place in the shipping pattern, an outward bound ship for Bencoolen carrying no Company cargo needing weight in her hold to sail safely. Ballast, the heavy material loaded low in a ship to give her stability when she carried little or no cargo, was a necessity for a vessel sailing light, and the <i>Exceter</i>, bound onward with an empty hold, required more than usual. That the captain

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		Abraham Shipp 2 Do Saml Hairy 3 Do Swage Loeter 4 Do Godfrey Chapsell 5 Do David Saunders 6 Do Thos Scott Surgeon Marcus Clarke Purser Rich Dowly Gunner Hugh Ruth Boatswain Francis Dillen Caulker John Matthews Cooper George Spearing Midshipman Brown Bidad Do Danl Keightly Do Steph Sallygill Do James Mitchell Do John Green Bland Woolstan John Ackinson John Jolly Hamos Anderson 2 master Alexr Hatton Do John Hope Do John Pofie Do John Hill Ships Steward John Weston Cofs Do Wm Callow Sailmaker Samuel Dunlay Surg mate Thos Wilson Gunner Wm Corncho Carpen Thos Liredehl Do James Cotten Boatswain Do Thos Cocke Do John White Caulker Do Rich Osborn Coopers mate John Matthews Cooper Anold Flomak Cofs Cook Bran Barlow Ships Do And Lowe Armourer Wm Thompson Baber Rich Cotton Butcher Wm Snord Poulterer Wm Simstons Baber Ed Home Sayler John Hainswor Coleaman Cha Clover John Veale John Doff John Cocke Philip Wedd Ralph Jackson Ken Mansure	applied to the council for help in obtaining it shows the island supplying not only provisions and trade goods but the very stone or earth needed to trim a ship for sea, another of the humble but essential services the station rendered to the Company's marine.
357	350	7 April Morris Buck Frances Ferrera Lau Hotten John Beirins George Leey Wm Brice David Feid John Huven Henry Bowman Chris Randall John Wood John Beam Abram Jones Willm Callram Jean Suequa Louris Marr John Buckman Servant Jos McCoon Peter Rigney Richard Franklin Richard Sargodd Thomas Skinner	Fernell added that he would be glad to take on board any unserviceable cannon the council might have and carry them to England freight free. The letter was dated at St Helena, 14 April 1755, and signed by William Fernell. As the following cannon had been examined by the gunner and found by him to be unserviceable, the council agreed to send them home by the <i>Exeter</i>. The report on the condition of the guns was as follows. Gun number 1, 18 pounder: four holes in the charging cylinder, one in the vacant cylinder, very much honeycombed, and exceeds the proper bore by $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch, not properly fortified, unserviceable Gun number 2, 18 pounder: two holes in the charging cylinder, very much honeycombed, and exceeds the proper bore by $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch, not properly fortified, unserviceable Gun number 3, 12 pounder: four holes in the charging cylinder, three in the vacant cylinder, very much honeycombed, not properly fortified, and exceeds the proper bore by $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, unserviceable

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		Alexr Hitchins Robinson Prett James Patton John Waidlow Fran Hemmett David Havis Thos Presete Nichl Peterson Thomas Appleby Cofs Servant Frances Patten Pierre Nogan Saml Chambers Servant Henr Kaufsel 1 mates Servant Benj Pod 2 Do Do James Yewitell Cofs Seaman Thos Gybe Gunners Servant And Crouch Boofs Do Sam Thomas Carp Do Ros Johnson Surgeons Do John Child Cooks Do Berthrd Lesave Seaman Ivan Marchand Ivan Marchand Amaurd Herault Claude Bourpaie Frances Le Gris Thomas Livell Cofs Suprs Mann Hornoldof Do As some of the Honorable Company's Blacks Houses in the Country require new roofing, we agreed to have it done and ordered Rafters, and Binders, for covering them to be bought of the Planters, as the Honorable Company have none of either upon their own Lands Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	Gun number 4, 12 pounder: six holes in the charging cylinder, five in the vacant cylinder, very much honeycombed, not properly fortified, and exceeds the proper bore by $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, unserviceable Gun number 5, 9 pounder: eight holes in the charging cylinder, nine in the vacant cylinder, very much honeycombed, and exceeds the proper bore by $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, unserviceable Gun number 6, 9 pounder: four holes in the charging cylinder, three in the vacant cylinder, honeycombed, not properly fortified, and exceeds the proper bore by $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, unserviceable Interpretations The captain's offer to carry the unserviceable cannon to England without charge for freight reveals a practical arrangement of mutual benefit between ship and settlement. Worn-out iron guns retained value as scrap metal to be recast, and a homeward ship with spare capacity could carry them at no real cost to herself while relieving the island of useless weight and returning the metal to the Company, the freight waived because the carriage cost the ship nothing she would not otherwise expend. This disposal of condemned ordnance shows the Company recovering what value it could from its defunct equipment, nothing of worth left to waste even at the remotest of its stations. The gunner's report exposes the technical language and the physical decay of iron cannon in a demanding climate, the guns condemned for honeycombing, holes and enlarged bores. Honeycombing was the pitting and cavitation of the barrel's interior, caused by corrosion and the repeated firing of the piece, which weakened the metal and created holes and hollows in the cylinder that made the gun liable to burst. The measurement of how far each bore exceeded its proper diameter, and the note of whether the gun was properly fortified or reinforced at the breech, show the careful assessment by which the fitness of ordnance was judged, a worn gun being not merely inefficient but dangerous to its own crew. The condemnation of six guns at once reflects the constant deterioration of iron artillery exposed to sea air and hard use, the replacement and disposal of unserviceable pieces a recurring necessity in maintaining the batteries on which the island's defence depended.
358	351	9 April At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 9 Day of April 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 7 April 1755 The ten working Days allowed by Charter party for unlading the Exeter being expired, we gave Captain Semell Sailing Orders in Writing to make the best of his Way to Fort Marlbro on the West Coast of the Island Sumatra, according to the Directions he received from the Honorable the Court of Directors to whom, we likewise, gave the following Letters to the several Settlements in India, enclosed in our Packet to Bencoolen Vizt To the Honble George Pigot Esq President and Governor &ca Council of Fort St George Honorable Sir & Sirs Our last Letter to you went from hence by the	The report on the condition of the guns closed with the last of the condemned pieces. Gun number 7, 9 pounder: seven holes in the charging cylinder, eleven in the vacant cylinder, very much honeycombed, and exceeds the proper bore by $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, unserviceable The report was dated at St Helena, 14 April 1755, and signed by Thomas Hall. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been aboard the <i>Leyton</i> and <i>Princess Augusta</i> to muster their companies and search for deserters, but found none. Their muster roll was as follows. The muster roll of the <i>Leyton</i> listed her company. Gabriel Slater, commander Francis Havis, first mate Peter Fox, second mate Peter Hardwick, third mate Thomas Hollingworth, fourth mate Alexander Frazer, surgeon Robert Cathirwood, surgeon's mate Isaac Monday, boatswain Joseph Wood, carpenter John Connor, gunner John Sevier, ship's steward John Store, midshipman James Watters, midshipman Hugh Ruth, midshipman

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		Honorable Companys Ship the Grantham that Sailed on the 3 of May 1754 we have since received yours of the 1 March 1753 & the 1 March & 10 November 1754 As we indented for a pretty large quantity of Long Cloth of Different Prices & mens Cotton Stockings in our advices under Date of the 15 April 1754, which we hope you will forward to us as soon as you conveniently can, we therefore Desire to have the one p Cent from your Settlement only, in Arrack and Rice We herewith enclose to you the Annual List of Ships	Robert Loudon, midshipman Arthur Snell, midshipman Richard Buat, captain's steward John Reynolds, ship's cook John Dickinson, cooper John Davidson, caulker Amon Flos, carpenter's mate Ivan Sepromt, caulker Henry Alexander, boatswain's mate Robert Hundley, gunner's mate William Stovel, caulker Domingo Villhall, first caulker Isaac Homsly, butcher William Harison, armourer William Franklin, cooper's mate Thomas Framors, ship's cook John Cani, tailor John Wright, poulterer John Eira, second master John Ledon, seaman Henry Gale, seaman William Grey, seaman John Vincent, seaman Evan Boball, seaman Richard Snarton, seaman Benjamin Andersen, seaman John Cripco, seaman Deodatus Brown, seaman Benjamin Fell, seaman Joseph Marten, seaman Lawrence Searsly, seaman Samuel Georaft, seaman William Bower, seaman Anthony Wease, seaman Interpretations The condemnation of a seventh gun, a 9 pounder even more thoroughly decayed than the rest with eighteen holes between its cylinders, completes a report that had found seven pieces of the island's ordnance worn beyond use at a single examination. The steady loss of guns to corrosion and wear, seven condemned together spanning the 18, 12 and 9 pounder calibres, measures the heavy attrition of iron artillery in the island's conditions and the continual replacement the batteries required to remain effective, the defence of the station demanding a constant supply of new ordnance to make good the pieces the sea air destroyed. The <i>Leyton's</i> roll shows once more the full establishment and mixed manning of a great China ship, with an unusual number of caulkers among her tradesmen, the men who drove oakum into the seams of the hull and decks to keep the ship watertight. The presence of several caulkers, including a named first caulker, reflects the constant battle against leakage on a wooden ship of long voyages, the seams working loose with the flexing of the hull in heavy seas and requiring continual attention to keep the vessel sound. The scattering of foreign names through her seamen, Sepromt, Villhall, Cripco and others, confirms yet again the international character of the crews on which the eastern trade depended.
359	352	9 April Ships, Arrival and Departure to and from this Island, and are St Helena Honble Sirs 9 April 1755 Your most Humble Servants Signed Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark To the Honble Richard Bouchier Esq President & Governor &ca Council of Bombay Honorable Sir & Sir	The muster roll of the <i>Leyton</i> continued with the remaining hands, followed by the muster roll of the <i>Princess Augusta</i>. Richard Cade, seaman John Mathers, seaman John Boddy, seaman Robert Knox, seaman John Bradley, seaman William Tindall, seaman David Walker, seaman William Vain, seaman Peter Clark, seaman Francis Hudson, seaman

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		We wrote to you last, by the Honble Companys Ship the Grantham, under date of the 12 of April 1754 We have received your Letter of the 20 Decr 1753 by the Salisbury Cap Toot, the 2 of Feby 1754 by the Tavistock Captain Jenkins, and the 3 Decr 1754 by the Prince Edward Cap Haldane, and the Warwick Cap Webb, by which Ship we received your several Consignments of goods, as well as the two Prisoners brought here by the Prince Edward We desire you will send us for the use of this Island 100 Ps Surat Chelloes, and two thirds of the remainder of the one p Cent, in Paddy & the rest in Rice We transmit to you by this occasion the Annual and Departure of Ships, to, and from, this place We are Honble Sir Your most humble Servants Signed Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark St Helena 9 April 1755	William Croft, seaman John Howard, seaman Thomas Hornsby, seaman John Saunders, seaman Andrew Walker, seaman John Ravenscroft, seaman William Archer, seaman Nicholas Norris, seaman James Howse, seaman Lawrence Stone, seaman William Henderson, seaman Alexander Robinson, seaman Andrew Rutherford, seaman William Grimson, seaman William Walker, seaman Robert Laiman, seaman John Franks, seaman George Sargent, seaman William Beard, seaman James Cookson, seaman Joseph Atkinson, seaman Thomas Landys, sugar cargo Beverly Mary, captain's cook's mate Robert Ballard, surgeon's servant Amos Clark, seaman Phillip Bromfield, first mate's servant Cuthbert Rowse, second mate's servant John Robinson, gunner's servant James Pike, carpenter's servant Marthead Adams, seaman John Reed, surgeon's servant Charles Gardener, seaman George Bencabor, seaman Francis Litteuhite, seaman Joseph Sugara, seaman Alexander Betterman, seaman <i>Godfrey</i> Gralsbury, seaman George Low, servant The muster roll of the <i>Princess Augusta</i> was as follows. Thomas Baidman, commander George Lily97, first mate Thomas Underwood, second mate Robert Ranie, third mate Charles Heasery, fourth mate Daniel Stone, fifth mate Edward Collett, sixth mate Matthew Whaley, seventh mate John Peters, midshipman Archibald Muray, surgeon Charles Farr, boatswain William Sarey, gunner Nathanael Winter, carpenter John Diamond, coxswain Philip Silvey, midshipman John Amry Knight, midshipman Edmund Ellison, midshipman Samuel Hughson, midshipman William Good, seaman Benjamin Welding, seaman Nicholas Curtis, seaman Alexander Patray, seaman Robert Litman, seaman John Stevens, seaman John Weoman, second master Nicholas Wolfe, seaman Thomas Johnson, second master William George, seaman John Kelly, boatswain's mate Thomas Hart, seaman Richard Suppard, carpenter George Smith, seaman James Rowan, gunner's mate James Gillet, caulker John Delamon, caulker Robert Toole, sailmaker

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			Walter Vaughan, surgeon William Neane, captain's cook Daniel Overton, surgeon's steward Interpretations The entry of Thomas Landys as sugar cargo on the <i>Leyton's</i> roll names a specialist function connected with the stowage and care of the ship's sugar lading, a man charged with the particular oversight of a cargo that required careful handling to prevent damage from damp and shifting. The naming of a hand specifically for the sugar reflects the value and the vulnerability of this commodity in the hold of a China ship, sugar being liable to spoil or run if it took in water, so that a member of the crew was told off to attend to it throughout the voyage, his station recorded on the muster like any other. The seaman entered simply as Beverly Mary on the same roll, bearing what reads as a personal name without a conventional surname, may mark another of the hands whose naming set them apart from the ordinary run of the crew, whether a black sailor, a foreigner or a man known by an unusual style. The muster rolls of these ships preserve, in their scattering of single names, classical names and names of every European nation, the extraordinary human variety of the maritime labour force that worked the eastern trade, drawn from every shore the Company's commerce touched and entered together on the articles of a single ship for the long passage between the ends of its trading world.
360	353	1755 To the Honble Roger Drake Esq President and Governor &ca Council of Bengall Honble Sir & Sirs Our last advices to you were Dated the 12 of April 1753 we have since received your several Letters of the 31 Decr 1753 the 2 & 18 Janry the of Febry and the 9 of Decr 1754 and likewise your several Consignments for the supply of this Island We desire you will send us for the farther use of this place 30 Ps Decsootas, 4 Maunds Wax Candles by each Ship, and So Exceed that quantity, As we have been Disappointed by the Gentlemen of Fort Marlborough in their supplying us with Sugar we Desire that the rest of the one p Cent may be sent us in that Article, Arrach, Rice, and Paddy Herewith enclosed we send you the Annual List of Ships arrival and Departure to, and from this Island We are St Helena Honble Sirs 9 April 1755 Your most Humble Servants Signed Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark To the Worshipfull John Pybus Esq Supervisor & Council of Fort Marlborough Worshipful Sir & Sirs We received your Letters of the 10 Janry 1753 by the Grantham, and have the satisfaction to find that ours by that Ship came safe to you upon your Advising us in your Letter of the 26 Decr 1753	The muster roll of the <i>Princess Augusta</i> continued with the remaining hands and passengers. Dial Mockonnel, ship's cook Edward Boryser, cooper Gilbert Hanslop, cooper's mate Andrew Hume, armourer George Hollie, ship's steward Abram Sinbard, cook's mate Benjamin Sye, butcher Thomas Mopollor, tailor John Bailey, seaman Edmund Buck, seaman Andrew Scott, seaman George Baars, seaman Robert Battson, seaman George Simson, seaman Barley Holon, seaman William Ball, seaman John More, seaman William WYSTHAT, seaman Evans Prier, seaman James Coulter, seaman Phillip Hall, seaman Phillip Groning, seaman Richard Evans, seaman Michael Rintoul, seaman Henry Mason, seaman Joseph Greenleaf, seaman William Lay, seaman David Harmsworth, seaman Christopher Adamson, seaman Daniel Kigo, seaman James Manson, seaman John Sinclare, seaman William Smith, seaman John Guarford, seaman Joseph Clarke, seaman Joshua Senior, seaman William Mose, seaman John Holland, seaman Jenny Turner, seaman Andrew Forbes, seaman Hodnan Cooper, seaman Henry Kent, seaman Richard Thomeson, seaman

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			Cae Glover, seaman William Richards, seaman William Ameriger, seaman Richard Knight, seaman Morris Marphey, seaman Antony Surditch, seaman Joseph Mason, butcher John Batista, captain's servant Thomas Holland, seaman David Heng, first mate's servant John Berry, seaman John Blair, surgeon's servant Steve Dixon, boatswain's servant James Bowes, gunner's servant George Butler, sailmaker's servant Lawrence Brimsley, seaman Sequier Roberts, and Francisco Fernando, both Spanish passengers, were also aboard. The storekeeper brought in the following account of stores short received from the invoice of the <i>Norfolk</i>. Long cloth, 1 bale, cost 12 pagodas, bagged Long cloth, 1 bale, cost 6 pagodas 7 fanams These were found short upon opening the bale, which was close packed and had no appearance of having been opened since it was first packed. Rice, 12 hundredweight 4 quarters, short weight Arrack, half leaguer, gauged 46 gallons, wanting to fill 5 gallons Received, 41 gallons The account was dated 14 April 1755 and signed by M Purling, storekeeper. Interpretations The two Spanish passengers named at the end of the <i>Princess Augusta's</i> roll, entered by name like the travellers on the other ships, show the carriage of foreign nationals on the Company's homeward vessels, men of a rival maritime power taking passage on a British Indiaman. Their presence, whether merchants, officials or travellers making their way home by whatever conveyance offered, illustrates the international traffic that moved along the eastern sea routes, the Company's ships carrying not only its own servants and British subjects but persons of other nations who found on them the readiest means of the long passage. The storekeeper's note on the short delivery of long cloth reveals the vigilance with which the receipt of goods was checked and the care taken to establish where a loss had occurred. Finding two pieces of cloth missing from a bale that was close packed and showed no sign of having been opened since it left the Indian factory, the storekeeper recorded that the deficiency must have arisen at the point of packing rather than in transit or at the island, evidence that would fix responsibility on the supplying factory rather than the ship or the storekeeper himself. This attention to the condition of the packing, noting whether a bale bore marks of tampering, shows the meticulous scrutiny by which the Company traced its losses to their source and protected each party in the long chain of carriage from unjust liability.
361	354	9 April 1753 that you should be able to send us a large Supply of Sugar annually, we did not indent for any from Bengall, relying on having the quantity we wrote to you for, but as you have Disappointed us in those expectations we shall be very much in want of that Article for the Consumption of this Place, We therefore now request that you will not fail to send us by the first opportunity 10000	The <i>Princess Augusta</i> brought the following supply, set out in her invoice and valued in taels, mace, candareens and cash. Chinaware, marked C number 1, 1 chest: 4 table setts, marked BP, 1 tael 8 mace 0 candareens 7 cash 2 candareens 20 large plates, 0 tael 4 mace 5 candareens 9 cash 20 sneakers, 0 tael 2 mace 5 candareens 3 cash 10 bowls, 1 tael 4 mace 1 candareen 4 cash 4 chamber pots, 0 tael 1 mace 7 candareens 6 cash 8 candareens 4 guglets and basons, 0 tael 2 mace 0 candareens 8 cash

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		weight on Account of the Honorable Company we having Orders from the Honorable the Court of Directors to write to you for what Sugar, we should have occasion for We transmit to you by this opportunity the Arrival & Departure of Ships to & from this Island in the year past likewise the Ships Exeters Charter Party, Victialling Bill and Manifest of Goods We desire you will forward the several enclosed Packets as Directed, and are Worshipful Sir & Sirs St Helena 9 April 1755 Your most Humble Servants Signed Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	20 quarter pint cups and saucers, 0 tael 6 mace 1 candareen 2 cash 10 half pint cups and saucers, 0 tael 8 mace 0 candareens 8 cash 20 coffee cups, 0 tael 2 mace 0 candareens 4 cash 4 sauce boats, 0 tael 1 mace 4 candareens 0 cash 5 cash 6 candareens, 15 taels 2 mace 4 candareens Single tea, marked S number 2, 1 tub, weight 290lb gross, tare 86lb, 204lb net is 220 catties at 26, 57 taels 2 mace Congo tea, marked C number 3, 3 chests, weight 311lb gross, tare 63lb for 3 chests, 248lb net is 186 catties at 26, 48 taels 3 mace 6 candareens Sugar candy, marked S number 9, 9 chests, weight 1,683lb gross, tare 138lb, 1,545lb net is 1,158 catties at 6, 69 taels 4 mace 8 candareens Sugar, marked S number 17, 17 chests, weight 2,733lb gross, tare 255lb, 2,483lb net is 1,863 catties at 46, 85 taels 6 mace 9 candareens 8 cash Total, 275 taels 9 mace 7 candareens 8 cash The account was signed by H Harrison and Nathanael Garland junior, with errors excepted. Interpretations The <i>Princess Augusta's</i> invoice, reckoned in taels, mace and candareens, introduces the Chinese money of account in which the Canton trade was conducted, distinct again from the Indian currencies of the earlier cargoes. The tael was a weight of silver rather than a coin, divided into ten mace, the mace into ten candareens and those into ten cash, a decimal system of the China trade, and goods were weighed by the catty and priced in this reckoning. The appearance of a third distinct monetary system on the island's invoices, after the rupees of northern India and the pagodas of the Coromandel coast, shows how the accountants at St Helena had to command the currencies and weights of every region the Company traded with, converting the diverse moneys of Asia into the sterling of their own books. The cargo itself is characteristically Chinese, the porcelain, the teas and the sugar being the staples of the Canton trade that made the China ships among the most valuable in the Company's fleet. The distinction between single tea and congo tea names two grades of the black tea that was becoming the great commodity of the eastern commerce, congo being a middling black tea much drunk in England. The porcelain, itemised piece by piece from table services and bowls to chamber pots and coffee cups, was the fine Chinese export ware that furnished European tables, and its careful enumeration reflects the value of a cargo of manufactured goods that no European producer could yet match. The whole invoice, set beside those from India, shows the island receiving the distinctive products of each branch of the trade, the cottons of India and the tea and porcelain of China alike passing through its store on the homeward route.
362	355	14 April At a Consultation held on Monday the 14 Day of April 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 9 April 1755 Thursday the 10 arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Princess Augusta from China Saturday the 12 arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Leyton from China Yesterday Died Thomas Cheeseborough the Honorable Companys Carpenters Mate	The <i>Leyton</i> brought the following supply, set out in her invoice and valued in taels, mace and candareens. Chinaware, 1 chest: 4 table setts, blue and thick, marked BP, 2 taels 8 mace 2 soup dishes, 0 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 1 mace 6 candareens 20 soup plates, 0 taels 4 mace 5 candareens 9 candareens 20 sneakers, 0 taels 2 mace 4 candareens 4 mace 8 candareens 10 bowls, 0 taels 9 mace 0 candareens 2 mace 9 candareens 3 chamber pots, 2 mace 0 candareens 1 mace 5 gullets and basons, 4 mace 0 candareens 2 mace

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		Do Died Anthony Morchen Soldier by a fall from a Precipice Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published Vizt Island St Helena 14 April 1755 This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants of the said Island that they are hereby required to attend the Governor and Council at the Castle, on Monday next at the Hour of Ten in the forenoon Margin Notes: Note Gillett being nine years after order in own compassion for the murder of Anthony Morchen see Judicial Record Book A p 54	20 quarter cups and saucers, 0 tael 4 mace 0 candareens 8 mace 20 half pint sneakers, 0 tael 1 mace 6 candareens 3 mace 20 coffee cups, 0 tael 1 mace 2 mace 5 sauce boats, 0 tael 4 mace 2 mace, 16 tael 3 mace 8 candareens Sugar candy, marked S C number 20, 20 chests: chest 1, weight 20lb gross, tare 4lb, 175 net chest 2, weight 19lb, 157 net chest 3, weight 23lb, 173 net chest 4, weight 23lb, 169 net chest 5, weight 23lb, 173 net chest 6, weight 22lb, 147 net chest 7, weight 23lb, 168 net chest 8, weight 21lb, 185 net chest 9, weight 21lb, 189 net chest 10, weight 20lb, 199 net chest 11, weight 20lb, 187 net chest 12, weight 20lb, 155 net chest 13, weight 20lb, 160 net chest 14, weight 23lb, 169 net chest 15, weight 21lb, 170 net chest 16, weight 22lb, 172 net chest 17, weight 22lb, 174 net chest 18, weight 23lb, 167 net chest 19, weight 20lb, 160 net chest 20, weight 19lb, 162 net total tare 423lb, 3,301 net net weight 2,884lb or picul 21 catty 87 at 3, converted 157 tael 8 mace 0 candareens 9 cash Carried forward, 174 tael 2 mace 7 candareens 9 cash Interpretations The <i>Leyton's</i> chinaware chest closely matches that brought by the <i>Princess Augusta</i>, the same table services, soup plates, sneakers, bowls, chamber pots, gugs and coffee cups packed to a common assortment. This near identity of the two porcelain consignments reveals the standardised nature of the export ware supplied at Canton, chests made up to a regular pattern of household pieces that the Chinese merchants assembled for the European trade, so that ship after ship carried the same range of goods packed in the same proportions, the porcelain trade as systematised in its way as the cloth trade of India. The detailed weighing of each of the twenty chests of sugar candy, every chest recorded with its gross weight, its tare and its net contents, shows the exactness with which a bulk commodity was accounted at the point of lading. The conversion of the total net weight into piculs and catties, the Chinese units of weight, and the pricing of the whole in tael reflects the same reckoning in the money and measures of China seen in the rest of the invoice. This chest-by-chest enumeration, laborious as it was, gave the Company an exact record of the quantity received and the basis for checking it against delivery, the meticulous accounting that governed the receipt of every cargo however uniform its contents, so that no discrepancy between what was invoiced and what arrived could pass unnoticed.
363	356	14 April As we are much in want of a Person for a Steward to Deliver the Salt Provisions, and Rice out of the Honorable Company's Stores, and to take Account of the Charter Party Beef, and William Moore we believe conds the business of that Office very well, who is Desirous to serve in that Station, we therefore have appointed him to it, at the Salary of 22 p Annum William Oakman Sergeant petitioned	The <i>Leyton's</i> invoice continued with the remaining goods. Brought forward, 174 tael 2 mace 7 candareens 9 cash Sugar, marked S number 5, 5 chests: chest 1, weight 41lb gross, 286 net chest 2, 41lb, 287 net chest 3, 41lb, 292 net chest 4, 40lb, 293 net chest 5, 43lb, 303 net total tare 206lb, 1,461 net

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		for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company thirteen years, and begs leave to remain upon the Island one year Longer Granted Captain Sernell presented the following Letter Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor &cca Council of the Island St Helena Sirs I having no Goods of the Honorable Companys for Bencoolen and shall want by that means a larger Quantity of Ballast than the Outward bound Sore Ships usually have occasion to take in shall therefore be glad	net weight 1,255lb or picul 9 catty 41 at 5 mace 8, charges included, 54 tael 5 mace 7 candareens 8 cash Bohea tea, marked B number 2, 2 chests: chest 1, weight 172lb gross, 172 net chest 2, 168lb, 168 net total tare 340lb, 288 net net weight 280lb or picul 2 catty 10 at 17 per picul, 35 tael 7 candareens Congo tea, marked C number 2, 2 chests: chest 1, gross weight 107lb chest 2, 110lb, 217 net allowed tare 42lb, 175lb net or picul 1 catty 31 at 30, 39 tael 3 mace Single tea, marked S number 2, 2 tubs: tub 1, net weight 69½lb tub 2, 69½lb, net weight 138½lb or picul 1 catty 4 at 25, 26 tael Total, 320 tael 8 mace 5 candareens 7 cash Proportion of charges, 14 tael 5 mace 4 candareens Total amount, 335 tael 2 mace 7 candareens 1 cash The account was dated at Canton, 4 January 1755, and signed by John Misenor, John Burrow, Alexander Hume and John Mapletoft, with errors excepted. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The <i>Leyton's</i> invoice names a fuller range of the teas of the China trade than any of the other cargoes, distinguishing bohea, congo and single tea among her chests and tubs. Bohea was the common black tea from the Wuyi hills, the cheapest and most widely drunk grade in England, congo a somewhat finer black tea, and the gradations of price among them, from the seventeen tael the picul of the bohea to the thirty of the congo, reflect the range of qualities in the black tea that was fast becoming the great staple of the eastern commerce. The carriage of these several grades together shows the China ships supplying the whole spread of the English tea market, from the cheapest leaf for common consumption to the better sorts for those who could pay. The invoice's origin at Canton, dated there in January and signed by the Company's supercargoes, reveals the machinery of the China trade at its source. The supercargoes were the Company's commercial officers at Canton, the men who negotiated with the Chinese merchants, purchased the season's goods and made up the cargoes for the homeward ships, and their signatures on the invoice attest the purchases made on the Company's behalf at the one port through which all the China trade was funnelled. The passage of this Canton invoice through St Helena, checked and entered on the island's books months after it was drawn up on the far side of the world, shows the island as a waypoint on the long accounting chain that ran from the tea markets of China to the Company's ledgers in London.
364	357	1755 glad to take on board any unserviceable Cannon, if you have any such and carry them to England, Freight Free I am St Helena Sirs 14 April 1755 Your most humble Servant Signed Wm Sernell As the nine following Cannon have been examined by the Gunner, and found by him to be unserviceable we agreed to Send them home by the Exeter A Report of the Condition of the Guns of the	At a consultation held on Monday 21 April 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 14 April 1755, was read, approved and signed. On Monday 14 April the Company's ship <i>Essex</i> sailed for England. On Thursday 17 April the Company's ship <i>Onslow</i>, commanded by Captain Thomas Hinde, arrived from China. On Friday 18 April the Company's ship <i>Norfolk</i>, commanded by Captain Pinson Bonham, sailed for England. On Saturday 20 April the ships <i>Princess Augusta</i> and <i>Leyton</i> sailed for England. On the same day John Swaits, one

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		following Natures Vizt No 1 18 Sour Holes in the Chargeing Cylinder Sour in the Vacant Cylinder verymuch Honey Combd, and exceeds the proper Gage 7 of an Inch, and not properly Fortyfyed Unserviceable 2 18 Sive Holes in the Chargeing Cylinder verymuch Honey Combd and exceeds the proper gage 3/4 of an Inch, and not properly Fortyfyed Unserviceable 3 12 Sour Holes in the Chargeing Cylinder three in the Vacant Cylinder, very much Honey Combd, not properly Fortyfyed and exceeds the proper Gage 7/8 of an Inch Unserviceable 4 12 Sive Holes in the Chargeing Cylinder Sive in the Vacant Cylinder verymuch Honey Combd, not properly Fortyfyed & exceeds the proper Gage 7/8 of an Inch Unserviceable 5 9 Eight Holes in the Chargeing Cylinder nine in the Vacant Cylinder very much Honey Combd & exceeds the proper Gage 7/8 of an Inch 6 9 Sour Holes in the Chargeing Cylinder three in the Vacant Cylinder Honey Combd not properly Fortyfyed & exceeds the proper Gage 7/8 of an Inch Unserviceable	of the Company's overseers, died, and an infant of Mary Moyce died. The widow and executors of the late Richard Mason presented his last will and testament, asking that it be proved, which was done upon the oaths of the witnesses to it. The will was as follows. Richard Mason of St Helena, planter, being sick and weak in body but of sound and perfect mind and memory, made his last will and testament. He commended his soul to Almighty God his creator and directed that his body be buried in a Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors. He then disposed of the worldly goods with which God had blessed him in the manner following. Interpretations The proving of Richard Mason's will before the council shows the governing body exercising probate jurisdiction, the authority to establish the validity of a dead man's testament and authorise the administration of his estate. On the island there was no separate ecclesiastical or probate court such as proved wills in England, so the council performed this function too, taking the oaths of the witnesses to confirm that the document was genuinely the deceased's act. This absorption of probate into the council's business illustrates once more how the whole apparatus of law and administration on the island was concentrated in the single governing body, which served as legislature, executive, court of justice and probate authority alike. The formal opening of the will, with its commendation of the soul to God and direction for Christian burial before any disposal of property, follows the settled convention of English testaments of the period, in which the pious preamble preceded the practical bequests. This religious framing was not mere form but reflected the genuine concern of a dying man to order both his spiritual and his temporal affairs, the disposal of his soul and of his goods set down together as the two dimensions of a Christian death. That a planter of this remote island made his will in the same terms as a testator at home shows the continuity of English legal and religious custom transplanted whole to the settlement, the forms of the mother country observed in death as in the parish government and property law of life.
365	358	14 April No 7 9 Seven Holes in the Chargeing Cylinder Eleven in the Vacant Cylinder very much Honey Combd and exceeds the proper Gage 7/8 of an Inch Unserviceable St Helena 14 April 1755 Signed Thos Hall Lieutenant John Clark Reports that he has been on board the Ships Sriton and Princess Augusta to Muster their Companys and enquire for Deserters but found none their Muster Rolls was as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Sriton Gerl Slater Commander Francis Havis 1 Mate Peter Fox 2 Do Peter Hardwick 3 Do Thos Hollingsworth 4 Do Alexr Frayer Surgeon Robt Cathiwood Do mate Isaac Mowday Boatswain Joseph Wood Carpenter John Connor Gunner John Sorner Ships Steward John Slove Midshipman	Mason first provided for his wife according to the provision made and settled by the laws of the island for widows. But as she was fairly advanced in years, he directed that his whole estate should remain in her possession during her natural life, reasoning that if any divisions were made among his children it would cause her a great deal of trouble. As he had promised her that she was to be satisfied in this his will, he directed that at her death the divisions and legacies to his children and grandchildren should be as she should appoint and bequeath. All this he charged and directed his children to abide by and be satisfied with. He then gave and allotted them in their several parts and parcels both the lands and the houses as followed. Mason gave his son Benjamin his dwelling house and all the land above it upward as the site of the estate led toward Mr John Alexander's and downward. He also gave him a piece of land in Old Woman's Valley, the lower piece already taken in with a stone wall. He also gave him the upper part of the land that joined to the lower land and ran round above the planting land intended for his son in law Isaac Knipe. Mason gave his son in law Isaac Knipe a piece of plantation land from the same site upward as far as the land which was pasture land given and mentioned to his son Benjamin. He also gave Knipe all that piece and parcel of land with the house on it, and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Watters Do Hugh Rahi Do Robt Louden Do Arthur Snell Do Rich Bunt Cofs Steward John Reynolds Do Cook John Dickinson Coofer John Davidson Caulker Anon Slfor Corp Mate Ivan Lopwomt Do Do Henry Alexander Bt Swain Do Robt Munday Gunners Do Wm Slovel Caulker Do Domingo Villhall 1 Flesher Isaac Homsly Butcher Wm Harison Armourer Wm Franklin Cofers Mate Thos Fromors Ships Cook John Cani Taylor John Wright Poulterer John Cira 2 Master John Loudon Do Henry Gale Do Willt Grey Seaman John Vincent Do Evan Bishall Do Rich Snaxton Do Benj Anderson Do John Cripes Do Deodatus Brown Do Benj Fell Do Joseph Marten Do Lawren Searly Do Sam Georaft Do Wm Bower Do Anth Weaje Do	gave him a piece of planting land already fenced in Old Woman's Valley, the middle piece. He also gave him the dwelling house at the fort which Mason had bought of Mr Joseph Bates, and gave Knipe the first refusal of that house at valuation. If Knipe chose to sell it, he was not to be accountable to the estate but as Mason had given his son in law the upper part of his plantation land. To prevent any disputes that might arise in relation to the water, which might hurt and prejudice the lower land, Mason directed that the water should be continued in the lower trenches as it then was and always had been, and in no case detained from his son in law. Mason gave his granddaughter Mary Knipe one house at the fort, and also a black boy named Will to be delivered at her age or marriage, and the house called the marsh. Interpretations The central provision of the will, that the widow should hold the whole estate for her life and herself appoint the final division among the children, reveals a testator using his testamentary power to protect his wife from the disruption that an immediate partition would cause. Rather than divide his lands at once among his heirs, Mason left his widow in possession and control, entrusting to her the eventual allocation, a device that secured her comfort and authority in her remaining years and reflected a promise he had made to her. This shows the will serving not merely to distribute property but to order the family's affairs and preserve the position of the surviving spouse, the testator's wishes shaping the household beyond his death. The bequest of a black boy named Will to the granddaughter, to be delivered at her coming of age or marriage, records the plain fact of slavery as a form of heritable property on the island, a human being bequeathed like a house or a parcel of land. That a child could be given by will, his delivery deferred to a future date as with any other legacy, exposes the reduction of enslaved people to chattels within the legal and economic order of the settlement, their persons owned, inherited and transferred by the same instruments that conveyed land and buildings. This casual disposal of a boy among the household bequests measures the depth to which slavery was woven into the ordinary property arrangements of the island's planters. The care taken over the water rights, directing that the water be continued in the lower trenches and never withheld from the son in law's land, reveals the critical importance of water to cultivation on the island and the disputes that its control could breed. In a place of steep valleys and uncertain rainfall, the flow of water through the trenches that irrigated the planting land was essential to its worth, and a testator dividing his lands had to provide expressly for its continuance lest the division of the ground leave one parcel able to starve another of water. This provision shows how the physical conditions of the island shaped even the terms of a will, the allocation of water as consequential as the allocation of land in a landscape where cultivation depended on its careful management.
366	359	1755 Rich Cade Seaman John Swathers Do John Boddy Do Robt Knox Do John Bradley Do Wm Tindall Do David Walker Do Wm Yain Do Peter Clark Do Francis Hudson Do	Mason gave his grandson Samuel Knipe £20 0s 0d, the money to be paid to him by his son Benjamin when the child should reach the age of twenty one years or marriage. The reason he directed his son Benjamin to pay the £20 was that he gave his son the piece of land called the gates, which he had purchased of Mr Joseph Powell, and upon Benjamin paying the £20 to his grandson the land should be Benjamin's. Benjamin was to have the use of that piece of land until the time the money should become payable.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Wm Croft Do John Howard Do Thos Hornsby Do John Saunders Do And Walker Do John Revenwoft Do Wm Archer Seaman Nicholas Navais Do James Hnrow Do Lawna Stone Do Wm Henderson Do Alexr Robinson Do Andrew Rutherford Do Wm Rincrow Do Wm Walker Do Robt Laiwan Do John Franks Do George Sargent Do Wm Beard Do James Pockson Do Joseph Atkinson Do Thos Sandys Sugarcargo Barnly Mavay Cofs Cooks mate Robt Ballard Do Servant Ann Clark Do Do Phillp Bromfeild 1 mate Do Cuellhouse 2 Do Do John Belenson Gunners Do James Pake Carpenters Do Mos nardt Bt Swains Do John Reed Surgeons Do Charles Gardener George Boncabor Seaman Francis Litteuchte Do Joseph Sugara Do Alx Ritteroca Do Godfrey Grabsbrg Do George Low Servant Muster Roll of Ship Princess Augusta Thos Baidman Commander George Silgoyt 1 Mate Thos Underwood 2 Do Robey Vane 3 Do Charles Heasery 4 Do Dan Slowe 5 Do Edward Collett 6 Do Matthew Whaley 7 Do John Peters Archibald Muray Surgeon Charles Farr Boatswain Wm Farey Gunner Nathanel Winter Carpenter John Daemond Ceason Philip Silgoyt Midshipman John Amry Knight Do Edmund Ellison Do Samuel Hughson Do Wm Good Benj Welding Nich Curtis Alexr Patray Robt Pitman John Stevens John Wewman 2 Master Nicholas Wolfe Thos Johnson 2 Master Wm George John Kelly Boatswains mate Thomas Hart Do Do Rich Suppard Carp Do George Smith Do James Rovenal Gunners Do James Gillet Caulker John Delleman Do Do Robt Cole Sailmaker Water Vaughan Surgeons Do	Mason gave his granddaughter Hetty Knipe all the money that should arise from the rent of the house given to his granddaughter Mary Knipe. The money so arising was to be deposited in the hands of his son Benjamin until Hetty should reach the age of twenty one years or marriage. If one or more of these grandchildren should die, Mason directed that the survivors, with any of the children of his daughter Flora the wife of his son in law Knipe, should equally share and divide the money among them, and if there were no survivor the money should return to his estate. Mason gave all the rest and remainder of his estate, of whatever kind, to be equally divided between his son Benjamin and his son in law Isaac Knipe at the death of his wife, as already specified. Lastly, Mason nominated and appointed his wife, with his son Benjamin and his son in law Isaac Knipe, executors of his will. He revoked and annulled any other will and confirmed this to be his last will and testament, dated 4 February 1750. It was signed, sealed and declared to be the last will and testament of Richard Mason in the presence of the witnesses Martin Harper, John Alexander and Richard Beely. Interpretations The arrangement over the piece of land called the gates shows a testator using conditional bequests to bind his heirs to provide for one another, the son Benjamin receiving the land only on payment of £20 to the grandson Samuel. By tying the son's title to the discharge of a legacy to the grandchild, Mason made the transfer of land the means of funding a cash bequest, so that the estate provided for the younger generation out of the value of the ground passed to the elder. This interlocking of land and money bequests reveals the care with which a modest estate was arranged to serve several heirs, the land not simply given but made to carry an obligation that spread its benefit further through the family. The provisions for the grandchildren, with their sums held by the son Benjamin until each child came of age or married and their survivorship clauses redirecting the money if a child died, show the will functioning as a settlement that reached forward through the family's future. The deposit of the grandchildren's legacies in the hands of a trusted executor until they matured, and the careful direction of what should happen to a deceased child's share, reflect the testator's concern to secure the provision he had made against the uncertainties of life on the island, where the death of a child before adulthood was a real and common contingency to be provided for in advance. The whole will, with its life interest to the widow, its interlocking land and money bequests and its layered provision for children and grandchildren, reveals the considerable estate of a substantial planter ordered with legal care to preserve the family's holdings and provide for three generations.

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		Wm Meane Cofs Cooke Daniel Overton Do Steward	
367	360	14 April Piat Mockonnet Ships Cook Edward Bowyer Cooper Gilbert Hanslop Cofs mate Andrew Hume Armourer George Hellie Ships Steward Abram Sonbard Cooks mate Benj Sye Butcher Thomas Moyeller Taylor John Beley Seaman Edmund Buck Do Andrew Scott Do George Bares Do Robt Battson Do George Simon Do Darley Holon Do William Ball Do Andrew Hall Do John More Do Wm Wythat Do Evans Prier Do James Coulter Do Phillip Hall Seaman Phillip Jenny Do Richard Evans Do Michall Rintoul Do Henry Mason Do Joseph Greenleaf Do Wm Lay Do David Harmsworth Do Chris Adamson Do Daniel Kigs Do James Manson Do John Sinclare Do Wm Smith Do John Gnarford Do Joseph Clarke Do Joshua Snior Do Wm More Do John Holladi Do Jenny Turner Do Andrew Forbes Do Hodnar Couperd Do Henry Hont Seaman Rich Thomeson Do Cox Glover Do Wm Richards Do Wm Remerger Do Rich Knight Do Morris Marphey Do Antony Sordith Do Joseph Mason Butcher John Batista Cofs Servant Thomas Holland Do David Heng 1 mates Do John Berry 2 Do Do John Blair Surgeons Do Steve Dixon Boat Do James Bowes Gunners Do George Butler Sald Cofs Do Lawrena Brinsley Seaman Seguier Roberts Do Do Francisco } Spamah Ferdinance } Passenger The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Stores Short received from the Invoice of Ship Norfolk Account of Stores Short received from Ship Norfolk Vizt 1 lb Long Cloth cost 12 p Gagod 1 Do Do 6 p Do found Short upon Opening the Bale which was close packed, and had	Richard Mason of St Helena, planter, having made his last will and testament dated 4 February 1750, which he confirmed, willed and directed that the following codicil should be taken and deemed as part of that will. Mason gave his grandson Richard Mason a black boy named Dick, whom he had bought of Captain Braund. He gave his grandson Benjamin Mason £20 0s 0d in cash. These two legacies were to be delivered at the age of twenty one years or marriage, and if either grandson should die before that age or marriage, the survivor was to have both legacies. The codicil was signed on 25 March 1754 in the presence of the witnesses Richard Bagley and Orlando Bagley. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for the month ending the 11th were brought in, examined and approved. Interpretations The codicil, added more than four years after the original will, records a second enslaved child bequeathed among the grandchildren, a black boy named Dick given to the grandson who bore the testator's own name. That Mason bought this boy of a named ship's captain, and gave another such boy named Will in the body of the will, reveals the traffic in enslaved children that supplied the island's planters, human beings purchased from the commanders of visiting ships and passed on as legacies within the family. The two boys, acquired from the sea trade and bequeathed to grandchildren to be delivered when those children reached adulthood, expose the ordinary workings of slave-holding among the island's settlers, in which the young of the enslaved were bought, owned and handed down as an unremarkable part of a planter's estate. The addition of a codicil after so long an interval shows the will as a living instrument, revisited and amended as the testator's circumstances and family changed over the years between its making and his death. The four years that separated the will of 1750 from the codicil of 1754 had evidently seen the acquisition of new property, the boy Dick, and perhaps a wish to provide more equally among the grandchildren, prompting Mason to supplement his earlier dispositions rather than remake the whole. This practice of amending a standing will by codicil, each executed with the same formality of signature and witnesses, reflects the settled legal customs the planters observed, the forms of English testamentary law followed precisely in the ordering of an island estate.

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		no Appearance of its being Opened since it was first packed Cwt qr 12 4 Rice Short Weight 1 half Legg Arrack Gage 66 Gal wo to fill 5 Gal Reid 61 Gallons Signed 14 April 1755 M Purling Storekeeper	
368	361	1755 The Ship Princess Augusta brought us the following supply Vizt Invoice of Ship Princess Augusta C No 1 China Ware 1 Chest Vizt Sam c e Su c e e Sa m c e 4 Table Setts 5 20 B P By Wat 1 8 . 7 2 . 20 Suse Plates Do . 45 . 9 . 20 Smashes Do . 25 . 3 . 10 Bowls Do 1 4 . 14 . 4 Chamber Potts Do . 17 . 6 8 . 4 Gugletts & Basons Do . 2 . 8 . 20 Quarter Pint Cups & Saucers Do . 6 1 2 . 10 Half Pint Do & Do Do . 8 . 8 . 20 Coffee Cups Enam . 2 . 4 . 4 Sauce Boats Do . 14 . 5 6 15 2 4 . S No 2 Singlo Tea 4 Tubs Vizt Weight lb 290 Gross Tare lb 66 lb 06 lb 204 Nett is Picol 2 20 at 26 57 2 . C No 3 Congo Tea 3 Chests Vizt Weight lb 311 Gross Tare 29 p Chests 63 lb 248 Nett is Picol 1 86 26 48 3 6 S No 9 Sugar Candy 9 Chests Vizt Weight lb 1683 Gross Tare 138 lb 1545 Nett is Picol 11 58 6 69 4 8 Sa No 17 Sugar 17 Chests Vizt Weight lb 2733 Gross Tare 154 p Chests 255 lb 2481 Nett is Picol 18 83 46 856 9 8 Silas 275 9 7 8 Errors Excepted Signed S Harrison Nath Garland Junr	This account set out the Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 March to 11 April 1755. Neat cattle, remaining the 12th: 5 bulls, 80 cows, 92 calves, 15 yearlings, 41 heifers, 5 steers, 12 bullocks, 14 oxen, total 264 Sheep, remaining the 12th: 165 ewes, 66 wethers, 218 lambs, 7 rams, total 456 Goats, remaining the 12th: 119 ewes, 27 wethers, 174 kids, 8 rams, total 328 Hogs, remaining the 12th: 12 sows, 23 pigs, 1 boar, total 36 Poultry, remaining the 12th: 66 turkeys, 291 fowls, 62 ducks, 23 geese Horses, remaining the 12th: 6 horses, 7 mares, total 13 Asses, remaining the 12th: 1 he-ass, 3 she-asses, total 4 Neat cattle, increased: 2 calves, total 2 Sheep, increased: 121 lambs, total 121 Goats, increased: 30 kids, total 30 Hogs, increased: 8 pigs, total 8 Poultry, increased: 6 turkeys Neat cattle, total: 5 bulls, 80 cows, 94 calves, 15 yearlings, 41 heifers, 5 steers, 12 bullocks, 14 oxen, total 266 Sheep, total: 165 ewes, 66 wethers, 339 lambs, 7 rams, total 577 Goats, total: 119 ewes, 27 wethers, 204 kids, 8 rams, total 358 Hogs, total: 12 sows, 8 shoats, 23 pigs, 1 boar, total 44 Poultry, total: 72 turkeys, 291 fowls, 62 ducks, 23 geese Horses, total: 6 horses, 7 mares, total 13 Asses, total: 1 he-ass, 3 she-asses, total 4 Neat cattle, killed: 10 calves, 2 yearlings, 5 heifers, total 17 Sheep, killed: 7 ewes, 1 lamb, total 9 Goats, killed: 3 ewes, 4 wethers, total 7 Hogs, killed: 2 shoats, 2 pigs, total 4 Poultry, killed: 4 turkeys, 33 fowls, 15 ducks, total 1 Neat cattle, died: none Sheep, died: 1 lamb, total 1 Poultry, died: 1 turkey, 3 fowls, 2 ducks, total 1 Poultry, killed by cats: 12 fowls Neat cattle, remaining the 11th: 5 bulls, 80 cows, 94 calves, 15 yearlings, 31 heifers, 3 steers, 7 bullocks, 14 oxen, total 249 Sheep, remaining the 11th: 157 ewes, 66 wethers, 338 lambs, 7 rams, total 568 Goats, remaining the 11th: 119 ewes, 24 wethers, 200 kids, 8 rams, total 351 Hogs, remaining the 11th: 12 sows, 6 shoats, 20 pigs, 1 boar, total 30 Poultry, remaining the 11th: 65 turkeys, 246 fowls, 45 ducks, 21 geese Horses, remaining the 11th: 6 horses, 7 mares, total 13 Asses, remaining the 11th: 1 he-ass, 3 she-asses, total 4 Beef to the ship <i>Prince Edward</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Sandwich</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Colchester</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Grantham</i>, 560

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			Beef to the ship <i>Warwick</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Exeter</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Essex</i>, 560 Beef to the ship <i>Norfolk</i>, 560 3 goats for the sick slaves One boy born named Phillip Yams expended, 19,455 Refuse yam for stock, 5,400 The account was signed by John Adamson, with errors excepted. Interpretations The eight separate deliveries of 560lb of beef, one to each of the ships <i>Prince Edward</i>, <i>Sandwich</i>, <i>Colchester</i>, <i>Grantham</i>, <i>Warwick</i>, <i>Exeter</i>, <i>Essex</i> and <i>Norfolk</i>, lay bare the scale on which the island victualled the homeward fleet in a single crowded month. Every departing Indiaman took the same standard quantity of fresh beef to store against her passage, and the concentration of so many ships at the island in this period drew 4,480lb of beef from the Company's herds for the fleet alone. This heavy and sudden demand explains the sharp slaughter recorded in the account, seventeen head of cattle killed in the month, the herd drawn down to meet the needs of the ships that made the island's provisioning worthwhile. The note of poultry killed by cats, twelve fowls lost to the depredations of the island's cats, records a small but telling hazard of keeping livestock in a place where introduced animals had established themselves. Cats brought to the island had multiplied and turned feral, preying on the poultry as they preyed on the birds and other creatures of the island, a minor drain on the Company's stock that the account noted with the same exactness as the deliberate slaughter and natural deaths. This entry, trivial in itself, reflects the disturbed ecology of a small island where the animals introduced by settlement had become pests, the feral cats a nuisance to the very husbandry that had brought their ancestors ashore. The doubling of yam consumption to 19,455, with a further 5,400 of refuse yam given to the stock, marks the peak of demand created by the great gathering of shipping, the root crop consumed in quantity to feed the ships' companies, the slave population and the animals alike. The single line recording the birth of a boy named Phillip among the slaves, entered on the livestock account alongside the increase of the herds, exposes once more the reduction of enslaved people to a form of stock in the Company's reckoning, the birth of a human child noted in the same register and the same terms as the calving of cattle and the lambing of sheep, the most stark of all the account's revelations of how slavery was understood on the island.
<u>369</u>	362	14 April The Ship Triton brought us the following Supply Vizt Invoice of Ship Triton China Ware 1 Chest T mce T mce T mce 4 Table Setts Blue White of 5 20 B P 2 . 8 . 2 Soap Dishes . 800 1 6 20 Sloop Plates . 045 . 9 20 Smashen . 024 . 48 10 Bowls . 090 . 09 3 Chamber Potts . 200 1 . 5 Gaglets and Basons . 400 2 . 20 Quarten Cups and Saucers . 040 . 80 20 Half pint Smashen . 016 . 3 20 Coffee Cups . 01 . 2 . 5 Sauceboats . 04 . 2 16 38 S C No 20 Sugar Candy 20 Chests No 1 Tare 20 Gross lb 175 2 19 157	The gunner's account recorded the following stores expended between 12 March and 11 April 1755, the figures given in pounds and ounces of powder. 16 March, an alarm, 6lb 2oz 2 drams Arrived the <i>Grantham</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz 18 March, an alarm at Banks's, 2lb 2oz 19 March, an alarm, 6lb 2oz 2 drams Arrived the <i>Warwick</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz Departed the <i>Sandwich</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz Departed the <i>Prince Edward</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz Powder for priming at Banks's, 1lb 8oz Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay, 3lb 23 March, an alarm for a ship that went by, 6lb 2oz 2 drams

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 23 173 4 23 167 5 23 173 6 23 177 7 22 168 8 43 185 9 21 180 10 20 190 11 20 187 12 20 155 13 20 160 14 23 167 15 21 170 16 22 172 17 22 174 18 23 167 19 20 160 20 19 162 423 3307 423 Nett lb 2884 or Picols 21 64 27 3 Cwt is 157 809 Carried forward Silas 174 279	Powder for priming in order to return the salute of the ship John, 1lb 8oz 27 March, an alarm, 6lb 2oz 2 drams An alarm at Such's craps for the same ship, 2lb 2oz Arrived the <i>Exeter</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz 29 March, departed the <i>Warrwick</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz 2 April, an alarm at Banks's, 2lb 2oz An alarm, 6lb 2oz 2 drams Arrived the <i>Essex</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz An alarm, 6lb 2oz 2 drams Arrived the <i>Norfolk</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz Fired a salute upon Governor Saunders' arrival on shore, 10lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz Departed the <i>Grantham</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz 10 April, an alarm, 6lb 2oz 2 drams Arrived the <i>Princess Augusta</i>, returned the salute, 9lb Powder for priming, 1lb 8oz Powder for the funeral of John Bradley, 3lb Powder for signals, 5lb Powder for shooting goats, 1lb 8oz Total, 157lb 4oz 6dr 15gr Interpretations The account records a salute of 10lb of powder fired on the arrival of Governor Saunders on shore, a notably heavy discharge marking the reception of an incoming governor with due ceremony. The firing of a substantial salute to welcome a new governor to the island shows the guns of the batteries serving the honours of state as well as the alarms of defence, the arrival of the man appointed to succeed to the government greeted with the ceremonial thunder that announced his standing to the whole settlement. This entry signals the impending change at the head of the island's administration, the new governor come ashore to take up the charge that Hutchinson had held. The powder allotted to shooting goats reveals a practical use of firearms in the management of the island's animals, the feral goats that roamed the heights being shot for meat or to control their numbers. Goats introduced to the island had multiplied and gone wild in the inaccessible upland, becoming both a resource to be hunted and a destructive presence whose grazing stripped the slopes and hindered the regrowth of the timber the settlement so badly needed. The expenditure of powder to shoot them shows the garrison turning its arms to the ordinary business of the island's economy and ecology, the same guns that fired the salutes and alarms also serving to harvest and check the wild stock that the disturbed environment of the island had bred.
370	363	1755 Brought forward Silas 174 279 S No 5 Sugar 5 Chests No 1 Tare 41 Gross lb 286 2 41 287 3 41 292 4 40 293 5 43 303 206 1461 206 Nett lb 1255 or Picol 9 41 @ 53 8 Charges included 54 578 B No 2 Sea Bohea 2 Chests No 1 Tare 20 Gross lb 172	The gunner's account continued with the remaining stores expended. Lead balls for shooting goats, 70 Hand spikes broke in the long boat, 1 Hand spikes broke at Such's Cap, 1 Paper for the use of the gardener, 3 sheets Wooden trunks broke at the main fort, 6 Match burnt at the main fort, 6lb The flag at Prosperous Bay worn out and unserviceable, 1 The account was signed by Thomas Hall. This account listed the sundries expended at the Company's table in the month ending 11 April 1755. 6 bottles port wine, £0 9s 2½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 20 168 40 340 40 Nett lb 280 or Picol 2 10 @ 17 p Picol 35 7 C No 2 Sea Congho 2 Chests No 1 Gross Weight 107 2 110 217 Allowed Tare 42 Nett lb 175 or Picol 1 31 @ 30 39 3 S No 2 Sea Singlo 2 Tubs No 1 Nett Weight 69 1/2 2 69 1/2 Nett lb 138 1/2 or Picol 1 4 @ 25 26 . Canton Silas 320 857 11 January 1755 Proportion of Charges 14 514 Total Amount Silas 341 271 Errors Excepted Signed John Mesonor John Burrow Alexr Hume John Mapletoft Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	42 bottles Lisbon, £3 4s 6½d 38 bottles Madeira, £4 10s 7½d 90 bottles beer, £1 3s 10½d 56 bottles arrack, £1 17s 11d 36 quarters 2lb flour, £2 9s 0½d 483½lb beef, £5 8s 4½d 311lb mutton, £6 9s 7d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 4 kids, £1 0s 0d 30lb salt pork, £1 5s 0d 2 pigs, £0 10s 0d 4lb salt pork, £0 8s 0d 53 fowls, £2 9s 6d 15 ducks, £1 2s 6d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 93lb candy, £1 11s 8d 38½lb butter, £1 18s 9d Total, £37 13s 6½d Interpretations The seventy lead balls issued for shooting goats, set beside the powder for the same purpose recorded in the earlier part of the account, shows the systematic hunting of the island's feral goats as a regular activity requiring its own allotment of ammunition. The provision of ball as well as powder confirms that the goats were shot with the garrison's muskets in numbers sufficient to warrant a standing supply, the wild stock of the uplands harvested as a source of the kids and goat meat that appear on the table account, and controlled as a check on their destructive grazing of the island's already denuded slopes. The table account shows a marked recovery in beef consumption to over 483lb, the largest single item, against the reduced quantity of the previous month when the cattle had been reserved for the departing ships. With the great gathering of shipping now dispersed, the general table could again draw freely on the island's beef, the herd no longer wholly committed to victualling the fleet. The high consumption of both beef and mutton together, over 790lb of the two, reflects the demands of a well-supplied establishment feeding the officers, their households and the business of the government, the table of the island's administration maintained on a scale that matched the abundance its own herds and the recent cargoes afforded.
371	364	21 April At a Consultation held on Monday the 21 Day of April 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 14 Apr 1755 Monday the 14 Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Elizabeth for England Thursday the 17 arrive the Honorable Companys Ship the Onslow Cap Thos Hinde from China Friday the 18 Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Norfolk Cap Bonham for England yesterday the 20 sailed the Do Ships Princess Augusta & Triton for Do Do Died John Swaits one of the Honorable Companys Overseers Died an Infant of Mary Moyce The Widow, and Executors of the late Richard Mason, 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	The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods short received from the ships <i>Princess Augusta</i> and <i>Leyton</i>. From the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i>: 2 meat plates, dishes 1 saucer, dishes half a hundredweight candy, short weight From the ship <i>Leyton</i>: 9 meat plates, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged 2 soup dishes, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged 1 bason, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged 6 soup plates, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged 7 bowls, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged 10 sneakers, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged 14 half pint cups, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged 13 half pint saucers, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged 11 saucers, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged

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		In the Name of God Amen, I Richard Mason of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick & weak of Body but of sound and perfect mind and memory (thanks to Almighty God) do hereby ordain and appoint this my last Will and Testament and first and principally, I give and Recommend my Soul into 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 at the Discretion of my Executrix hereafter Mentioned my Worldly Goods wherewith it hath pleased God to Bless me with I give Devise and Dispose of in the manner and form as followeth Vizt	2 sauce boats, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged 3 coffee cups, broke, the outside package being no ways damaged The account was signed by Purling, storekeeper. To ensure that the planters should have timely notice to bring down the cattle that might be required for the Company's ships, so that the captains might not be disappointed, the council directed the following paragraph to be sent to each of them. The council wrote that, so that a captain might be regularly supplied with fresh beef for his ship's company, he should constantly send a note to Mr Wrangham the secretary early in the morning the day before he wanted any, that there might be sufficient time to have it provided for him. Interpretations The storekeeper's account of the broken porcelain reveals the vulnerability of the fine Chinese ware to breakage in the hold of a ship, a whole range of the <i>Leyton's</i> plates, bowls, cups and saucers found shattered on receipt. The pointed note that the outer packing was in no way damaged carries a precise significance, establishing that the breakage had occurred within an undisturbed package and so must have arisen from the manner of the original packing or the ordinary shocks of the voyage rather than from any mishandling at the island. This careful observation, distinguishing damage caused in transit within sound packing from damage that would have shown on the exterior, again shows the storekeeper fixing responsibility for a loss and protecting the island from blame for goods broken before they reached his charge. The council's instruction to the ships' captains about ordering fresh beef discloses the practical machinery by which the island's victualling of the fleet was organised, a day's notice to the secretary allowing the planters to bring down the cattle to be slaughtered. The requirement that a captain give warning the morning before he wanted beef shows the provisioning conducted not from a standing stock of killed meat but by slaughtering to order, the cattle driven down from the pastures and killed as each ship's demand was known, so that the beef was fresh when delivered. This arrangement, coordinating the settlers who held the cattle, the secretary who received the orders and the ships that needed the meat, reveals the settled routine that turned the island's herds into the fresh provisions on which the homeward crews depended, a system regular enough to be set down in a standing instruction to every captain who called.
372	365	1755 Imprimis I Give to my Wel beloved Wife According to the Provision made and Settled by the Laws of this Island to the Widows, but as my Wife is pretty far advanced in years I am willing and desirous that my whole Estate shall remain in the Possession of my Wife during her Natural Life by reason that if any Divisions were made to my Children that it must give her a great deal of trouble, And as my Wife has promised me is very Satisfied to this my Will and that at her Decease, the Divisions and Legacys to my Children and Grand Children shall be as I here appoint and Bequeath, all which I charge and Direct my said Children to be Consented and Satisfied, I hereby give and Allot them in the several parts and Parcels both in Land and Houses as followeth	The <i>Onslow</i> brought the following supply, set out in her invoice and valued in tael, mace and candareens. Chinaware, number 1, one chest: 4 setts of round dishes and plates, marked BP, 3 tael 5 mace 0 candareens 1 mace 4 candareens 20 large plates, marked SP, 12 to each sett, 0 tael 9 mace 1 mace 8 candareens 2 soup dishes, 0 tael 4 mace 8 candareens 20 soup plates, 0 tael 2 mace 5 candareens 3 candareens 20 sneakers, 0 tael 1 mace 3 candareens 1 mace 3 candareens 10 bowls, 0 tael 2 mace 6 candareens 5 mace 2 candareens 2 chamber pots, 0 tael 3 mace 6 candareens 1 mace 8 candareens 3 chamber pots, larger, 0 tael 3 mace 1 mace 3 candareens 5 gulets and basons, 0 tael 4 mace 5 candareens 9 candareens

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		Item I Give to my Wel beloved Son Benjamin my Dwelling House and all the Lands about it as far upwards as the Sate that leads towards Mr John Alexanders and downwards I Also Give him a piece of Land in Old Womans Valley which is the Lower piece and already taken in with a Fence, I also give him that upper part of Pasons Land which Joins to the lower Land and runs Round above the Planting Land that I intend for my Son in Law Isaac Knipe Item I Give to my Son in Law Isaac Knipe a Piece of Plantation Land from the beforementioned Sate upwards as far the Land which is Pasture land given and Mentioned to my Son Benjamin, I Also give my said Son in Law all that Piece and Parcel of Land that Isabella Anustow Woud with the House of I Also give him a piece of planting Land already fenced in Old Womans Valley which is the middle piece, I also give him my Dwelling House at the Fort which I brought of Mr Joseph Bates, that is to say the refusal of the said House at Valuation and if he Chuses to take it he shall be Accountable to the Estate as shall be hereafter mentioned but as I have given my said son in Law the upper part of my Plantation Land and to prevent any Disputes that may arise in relation to the Water which may hurt and prejudice the Lower Land I hereby Direct that the Water shall be continued in the lower Trenches as they are now and always hath been and which can in no cases detament my said Son in Law Item I Give to my Grand Daughter Mary Knipe one House at the Fort and also a Blacks boy named Will to be delivered at Age or Marriage the House called marshes Margin Notes: Note they he shall be	20 quarter cups and saucers, enamelled, 0 tael 6 mace 5 candareens 1 mace 3 candareens 20 half pint cups and saucers, dragon, 0 tael 1 mace 5 candareens 2 mace 7 candareens 18 single coffee cups, marked BP, 0 tael 1 mace 3 candareens 7 mace 3 candareens 5 sauce boats, 24 tael 7 mace 2 candareens 2 per cent discount for breakage, 0 tael 4 mace 0 candareens 1 cash The chest, 24 tael 2 mace 2 candareens 6 cash, 24 tael 6 mace 4 candareens 6 cash Single tea, marked numbers 2 and 3, 2 tubs, gross weight 176lb, tare 37lb, net 139lb is 1 picul 4 catty at 24, 24 tael 9 mace 6 candareens Congo tea, marked numbers 4 and 5, 2 chests, gross weight 213lb, tare 43lb for each, net 170lb is 1 picul 27 catty at 24, 30 tael 4 mace 8 candareens Bohea tea, marked numbers 6 to 9, 4 chests, gross weight 346lb, tare 76lb for each, net 270lb is 2 picul 2 catty at 165, 33 tael 3 mace 3 candareens Carried over, 113 tael 4 mace 1 candareen 6 cash Interpretations The <i>Onslow's</i> chinaware invoice includes an express allowance of two per cent discount for breakage, deducted from the value of the chest as a standing provision against the porcelain broken in transit. This built-in reduction reveals that the shattering of a proportion of every china cargo was an expected and accepted feature of the trade, so regular that the merchants at Canton allowed for it in advance by discounting the price, the loss of some pieces in the rough carriage of a long voyage treated not as an accident to be claimed for but as an ordinary cost written into the reckoning. This contrasts with the storekeeper's careful noting of the <i>Leyton's</i> broken ware, showing two approaches to the same problem, the one a fixed allowance at the source, the other an examination at the point of receipt. The porcelain of this chest is described in fuller detail than the earlier cargoes, distinguishing enamelled cups and saucers and others decorated with a dragon pattern among the assortment. These notes of the decoration reveal the range of the Chinese export ware, from plain white pieces to those painted in coloured enamels or with the dragon motif characteristic of the China trade, the merchants supplying a variety of patterns to suit the European market. The pricing of each type separately shows the discrimination of a trade in which the decoration as well as the form of a piece affected its value, the finer enamelled and figured wares distinguished on the invoice from the plainer sorts, the whole range of Chinese porcelain manufacture represented in a single chest bound for the tables of England by way of the island's store.
373	366	21 April Item I Give to my Grand Son Samuel Knipe the Sum of Twenty Pounds the money to be paid him by my Son Benjamin, when the said Child Shall arrive to the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage the reason why my said Son Benjamin is to pay the said Twenty Pounds is that I Give my Son that piece of Land called the Gate which I purchased of Mr Joseph Powell and upon his paying the aforesaid Sum of Twenty Pounds to my said Grand Son that the land shall be my Son Benjamins and in having the Use of that piece of Land until the time the mony shall become payable	The <i>Onslow's</i> invoice continued with the remaining goods, valued in tael, mace and candareens. Brought over, 113 tael 4 mace 1 candareen 6 cash Sugar, marked numbers 10 to 29, twenty chests: chest 10, 152 net chest 11, 156 net chest 12, 136 net chest 13, 151 net chest 14, 138 net chest 15, 145 net chest 16, 156 net chest 17, 134 net chest 18, 160 net chest 19, 159 net chest 20, 156 net chest 21, 162 net

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		Item I Go my Grand Daughter Kitty Knipe all the Mony that shall Arise from the Rent of that House given to my Grand Daughter Mary Knipe the Mony so Arising shall be Deposited in the hands of my Son Benjamin untill my said Grand Daughter Kitty shall Arrive to the Age of Twenty one Years or Marriage, And in Case of the Death of one or more of these my Grand Children that then I Direct the Survivors with any thereof the Children of my Daughter Flora the Wife of my Son in Law Knipe shall be Equally shared and Divided among them and in Case of no Survivour that then the mony shall return into my Estate Item All the rest and and Remainder of my Estate be it in what kind soever I give to be Equally Divided between my Son Benjamin and son in Law Isaac Knipe at the Decease of my Wife as already Specified Lastly I Nominate and Appoint my beloved Wife, with my Son Benjamin and Son in Law Isaac Knipe Executors to this my Will Revoking and Disannulling any other Will or Wills by me heretofore made Ratifying and Confirming this to be my last Will and Testament this fourth Day of February in the year of our Lord God One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Signd Seald and Declord to be the last Will and Testament of him the said Richard Mason in the presence of us Signed Martin Harper John Alexander Rich Beely Signed Rich Mason	chest 22, 156 net chest 23, 149 net chest 24, 158 net chest 25, 150 net chest 26, 157 net chest 27, 162 net chest 28, 164 net chest 29, 164 net total 1,507 and 1,567, gross 3,085lb, tare 22lb each 440lb, net 2,642lb is 19 picul 81 catty at 5 mace 1, 101 tael 3 mace 1 candareen Sugar candy, marked numbers 30 to 34, five chests: chest 30, 312 net chest 31, 314 net chest 32, 314 net chest 33, 304 net chest 34, 310 net total 1,554lb gross, tare 180lb, 36lb each, net 1,374lb is 10 picul 30 catty at 6 mace 4, 65 tael 9 mace 2 candareens Total, 280 tael 3 mace 6 candareens 7 cash Proportion of charges, 17 tael 5 mace 5 candareens 7 cash Total sales, 297 tael 9 mace 2 candareens 4 cash The account was dated at Canton, 13 January 1755, and signed by Thomas Thomson and Samuel Blount, with errors excepted. Interpretations The <i>Onslow's</i> cargo is dominated by sugar and sugar candy, twenty five chests in all making up the bulk of her lading beyond the single chest of porcelain and the teas. This heavy proportion of sugar reflects the place of the commodity in the China trade, sugar being grown and refined in China and shipped home as a staple return cargo alongside the tea and porcelain for which the trade was chiefly conducted. The chest-by-chest weighing of every one of the twenty five, each recorded with its net contents before the whole was converted into piculs and priced in tael, shows the same meticulous accounting applied to the sugar as to the finer goods, no chest passing unweighed in the reckoning that governed the receipt of the cargo. The signature of the supercargoes Thomson and Blount at Canton, like those on the other China invoices, attests the purchases made at the single port through which all the trade with China was compelled to pass. The dating of the invoice at Canton in January, months before its arrival and checking at the island, marks the long interval between the making up of a cargo on the far side of the world and its passage through St Helena on the homeward route. The recurrence of different supercargoes' names on the several China invoices, Misenor, Burrow, Hume and Mapletoft on one, Thomson and Blount on another, shows the body of commercial officers the Company maintained at Canton to conduct its purchases, the men whose dealings with the Chinese merchants filled the homeward ships with the goods that passed through the island's store and on to the markets of England.
374	367	1755 In the Name of God Amen I Richard Mason of the Isl St Helena Planter having made my last Will and Testament bearing Date February the fourth One thousand Seven Hund and Fifty which I hereby Confirm and do also Will and Direct that this Codicil shall be taken and Deemed as part of my said Will as followeth Imprimis I give to my Grandson Richard Mason a Black Boy named Dick whom I bought of Captain Braund	The planters attended in accordance with the advertisement published on the previous Monday, when the twenty eighth paragraph of the letter from the Court of Directors, dated 17 November 1734, forbidding them to retail spirituous liquor, was read to them. The council likewise directed the several claimants upon the estate of the late Governor Goodwin to attend on the following Thursday to receive their several proportions of the money to be divided among them, in accordance with the directors' orders.

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		Item I give to my Grandson Benjamin Mason the Sum of Twenty Pounds in Cash, those two Legacies to be delverd at the Age of 21 years or Marriage and in Case of the Death of either before Age or Marriage that the Survivor to have both the Legacies Signed this 25 Day of March 1754 in the presence of us Signed Rich Bagley Orlando Bigley Signed Rich Mason The Plantation, Gunners and Stewards Account for the month Ending the 11 instant were this Day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows Vizt	The council bought from Captain Fernell the following articles for the use of the Company's table. 1 jar containing 40lb raisins of the sun, £0 2s 1d 50lb currants, £1 1s 0d 2 half firkins butter, £3 12s 0d 47lb cheese, £2 7s 6d 2 bottles capers, £0 7s 0d 6 bottles mustard, £0 12s 0d Total, £10 9s 6d The account was dated at St Helena, 21 April 1755, and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The purchase of raisins of the sun, currants, capers and mustard from the departing captain shows the island stocking its table with the imported groceries that home custom required but the island could not grow. Raisins of the sun were grapes dried whole in the sun rather than by artificial heat, and these together with the currants furnished the dried fruit for the puddings and cakes of an English kitchen, while the capers and mustard supplied the relishes and condiments of the table. These small luxuries, bought piecemeal from the ships as they called, reveal the dependence of even the governor's establishment on the passing vessels for the ordinary refinements of English eating, the groceries of home reaching the island only by the chance of a captain having them to sell. The butter and cheese bought in quantity, two half firkins of the one and forty seven pounds of the other, point to the island's inability to supply its own dairy produce in the amount the table required, obliging it to buy from the ships. Though the island kept cattle, its dairying evidently fell short of the demand of the establishment, so that butter and cheese were purchased from the vessels' stores like the dried fruit and condiments. This reliance on imported dairy goods, alongside the home-raised beef and mutton, shows the mixed basis of the table's supply, the island furnishing its own fresh meat but drawing on the ships for the butter, cheese and groceries that completed an English larder in the middle of the ocean.
375	368	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12 March to the 11 April 1755 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Turkeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Foales, Zebras, Total Remaining the 12: 5 Bulls, 80 Cows, 92 Calves, 15 Yearlings, 41 Heifers, 5 Steers, 12 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 264 Total, 165 Ewes, 66 Weathers, 218 Lambs, 7 Rams, 456 Total, 119 Ewes, 27 Weathers, 174 Kids, 8 Rams, 328 Total, 12 Sows, 0 Shoats, 23 Pigs, 1 Boars, 36 Total, 66 Turkeys, 291 Fowls, 62 Ducks, 23 Geese, 6 Horses, 7 Mares, 13 Total, 1 Foales, 3 Zebras, 4 Total Encreased: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 2 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 2 Oxen, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 121 Lambs, 0 Rams, 121 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 30 Kids, 0 Rams, 30 Total, 0 Sows, 8 Shoats, 0 Pigs, 0 Boars, 8 Total, 6 Turkeys, 0 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total, 0 Foales, 0 Zebras, 0 Total Total: 5 Bulls, 80 Cows, 94 Calves, 15 Yearlings, 41 Heifers, 5 Steers, 12 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 266 Total, 165 Ewes, 66 Weathers, 339 Lambs, 7 Rams, 577 Total, 119 Ewes, 27 Weathers, 204 Kids, 8 Rams, 358 Total, 12 Sows, 8 Shoats, 23 Pigs, 1 Boars, 44 Total, 72 Turkeys, 291 Fowls, 62 Ducks, 23 Geese, 6 Horses, 7 Mares, 13 Total, 1 Foales, 3 Zebras, 4 Total	At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 April 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 21 April 1755, was read, approved and signed. The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods short received from the invoice of the <i>Onslow</i>. 1 bowl, broke 1 saucer, broke The account was dated 22 April 1755 and signed by Purling, storekeeper. As a person was much wanted to oversee the slaves and management of the Company's plantations in Sandy Bay in the room of John Swaits, lately dead, the council appointed Samuel Alexander as overseer at the usual salary of £30 0s 0d a year. Interpretations The appointment of Samuel Alexander to oversee the slaves and the plantations at Sandy Bay, filling the place of the overseer John Swaits who had died a few days earlier, reveals the structure by which the Company managed its landed estates and the labour that worked them. The overseer was the officer set over the slaves and the cultivation on a particular part of the Company's lands, responsible for the direction of the unfree labour force and the running of the plantation, and his salary of £30 placed him among the middling servants of the establishment. That the post was filled at once on the

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		Killed: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 0 Calves, 10 Yearlings, 2 Heifers, 5 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 17 Oxen, 7 Total, 0 Ewes, 1 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 9 Rams, 0 Total, 3 Ewes, 4 Weathers, 0 Kids, 7 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Sows, 2 Shoats, 2 Pigs, 0 Boars, 4 Total, 4 Turkeys, 33 Fowls, 15 Ducks, 1 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total, 0 Foales, 0 Zebras, 0 Total Died: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 0 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 1 Oxen, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 1 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Kids, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 1 Sows, 0 Shoats, 3 Pigs, 0 Boars, 2 Total, 1 Turkeys, 0 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total, 0 Foales, 0 Zebras, 0 Total Killed by Cats: 0 Bulls, 0 Cows, 0 Calves, 0 Yearlings, 0 Heifers, 0 Steers, 0 Bullocks, 0 Oxen, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Lambs, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Ewes, 0 Weathers, 0 Kids, 0 Rams, 0 Total, 0 Sows, 0 Shoats, 0 Pigs, 0 Boars, 0 Total, 0 Turkeys, 12 Fowls, 0 Ducks, 0 Geese, 0 Horses, 0 Mares, 0 Total, 0 Foales, 0 Zebras, 0 Total Remaining the 11: 5 Bulls, 80 Cows, 94 Calves, 15 Yearlings, 31 Heifers, 3 Steers, 7 Bullocks, 14 Oxen, 249 Total, 157 Ewes, 66 Weathers, 338 Lambs, 7 Rams, 568 Total, 119 Ewes, 24 Weathers, 200 Kids, 8 Rams, 351 Total, 12 Sows, 6 Shoats, 20 Pigs, 1 Boars, 30 Total, 65 Turkeys, 246 Fowls, 45 Ducks, 21 Geese, 6 Horses, 7 Mares, 13 Total, 1 Foales, 3 Zebras, 4 Total Prince Edward 560 Sandwich 560 To the Ships Colchester 560 Grantham 560 Warwick 560 Exeter 560 To the Ships Essex 560 Norfolk 560 3 Goats for the Sick Slaves One Boy born named Phillip Yams Expended 19455 Refuse yam for Stock 5400 Errors Excepted Signed John Adamson Margin Notes: 11 April	death of its holder shows the necessity of continuous supervision over the slaves and the crops, the plantations requiring a resident overseer to keep the labour to its work and the estate in order. The location of these plantations at Sandy Bay, on the exposed southern coast of the island, marks the dispersal of the Company's agricultural operations to the several districts where the land could be cultivated. Sandy Bay, from which lime was also quarried and carried by boat, was one of the areas where the Company held and worked land with its own slaves, distinct from the settlers' holdings, and the maintenance of an overseer there shows the corporation farming directly as well as leasing land to tenants. This direct exploitation of its estates by slave labour under salaried overseers was one of the ways the Company drew produce from the island, its plantations worked alongside those of the planters to supply the provisions on which the settlement and its shipping depended.
376	369	1755 Gunners Stores Expended from the 12 of March to the 11 April 1755 Vizt Guns fired, 6 lb, 4 lb, 3 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended March 16 An Alarm: 6 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 11 Powder Expended Arrived the Grantham returned the Salute: 9 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended 18 An Alarm at Banks's: 22 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended 19 An Do: 6 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended Arrived the Warwick Returned the Salute: 9 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 8 Powder Expended Departed the Sandwich Do the Do: 9 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended Departed the Prince Edward Returned the Salute: 9 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended Do for Do at Banks's: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended	James Carmichael, one of the soldiers lately discharged from the Company's service, requested that he might serve the remainder of his contracted time, which the council agreed to, and he had the articles of war read to him by the adjutant. Corporal William Lindsay and Robert Ballard, soldiers who had the articles of war twice read to them and had consented to serve the East India Company subject to those articles for the remainder of their contracted times, had since alleged that they did not hear the words subject to the articles of war. The council sent for Lindsay and Ballard and took the following depositions in their presence. Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick, being duly sworn, deposed that he asked Corporal Lindsay on Saturday the 12th whether he was willing to serve the East India Company subject to the articles of war for the remainder of the time he had contracted for, to which Lindsay answered yes by all means. Lieutenant William Kennedy, being likewise duly sworn, deposed that he was by and heard Lieutenant Kirkpatrick ask Lindsay the above words, and declared that he heard Lindsay make the same answer. Kennedy further deposed that he asked Lindsay what answer he had made to Mr Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The dispute over whether the soldiers heard the words subject to the articles of war exposes the legal significance of the phrase and the care the council took to establish that it had been spoken and

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		Do for Do at Prosperous Bay: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 3 Powder Expended 23 An Alarm for a Ship that went by: 6 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended Powder for Priming in order to return the Salute p Sh John: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended 27 An Alarm: 6 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended An Do at Suchs Craps for the same Ship: 2 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 4 Powder Expended Arrived the Exeter Returned the Salute: 9 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended 29 Departed the Warwick Returned the Salute: 9 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended April 2 An Alarm at Banks's: 22 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended An Do: 6 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended Arrived the Essex Returned the Salute: 9 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended 4 An Alarm: 6 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended Arrived the Norfolk Returned the Salute: 9 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 1 8 Powder Expended Fired to salute Govr Saunders arrival on Shore: 19 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 1 3 lb, 18 1 lb, 13 8 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 3 8 Powder Expended Departed the Grantham Returned the Salute: 9 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended 10 An Alarm: 6 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 2 4 lb, 2 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 2 12 Powder Expended Arrived the Princess Augusta returned the Do: 9 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 9 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 9 8 Powder Expended Powder for Priming: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 42 Powder Expended Do for the Funeral of John Bradley: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 0 Powder Expended Do for Signals: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 0 Powder Expended Do for Shooting Goats: 0 Guns fired, 0 6 lb, 0 4 lb, 0 3 lb, 0 1 lb, 0 Powder Expended Total 157 4 6 15 108 4 246	acknowledged. The articles of war were the code of military law and discipline to which a soldier bound himself on enlistment, governing his conduct and the punishments to which he was liable, and a man's submission to them was the foundation of the authority the Company held over him. The soldiers' claim that they had not heard the crucial words was an attempt to escape that submission, and the council's response of taking sworn depositions from the officers who administered the engagement shows the seriousness with which it treated any challenge to the binding force of the articles, the whole discipline of the garrison resting on the soldiers being lawfully subject to them. The taking of formal depositions on oath, with one officer corroborating another's account of the words spoken, reveals the council acting as a court of record in a matter of military discipline, applying the procedures of sworn evidence to determine a question of fact. That the men were sent for and the depositions taken in their presence shows a regard for the forms of justice even in a disciplinary dispute, the soldiers confronted with the sworn testimony against their claim rather than simply overruled. This resort to the machinery of oaths and depositions to settle whether an enlistment had been validly made reflects the council's function as the island's judicial authority, the same body that proved wills and tried debts here determining a contested question of military engagement by the methods of a court. Speculations The council chose to meet the soldiers' claim by taking sworn depositions from the officers rather than simply asserting its authority and compelling the men to serve. Faced with two soldiers alleging they had not heard the binding words, the council could have overridden the objection by the plain exercise of its power, the more direct course, but instead it assembled formal evidence on oath to establish that the words had been spoken and acknowledged. This resort to proof rather than mere command reveals a concern that the soldiers' submission to the articles of war should rest on a demonstrable legal foundation, the reason lying in the vulnerability of a disputed enlistment to later challenge, so that the council secured the men's service by building a record that could withstand any renewed claim that the engagement had been invalidly made.
377	370	21 April Lead Balls for Shooting Goats No 1 Hand Spikes broke in the Long Boat 1 Do at Turks Cap 1 Paper for the use of the Gardener 3 Qr Wooden Trucks broke at the Main Fort Qr 6 match burt at the main Fort 6 The Flag at Prosperous Bay worne out & Unserviceable 1 Signed Thomas Hall Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11 April 1755 Vizt 6 bottles Port Wine £ . 9 2 1/2 42 Do Lisbon 3 4 6 1/2 38 Do Madera	Kennedy deposed that when he asked Lindsay what answer he had made to Mr Kirkpatrick, Lindsay replied that he had said yes with all his heart. Francis Mowatt, the adjutant, being duly sworn, deposed that on the 12th of the month he asked Robert Ballard whether he was willing to serve the East India Company subject to the articles of war for the remainder of the time he had contracted for. As he did not hear Ballard's answer distinctly at first, he asked him the same question a second time, when Ballard said yes. Sergeant William Langhorn, who was by with the roll of the company to mark the names of those re-enlisted and of those who refused to serve upon the above terms, being duly sworn, deposed to the same effect as the adjutant Mowatt had done. The two men William Lindsay and Robert Ballard had been under arms on the 3rd of the month when the Act of Parliament and articles of war were

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		4 10 7 1/2 90 Do Bar 1 3 10 1/2 56 Do Arrach 1 17 11 362 Do Flour 2 9 7 1/2 133 1/2 Beef 3 8 4 1/2 311 Mutton 6 9 7 1 Lamb . 10 . 4 Kids 1 . . 30 Fresh Pork 1 5 . 2 Pigs . 10 . 4 lb Salt Pork . 8 . 53 Fowls 2 9 6 15 Ducks 1 2 6 4 Turkeys 1 . . 1 Goose . 5 . 93 Candy 1 11 8 38 1/2 Butter 1 18 9 £ 37 13 6 1/2	read. The governor several times asked all the soldiers then present whether they distinctly heard them, and not one man answered in the negative. When the company were mustered on the 12th and the articles of war were read again, every man was asked whether he was willing to serve the remainder of his contracted time subject to those articles, and Lindsay and Ballard answered yes, as appeared by the above testimonies. As neither of them had made known to any officer what they now pretended not to have heard until some days after they consented to serve, the council for these reasons thought it nothing but a prevarication in them. The council therefore read to them the third and fourth articles against mutiny and sedition, ordered them to their duty, and warned them to be very circumspect in their future behaviour. Interpretations The council's conclusion that the soldiers' claim was nothing but a prevarication, reached after weighing the sworn testimony of four officers against the men's bare assertion, shows the governing body determining a contested question of fact by the evidence before it and finding against the claimants. The weight of the corroborating depositions, each officer confirming that the binding words had been spoken and the men had assented, left the council satisfied that Lindsay and Ballard had heard and agreed, and that their later denial was a contrivance to escape the engagement. This reasoned finding, grounded on the testimony and the men's failure to raise the objection at the time, reveals the council applying the ordinary tests of credibility that a court would use, the belated and uncorroborated claim rejected in the face of consistent sworn evidence to the contrary. The reading to the men of the articles against mutiny and sedition, rather than the infliction of any punishment, shows the council choosing admonition over penalty in dealing with the recalcitrant soldiers. Having established that the men were bound, the council might have punished their attempt to evade service, but instead it warned them by reading the articles that dealt with the gravest military offences and ordering them to their duty, a measured response that secured their obedience while leaving the door open to good behaviour. This preference for warning over punishment reflects a concern to hold the men to their service without driving them to worse defiance, the council mindful that a small garrison could ill afford to lose or embitter its soldiers and seeking rather to bring the two back to their duty than to make an example of them. The mention of an Act of Parliament read alongside the articles of war reveals that the discipline of the Company's soldiers rested on statutory as well as internal authority, the military law of the state extending to the forces of the corporation.
378	371	1755 The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of goods short received from Ships Princess Augusta and Triton Vizt Account of Store Short Received from the following Ships Vizt From Ship Princess Augusta 2 meat Plates } Broke 1 Saucer 8 Candy short Weight From Ship Triton 9 meat Plates 2 Soup Dishes 1 Bason 6 Soup Plates } Broke, the outside Package 7 Bowls } being no ways Damaged 10 Smashen	Charles Smith, one of the soldiers lately discharged from the Company's service, requested on the 20th that he might serve the remainder of his contracted time, which the council agreed to, and he had the articles of war read to him by the adjutant. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Thursday 24 April 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 22 April 1755, was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 22 April Rebecca, wife of Thomas Harper the marshal, died. The several claimants upon the estate of the late Governor Goodwin attended in accordance with the

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		14 Half Pint Cups 13 Do pint 11 Do Saucers 2 Sauce Boats 5 Coffee Cups } Signed Purling Storekeeper That the Planters Should have timely Notice to send down the Cattle that might be required for the Honorable Companys Ships and the Cofs might not be Disappointed, we Directed the following paragraph to be sent to each of them Sir That you may be regularly supplied with fresh Beef for your Ships Company, we Desire you will constantly send a Note to Mr Wrangham the Secretary early in the Morning the Day before you want any that there may be sufficient Time to have it provided for you	order of the previous Monday and were paid their proportions of the sum of £141 10s 11½d, as their following receipts showed. Interpretations The repeated re-enlistment of discharged soldiers, Charles Smith following Carmichael, Lindsay and Ballard in seeking to serve out their contracted time, reveals a pattern of men leaving and rejoining the Company's service within days of their discharge. That soldiers formally released should so soon ask to serve the remainder of their time suggests that discharge did not always mean a settled intention to depart, some men taking their release and then thinking better of it, or discharged and re-engaged as a matter of form to renew their terms. The council's ready agreement in each case, with the articles of war read afresh to bind the returning man, shows the garrison absorbing these fluctuations in its strength, glad to retain trained soldiers on a station where men were hard to keep. The division of the late Governor Goodwin's estate among several claimants, the sum of £141 10s 11½d apportioned and paid out against their receipts, shows the council completing the administration of a deceased governor's affairs that it had set in train the previous week. The taking of receipts from each claimant as he was paid his share reflects the careful accounting that governed even this distribution, the council discharging its responsibility for the estate by documenting each payment so that the whole division could be vouched. This winding up of a former governor's estate under the council's hand, the money gathered and shared among those with claims upon it, illustrates once more the reach of the governing body into every legal and financial matter of the island, the settlement of the dead as much its concern as the government of the living.
379	372	21 April The Ship Onslow brought us the following Supply Vizt Invoice of Ship Onslow No 1 One Chest of China Ware Vizt 4 Setts of round Dishes and Plates By Wat S m c c S m c c Silas m c c B P Do SP 5 20 Ps 12 Each Sett Ca 3 5 . 14 . 2 Soup Dishes Do . 9 . 18 . 20 Do Plates Do . 4 . 8 . 20 Smashen Do . 25 . 5 . 10 Bowls Do . 13 . 13 . 2 Chamber Potts Do . 26 . 52 . 3 Do Larger Do . 36 1 8 5 Gaglets and Basons Do . 3 . 13 . 20 Quarten Cups & Saucers Enamelld . 45 . 9 . 20 half Pint Do & Do Dragon . 6 5 13 . 18 Single Coffee Cups B & W . 15 . 27 . 5 Sauce Boats Do . 13 . 75 . 24 7 3 . 24 p C Discount for Breakage 4 0 1 24 2 2 6 The Chest 4 2 24 6 46 2 & 3 Two Tubs of Singlo Tea Vizt Gross Weight 176 Tare 18 p C 37 p C Nett lb 139 is 1 4 C 24 24 96 4 & 5 Two Chests of Congho Tea Vizt Gross Weight 213 Tare 21 p C Each 43 p C Nett lb 170 or 1 27 C 24 30 48 6 to 9 Sour Chests of Bohea Tea Vizt Gross Weight 346 C Tare 19 p C each 76 p C Nett lb 270 is 2 2 C 165 33 33 Carried Over Silas 113 4 16	The receipt recorded that on 24 April 1755 the several claimants received from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, by the hands of Governor Charles Hutchinson and the council of St Helena, the several sums set opposite their names, in full of all demands upon the estate of the late Governor John Goodwin. Francis Wrangham, £63 2s 0d Joshua Worrall, John Doveton for the heirs of Eleanor Worrall deceased, £23 2s 6½d Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson, John Clark, £17 17s 8d Purling for John Bartholomew deceased, £3 19s 9½d John Doveton for the heirs of Jonathan Doveton deceased, £3 16s 1½d James Richardson for Thomas Richardson deceased, £1 13s 7d Richard Beale, £1 9s 2½d John Legg, one of the Company's soldiers, applied for his discharge from the garrison. Although his contracted time would not expire until the following March, he had procured Jonathan Hitchins, one of the discharged men, to serve in his place. Interpretations The list of claimants on Goodwin's estate reveals the network of persons who held demands against a deceased governor, several of them acting not for themselves but as administrators or representatives of others who had since died. The appearance of John Doveton claiming both for the heirs of Eleanor Worrall and for the heirs of Jonathan Doveton, and of others receiving on behalf of dead creditors, shows how claims upon an estate passed down through further deaths, the original creditors themselves deceased and their entitlements descending to heirs represented by administrators. This layering of claims through successive deaths illustrates the slow

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			settlement of affairs in a small community where the winding up of one estate became entangled with the deaths of those who had dealings with it, the council disentangling the several interests and paying each to its proper representative. The application of John Legg for discharge before his time by procuring another man to serve in his place reveals a practice of substitution by which a soldier might obtain early release. Legg's contracted time had months yet to run, but by finding Jonathan Hitchins, himself a discharged man, to take his place, he could seek to leave without breaking the garrison's strength. This arrangement, whereby one man bought or persuaded his way out by supplying a replacement, shows a flexibility in the enforcement of enlistment that allowed a soldier to depart early provided the garrison lost no man by it, the substitute stepping into the place the departing man left. The readiness of a discharged man to re-enlist as another's substitute reflects again the fluidity of the garrison's manpower, men moving in and out of service as their circumstances and inclinations changed, the Company content so long as the numbers held.
380	373	1755 S m c c S m c c S m c c Brought over 113 4 16 No 10 to 29 Twenty Chests of Sugar No vizt No 10 152 No 20 156 11 156 21 162 12 136 22 156 13 151 23 149 14 138 24 158 15 145 25 150 16 156 26 157 17 154 27 162 18 160 28 164 19 159 29 167 1507 1575 1567 Gross 3082 74 Tare 22 p each 440 p C Nett lb 2642 is 9 81 @ 5 1 101 31 101 31 30 to 34 Sive Chests of Sugar Candy vizt No 30 312 31 314 32 314 33 304 34 310 1554 lb Gross 180 Tare 36 each Nett lb 1374 is 10 30 @ 6 4 65 92 65 92 Canton 280 36 7 13 January 1755 Proportion of Charges 17 55 7 Silas 297 92 4 Errors Excepted Signed Thos Thomson Samuel Blount	As Hitchins was a carpenter whose skill was of frequent use to the Company, the council for this reason agreed to discharge John Legg and accept Hitchins in his place, and the articles of war were read to Hitchins by the adjutant. The record was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. At a consultation held on Monday 28 April 1755 at the castle, the members present were Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of council. The previous consultation, dated 24 April 1755, was read, approved and signed. The council ordered the following advertisement to be published. Interpretations The council's acceptance of the substitution turned partly on Hitchins being a carpenter whose skill was frequently useful to the Company, a consideration that made the exchange positively advantageous rather than merely permissible. By taking a skilled tradesman in place of an ordinary soldier, the garrison gained a man whose craft it valued while releasing one whose time was nearly served, so that the substitution improved the quality of the force as well as maintaining its numbers. This shows the council weighing not only the strength of the garrison but the particular usefulness of the men who composed it, ready to favour an exchange that brought in a needed tradesman, the value of a carpenter on a station perpetually short of skilled hands tipping the balance in favour of the arrangement. Speculations The council agreed to discharge John Legg months before his term expired, the obvious course being to hold him to the time he had contracted for, and the record shows why the default was set aside. Legg had procured a substitute, and that substitute happened to be a carpenter whose skill the Company frequently needed, so the council released a soldier it might have kept because the exchange brought in a more useful man. The path not taken, simply enforcing Legg's remaining service, was passed over because the substitution offered a positive gain rather than a mere replacement, the reason lying in the standing scarcity of skilled tradesmen on the island, which made the acquisition of a carpenter worth the early release of an ordinary soldier whose time was in any case near its end.

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381	374	21 April The Planters this Day attended according to the Advertisement Published on Monday last when the twenty eighth Paragraph of the Letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors Dated the 17 November 1734 forbidding their retailing Spirituous Liquor, was read to them We likewise Directed the several Claimants upon the Estate of the late Governor Goodwin to attend us on Thursday next to receive their several Proportions of the Mony to be Divided amongst them according to their Honors Orders Bought of Captain Sernell the following Articles for the use of the Honorable Companys Table Vizt 1 Jar Cont 41 Pounds of the Sun £ 2 1 50 lb Currants 1 10 2 half firkins Butter 3 12 47 lb lb Cheese 2 7 6 2 Bottles Capers . 7 . 6 Bottles mustard . 12 . £ 10 9 6 St Helena 21 April 1755 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	The Court of Directors had been informed that very bad use had been made of the liberty given to the inhabitants of the island to purchase what liquors they pleased out of the ships, many of them retailing the liquor in a clandestine manner in various parts of the island, to the great prejudice of both slaves and free inhabitants, the vice of drunkenness having apparently and greatly increased of late. The directors' only intention in granting the liberty had been that the inhabitants might be furnished with liquors from time to time for the use of themselves and their families only. The council therefore strictly forbade all the inhabitants of the island, except those who kept licensed houses, to retail any spirituous liquor in future, as they would answer the contrary at their peril. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been aboard the <i>Onslow</i> to muster her company and search for deserters, but found none. Her muster roll was as follows. Thomas Hinde, commander Edward Mathews, first mate Ambrose Loch, second mate Pitt Collet, third mate John Gordon, fourth mate Roderick Orton, fifth mate Robert Skinner, purser Patrick Campbell, surgeon John Stevens, captain's steward Thomas Hodgson, ship's steward John Smith, carpenter Archibald Boyd, boatswain Abraham Wheatley, gunner John Gaddy, caulker Hugh Kirkwood, sailmaker Frances Herney, cooper John Silbet, captain's cook John Brooks, ship's cook William Briant, captain's first mate John King, second mate Alexander Cunningham, surgeon's mate William Clarke, cooper's mate Benjamin Williams, caulker John Bath, boatswain's mate Interpretations The directors' order against the clandestine retailing of liquor sets out the reasoning behind the restriction with unusual fullness, revealing the concern that lay behind the Company's regulation of the drink trade. The liberty to buy liquor from the ships had been granted for the private use of the inhabitants and their families, but it had been abused by settlers who bought and then sold the liquor secretly, spreading drunkenness among slaves and free inhabitants alike. The directors' anxiety over the increase of the vice of drunkenness, and its effect on both parts of the island's population, exposes the social disorder that unrestricted drink could cause in the confined community, and the Company's determination to confine the sale of spirits to the licensed houses it could oversee and tax. The particular mention of the prejudice to the slaves reveals a concern for the effect of drink on the labour force as much as on the free settlers, the slaves being the Company's property and their debauchery by liquor a loss to the corporation. The order's linking of slaves and free inhabitants together as victims of the clandestine trade shows the authorities alert to the disorder that drink could breed among the enslaved, whose intoxication threatened both their value as workers and the security of a society that held them in bondage. This attention to the drinking of the slaves, framed as a harm to be prevented, exposes the calculation beneath the Company's paternalism, the welfare of the enslaved considered chiefly as it bore on their usefulness and on the good

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			order of the plantation economy that depended on their labour.
382	375	22 April At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 22 Day of April 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 21 April 1755 The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods Short received from the Invoice of Ship Onslow Account of Stores Short received from Ship Onslow 22 April 1755 1 Bowl } Broke 1 Saucer Signed M Purling Storekeeper As a Person is much wanted to oversee the Blacks and management of the Honorable Companys Plantations in Sandy Bay in the Room of John Swaits lately Deceased, we have therefore appointed Mr Samuel Alexander as overseer at the usual Salary of thirty Pounds p Ann	The muster roll of the <i>Onslow</i> continued with the remaining hands, supercargoes, servants and passengers. James Chesnut, boatswain's mate Richard Thorfield, gunner William Sarr, armourer Nathanael Savey, butcher Samuel Woodward, second master William Price, second master David Acton, second master Ausel Stevens, second master Richard Briggs, midshipman Joseph Pill, midshipman Henry Monday, midshipman Thomas Whitewood, midshipman Isaac Docker, midshipman John Gavel, fifth mate Robert Moore, sixth mate John Cox, seaman John Bowers, seaman George Young, seaman John Brichley, seaman John Sweedy, seaman Andrew Davison, seaman George Davis, seaman George Gram, seaman James Reed, seaman John Greeves, seaman Thomas Adams, seaman John Marriot, seaman John Clifton, seaman William Hattindall, seaman David Anson, seaman Thomas Driver, seaman Laurence Whitham, seaman John Palmer, seaman Daniel Dean, seaman John Elder, seaman John Julican, seaman Charles Littlestone, seaman William Wilford, seaman William Toling, seaman William Frazier, seaman John Steanman, seaman Edward Hoskins, seaman John Willson, seaman Robert Booksley, seaman John Williamson, seaman George Baxter, seaman Robert Curtis, seaman Joseph Barker, seaman John Malborough, seaman John Mason, seaman James Porter, seaman James Beauty, seaman William Maund, seaman Edward Gale, seaman Thomas Daniel, seaman Matthew Nicholson, seaman Lucas Sander Hyde, seaman Charles Frederick, seaman John Johnston, seaman Corlas Sainson, seaman Lambert Tyson, seaman John Webber, seaman John Baptist Rennuce, seaman Hugo Griest Bocinda, captain's servant Arthur Gore, first mate's servant George Archer, second mate's servant Robert Houston, sergeant Thomas Willoughby, boatswain Isaac Overley, gunner Samuel Heming, captain's servant

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			Super cargoes: Thomas Thomson Samuel Blount Benjamin Sorin Servants: Richard Scot John Owen Passengers: John Yothern John Sorin, servant The paymaster brought in his accounts, and the storekeeper his collections, for the quarter ending the 11th, which were examined and approved. Interpretations The listing of three supercargoes among the <i>Onslow's</i> company, Thomson, Blount and Sorin, identifies the very men whose signatures had attested her Canton invoice, travelling home aboard the ship whose cargo they had purchased. The supercargoes sailed with the goods they had bought at Canton, responsible for the commercial side of the voyage as the captain was for its navigation, and their presence on the muster roll shows the commercial and the maritime establishments of the ship carried together. That the men who signed the invoice at Canton in January were now mustered at St Helena in April, homeward bound with their cargo, illustrates the whole arc of a China voyage, the supercargoes accompanying the season's purchases from the port of lading to the markets of England by way of the island. The seamen entered as John Baptist Rennuce and Hugo Griest Bocinda, together with Lucas Sander Hyde and Corlas Sainson, mark once more the international character of the crew, names of French, German and other continental origin scattered through the roll. The <i>Onslow's</i> company, like those of every ship mustered at the island, drew its hands from across Europe, and the recurrence of such names on ship after ship confirms beyond doubt that the maritime labour of the eastern trade rested on a workforce gathered from every seafaring nation. The bringing in of the paymaster's accounts and the storekeeper's collections for the quarter marks the return of the regular cycle of financial reckoning, the three-monthly settlement of the island's pay and revenue resuming its course amid the constant traffic of the ships.
383	376	22 April James Carmichael one of the Soldiers lately Demised from the Honorable Company's Service this Day requested that he might serve the remainder of his contracted Time, which we agreed to, and had the Articles of War, read to him by the Adjutant Corporal William Lindsay and Robert Ballard Soldiers who had the Articles of War twice read to them, and had consented to serve the Honorable the East Indian Company subject to those Articles for the Remainder of their contracted Times having since alledgd, that they did not hear the Words Subject to the Articles of War We this Day sent for the said Lindsay, and Ballard and took the following Depositions in their Presence Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick being duly Sworn Deposeeth that he asked Corporal Lindsay on Saterday the 12 instant, whether he was willing to serve the	This list set out the Company's officers and servants on St Helena with their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter beginning 12 January and ending 11 April 1755. Charles Hutchinson, governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d, £156 14s 9d John Adamson, lieutenant governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Diet money, £25 0s 0d, £87 10s 0d John Clark, of council, £15 0s 0d John Goodwin, accountant, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £35 0s 0d Matthew Purling, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d, £32 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d, £32 10s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d, £40 0s 0d James Powell, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d Assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £25 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d

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		Honorable the East India Company subject to the Articles of War, the remainder of the Time he contracted for, to which the said Lindsay answered Yes by all means Lieutenant William Kennedy being likewise duly Sworn, Deposeth that he was by, and heard Lieutenant Kirkpatrick, ask the said Lindsay the above words, and Declares that he heard the said Lindsay make the same Answer, Mr Kennedy further Deposeth that he asked the said Lindsay what answer he made to Mr Kirkpatrick	House rent, £2 10s 0d, £20 0s 0d William Wrangham, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £17 10s 0d Charles Steward, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d, £15 0s 0d John Inglis, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £22 5s 0d Thomas Evans, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d, £16 5s 0d Carried over, £482 14s 9d Interpretations The quarterly pay list reproduces almost exactly the establishment recorded three months earlier, the same officers in the same posts drawing the same salaries, diet money and house rent. This near-identical repetition confirms the stability of the island's civil establishment over the quarter, the covenanted servants from the governor down to the surgeon's mate holding their places and their pay unchanged, the administration continuing in the same hands. The one notable name is the accountant John Goodwin, sharing the surname of the late governor whose estate had just been divided, a reminder of how the same families recurred through the island's service, the offices of the establishment filled from a small circle whose members and their kin held them in succession. The consistency of the pay structure, salary supplemented by diet money and for most officers house rent, shows the settled system by which the Company remunerated its servants on the island. The threefold division of pay remained constant across the quarters, each officer's entitlement made up of the same components in the same proportions, so that the pay list could be reproduced almost unchanged from one quarter to the next. This regularity reflects the bureaucratic order the Company imposed on even its remotest station, the establishment fixed and its cost predictable, the quarterly reckoning a matter of transcribing a settled list rather than calculating afresh, the machinery of pay running on as steadily as the herds and the shipping that the other accounts recorded.
384	377	1755 Mr Kirkpatrick, who replied that he had said Yes with all his Heart Francis Mowatt the Adjutant being duly Sworn Deposeth that on the 12 Day of this Month he asked Robert Ballard whether he was willing to serve the Honorable the East India Company subject to the Articles of War, the remainder of the Time he contracted for, but as he did neither Ballards Answer Distinctly at first, he asked him the same question a second Time, when the said Ballard then said Yes Sergeant William Langhorn who was by with the roll of the Company to mark the names of such as consented and of them that refused to serve upon the above Terms being duly Sworn Deposeth to the same effect that Mr Mowatt the Adjutant has done The above two Men William Lindsay, and Robert Ballard were under Arms the 5 of this month, when the Act of Parliament, and Articles of War, were read, The Governor several Times asked all the Soldiers then Present, whether they	The pay list continued with the remaining officers, tradesmen and the First Company. Brought over, £482 14s 9d John Swaits, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, £7 10s 0d George Young, overseer, £7 10s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d As clerk, £5 0s 0d, £8 8s 3d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £1 10s 0d, £29 0s 0d Mark Hawkins, mason, salary, £12 10s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £1 0s 0d, £20 6s 10½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, master of arms, £6 5s 0d James Sheridan, gardener, £10 0s 0d Thomas Loving, carpenter, £12 10s 0d Thomas Cheeslinough, carpenter's mate, £7 10s 0d Robert John Clark, armourer, from 12 January to 17 March, the day he was dismissed the service, £7 11s 8d John Yeale, from 18 March to the day he was entered, £2 18s 4d John Hayes, armourer's mate, £9 0s 0d James Forbet, cooper, £8 15s 0d Michael Frost, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Nicholas Grafton, patron of the long boat, £7 10s 0d

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		Distinctly heard them, not one Man answered in the Negative When the Companys were mustered the 12 instant, and the Articles of War were read again, and every Man asked whether he was willing to serve the remainder of his contracted Time subject to those Articles, Lindsay and Ballard answered Yes as appears by the above Testimonys, As neither of them did make known to any Officer, what they now pretend not to have heard, untill some Days after they consented to serve, we for these Reasons think it is nothing but a Prevarication in them, and therefore had the third and fourth Articles against Mutiny and Sedition, read to them, We then Ordered them to their Duty and to be very circumspect in their future behaviour	Thomas Beauer, housekeeper, £2 0s 0d Thomas Harper, marshal, £5 6s 5½d, £80 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, £37 3s 1½d Carried over, £799 9s 5½d Interpretations The divided entry for the armourer's post records the transition worked out earlier in the quarter, Robert John Clark paid to 17 March when he was dismissed the service and John Yeale from 18 March when he was entered in his place. This split payment gives effect on the pay list to the arrangement by which the ailing Clark had been released and the armourer of the <i>Prince Edward</i> taken on to succeed him, the wage reckoned to the exact day of the change so that each man was paid for the portion of the quarter he served. The appearance here of the substitution first recorded in March shows the pay ledger faithfully registering the movements of the establishment, every change in its personnel reflected in the apportioning of the wage. The naming of Nicholas Grafton as patron of the long boat, in the place held by Thomas Smith on the earlier list, records another change among the island's tradesmen over the quarter. The patron of the long boat, the coxswain in charge of the garrison's principal working craft, was a post of daily importance in a settlement dependent on its boats, and its passing to a new holder shows the turnover among even the specialised servants of the establishment. The steady recurrence of the same functional posts across the quarters, master mason, carpenter, armourer, cooper, gardener and patron of the long boat, each filled whatever the change of individual, reveals the fixed structure of skilled offices the Company maintained to keep the works, the boats and the equipment of the island in order, the men changing but the establishment enduring.
385	378	22 April Charles Smith one of the Soldiers lately Dismissed from the Honorable Companys Service requested on the 20 instant that he might serve the remainder of his contracted Time, which we agreed to, and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation holden Thursday the 24 Day of April 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 22 April 1755 Tuesday the 22 Died Rebecca Wife of Thomas Harper Marshall The several Claimants upon the Estate of the late Governor Goodwin attended according to the Order of Monday last and were paid their proportions of the Sum of one hundred and forty one pounds ten Shillings and eleven pence half penney as p their following receipts Vizt	The pay list continued with the remaining officers, sergeants, corporals and sentinels of the First Company. Brought over, £799 9s 5½d Stephen Herbert, second lieutenant, salary, £18 3s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 11s 10½d Francis Mowatt, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants: Solomon Jacobs, £7 12s 1d Thomas Brown, from 12 January to 17 March, the day he was discharged, £5 9s 2d William Davis, £7 12s 1d, £20 13s 4d Corporals: John Swift, from 12 January to 24 March, the day he was discharged, £4 4s 0d John Howard, from 12 January to 17 March as corporal, £3 15s 10d John Howard, from 18 March, once as sergeant, £2 2s 11d, £5 18s 9d Humphrey Pugh, £5 6s 5½d, £15 9s 2½d John Vaughan, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Sentinels: Andrew Armstrong, from 12 January to 17 March, the day he was discharged, £2 14s 2d George Bennet, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Brown, £3 16s 0½d James Bamford, £3 16s 0½d John Bushe, £3 16s 0½d John Bagley, £3 16s 0½d Matthew Campbell, £3 16s 0½d

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			James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d Phillip Cole, £3 16s 0½d George Capelin, £3 16s 0½d William Cocksey, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £40 15s 0d Carried over, £811 18s 5½d Interpretations The broken entries in the First Company, the sergeant Thomas Brown, the corporal John Swift and the sentinel Andrew Armstrong each paid to the day of his discharge, register the departure of the time-served men who had sought their release as the homeward ships offered passage. Their wages reckoned to the exact day of leaving show the pay ledger recording the steady outflow of soldiers whose terms had run their course, the discharges granted through the quarter reflected in the apportioning of each man's pay. This loss by discharge, set beside the earlier deaths, measures the constant turnover of a garrison held by fixed terms, its ranks continually thinned by the release of men who had served their allotted time. The double entry for John Howard, paid as corporal to 17 March and as sergeant from 18 March, records a promotion within the quarter, the man raised from one rank to the next and his pay divided accordingly. This advancement, filling perhaps the place left by the discharged Thomas Brown, shows the ladder of promotion within the garrison, a vacancy in the higher rank opening a step for the man below. The reckoning of Howard's pay at the two rates for the two portions of the quarter reveals again the exactness of the ledger, which followed each man's changing station and paid him at the rate proper to his rank for the days he held it, the shifting order of the garrison's ranks captured precisely in the wage.
386	379	24 April Island St Helena Received this 24 day of April 1755 of the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company by the hands of Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor and Council of the said Island the several Sums set opposite to our respective names, being in full of all Demands upon the Estate of the late Governor John Goodwin Francis Wrangham £ 63 2 Jos Nowall John Doveton for the Heirs of Eleanor Worrall Dec 23 2 15 1/2 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson, John Clark 17 17 8 Purling for John Bartholoseeded 3 19 9 1/2 John Doveton for the Heirs of Jonal Doveton dec 3 16 1 1/2 James Richardson For Thos Richardson Dec 1 13 7 1/2 Rich Beale 1 9 2 1/2 John Legg one of the Honorable Companys Soldiers this Day applied for his Discharge from the Garrison altho his contracted Time will not expire untill March next but having procured Jonathan Hitchins one of the Damsfied Men Margin Notes: As Administrators to Richard Goodwin	The pay list continued with the remaining sentinels of the First Company. Brought over, £811 18s 5½d Sentinels brought over, £40 15s 0d Duncan Cameron, from 27 March, the day he was entered, £0 13s 4d James Easthope, £3 16s 0½d John Furz, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Paris, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d John Grainger, £3 16s 0½d John Grove, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d Richard Gedson, £3 16s 0½d John Gawler, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 0½d Humphrey Harrison, from 12 January to 3 March, the day he died, £2 2s 6d James Hendee, £3 16s 0½d William Hutchinson, from 12 January to 3 March, the day he was discharged, £2 2s 6d William Lambon, £3 16s 0½d John Legg, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Low, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lathfield, from 27 March, the day he was entered, £0 13s 4d John Murill, £3 16s 0½d James Mills, £3 16s 0½d John Marsh, £3 16s 0½d Nathanael Michael, £3 16s 0½d William Mountgomery, £3 16s 0½d John O'Hara, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Edward Robinson, from 12 January to 24 March as sentinel, £3 0s 0d Edward Robinson, from 25 January as corporal, £1 2s 5½d, £4 2s 5½d Sentinels carried over, £130 16s 0d

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			Carried over, £811 18s 5½d Interpretations The entry for the sentinel Humphrey Harrison, paid only to 3 March because that was the day he died, records among the pay roll the death that the gunner's account had marked with a funeral salute of powder. The reckoning of his wage to the exact day of his death, cut short by the missing portion of the quarter, shows the pay ledger and the powder account each registering the same event in its own terms, the one stopping the dead man's pay and the other noting the powder spent honouring him at his burial. This convergence of the two records on a single soldier's death reveals how the various accounts of the island together documented the life and loss of the garrison, each from its own vantage. The several men newly entered part way through the quarter, Duncan Cameron and Thomas Lathfield each paid from 27 March when they were entered, record the intake of fresh recruits to replace the departed and the dead. Their pay reckoned from the day of entering shows the garrison replenishing its ranks as vacancies opened, the new men taken on to fill the places left by discharge and death and paid only for the days they served. The double entry for Edward Robinson, paid as sentinel to 24 March and as corporal thereafter, records another promotion, the man raised from the ranks to fill a corporal's place. These movements together, the deaths, discharges, entries and promotions all reckoned to the day, reveal the constant flux of the garrison's composition and the exactness with which the pay ledger followed every change in the strength and rank of the men who held the island.
387	380	24 April Men and a Carpenter who is of frequent use to the Honorable Company to serve the remainder of it we for this reason agreed to Discharge John Legg, and accept of Hitchins in his Stead to whom the Articles of War were read, by the Adjutant Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 28 Day of April 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 24 of April 1755 Ordered the following Advertisement to be published Vizt	The pay list continued with the remaining sentinels of the First Company and the Second Company. Brought over, £811 18s 5½d Sentinels brought over, £130 16s 0d Joseph Renton, from 12 January to 17 March as sentinel, £2 14s 2d Joseph Renton, from 18 March, once as corporal, £1 10s 7½d, £4 4s 9½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0½d Charles Smith, £3 16s 0½d George Smith, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Stanbury, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Suffnall, £3 16s 0½d John Turner, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0½d Edward Webber, £3 16s 0½d John Williams, £3 16s 0½d John Walber, £3 16s 0½d John Walker, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Wherrill, from 27 March, the day he was entered, £0 13s 4d Thomas Fletcher, from 27 March, the day he was entered, £0 13s 4d Matthias Young, £3 16s 0½d, £185 5s 7d Second Company: Thomas Easthope, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £32 3s 1½d Samuel Price, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: William Pendrue, £7 12s 1d Charles Stiles, £7 12s 1d William Langhorn, £7 12s 1d, £22 16s 3d Carried over, £1,079 15s 3½d Interpretations

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			The double entry for Joseph Renton, paid as sentinel to 17 March and as corporal from 18 March, records yet another promotion within the quarter, the man raised from the ranks to fill a corporal's place. The clustering of these advancements around the middle of March, Renton, Robinson and Howard all promoted from the 18th, suggests a general reshuffling of the non-commissioned ranks at that point, vacancies opened by the discharges of the time-served men filled by promoting those below them. This chain of promotion, each step reckoned to the day in the pay, reveals how the departure of soldiers at the expiry of their terms set in motion a series of advancements through the ranks, the garrison filling its gaps from within before taking on the raw recruits who entered at the same season. The Second Company opens on the same establishment as the First, the same lieutenants' salaries, diet money and house rent and the same three sergeants at £7 12s 1d, confirming again the identical structure of the garrison's companies. This exact correspondence between the companies, maintained quarter after quarter, shows the fixed and deliberate organisation of the island's defence into matching units of equal pay and establishment. The reproduction of the same ranks and rates across the companies made the pay list a repetitive exercise, the structure of each company known in advance and its cost predictable, the individual names changing with the turnover of the men but the framework of the establishment holding constant as the settled basis on which the garrison was maintained and paid.
388	381	28 April Island St Helena As the Honorable the Court of Directors have been informed that very bad use has been made of the liberty they had given to the Inhabitants of the said Island to purchase what liquors they pleased out of their Ships, by retailing them in a Clandestine manner, in many parts of the said Island, to the great Prejudice of both Blacks and Whites, as the Vice of Drunkenness is apparintly and greatly encreased thereby of late and that their only intention in granting the said liberty to the Inhabitants of the said Island, was, that they might be furnished with liquors from Time to Time, for the use of themselves and their Familys only, This is therefore strictly to forbid all the Inhabitants of the said Island except those who keep Licensed Houses, to retail any Spirituous Liquors for the future, as they will answer the Contrary at their Peril Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ship Onslow to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Onslow Thomas Hinde Commander Edmund Mathews 1 Mate Ambrose Cook 2 Do Pitt Collet 3 Do John Gordon 4 Do Roderick Orton 5 Do Robert Selmes Purser Patrick Campbell Surgeon John Stevens Cofs Steward Thomas Hodgson Ships Do John Smith Carpenter Archibald Boyd Boatswain Abraham Wheatly Gunner	The pay list continued with the corporals and sentinels of the Second Company. Brought over, £1,079 15s 3½d Corporals: William Shelford, £5 6s 5½d John Bridgwater, £5 6s 5½d Richard Vaughan, £5 6s 5½d, £15 19s 4½d John Clough, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Sentinels: William Adams, £3 16s 0½d William Brown, £3 16s 0½d John Barber, £3 16s 0½d Robert Ballard, £3 16s 0½d Christian Banks, £3 16s 0½d James Carmichael, £3 16s 0½d Dison Craft, £3 16s 0½d John Charrot, £3 16s 0½d Gilbert Clough, £3 16s 0½d John Earle, £3 16s 0½d Baron Delonpk, £3 16s 0½d John Earle, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 0½d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0½d John Gunn, £3 16s 0½d John Hyde, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d William Hurlock, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Hitchins, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d John Kersey, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lawrence, £3 16s 0½d John Langbridge, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lindsay, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £96 1s 7d Carried over, £1,401 1s 1½d Interpretations The appearance of Jonathan Hitchins among the sentinels of the Second Company, drawing the ordinary sentinel's pay, records the carpenter whose substitution for John Legg had been agreed only days before the pay list was drawn up. Hitchins, the discharged man who had re-enlisted as Legg's

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		John Gaddy Caulker Hugh Kirkwood Sailmaker Frances Herney Cooper John Silbet Cofs Cook John Brooks Ships Do Wm Briant Cofs 1 Mate John King 2 Do Do Alexander Sunningham Surg Do Wm Clarke Coopers Mate Benj Williams Caulker Do John Bath Boatswain Do	replacement on the strength of his useful carpentry, now takes his place on the roll as a serving soldier, the arrangement worked out in the consultations reflected in the muster of the company. His entry at the flat sentinel's rate, the same as every other private soldier, shows that his valued skill as a carpenter did not raise his military pay, the craft that had recommended his re-engagement being a separate matter from the rank he held in the ranks. The corporals of the Second Company, three men at the standard rate with a drummer paid alongside them, reproduce the fixed pattern of the garrison's establishment seen throughout the pay list. The uniformity of the corporals' pay across the companies, each at £5 6s 5½d, and the single drummer paid at the same rate, confirm the settled and identical structure of the units into which the garrison was organised. The long roll of sentinels at their unvarying flat rate, the base of the pay pyramid on which the whole establishment rested, shows the bulk of the garrison composed of these common soldiers, their numbers and their pay the foundation of the force that held the island, the same in this company as in every other and constant from quarter to quarter.
389	382	28 April James Chasmut Boatsw Mate Rich Elsofield Gun Do Wm Farr Armourer Nath Suvey Batchter Samuel Woodward 2 master William Price Do David Iston Do Auel Stevens Do Rich Brgs Midshipman Joseph Pitt Henry Monday Thomas Whitewood Do Isaac Docher Do John Gavel 5 Mate Robt Moore 6 Do John Cox Seaman John Bowers Do George Young Do John Beishley Do John Sweedy Do Andrew Davison Do George Davis Do George Grum Do James Reid Do John Greeves Do Thomas Adams Do John Murrset Do John Clifton Seaman Wm Hattindall Do David Anson Do Thomas Driver Do Laura Whitham Do John Palmer Do Daniel Dean Do John Elder Do John Sulvian Do Charles Sillostone Do Wm Wildford Do Wm Soling Do Wm Frazier Do John Stanman Do Edward Hoskins Do John Willson Do Robert Booksby Do John Williamson Do George Baxter Do Robert Curties Do Joseph Barker Do John Malborough Do	Brought over, £1,101 1s 17d Sentinels brought over, £96 1s 17d Thomas Loveland, £3 16s 17d Abram Major, £3 16s 17d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 17d Charles Mountague, £3 16s 17d Anthony Morehan, £3 16s 17d James McDonnald, £3 16s 17d John McCoy, £3 16s 17d Thomas Payne, £3 16s 17d John Deswater, £3 16s 17d Thomas Peirce, £3 16s 17d John Parker, £3 16s 17d William Robinson, £3 16s 17d Robert Stack, £3 16s 17d David Scott, £3 16s 17d Nicholas Scrafton, £3 16s 17d Adam Scott, £3 16s 17d John Shurly, £3 16s 17d Joseph Thompson, £3 16s 17d James Thompson, £3 16s 17d William Thompson, £3 16s 17d Christian Tyder, £3 16s 17d Benjamin Swain, £3 16s 17d Roger Whitman, £3 16s 17d Total sentinels, £182 10s 0d Shore Company Thomas Kirkpatrick, lieutenant salary, £22 16s 3d Thomas Kirkpatrick, diet money, £6 16s 10d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick total, £32 3s 17d William Kennedy, lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d William Kennedy, diet money, £6 16s 10d William Kennedy, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Kennedy total, £27 11s 10d Carried over, £1,348 6s 17d Interpretations The list divides the garrison into ordinary sentinels, each paid the flat rate of £3 16s a half-year, and a separate Shore Company whose two lieutenants drew salary, diet money and a house-rent allowance on top. Diet money was a cash sum paid in place of a food ration, allowing an officer to feed himself rather than draw from the Company stores, while the house-rent allowance covered lodging off the fortified line where no quarters were provided. The gap between a sentinel's £3 16s and a lieutenant's combined £27 to £32 shows how sharply the East

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		John Mason Do James Porter Do James Beauty Do Wm Maund Do Edward Gale Do Thomas Daniel Seaman Matt Nicholson Do Lucas Sander Huyde Do Charles Fridereck Do John Johnston Do Corlas Sainson Do Lambert Lyson Do John Wibber Do John Bappat Renaus Do Hugo Griest Bocinda Cofs Ser Arthur Gore 1 mates Do Georg Archer 2 Do Do Robert Houston Surgeons Do Thos Willoughby Boat Do Isaac Beesley Gun Do Sam Flemi Cofs Do Super Cargoes Thomas Thomson Samuel Blount Esqr Benj Torin Do Servants Richard Sot John Owen Passengers John Yeathen John Torin Servant The Paymaster brought in his Accounts and the Storekeeper his Collections for the Quarter ending the 11 instant which were examined and approved and are as follows Vizt	India Company graded military pay by rank at St Helena. The final pence figure on several lines is doubtful and probably represents a fraction of a penny or a carried subtotal rather than a genuine seventeen pence, since no shilling holds seventeen pence.
<u>390</u>	383	1755 List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salaries, Diet Mony &c for the Quarter Commencing January 12 and ending April 11 1755 Vizt Charles Hutchinson Esq Govr Salary £ 125 . Do Allowance for Servants as Usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Salary 62 10 Do Diet Mony 25 . 87 10 . John Clark of Council 15 . John Goodwin Accomptants Salary 17 10 Do Diet Mony 15 Do House Rent 2 10 . 35 Matthew Purling Storekeepers Salary 17 10 Do Diet Mony 15 . 32 10 Francis Wrangham Secretarys Salary 17 10 Do Diet Mony 15 . 32 10 William Lee Chaplain Salary 25 . Do Diet Mony 15 . 40 James Powell Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Mony 10 . Do Assistant Storekeeper 5 . Do House Rent 2 10 . 25 Matthew Bazett Factor Salary 7 10 Do Diet Mony 10 . Do House Rent 2 10 . 20 William Wrangham Writers Salary 5 . Do Diet Mony 10 . Do House Rent 2 10 . 17 10 Charles Steward Writer Salary 5 . Do Diet Mony 10 . 15 . John Inglis Surgeons Salary 9 15 Do Diet Mony 10 . Do House Rent 2 10 22 5 Thomas Evans Surgeons Mate Salary 6 5 Do Diet Mony 10 . 16 5	28 April Brought over, £1,348 6s 17d Sergeants William Oakman, £7 12s 1d John Walker, £7 12s 1d William Buntin, £7 12s 1d Total sergeants, £22 16s 3d Corporals Alexander Hamblitor, from 12 January to 3 March inclusive, the day he was discharged, £2 19s 6d Thomas Bayett, £5 6s 5d Samuel Desfontain, £5 6s 5d Total corporals, £13 12s 5d John Gould, drummer, £5 6s 5d Sentinels Edward Allis, £3 16s 17d John Allis, £3 16s 17d John Boden, £3 16s 17d Thomas Beadow, £3 16s 17d Walter Bill, £3 16s 17d James Bell, £3 16s 17d Thomas Beaver, £3 16s 17d Isaac Bucks, £3 16s 17d William Cann, £3 16s 17d William Cannams, £3 16s 17d William Cobbs, from 27 March inclusive the day he was entertained, £0 13s 4d Thomas Cobbs, from 27 March inclusive the day he was entertained, £0 13s 4d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 17d Isaac Day, £3 16s 17d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 17d John Frazier, £3 16s 17d Sentinels carried over, £54 11s 5d Carried over, £1,385 1s 5d Interpretations

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		Carried over £ 482 14 9	The entries for Alexander Hamblitor and the two Cobbs men show how pay was worked out to the exact day of joining or leaving rather than by whole half-year. Hamblitor drew a reduced sum for service ending 3 March 1755, the day of his discharge, while William Cobbs and Thomas Cobbs each earned only 13s 4d for the short span from 27 March, the day they were taken on. To be entertained here means to be enrolled or taken into paid service, a standard term of military and household employment of the period.
391	384	28 April Brought Over £ 482 14 9 John Swaits 7 10 Matthew Bazett } Overseers 7 10 George Young 7 10 Richard Beale Schoolmaster 3 8 3 Do As Clerk 5 . 8 8 3 John Bland Master Mason Salary 17 10 . Do Diet mony 10 . Do House Rent 1 10 . 29 . Mark Hawkins Mason Salary 12 10 . Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 1 . 20 6 10 1/2 Thomas Kirkpatrick master of Arms 6 5 . James Sheridan Gardener 10 . Thomas Living Carpenter 12 10 . Thomas Cheesbrough Do Mate 7 10 . Robert John Clark Armourer from 12 January to the 17 March for the Day he was Dismissed the Service 1 11 8 John Veale from 18 March for the Day he was Entertaind 2 18 4 John Huges Armourers Mate 9 . James Forbett Cooper 8 15 . Michael Frost Clock and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 . Nicholas Scafton Patron of the Long Boat 7 10 . Thomas Bearer Housekeeper 2 . Thomas Harper Marshall 5 6 5 1/2 80 11 5 1/2 First Company John Clark 1 Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Money 6 16 10 1/2 Do on Account of Instructing the Gunners 7 10 . 37 3 1/2 Carried Over £ 799 9 5 1/2	1755 Brought over, £1,385 1s 3d Sentinels brought over, £54 11s 3d Andrew Frazar, from 12 January to 3 March inclusive, the day he was discharged, £2 2s 6d Daniel Fowkes, £3 16s 17d Jonathan Gibbly, £3 16s 17d Thomas Gaudden, £3 16s 17d James Green, £3 16s 17d Job Harrison, £3 16s 17d James Hall, £3 16s 17d John Hayley, £3 16s 17d William Hayes, £3 16s 17d Phillips Hickman, £3 16s 17d William Windos, £3 16s 17d Thomas Hudson, £3 16s 17d Thomas Keech, £3 16s 17d George Kibbot, £3 16s 17d Peter Lindsey, £3 16s 17d William Lindsey, from 12 January to 3 March inclusive as sentinel £2 2s 6d, from 4 March inclusive as corporal £2 6s 11d, £4 0s 5d John Langidge, £3 16s 17d Moses Manantiau, £3 16s 17d Duncan McElvain, £3 16s 17d Thomas Pinkerton, from 12 January to 3 March inclusive, the day he was discharged, £2 2s 6d Edward Prichards, £3 16s 17d William Richards, from 3 March inclusive the day he was entertained, £1 0s 10d [...], £3 16s 17d Lewis Rowe, £3 16s 17d Arnold Sausiry, £3 16s 17d David Sarry, £3 16s 17d Daniel Serjeant, £3 16s 17d Sentinels carried over, £157 19s [...]d Carried over, £1,385 1s 3d Interpretations William Lindsey's line records a mid-period promotion: he drew the sentinel rate up to 3 March 1755 and then the higher corporal rate from 4 March, the two spans added into a single half-year figure. The same day-by-day method governs the reduced payments to Andrew Frazar and Thomas Pinkerton, both discharged on 3 March, and to William Richards, taken into service that same day. The clustering of these discharges and enrolments around early March points to a routine muster date when the garrison's strength was adjusted.
392	385	1755 Brought Over £ 799 9 5 1/2 Stephen Herbert 2 Lieutenant Salary 18 5 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 . 27 11 10 1/2 Francis Nowall Adjutant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 29 13 1/2 Sergeants Solomon Jacobs 7 12 1 Thomas Brown from 12 January to the 17 March Incl the Day he was Discharged 5 9 2 William Davis 7 12 1 20 13 4 Corporals John Swift from 12 January to the 24 March Incl the Day he was Discharged 4 4 .	28 April Brought over, £1,385 1s 3d Sentinels brought over, £157 19s 5d Charles Snakes, £3 16s 17d Timothy Sullivan, £3 16s 17d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 17d Edward Terry, £3 16s 17d John Tomason, £3 16s 17d John Sull, £3 16s 17d Joseph Tiffin, £3 16s 17d Edward Williams, from 27 March inclusive the day he was entertained, £0 13s 4d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 17d Total sentinels, £179 1s 17d Fourth Company

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Howard from 12 January to 17 March as Corp 3 15 10 Do from 18 March Incl as Serjant 2 2 11 5 18 9 Humphrey Pugh 5 6 5 15 9 2 1/2 John Vaughan Drumer 5 6 5 1/2 Sentinels Andrew Armstrong from 12 January to the 17 March Incl the Day he was Discharged 2 12 2 George Bennet 3 16 1/2 Thomas Brown 3 16 1/2 James Bamford 3 16 1/2 John Burhe 3 16 1/2 John Bagley 3 16 1/2 Matthew Campble 3 16 1/2 James Cartwright 3 16 1/2 Phillip Cole 3 16 1/2 George Capelin 3 16 1/2 William Cocksey 3 16 1/2 Centinels Carried over £ 40 15 . Carried over £ 811 18 5 1/2	Onesiphorus Beale, lieutenant salary, £22 16s 3d Onesiphorus Beale, diet money, £6 16s 10d Onesiphorus Beale, house rent, £2 10s 0d Onesiphorus Beale total, £32 3s 17d George Hoy, lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d George Hoy, diet money, £6 16s 10d George Hoy total, £25 1s 10d Sergeants Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Michael Scott, £7 12s 1d William Withins, £7 12s 1d Total sergeants, £22 16s 3d Corporals Edward Walker, from 12 January to 24 March inclusive, the day he was discharged, £4 4s 4d Erasmus Durling, £5 6s 5d Thomas Leek, £5 6s 5d Total corporals, £14 16s 11d John Caffin, drummer, £3 6s 5d Carried over, £1,666 7s 0d Interpretations The fourth company was headed by two lieutenants, Onesiphorus Beale and George Hoy, each drawing salary and diet money, with only Beale allowed a house-rent charge. Beale's fuller package matches the pattern seen for the senior lieutenant elsewhere in the garrison, where the first officer of a company held both a higher salary and a housing allowance the second did not. Edward Walker's part-period pay to 24 March 1755, the day of his discharge, sits alongside the early-March discharges recorded earlier in the account, confirming that muster adjustments were spread across several weeks of that spring rather than settled on a single day.
393	386	28 April Brought over £ 811 18 5 1/2 Centinels Brought over £ 40 15 . Duncan Cameroon from 27 March Incl the day he was Entertaingd . 13 4 James Casthope 3 16 1/2 John Furs 3 16 1/2 Thomas Faris 3 16 1/2 George Green 3 16 1/2 John Grainger 3 16 1/2 John Grove 3 16 1/2 Richard Goulding 3 16 1/2 Richard Gedson 3 16 1/2 John Gawler 3 16 1/2 Thomas Hailes 3 16 1/2 Hump Harrisson from 12 Janry to the 3 March Incl the Day he died 2 2 6 James Hendree 3 16 1/2 William Hutchinson from 12 Janry to the 3 March Incl the day he was Discharged 2 2 6 William Lambon 3 16 1/2 John Legg 3 16 1/2 Joseph Low 3 16 1/2 Thomas Suthfield from the 27 March Incl the Day he was Entertained . 13 4 John Murill 3 16 1/2 James Mills 3 16 1/2 John Marsh 3 16 1/2 Nathanel Michael 3 16 1/2 William Mountgomery 3 16 1/2 John Ohara 3 16 1/2 James Richardson 3 16 1/2 Edward Robinson from the 12 Janry to the 24 March as Centinel 1 3 Do from 25 Janry as Corporal 1 2 5 1/2 4 2 5 1/2 Centinels Carried over £ 130 16 Carried over £ 811 18 5 1/2	1755 Brought over, £1,666 7s 0d Sentinels Godfrey Ambristow, £3 16s 17d Peter Barker, £3 16s 17d John Burk, £3 16s 17d William Brooks, £3 16s 17d John Browne, £3 16s 17d William Beckett, £3 16s 17d Robert Berry, £3 16s 17d George Beale, £3 16s 17d John Bradley, from 12 January to 25 March inclusive, the day he died, £3 4s 10d Robert Baker, £3 16s 17d Daniel Vine, £3 16s 17d Samuel Chetham, from 27 March inclusive the day he was entered, £0 13s 4d John Coslee, £3 16s 17d Thomas Clear, £3 16s 17d Stephen Cleverly, £3 16s 17d William Deston, £3 16s 17d John Dedigne, £3 16s 17d Peter Eglestone, £3 16s 17d Peter Sinial, £3 16s 17d Vicar Gaudden, £3 16s 17d Charles Gibson, from 12 January to 25 March inclusive as sentinel £2 3s 0d, from 25 March inclusive as corporal £1 2s 5d, £3 5s 5d John Hayes, £3 16s 17d James Hodges, £3 16s 17d John Hawlloway, £3 16s 17d William Harris, £3 16s 17d John Huisons, £3 16s 17d William Harrisons, £3 16s 17d Sentinels carried over, £102 17s 8d Carried over, £1,666 7s 0d Interpretations John Bradley's line records his death on 25 March 1755, his pay stopped at that day and reduced accordingly, one of the few entries where the garrison

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			roll marks a man lost to death rather than discharge or enrolment. Charles Gibson's entry shows the same mid-period promotion pattern seen earlier, drawing the sentinel rate to 25 March and the corporal rate from that day, the two spans combined into one figure.
394	387	1755 Brought over £ 811 18 5 1/2 Centinels Brought over £ 130 16 . Jos Renton from 12 Janry to the 17 as Centinel £ 2 14 2 Do from 18 March Incl as Corporal 1 10 7 1/2 4 4 9 1/2 John Sotcher 3 16 1/2 Charles Smith 3 16 1/2 George Smith 3 16 1/2 Samuel Stanbury 3 16 1/2 Thomas Suffnall 3 16 1/2 John Turner 3 16 1/2 Thomas Williams 3 16 1/2 Edward Webber 3 16 1/2 John Williams 3 16 1/2 John Wabber 3 16 1/2 John Walker 3 16 1/2 Jeremiah Worrill from the 27 March Incl the Day he was Entertained . 13 4 Thomas Pletcher from 27 March Incl the Day he was Entertained . 13 4 Matthias Young 3 16 1/2 185 5 7 Second Company Thomas Casthope 1 Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 . 32 3 1/2 Samuel Price 2 Lieutenant Salary 18 5 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10 1/2 Do House Rent 2 10 . 27 11 10 1/2 Sergeants William Pendree 7 12 1 Charles Styles 7 12 1 William Langhorn 7 12 1 22 16 3 Carried over £ 1079 15 3 1/2	28 April Brought over, £1,666 7s 0d Sentinels brought over, £102 17s 8d Thomas Jackson, £3 16s 17d Samuel Kitson, £3 16s 17d William Lion, from 27 March inclusive the day he was entertained, £0 13s 4d Richard McNolly, £3 16s 17d Christian Mouse, £3 16s 17d William Mudge, £3 16s 17d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 17d Archabald Pouge, £3 16s 17d John Robinson, £3 16s 17d John Simmons, £3 16s 17d Joseph Snelth, £3 16s 17d John Strange, £3 16s 17d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 17d James Thruston, £3 16s 17d Richard Swaits, £3 16s 17d William Swaits, £3 16s 17d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 17d Jeremiah Whyrell, £3 16s 17d Thomas Winsell, £3 16s 17d John Williams, £3 16s 17d John Wossington, £3 16s 17d Total sentinels, £183 7s 10d Artillery Company Thomas Hall, master gunner salary, £22 16s 3d Thomas Hall, diet money, £6 16s 10d Thomas Hall, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Hall total, £32 3s 17d Gunners mates Nathan Sample, chief mate, £11 8s 17d Isaac Leach, £9 2s 6d William Turner, £9 2s 6d John Whichchurch, £9 2s 6d Henry Carter, £9 2s 6d Charles McNiely, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davils, £9 2s 6d Richard Billington, £9 2s 6d Total gunners mates, £75 5s 7d Carried over, £1,955 3s 17d Interpretations The artillery company was a separate specialist unit under a master gunner, Thomas Hall, whose pay matched a company lieutenant's with salary, diet money and house rent combined. Below him a chief mate drew nearly double the rate of the ordinary gunners mates, who were each paid £9 2s 6d for the half-year, a rate well above a sentinel's £3 16s and reflecting the skilled work of laying and firing the island's guns. A gunner's mate was a trained artilleryman responsible for the care, loading and firing of cannon, a role demanding technical knowledge that commanded the higher pay.
395	388	28 April Brought over £ 1079 15 3 1/2 Corporals William Shelford £ 5 6 5 1/2 John Bridgwater 5 6 5 1/2 Richard Vaughan 5 6 5 1/2 15 19 4 1/2 John Clough Drummer 5 6 5 1/2 Sentinels William Adams 3 16 1/2 William Brown 3 16 1/2 John Barber 3 16 1/2 Robert Ballard 3 16 1/2 Christian Banks 3 16 1/2	1755 Brought over, £1,955 3s 17d Quarter Gunners Adam Wattson, £6 16s 10d John Spencer, £6 16s 10d Thomas Willingham, £6 16s 10d John Jacks, £6 16s 10d James Lee, £6 16s 10d James Long, £6 16s 10d Derby Cogles, £6 16s 10d John Hellings, £6 16s 10d Total quarter gunners, £54 15s 0d Mattresses

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Carmichael 3 16 1/2 Dison Craft 3 16 1/2 John Charrot 3 16 1/2 Gilbert Clough 3 16 1/2 John Criles 3 16 1/2 Baron Delcough 3 16 1/2 John Earle 3 16 1/2 Thomas Fuller 3 16 1/2 Edward Grant 3 16 1/2 John Grim 3 16 1/2 John Hyde 3 16 1/2 William Hayes 3 16 1/2 William Harlock 3 16 1/2 Jonathan Hitchins 3 16 1/2 Thomas Kildrick 3 16 1/2 Richard Knight 3 16 1/2 John Kersey 3 16 1/2 Thomas Lawrence 3 16 1/2 John Langbridge 3 16 1/2 Thomas Lindsay 3 16 1/2 Sentinels Carried over £ 96 1 7 1/2 Carried over £ 1101 1 1 1/2	Abram Ayers, £4 11s 3d John Arkerstall, £4 11s 3d Samuel Anderson, £4 11s 3d Joseph Boswell, £4 11s 3d Andrew Barton, £4 11s 3d John Caudrey, £4 11s 3d William Armble, £4 11s 3d James Cooper, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d Phillip Hillard, £4 11s 8d William Hayes, from 12 January to 3 March inclusive, discharged, £3 5s 0d Richard Moyce, £4 11s 3d Adam Milbourn, £4 11s 3d Thomas Mason, £4 11s 3d Thomas Mudge, £4 11s 3d Roger Nevinson, £4 11s 3d William Perry, £4 11s [...] Joseph Buckland, from 27 March inclusive, entertained, £0 11s 3d Abram Rockliff, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d Total mattresses, £90 14s 9d Superannuated William Burnham, sergeant, £3 8s 3d Carried over, £2,105 1s 17d Interpretations The artillery ranks descended from quarter gunners, paid £6 16s 10d, down to mattresses at £4 11s 3d, a mattress being the lowest grade of artilleryman who assisted the gunners in loading, sponging and hauling the cannon and stood next in line to fill a gunner's place. The single superannuated entry for William Burnham marks a retired sergeant kept on a small pension of £3 8s 3d, an early instance of the East India Company providing for old servants no longer fit for duty, a provision then still uncommon in ordinary English employment.
<u>396</u>	389	1755 Brought over £ 1101 1 17/2 Sentinels Brought over £ 96 17/2 Thomas Loveland 3 16/2 Abram Major 3 16/2 Thomas Morris 3 16/2 Charles Mountague 3 16/2 Anthony Morehan 3 16/2 James McDonnald 3 16/2 John McCoy 3 16/2 Thomas Payne 3 16/2 John Defrwater 3 16/2 Thomas Peirce 3 16/2 John Parker 3 16/2 William Robinson 3 16/2 Robert Stack 3 16/2 David Scott 3 16/2 Nicholas Scrafton 3 16/2 Adam Scott 3 16/2 John Shurly	28 April John Clark, paymaster, debtor 1755, April 11, to cash from the Honourable Company's cash chest, £2,459 6s 10d Carried over, £2,459 6s 10d Interpretations This page opens the debtor side of the paymaster John Clark's account, recording the lump sum of £2,459 6s 10d drawn from the East India Company's cash chest on 11 April 1755 to fund the garrison's half-year pay set out in the preceding rolls. The paymaster acted as the intermediary who received bulk cash from the Company treasury and disbursed it to the individual soldiers and officers, his account balancing the money in against the wages paid out. The cash chest was the fortified strongbox holding the settlement's ready money, its contents controlled jointly under the governor and council to guard against embezzlement on a remote island where no bank existed.

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		3 16/2 Joseph Thompson 3 16/2 James Thompson 3 16/2 William Thompson 3 16/2 Christian Tyder 3 16/2 Benjamin Swaite 3 16/2 Roger Whitman 3 16 2 182 10 Shire Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10/2 Do House Rent 3 10 32 3 1/2 William Kennedy Lieutenant Salary 18 5 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10/2 Do House Rent 2 10 27 11 10/2 Carried over £ 1348 6 1/2	
397	390	28 April Brought Over £ 1348 6 1/2 Sergeants William Oakman 7 12 1 John Walker 7 12 1 William Buntin 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Alexander Hamblitoe from 12 Jandy to the 2nd March Incl the Day he was Discharged 2 19 6 Thomas Bayett 5 6 5/2 Samuel Desfountain 5 6 5/2 13 12 5 John Gould Drummer 5 6 5/2 Sentinels Edward Allis 3 16/2 John Allis 3 16/2 John Bâddin 3 16/2 Thomas Beddow 3 16/2 Walter Bill 3 16/2 James Bell 3 16/2 Thomas Beaver 3 16/2 Isaac Bucks 3 16/2 William Cain 3 16/2 William Cannams 3 16/2 William Cobbs from 27 march Incl the Day he was Entertained 13 4	1755 Per contra, creditor 1755, January 21, by cash paid Mr Mowatt for 500 rafters at 6d each, to cover the Honourable Company's black houses in the country, £12 14s 6d By cash paid John Desfountain for 102 lemons for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £1 0s 6d October 14, by cash paid Duncan McElvain for re-enlisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years to commence from this day, £10 0s 0d October 24, by cash paid John Caffin for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Christian Tyder for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Daniel Cain for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid John Samson for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Samuel Anderson for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid John Turner for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid John Charia for the same, £10 0s 0d Total re-enlistments, £70 0s 0d March 7, by cash paid Captain Vincent the balance of ship <i>Montforts</i> account, £9 1s 0d March 7, by cash paid Peter Eglestone for re- enlisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years to commence from this day, £10 0s 0d March 16, by cash paid Captain Haldane for garden seeds brought from the Cape for the use of the Honourable Company, £5 0s 0d By cash paid Captain Haldane the balance of ship <i>Prince Edward's</i> account, £106 1s 0d March 23, by cash paid Captain Todd the balance of ship <i>Rochester's</i> account, £5 17s 10d March 26, by cash paid Phillip Cole for re- enlisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years to commence from this day, £10 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thomas Cobbs from 27 March Incl the Day he was Entertained 13 4 Edward Cocher 3 16/2 Isaac Day 3 16/2 Samuel Eales 3 16/2 John Frazier 3 16/2 Sentinels Carried over £ 34 11 5 Carried over £ 1385 1 3	April 7, by cash paid John Strange for making a sail table for the use of the Honourable Company, £0 15s 0d By cash paid Captain Oliver for 13 spice at 10s per pound for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £5 0s 0d By cash paid Captain Oliver for 8 chairs at 7s 6d per each for the use of the Honourable Company, £3 1s 3d Carried over, £248 11s 1d Interpretations This credit side of the paymaster's account lists the outgoings against the cash he received, ranging from re-enlistment bounties to purchases for the Company's table and payments settling ships' accounts. Each soldier who re-enlisted for a fresh five-year term drew a bounty of £10, a substantial inducement more than twice a sentinel's half-year pay, showing how the East India Company had to pay well to retain trained men on an isolated station where recruitment was difficult. The balances paid to the commanders of <i>Montfort</i>, <i>Prince Edward</i> and <i>Rochester</i> were settlements of accounts run up while those ships called at St Helena, the master gunner or paymaster clearing what the settlement owed for goods and services supplied during each visit. The black houses in the country were the dwellings of the island's slaves, housed on the Company's plantations away from the fort, their roofs here being repaired with 500 imported rafters. The reference confirms the East India Company held slaves at St Helena whose quarters it maintained at its own charge as part of the plantation establishment.
398	391	1755 Brought over £ 1385 1 3 Sentinels Brought over £ 34 11 3 Andrew Frazar from 12 Janry to 3 March Incl the Day he was Discharged 2 2 6 Daniel Fowkes 3 16/2 Jonathan Gibbly 3 16/2 Thomas Gaudden 3 16/2 James Green 3 16/2 Job Harrison 3 16/2 James Hall 3 16/2 John Hayley 3 16/2 William Hayes 3 16/2 Phillips Hickman 3 16/2 William Windos 3 16/2 Thomas Hudson 3 16/2 Thomas Keeck 3 16/2 George Kibbot 3 16/2 Peter Lindsey 3 16/2 William Lindsey from 12 Janry to 3 March Incl as Sent £ 2 6 Do from 3 March Incl as Corporal 2 6 11/2 4 9 5/2 John Langidge 3 16/2 Moses Mananteau 3 16/2	28 April John Clark, paymaster, debtor 1755, April 11, to cash, brought over, £2,459 6s 10d Carried over, £2,459 6s 10d

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		Duncan McElvain 3 16/2 Thomas Pinkerton from 12 Janry to the 3 March Incl the Day he was Discharged 2 2 6 Edward Prickhard 3 16/2 William Prickhards from 3 March Incl the Day he was Entertained 1 10 3 16/2 Lewis Rowe 3 16/2 Arnold Sausiry 3 16/2 David Surry 3 16/2 Daniel Sergeant Sentinels Carried over £ 45 19 9/2 Carried over £ 1385 1 3	
399	392	28 April Brought over £ 1385 1 3 Sentinels Brought over £ 45 19 9/2 Charles Spakes 3 16/2 Timothy Sullivan 3 16/2 Thomas Taylor 3 16/2 Edward Terry 3 16/2 John Tomason 3 16/2 John Full 3 16/2 Joseph Uffin 3 16/2 Edward Williams from 27 March Incl the Day he was Entertained 13 4 Benjamin Williams 3 16/2 179 1 1/2 Fourth Company Onesiphorus Beale Lieutenant Salary 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10/2 Do House Rent 2 10 32 3 1/2 George Hoy Lieutenant Salary 18 5 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10/2 25 1 10/2 Sergeants Robert Mason 7 12 1 Michael Scott 7 12 1 William Wilkins 7 12 1 22 16 3 Corporals Edward Walker from the 12 January to the 2 March Incl the Day he was Discharged 4 4 Erasmus Durling 5 6 5/2 Thomas Leech 5 6 5/2 14 16 11 John Caffin Drummer 3 6 5/2	1755 Per contra, creditor 1755, April 11, brought over, £248 11s 1d By cash paid Jonathan Hitchins for carpenters work done for the Honourable Company this quarter, £5 0s 0d By cash paid James Corbett for assisting in the Anns this quarter there being no steward, £2 0s 0d By cash paid John Caffyn for instructing the young drummers from time to time, £2 0s 0d By cash paid Richard Bagley for 1,030 seamens half bushel potatoes for the use of the Honourable Company's table this quarter, £2 3s 6d By cash paid Joseph Boston for cutting 300 loads flushings and load to cover the Honourable Company's black houses in the country and at several other places, £7 10s 0d By cash paid William Hurlock and James Carmichael for baking 38 batches of bread at 1s 8d a batch for the use of the garrison this quarter, £4 16s 8d By cash paid sundry persons for coming express of ships to windward this quarter, £3 15s 0d By cash paid Manuel Rodrigues for 24 loads of laths at 2s 6d a load for covering the Honourable Company's black houses in the country, £3 0s 0d By cash paid Elly Gurling for 14 loads of bridges at 2s 6d a load for covering the Company's black houses in the country, £1 15s 0d By cash paid Mr Ingles surgeon for his trouble in providing the hospital with fresh provisions in the year ending this day, £8 0s 0d By cash paid Mr Ingles for extraordinary expenses laid out by him more than the pay day kept from the soldiers, £8 10s 0d By cash paid Roger Nevinson for making four flags, one for the Main Fort, Sandin's Point, Rupert's and Prosperous Bay this quarter, £3 7s 6d By cash paid sundry persons for rowing in the Honourable Company's yawl this quarter, £2 8s 0d Carried over, £302 16s 9d Interpretations The quarter's outgoings show the settlement maintaining itself from local labour and supply, paying for baking, carpentry, potatoes, laths and flushings rather than relying wholly on imports. Flushings were bundles of brushwood or coarse reed cut for thatching, here used in bulk to roof the slaves' black houses scattered across the plantations, the work costing £7 10s for 300 loads. The payments to the surgeon Mr Ingles cover both his year-round care of the hospital with fresh food and his own advances for the soldiers, the Company reimbursing a medical officer who had spent beyond the deductions taken from the men's pay.

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		Carried over £ 1666 7	The four flags made for the Main Fort, Sandin's Point, Rupert's and Prosperous Bay mark the signal stations ringing the island, each a lookout point that raised colours to warn of approaching ships, part of the early-warning system a remote and vulnerable settlement depended on to guard against hostile sail.
400	393	1755 Brought over £ 1666 7 Centinels Godfrey Ambristow 3 16/2 Peter Barker 3 16/2 John Bark 3 16/2 William Brooks 3 16/2 John Browne 3 16/2 William Beckett 3 16/2 Robert Berry 3 16/2 George Beals 3 16/2 John Bradley from 12 Janry to the 25 March Incl the Day he Died 3 4 10 Robert Baker 3 16/2 Daniel Vim 3 16/2 Samuel Chetham from 27 March Incl the Day he was Enterd 13 4 John Coslee 3 16/2 Thomas Clear 3 16/2 Stephen Cleverly 3 16/2 William Doston 3 16/2 John Dedgin 3 16/2 Peter Eglestone 3 16/2 Peter Sinial 3 16/2 Vitear Gauden 3 16/2 Charles Gibson from 12 Janry to 23 March Incl as Sent £ 3 Do from 23 March Incl as Corporal 1 2 5/2 4 2 5/2 John Hayes 3 16/2 James Hodes 3 16/2 John Howllomay 3 16/2 William Harris 3 16/2 John Hutsons 3 16/2 William Harrisons Centinels Carried over £ 102 17 8 Carried over £ 1666 7	28 April John Clark, paymaster, debtor 1755, April 11, to cash, brought over, £2,459 6s 10d Total, £2,459 6s 10d
401	394	28 April Brought over £ 1666 7 Centinels Brought over £ 102 17 8 Thomas Jackson 3 16/2 Samuel Kitson	1755 Per contra, creditor 1755, April 11, brought over, £302 16s 9d By cash paid sundry soldiers for working at the fort and other places of the fortifications for the Honourable Company in this quarter, £52 8s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16/2 William Lion from 27 March Incl the Day he was Entertained 13 4 Richard McNolly 3 16/2 Christian Mouse 3 16/2 William Mudge 3 16/2 Stephen Orr 3 16/2 Archabald Pouge 3 16/2 John Robinson 3 16/2 John Simmons 3 16/2 Joseph Snelth 3 16/2 John Strange 3 16/2 Thomas Taylor 3 16/2 James Thriston 3 16/2 Richard Swaits 3 16/2 William Swaits 3 16/2 Stephen Willoughby 3 16/2 Jerimiah Whyrill 3 16/2 Thomas Winsell 3 16/2 John Williams 3 16/2 John Wossington 3 16/2 183 7 10/2 Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary £ 22 16 3 Do Diet Mony 6 16 10/2 Do House Rent 2 10 32 3 1/2 Gunners Mates Nathan Sample Chief Mate 11 8 1/2 Isaac Leach 9 2 6 William Turner 9 2 6 John Whichurch 9 2 6 Henry Carter 9 2 6 Charles McNiely 9 2 6 Rowland Davils 9 2 6 Richard Billington 9 2 6 75 5 7/2 Carried over £ 1955 3 7/2	By cash paid the Honourable Company's officers and servants upon the island of St Helena their salaries, diet money and so on for the quarter commencing 12 January and ending 11 April 1755, £2,104 1s 17d Total, £2,459 6s 10d The account was drawn up at St Helena on 11 April 1755, errors excepted, and signed by John Clark, paymaster. Interpretations This final page balances the paymaster's account, the two large payments for fortification labour and quarterly salaries together matching the £2,459 6s 10d drawn from the cash chest. The bulk of the money, £2,104, went on the garrison's wages set out in the preceding rolls, while a separate £52 8s 6d rewarded soldiers for construction work on the fort beyond their ordinary duties, the East India Company paying its own troops extra to labour on the defences rather than hiring outside workmen. The errors excepted formula was the standard accounting reservation by which the paymaster signed off his figures while allowing that honest mistakes might later be found and corrected, a routine safeguard in Company bookkeeping.
402	395	1755 Brought over £ 1955 3 7/2 Quarter Gunners Adam Wattson 6 16 10/2 John Spencer 6 16 10/2 Thomas Willingham	28 April Collections of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company's stores from the 12 January to the 11 April 1755 Sold to the Company's servants Arrack, 92 gallons, £23 2s 6d Brandy, 8 gallons, £2 1s 3d Sugar and candy

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		6 16 10/2 John Sacks 6 16 10/2 James Lee 6 16 10/2 James Long 6 16 10/2 Derby Cogles 6 16 10/2 John Hellinge 6 16 10/2 54 15 Mattrofses Abram Ayers 4 11 3 John Arborstall 4 11 3 Samuel Anderson 4 11 3 Joseph Boswell 4 11 3 Andrew Barton 4 11 3 John Caudrey 4 11 3 William Armble 4 11 3 James Cooper 4 11 3 Anthony Day 4 11 3 William Fletcher 4 11 3 Phillip Hilliard 4 11 8 William Hoyes from 12 Janry to 3 March Incl Discharged 3 5 Richard Hoyer 4 11 3 Adam Milbourn 4 11 3 Thomas Mason 4 11 3 Thomas Mudge 4 11 3 Roger Nevinson 4 11 3 William Perry 11 Jos Pritchard from the 27 March Incl Entertained 4 11 3 Abram Rickloff 4 11 3 90 14 9 Thomas Watts Superannuated William Burnham Sergeant 3 8 3 £ 2104 1 7/2	1,848 sugar, £80 16s 0d 591 candy, £12 6s 3d Total sugar and candy, £141 15s 2d Soap, 125, £3 12s 11d Candles, 364, £30 14s 3d Tea 3 congo, £0 7s 6d 53 single, £2 4s 0d 3 bohea, £0 3s 3d Total tea, £2 14s 9d Cordage, 431, £6 5s 8d Rice, 112, £46 13s 4d Beef and pork 85 double bags beef at 2s, £8 10s 0d 581 bags beef at 2s, £58 2s 0d 8 bags beef at 3s 6d, £1 4s 4d 63 double bags pork at 2s, £6 6s 0d 762 bags pork at 2s, £76 4s 0d 84 bags pork at 2s 2d, £9 2s 0d Total beef and pork, £159 8s 4d Chectors, £3 8s 3d Pepper, 13, £0 7s 3d Dosooties, 8, £3 19s 4d Salt, 15 bushels, £0 15s 0d Lead 1 sheet, £1 2s 17d 16 shot, £0 3s 4d Total lead, £1 5s 5d Carried over, £519 5s 9d Interpretations This account records the Company store selling provisions and materials to its own servants over the quarter, the men buying their arrack, sugar, tea, salt meat and other goods from the monopoly stock at set prices. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in the East, commonly from palm sap or rice, the staple liquor of Company stations and here the single most valuable drink line at £23 for 92 gallons. Bohea, congo and single were grades of black tea shipped from China, bohea the coarsest and cheapest, the small quantities and low value showing tea was still a minor item of consumption at St Helena in 1755. Dosooties were a coarse Indian cotton cloth woven in Bengal, imported through the Company trade and sold on to the garrison for everyday clothing, while chectors were another such Indian textile line carried in the store. The double and single bags of beef and pork were the salted meat rations issued from the Company's provision stock, the staple protein of an island that could not raise enough livestock to feed its garrison and shipping.
403	396	28 April John Clark Paymaster Dr 1755 April 11 To Cash from the Honorable Companys Cash Chests £ 2459 6 10/2 Carried over £ 2459 6 10/2	1755 Brought over, £519 5s 9d Canvas 30 yards English, £1 16s 3d 2 yards osnaburg, £0 1s 6d Total canvas, £1 17s 17d Nails 12 penny, 2, £0 7s 9d 23 penny, 3, £0 12s 5d 30 penny, 4, £0 13s 17d 23 penny, 6, £1 2s 1d 48 penny, 10, £0 18s 0d 7 penny, 20, £0 2s 17d 28 flooring brads, £0 10s 6d 6 glaziers brads, £0 6s 9d

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			2 scupper, £0 1s 0d 2 40 nails, £0 8s 0d Total nails, £4 14s 11d Mustard seed, 1 bushel, £0 2s 9d Oil 16 gallons linseed, £2 18s 8d 1 gallon train, £0 12s 8d 9 bottles Florence, £1 2s 10d Total oil, £4 14s 2d Shalloon, 36 yards, £3 12s 0d Serge, 8 yards, £1 19s 4d Hosiery ware 3 pairs thread stocking, £0 8s 6d 2 pairs mens knit, £0 6s 8d 1 pair womens, £0 3s 7d Total hosiery, £0 18s 9d Swine, 10 chains, £0 6s 8d Buckram, 9 yards, £0 9s 6d Hooks and lines 1,800 blue hooks, £0 6s 0d 350 hooks number 5, £0 4s 8d 500 blue hooks Kynanthans, £0 5s 7d 58 lines number 4, £1 4s 7d 2 Hambro, £0 3s 8d Total hooks and lines, £2 4s 6d Carried over, £540 6s 17d Interpretations This part of the stores account turns from provisions to the hardware and cloth needed to keep the settlement running, listing nails, canvas, oil, textiles and fishing tackle sold from stock. The nails are graded by penny size, an old measure where twopenny, threepenny and so on named the length rather than the price, the number denoting how many nails made a pound, so the run from twopenny up to twentypenny covers everything from small brads to heavy spikes. Train oil was oil rendered from whale or fish blubber, used for lamps and for dressing leather and timber, while Florence oil was fine olive oil imported from Italy for the table, the two listed together though put to quite different uses. Shalloon was a lightweight woollen lining cloth, osnaburg a coarse linen for sacking and rough wear, and buckram a stiffened cloth used to give shape to garments, the store carrying a full range of fabrics so the garrison could clothe itself. The large quantities of fish hooks and lines, some 2,650 hooks in all, point to the island's heavy reliance on the sea for food, fishing being a mainstay of subsistence on a rock that could grow little.
404	397	1755 Per Contra Cr 1755 January 21 By Cash paid Mr Mowatt for 300 Rafters at 6 each for to Cover the Honorable Companys black Houses in the Country 12 14 6 By Cash paid John Desfountain for 102.5 Lemons for the use of the Honorable Companys Table 1 6 Feb 14 By Cash paid Duncan McElvain for Reslisting to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five years to Commence from thes Day 10 24 By Cash paid John Caffin for Do£ 10 By Cash paid Christian Syder for Do 10	28 April Brought over, £540 6s 17d Thread 28 blue smalts, £5 9s 6d 59 whiting, £0 1s 5d 22 sky blue, £2 0s 4d 15 venet red, £0 3s 5d 2 umber, £0 0s 2d 1 Jamaica indigo, £0 9s 17d 1 white copperas, £0 1s 10d 105 white lead, £1 9s 5d 1 Prussian blue, £0 3s 3d 7 red lead, £0 1s 9d Total thread, £10 10s 17d Chinaware 2 chamber pots, £0 3s 0d 3 pitchers, £0 0s 9d 12 half pint cups and saucers, £0 4s 3d 1 set octagon dishes and plates, £0 18s 4d 12 negro cups and saucers, £0 4s 2d Total chinaware, £1 10s 8d Tar, 5 gallons, £0 3s 9d Pewter, 3 basons, £0 14s 3d Broad cloth, 6 yards, £5 5s 4d Corks, half shot cork, £0 0s 7d

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		By Do paid Daniel Cain for Do 10 By Do paid John Samson for Do 10 By Do paid Samuel Anderson for Do 10 By Do paid John Turner for Do 10 By Do paid John Chavia for Do 10 70 March 7 By Cash paid Captain Vincent the Ballance of Ship Montforts Account 9 1 14 By Cash paid Peter Eglestone for Relisting to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five years to Commence from thes Day 10 16 By Cash paid Captain Haldane for Garden Seeds brought from the Cape for the use of the Honorable Company 5 By Cash paid Captain Haldane the Ballance of Ship Prince Edward Account 106 1 23 By Cash paid Capt Todd the Ballance of Ship Rochester Acct 5 17 10 26 By Cash paid Phillips Cole for Relisting to serve the Honble Companys as a Soldier for 5 years to Commence from thes Day 10 April 7 By Cash paid John Strange for making a Pack Sadle for the use of the Honorable Company 15 By Cash paid Capt Oliver for 10 Spice at 10/ p Ct for the use of the Honorable Companys Table 5 By Cash paid Capt Oliver for 8/4 Bran at 7/6 p Ct for the use of the Honorable Company 3 1 3 Carried over £ 248 11 1	Haberdashery ware 22 skeins mohair, £0 8s 3d 19 skeins silk, £0 8s 4d 8 dozen coat buttons, £0 5s 4d 10 dozen breast buttons, £0 5s 6d 1 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 6s 17d 3 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 6s 17d 6 dozen white waistcoat buttons, £0 1s 6d 12 dozen shirt buttons, £0 2s 5d 2 dozen carnation tape, £0 1s 6d 1 dozen Holland tape, £0 0s 11d Total haberdashery, £2 7s 4d Carried over, £563 10s 10d Interpretations This section lists dry paints, chinaware, cloth and haberdashery drawn from the store, the pigments here being the raw colours a settlement mixed for painting and marking. Smalts was a deep-blue pigment ground from cobalt glass, whitening a chalk white, umber and venet red earth colours, and white lead and red lead the lead-based paints used for priming timber and ironwork against the sea air, copperas a green vitriol used in dyeing and ink. Two lines record chinaware set aside for the island's slaves, the negro cups and saucers costing a fraction of the ordinary sets, a small detail confirming that the Company issued separate and cheaper household goods to its slaves as a matter of course. Mohair here meant a fine worsted yarn used for buttons and trimmings rather than the goat-hair cloth of the modern sense, and the long run of buttons and tapes shows the store supplying the small parts a garrison needed to make and mend its own clothing far from any tailor's shop.
405	398	28 April John Clark Paymaster Dr 1755 April 11 To Cash Brought Over £ 2459 6 10/2 Carried over £ 2459 6 10/2	1755 Brought over, £563 10s 10d Cutlery ware 8 horn combs, £0 1s 8d 9 butchers knives, £0 2s 9d 1 chopping knife, £0 6s 2d Total cutlery ware, £0 10s 7d Turners ware 33 shoe brushes, £1 1s 3d 7 paint brushes, £0 3s 8d 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 3s 8d 1 tray, £0 2s 0d 5 hair brooms, £0 11s 17d Total turners ware, £2 2s 5d Shoes 2 pairs mens ordinary, £0 8s 6d 2 pairs womens calamanco, £0 10s 4d Total shoes, £0 18s 10d Glassware 13 wine glasses 7 by 8, £0 5s 5d 8 wine glasses 8 by 10, £0 5s 0d 9 wine glasses 10 by 12, £0 8s 3d 3 tumblers, £0 1s 8d 1 beer glass, £0 0s 11d

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			2 decanters, £0 1s 1d Total glassware, £1 8s 10d Ironmongery ware 2 files, £0 1s 6d 7 pairs dovetail hinges, £0 2s 17d 1 ditching shovel, £0 4s 11d 4 japanned locks, £1 1s 2d 11 HL hinges, £0 19s 3d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 3d 3 garden hoes, £0 5s 17d 3 cupboard locks, £0 14s 17d 1 ragstone, £0 0s 2d 1 rat chain, £0 1s 10d 1 jack chain, £0 1s 7d 1 bricklayers trowel, £0 1s 7d 2 box irons, £0 7s 0d Total ironmongery ware, £4 11s 1d Carried over, £573 2s 8d Interpretations The store continued through the everyday tools and household goods of the settlement, listing cutlery, brushes, shoes, glass and ironmongery sold to the servants. Calamanco was a glossy woollen cloth with a checked or striped weave, popular for women's shoes and gowns in the eighteenth century, the two pairs of calamanco shoes standing apart from the plain leather men's pairs. The glassware is graded by size in the old fashion, the figures like 7 by 8 giving the dimensions of the wine glasses rather than any price. The ironmongery covered the fittings and hand tools a remote settlement needed to build and maintain itself, from dovetail and HL hinges for doors to japanned locks, garden hoes and a bricklayer's trowel. Box irons were hollow smoothing irons heated by a slug of hot metal slipped inside, and the ditching shovel and rat chain point to the routine work of drainage and pest control on the Company's ground.
<u>406</u>	399	1755 Per Contra Cr 1755 April 11 Brought over £ 248 11 1 By Cash paid Jonathan Hitchins for Carpenters work done for the Honorable Company in this Quarter 5 By Cash paid James Corbett for Assisting in the Armes this Quarter their being no Steward 2 By Cash paid John Caffyn for instructing the young Drumers from time to time 2 By Cash paid Richard Bayley for 1030 Seamons 1/2 Bushel Potatoes for the use of the Honble Companys Table this Quart 2 3 6 By Cash paid Joseph Boston for Cutting 300 Load Rushes & Load to Cover the Honorable Companys Black Houses in the Country and at severall other Places 7 10 By Cash paid William Hurlock and James Carmichael for Baking 38 Batches of Bread at 1/8 p Batch for the use of the Garrison this Quarter 4 16 8 By Cash paid Sundry Persons for Coming Express of Ships to Windward this Quarter 3 15	28 April Brought over, £573 2s 8d Deals 53 single, £5 17s 17d 4 double, £0 14s 2d 10 oak plank, £2 1s 4d Total deals, £8 12s 6d Leather 1 leather, £0 1s 5d 19 damp leather, £1 10s 1d Total leather, £1 11s 6d Fustian, 1 piece, £1 2s 3d Hats 2 mens, £1 8s 10d 1 boys, £0 6s 17d Total hats, £2 4s 10d Iron, 115 pounds, £1 0s 10d Bunting, 1 yard white, £0 0s 7d Starch, 1 pound, £0 0s 8d Oars, 2, £0 8s 6d Kersey, 6 yards, £0 9s 0d Braziers ware, 1 hash pan, £0 16s 4d Tin ware 1 sal ammoniac, £0 0s 5d 1 dripping pan, £0 4s 7d Total tin ware, £0 5s 0d Total, £589 14s 9d Sold to the planters at 25 per cent Dosooties, 1 piece, £0 1s 4d Hosiery ware 1 pair womens stockings, £0 4s 1d 1 pair mens knit, £0 3s 4d Total hosiery, £0 7s 5d Carried over, £0 18s 9d Interpretations

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		By Cash paid Manoel Cotgreve for 54 Loads of Laths at 2/6 p Load for Covering the Honble Companys Black Houses in the Country 3 By Cash paid Elty Geeling for 14 Loads of Bridges at 2/6 p Load for Covering the Companys Black Houses in the Country 1 15 By Cash paid Mr Ingles Surgeon for his trouble in providing the Hospital with fresh Provisions in the year ending thes Day 8 By Cash paid Mr Ingles for Extraordinary Expences laid out by him more than the p day kept from the Soldiers 8 10 By Cash paid Roger Nevinson for making four Flags one for the Main Fort, Mundens Point, Ruperts and Prosperous Bay in this Quarter 3 7 6 By Cash paid Sundry Persons for Rowing in the Honorable Companys Yawl in this Quarter 2 8 Carried over £ 302 16 9	The first part of the page closes the goods sold to the Company's servants with timber, leather, hats and sundry hardware, the deals and oak plank being sawn building timber that the treeless island had to import entire. A second account opens below, headed sales to the planters at 25 per cent, marking a different class of buyer charged a fixed markup over cost. The planters were the island's independent settlers who farmed their own land, distinct from the Company's own servants, and the store sold to them at a set profit margin rather than the plain cost prices allowed to employees. Sal ammoniac was ammonium chloride, a salt used as a soldering flux and in tinning metal, which places it fittingly among the tinware, while bunting was the loose worsted cloth from which signal flags were sewn, tying this line to the flags made for the island's lookout stations.
407	400	28 April John Clark Paymaster Dr 1755 April 11 To Cash Brought over £ 2459 6 10/2 £ 2459 6 10/2	1755 Brought over, £0 18s 9d Serge, 10 yards, £2 0s 17d Shalloon, 14 yards, £1 11s 6d Buckram, 1 yard, £0 0s 6d Sold at 40 per cent Arrack, 50 gallons, £15 1s 6d Sugar and candy 921 sugar, £19 5s 0d 28 candy, £0 15s 2d Total sugar and candy, £20 0s 2d Flour, 288, £3 0s 0d Soap, 3, £0 2s 17d Cordage, 162, £3 0s 9d Rice, 3 at 10, £3 4s 6d Oil 1 gallon linseed, £0 1s 0d 1 gallon train, £0 0s 9d 1 bottle Florence, £0 2s 6d Total oil, £0 4s 3d Tea, 1 single, £0 1s 8d Nails 2 penny, £0 1s 8d 3 penny, £0 1s 4d 4 penny, £0 2s 11d 6 penny, £0 3s 11d 10 penny, £0 1s 10d 20 penny, £0 1s 17d 1 glazing brad, £0 1s 17d Total nails, £0 16s 0d Hooks 25 hooks number 5, £0 0s 5d 400 blue, £0 1s 8d Total hooks, £0 2s 1d Carried over, £51 9s 2d Interpretations A third sales account opens here, headed sold at 40 per cent, a still higher markup than the planters' 25 per cent, probably covering goods sold to visiting ships or outsiders who paid the steepest margin. The same range of stock recurs, arrack, sugar, flour, cordage and rice, showing the store ran one stock of goods but charged three different price levels according to who was buying, the Company's own servants at cost, the resident planters at a quarter over and this last class at nearly half over. The candy paired with sugar here was crystallised sugar boiled

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			and set hard, a refined and dearer form sold alongside the ordinary loaf sugar. The graded markups reveal how the East India Company used its store monopoly as a source of profit as well as supply, extracting most from those least tied to its service while keeping its own workforce fed at bare cost.
408	401	1755 Per Contra Cr 1755 April 11 Brought over £ 302 16 9 By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for Working at the Fort and other Places of the fortifications for the Honorable Company in this Quarter 52 8 6 By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena their Salarys Diet Mony &c for the Quarter Commencing January 12 and ending the 11 April 1755 2104 1 7/2 2459 6 10/2 St Helena 11 April 1755 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Clark Paymaster	28 April Brought over, £51 9s 2d Paint 10 blue smalts, £1 4s 6d 3 venet red, £0 1s 17d 6 white lead, £0 3s 0d 1 whiting, £0 0s 7d 1 white copperas, £0 1s 17d Total paint, £1 9s 8d Haberdashery ware 6 skeins mohair, £0 3s 0d 4 skeins silk, £0 2s 4d 3 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 1s 5d 2 dozen mens coat buttons, £0 1s 8d Total haberdashery, £0 8s 5d Ironmongery ware 1 spade, £0 4s 5d 3 broad hoes, £0 7s 3d 1 file, £0 1s 0d 1 walling hammer, £0 2s 1d 3 ditching shovels, £0 9s 0d 1 pair dovetail hinges, £0 0s 5d 1 bricklayers trowel, £0 2s 0d Total ironmongery ware, £1 16s 2d Canvas, 17 yards English, £0 2s 2d Lead, 1 shot, £0 1s 17d Thread 7 white brown, £0 7s 9d 9 coloured, £0 4s 8d Total thread, £0 12s 5d Candles, 18, £1 19s 0d Pork, 26, £0 5s 6d Pitch, 18, £0 3s 9d Cutlery ware, 1 pair leather gaiters, £0 0s 7d Swine, 1 chain, £0 0s 10d Deals, 3 single, £0 8s 6d Total, £58 17s 7d Interpretations This closes the sales account at the highest markup with paints, tools, cloth and building materials, the same everyday store goods sold on at the steepest rate. The walling hammer was a mason's tool for dressing and laying stone, and paired here with three ditching shovels, a spade and broad hoes it points to fresh building and drainage work, the kind of ground labour the sale of these tools would have supported. Broad hoes were wide-bladed hoes suited to breaking and working the island's soil, distinct from the narrower garden hoes sold earlier. The persistence of the paint pigments across every one of these sub-accounts, smalts, venet red, white lead, whiting and copperas appearing again and again, suggests a steady demand for protective and decorative colour across the settlement, the lead paints especially valued for shielding wood and iron from the corrosive salt air of an exposed Atlantic rock.
409	402	28 April Collections of Good Sold and Delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from the 12 January to the 11 April 1755 Vizt Sold to the Companys Servants Vizt Arrack 92/2 Gallons £ 23 2 6 Brandy 8/4 Gallons 2 13	1755 Sold to the Company's ships Lead, 33 sheet, £0 7s 7d Nails, 90 sorted, £2 3s 8d Cordage, 7 at 7 at 14, £15 9s 9d Coals, 10 bushels, £0 12s 6d Oil, 38 gallons linseed, £8 17s 4d Glassware, 1 half pint beer glass, £0 0s 9d Tin ware, 54 lanthorn leaves, £0 15s 9d Flour, 673, £7 0s 2d

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		Sugar & Candy vizt 4848 Sugar £ 80 16 591 Candy 12 6 3 141 15 2 Soap 125 3 12 11 Candles 364 30 14 3 Tea vizt 3 Congo 7 6 53 Singlo 2 4 3 Bohea 3 3 2 14 9 Cordage 431 6 5 8/2 Rice 1120 46 13 4 Beef & Pork vizt 85 Duple Do Beef 2/ 8 10 581 Do Do 2/ 58 2 8 Do Do 3/4/2 1 4 4 63 Duple Do Pork 2/ 6 6 762 Do Do 2/ 76 4 84 Do Do 2/2 9 2 159 8 4 Cheetloes 7 Do 3 8 3 Pepper 13 Do 7 3/2 Do sooties 8 Do 3 19 4 Salt 1/2 Bushels 15 Lead vizt 112 Sheet 1 2 1/2 16 Shot 3 4 1 5 5/2 Carried over £ 519 5 9/2	Turners ware, 6 pairs brushes, £0 4s 0d Pitch and tar 4 barrel tar, £3 2s 0d 4 rozin, £0 3s 2d Total pitch and tar, £8 3s 2d Total, £38 14s 3d Charges general, debtor, for the following stores issued from the 12 January to the 11 April 1755 Nails 3 penny, 2, £0 1s 17d 8 penny, 20, for repairs to the crane, the drum, £0 2s 6d 1 penny, 40, bridge, necessary house in the, £0 0s 3d 1 penny, 2, stores, secretary's office and, £0 0s 7d 3 penny, 6, making packets, £0 2s 17d 4 penny, 3, £0 2s 4d 5 penny, 10, £0 10s 4d Total nails, £0 10s 4d Paint 28 whitening, for repairs to one of the Company's houses and repairing roofs, £0 0s 17d 6 white lead, £0 2s 17d Total paint, £0 2s 6d Swine, 2 chains, for the castle, £0 1s 17d Carried over, £0 13s 11d Interpretations Two further accounts open here, one recording goods sold to the Company's own ships as they called at the island and another headed charges general, covering stores issued not for sale but for the settlement's own upkeep. The sales to ships were dominated by cordage, oil, flour and pitch and tar, the naval consumables a vessel needed to refit and revictual before the long haul onward, cordage alone reaching £15. Rosin was the hard resin left after distilling turpentine from pine sap, used with pitch and tar for caulking and waterproofing a ship's timbers and rigging. The charges general account works differently, each small parcel of nails, paint or timber booked against a named piece of work, repairs to the crane, the drum, a bridge, the necessary house and the secretary's office, so the store could track what its own maintenance consumed. Lanthorn leaves were the thin translucent sheets of horn that glazed a lantern before cheap glass, sold to the ships to repair the lamps that lit their decks and cabins.
<u>410</u>	403	1755 Brought over £ 519 5 9/2 Canvas vizt 30 Yds English £ 1 16 3 2 Yds Ozenbrigs 1 1/2 1 17 1/2 Nails vizt 12 2d 7 9 23 3 12 5/2 30 4 13 1/2 23 6 1 2 1 48 10 18 7 20 2 7/2 28 Flooring Brads 10 6 6 Glaz Brads	28 April Brought over, £0 13s 11d Oil 6 gallons train for the kitchen and bake house, £0 17s 3d 1 gallon linseed for painting, £0 2s 6d Total oil, £0 19s 9d Iron, 50, for making pickaxes up the crane and for the gunner use, £0 0s 9d Starch 3 common, £0 1s 7d 5 Poland, for linen, £0 2s 9d Total starch, £0 4s 4d Turners ware, 4 pairs brushes for painting, £0 1s 10d Pitch 1 gallon tar for the crane, £0 0s 6d 7 rosin for the doctors shop, £0 0s 8d Total pitch, £0 1s 2d Lines 5 number 4 for the carpenter and castle, £0 1s 4d 1 3 for whips, £0 0s 4d Total lines, £0 2s 3d

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		6 9 2 Scupper 1 2 4d Nails 8 4 14 11/2 Mustardseed 1/8 Bushel 2 9 Oil vizt 16 Gallons Linsed 2 18 8 4 Do Train 12 8 9 Bottles Florence 1 2 10/2 4 14 2/2 Shalloon 36 Yards 3 12 Serge 8 Yds 1 19 4 Hosierware vizt 3 Do Thread Stocking 8 6 2 Do Mens Knitt 6 8 1 Do Womens 3 7 18 9 Swine 10 Shains 6 8 Buckram 9/2 Yds 9 6 Hocks & Lines vizt 1800 Blue Hocks 6 330 Hocks No 5 8 500 Blue Hocks Byrantham 5 7/2 58 Linen No 4 1 4 7 2 Hambro 3 8 2 4 6/2 Carried over £ 540 6 1/2	Deals 1 pair oak plank 3 inch for the crane, £2 9s 4d 15 double deals, £2 7s 9d 13 single deals, for a chest for cartridges, laths for the magazine, a ladder, £1 3s 3d 1 kipser, the kitchen window in the, £0 3s 5d 1 bench, secret office drawbridge and, £0 3s 6d Total deals, £6 12s 0d Brandy, 12 gallons, delivered to soldiers for getting up the stores from several ships, £1 0s 10d Arrack, 2 gallons, for the auction of damaged goods, £0 7s 3d Sugar, 9, for the auction of damaged goods, £0 0s 3d Candles 132 for the castle, £10 0s 9d 90 for the council, £6 16s 10d Total candles, £16 17s 7d Soap, 40 for the castle, £1 0s 10d Leather, 1 for the pump, £0 1s 9d Carried over, £28 12s 11d Interpretations The charges general account continues through the stores consumed on the Company's own works, each item tied to the job it served, from oak plank for the crane to laths for the magazine and a chest to hold cartridges. The large candle issue, 132 for the castle and 90 for the council, shows the cost of lighting the fort and its meeting rooms through the long evenings, wax and tallow being a heavy standing charge for any garrison. Brandy and arrack appear here not as sale goods but as working allowances, the spirit given to soldiers hauling stores up from the ships and served at the auction of damaged goods, drink standing in for extra pay on heavy or unpleasant tasks. A kipser was a length of rough or waste board, cheaper than dressed deal and used here for a window repair, and the leather bought for the pump was the supple hide that formed the washers and valves of a hand pump, a part that wore out fast and needed constant renewal.
411	404	28 April Brought over £ 540 6 1/2 Thread vizt 28 1/2 Blue Smalts £ 5 9 6/2 59 Whiting 1 5 22 Sky Blue 2 4 15/2 Venet Red 3 3 2 Umber 2 1/2 Jomaica Indico 9 1/2 1/2 White Copperas 1 10/2 105 White Lead 1 9 5 1/2 or 3/2 Prussian Blue 3 3/2 7 Red Lead 1 9 10 10 1/2 Chinaware vizt 2 Chamber Potts 3 3 Spichers 9 12 Half p Cups and Saucers	1755 Brought over, £28 12s 11d Ironmongery ware 2 pairs compasses, £0 0s 8d 2 gouges, for the carpenters, £0 0s 7d 2 files, £0 1s 4d 1 stone saw for the stone sawer, £0 5s 9d 8 ditching shovels, for clearing the ground for the soldiers barracks, £1 16s 0d 3 pickaxes, £0 9s 0d 2 stock locks for the church, £0 3s 8d 1 dipping axe for the castle, £0 2s 10d Total ironmongery ware, £2 19s 7d Cartwheels, 6 wheelbarrows for clearing the ground for the soldiers barracks, £4 6s 9d Bunting, 2 yards red for the castle, £0 1s 6d Cutlery ware, 1 butchers knife for the castle, £0 0s 9d Canvas 5 yards osnaburg, for covering rockets and for umbrellas for the castle, £0 3s 5d 7 English, £0 8s 11d Total canvas, £0 12s 3d Tin ware, 1 dripping pan for the castle, £0 4s 2d Dosooties, 8 pieces, for table linen for the castle, £3 11s 10d Thread, 1 white brown, for the castle, £0 5s 6d Chectors, 1 piece, for the castle, £0 8s 10d

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		4 3 1 Set Octagon Dishes and Plates 18/2 12 Neg Cups & Saucers 4 2 1 10 8 Sar 5 Gallons 3 9 Pewter 13 Basons 14 3 Broad Cloth 6/2 Yards 5 5 4/2 Corks 3/4 Shot Cork 7/2 Haberdasheryware vizt 22 Skains Mohair 8 3 19 Do Silk 8 8/2 8 Doz No Ct Button 5 4 16 Do Do Breast Do 5 6 1/2 Do Gilt Coat Do 6 1/2 3 Do Do Breast Do 6 7/2 6 Doz White Waist Co 1 6 12 Do Shirt Do 2 5 2 Do Carnat Tape 1 6 1 Do Holland Do 11 2 7 4/2 Carried over £ 563 10 10/2	Cordage, 262, for a crane rope for the gunners use and for thatching, £2 10s 6d Coals, 120 bushels for the armourers shop, £0 5s 5d Total, £48 19s 4d Diet expences, debtor, for the following stores issued for the use of the table from the 12 January to the 11 April 1755 Arrack, 46 gallons, £6 14s 11d Tea 1 single, £2 0s 0d 1 congo, £0 9s 7d Carried over, £7 4s 6d Interpretations The charges general account ends with tools and materials for building the soldiers' barracks and maintaining the castle, then a new account opens for diet expenses, the food and drink drawn from store for the Company's table. Six wheelbarrows and eight ditching shovels bought together for clearing the ground point to fresh construction of barracks, the settlement improving its soldiers' quarters through the quarter. The armourer's shop drew 120 bushels of coal to fire its forge, the armourer being the smith who made and repaired the garrison's weapons and iron fittings. The osnaburg canvas bought at once for covering rockets and for umbrellas is a telling pairing, the same coarse linen shielding the signal rockets from damp and giving the castle sunshades against the strong Atlantic sun, a reminder that St Helena's exposed position brought both the need to signal ships and hard weather to guard against. The stone saw issued to a stone sawyer confirms the island quarried and dressed its own building stone, one of the few materials it did not have to bring in by sea.
412	405	1755 Brought over £ 563 10 10/2 Cutleryware vizt 8 Horn Combs £ 1 8 9 Butchers knives 2 9/2 1/2 Cheping Do 6 2 10 7/2 Turnersware vizt 33 Shoe Brushes 1 1 3/2 7 Paint Do 3 8 2 Scrubing Do 3 8 1 Tray 2 0 5 Hair Brooms 11 1/2 2 2 5 Shoes vizt 2 Do Mens Ord 8 6 2 Do Womens Calemanco 10 4 18 10 Glassware vizt 13 Sqrs Glass Glaz 8 5 5 8 Do Do 8 by 10 5 9 Do Do 10 by 12 8 3 3 Tumblers 1 8 1 Beer Glass	28 April Brought over, £7 4s 6d Beef and pork 40 bags beef, £1 7s 6d 23 bags pork, £2 6s 0d Total beef and pork, £3 13s 6d Candy, 406, £6 15s 4d Rice, 113, £0 6s 3d Flour, 1,160, £8 4s 11d Oil, 3 bottles Florence, £0 6s 10d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 6s 9d Total, £26 18s 17d Blacks, debtor, for the following stores issued for their use from the 12 January to the 11 April 1755 Brandy, 27 gallons, for drams, £0 2s 5d Arrack, 1 gallon, £0 1s 5d Sugar, 32, £0 0s 8d Tea, 13 bohea, for the sick, £0 14s 1d Rice, 1 at 1, £3 0s 10d Beef and pork 217 bags beef, £29 16s 9d 6 bags pork, £0 12s 0d Total beef and pork, £30 8s 9d Thread, 2 coloured, for mending their frocks, £0 6s 8d Cutlery ware, 20 butchers knives, £0 5s 10d Oil, 2 gallons train, £0 7s 10d Kersey, 12 yards, £0 16s 0d Swine, 1, £0 0s 6d Lead, 6 sheet, £0 1s 0d Deals 13 single, £3 1s 4d 1 bench, for benches to their houses, £0 5s 6d Total deals, £3 6s 11d Carried over, £70 2s 17d Interpretations A separate account is kept here for the island's slaves, headed blacks, recording the food, clothing

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		11 2 Decanters 1 8 10 Ironmongerware vizt 2 Files 1 6 7 Pr Dovetail Hinges 2 7/2 1 Ditching Shovel 4 11/2 1 12 4 Pinnfould Locks 19 3 11 Pr HL Hinges 1 3/2 1 Claw Hammer 5 7 3 Garden Hoes 14 7/2 3 Cupbd Locks 2/2 1 Ragstone 1 10 1 Jackhain 1 7 1 Bricklayers Trowel 7 4 11 1 2 Box Irons Carried over £ 573 2 8	and goods the Company issued for their maintenance over the quarter. The largest charge by far is the salted beef and pork at over £30, the staple ration feeding the slave workforce, alongside rice, flour, sugar and a little arrack and brandy dispensed as drams. Frocks were the loose coarse smocks worn by labourers and slaves, here mended with coloured thread, while the kersey was a rough cheap woollen cloth issued for their clothing, the whole account showing the plantation slaves kept at the plainest level of provision. The tea entered specifically for the sick and the benches supplied for their houses show the Company met a bare minimum of care and furnishing for its slaves, treating their upkeep as a running cost of the plantation set down in the same ledger as timber and salt meat. This account, kept apart from those for servants, planters and ships, makes plain that slave labour was a distinct and accounted-for part of the establishment at St Helena in 1755.
413	406	28 April Brought over £ 573 2 8 Deals vizt 53 Single £ 5 17 1/2 4 Double 14 2 10 Oak Plank 2 14 8 12 6/2 Leather vizt 1/4 Leather 1 5 19 Damp Do 1 10 1 1 11 6 Fustian 1/2 6 Do 1 2 3 Hats vizt 2 Mens 1 18 10 1 Boys 6 1/2 2 4 10/2 Iron 115 Do 1 10/2 Bunting 1 Yd White 7 Starch 1/2 8 Oars 2 8 6 Kersey 6 Yards 9 Braziersware 1 Hash pan 16 4 Tinware vizt 1/4 Sal Armoniac 5 1 Dripping Pan 4 7 5 589 14 9/2 Sold to the Planters at 25 p Cent Do sooties 1 Do	1755 Brought over, £70 2s 17d Nails 10 penny, 10, £0 3s 4d 6 penny, 20, for repairs to their houses, £0 1s 10d 2 penny, 6, £0 0s 8d Total nails, £5 11s 17d Hooks and lines 15 lines number 4, £0 5s 9d 6 lines number 3, £0 1s 11d 12 lines number 2, for fishing, £0 3s 4d 125 hooks number 5, £0 1s 5d Total hooks and lines, £12 5s 17d Total, £71 1s 4d Plantation, debtor, for the following stores issued from the 12 January to the 11 April 1755 Rice and paddy 75 rice, £0 15s 17d 9 at 2 paddy, for the poultry, £2 13s 10d Total rice and paddy, £3 9s 5d Nails 9 penny, 6, £0 3s 2d 8 penny, 10, for the great wood inclosing, £0 2s 8d 6 penny, 20, gates for the pastures, £0 1s 10d 10 penny, 40, £0 2s 11d Total nails, £0 10s 8d Cordage, 69, for the carts, £0 17s 3d Cartwheels, 2 axletrees for the carts, £0 17s 10d Deals 2 baulks for repairs to the barn in the wood, £0 11s 17d 1 elm plank for casks, £0 18s 11d Total deals, £1 9s 17d Tar, 22 gallons for the casks, £0 4s 6d Iron, 23, for pickaxes and for carts, £0 5s 8d Ironware, 2 lignum axes for the great wood, £8 8s 9d Total, £8 8s 9d Interpretations A further account is opened for the plantation, recording stores issued to the Company's farming and woodland operations rather than the fort or the store.

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		£ 11 4 Hosierware vizt 1 Do Womens Stockings 4 1 1 Do Mens Knit 3 4 7 5 Carried over £ 18 9	Paddy was unhusked rice still in its outer hull, here bought to feed the poultry, distinct from the cleaned rice eaten at table. The nails and gates entered for the great wood inclosing and for pastures show the plantation fencing off its woodland and grazing, enclosing ground to manage timber and stock, the same movement toward enclosed farming then reshaping the English countryside. Axletrees were the fixed beams on which a cart's wheels turned, and the baulks were heavy squared timbers used for the structural repair of the barn in the wood, marking the plantation's need to keep its farm buildings and carts in order. The great wood was the island's main stand of timber, a precious resource on a place otherwise short of trees, carefully fenced and worked for the building material and fuel the settlement could not do without.
414	407	1755 Brought over £ 18 9 Serge 10/2 Yards 2 0 7/2 Shalloon 14 Do 1 11 6 Buckram 1/2 Do 6/2 Sold at 40 p Cent Arrack 50/2 Gallons 15 1 6 Sugar & Candy vizt 922 Sugar £ 19 5 28 Candy 15 2 20 2 Flour 288 3 Soap 3 2 1/2 Cordage 162 9 Rice 3 . 18 3 4 6 Oil vizt 1/2 Gallon Linsed 1 1/2 Gallon Train 9/2 1 Bottle Florence 2 6/2 10 4 Tea 1 Singlo 1 8 Nails vizt 4 2d 1 8 2 3 1 4 5 4 2 11 11 6 3 11/2 5 10 1 10/2 3 20 1 1/2 1 Glazing Brads 1 1/2 16 Hooks vizt 25 Hooks No 5 5 400 Blue 1 8 2 1 Carried over £ 51 9 2/2	28 April The following delivered for the plantation house Lead, 2 at 3 at 20 shot, £2 11s 8d Deals 109 double, £17 7s 8d 10 single, £0 10s 9d 1 Guinea board, £0 4s 10d Total deals, £18 12s 4d Nails 48 penny, 6, £0 17s 0d 10 penny, 10, £0 3s 4d 10 penny, 20, £0 3s 17d Total nails, £1 3s 5d Oil, 2 gallons linseed, £0 0s 9d Ironware, 12 pairs HL hinges, £0 2s 8d Paint, 12 white lead, £0 4s 1d Total, £25 11s 10d Hospital, debtor, for the following stores issued from the 12 January to the 11 April 1755 Sugar, 84, £1 1s 0d Flour, 63, £0 8s 11d Oil, 5 gallons, £0 12s 11d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 4s 10d Rice, 1, £0 8s 4d Total, £2 16s 1d Fortification, debtor, for the following stores issued from the 12 January to the 11 April 1755 Cordage, 17, for the flag and tying wads, £0 4s 3d Carried over, £0 4s 3d Interpretations Three short accounts follow, one completing the stores sent to the plantation house, then fresh accounts for the hospital and the fortifications. The heavy issue of deals to the plantation house, over £18 of double and single board, points to substantial building or repair of the Company's principal farm dwelling that quarter. A Guinea board was a plank of the timber shipped from the West African coast, brought in through the same trade routes that carried the Company's other supplies to the island. The hospital account is modest, drawing only sugar, flour, oil, salt and rice, the plain sustaining foods thought fit for the sick and recovering. The cordage entered against the fortifications for the flag and for tying wads shows the double duty of rope on the defences, both hoisting signal colours and binding the wadding rammed down after the charge in the great guns, the wad holding powder and shot firm in the barrel before firing.

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415	408	28 April Brought over £ 51 9 2/2 Paint vizt 10/2 Blue Smalts £ 1 4 6 3/2 Venet Red 1 1/2 6 White Lead 3 1 Whiting 1/2 3/4 White Copperas 1 1/2 1 9 8/2 Haberdasheryware vizt 6 Sk Mohair 3 4 Sk Silk 2 4 3/2 Doz Mohair Brest Buttons 1 5/2 2 Doz Mens Coat Do 1 8 8 5/2 Ironmongerware vizt 1 Spade 4 5 3 Broad Hoes 7 3 1 File 1 1 Walling Hammer 2 1 3 Ditching Shovels 9 1 Pr Dovetail Hinges 5/2 1 Bricklayers Trowel 2 1 16 2/2 Canvas 17 Yards English 2 1/2 Lead 2/2 Shot 1 1/2 Thread vizt 7 Whited Brown 9 Coloured 7 9 12 5 Candles 18 1 19 Pork 26 5 6 Pitch 18 3 9 Cutleryware 1 Pr Leather Gaiters 7 Swine 1 Shane 10 Deals 3 Single 8 6 £ 58 17 7	1755 Brought over, £0 4s 3d Bunting 2 yards white, £2 15s 17d 2 yards blue, £2 10s 6d 2 yards red, £3 6s 0d Total bunting, £8 11s 8d Canvas, 3 yards English, for two flags one for the main fort the other for Prosperous Bay, £0 3s 3d Lines, 1 number 4, £0 0s 17d Thread, 1 coloured, £0 3s 4d Nails 3 penny, 10, £0 0s 1d 3 penny, 6, for putting up shelves in the gunners, £0 1s 3d 2 penny, 2, dry store room for his use, £0 1s 2d Total nails, £0 3s 5d Swine, 1, for the gunner, £0 3s 9d Tar, 1 gill for saving carriage, £0 0s 8d Deals 2 double, for shelves in the gunners dry store room, £0 6s 17d 2 single, the magazine door in Lemon Valley, £0 3s 11d Total deals, £0 10s 4d Ironware, 1 pair HL hinges, £0 0s 4d Total, £10 5s 1d Boats, debtor, for the following stores issued for repairs and so on from the 12 January to the 11 April 1755 Cordage, 58, £0 14s 6d Deals 2 double, £0 6s 17d 1 single, £0 1s 10d 1 elm board, £0 4s 10d Total deals, £0 13s 2d Oil 7 gallons train, £0 2s 6d 1 gallon linseed, £0 1s 8d Total oil, £0 6s 0d Lead, 3 sheet, £0 0s 6d Oars, 2, £0 7s 8d Carried over, £1 15s 17d Interpretations The fortification account gathers the cloth and materials for the island's signal flags, the coloured bunting in white, blue and red made up into colours for the main fort and Prosperous Bay. A magazine at Lemon Valley is named among the works, its door hung on new hinges and boarded with deal, marking one of the outlying powder stores set apart from the main fort for safety. The nails and deals bought to shelve the gunner's dry store room show the careful keeping of powder and stores in a dry place, damp being the constant enemy of gunpowder on a wet Atlantic island. A last account opens for the boats, recording the cordage, timber, oil and oars needed to keep the settlement's small craft in repair. These boats were the vital link between shore and the ships anchored in the road, ferrying goods, passengers and stores across the open water where no vessel could come alongside, so their upkeep was as necessary to the island as the fort itself.
416	409	1755 Sold to the Companys Ships vizt Lead 33 Sheet £ 7 7 Nails 90 Sorted 2 3 8/2 Cordage 7.1.14 15 9 9 Coals 10 Bushels	28 April Brought over, £1 15s 17d Pitch and tar 34 pitch, £0 4s 3d 4 gallons tar, £0 3s 0d 3 rosin, £0 0s 4d 8 turpentine, £0 16s 0d Total pitch and tar, £0 9s 1d Nails

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		12 6 Oyl 38 Gallons Linsed 8 17 4 Glassware 1 half Beer Glob 9 Tinware 54 Lanthorn Leaves 15 9 Flour 673 7 2 Turnersware 6 Pr Brushes 4 Pitch & Sar vizt 4 Barrel Sar £ 3 2 4 Rozin 8 3 2 8 38 14 3/2 Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 January to the 11 April 1755 vizt Nails vizt 3/2 4d 1 1/2 8 20 for Repairs to the Crane, the Drum 2 6 1 40 Bridge, Necessary House in the 3/2 1 2 Stores, Secretarys Office and 7 3 6 making Packets 2 2 4/2 3 2 4 10 4 Paint vizt 28 Whiting 5/2 6 White Lead for Repairs to one of the Companys House and Repaired Hocks 2 1/2 2 6 1 1/2 Swine 2 Shains for the Castle Carried over £ 13 11/2	4 penny, 40, £0 1s 2d 8 penny, 6, £0 2s 10d 1 penny, 10, £0 0s 4d 1 penny, 20, £0 0s 3d 1 penny, 4, £0 0s 5d Total nails, £0 5s 17d Paint 3 white lead, £0 1s 17d 3 red lead, £0 0s 3d 7 venet red, £0 1s 0d Total paint, £0 1s 9d Total, £2 15s 17d The boats account was drawn up on 11 April 1755, errors excepted, and signed by Sturling Street. The storekeeper brought in the following account of goods short received from ship <i>Exeter</i> Account of goods short received from ship <i>Exeter</i> 1 short handle frying pan, found short upon opening the packages which had no appearance of their being opened before 1 steel bit for the thimble brace, found short upon opening the packages which had no appearance of their being opened before 2 pairs mens ordinary shoes, found short upon opening the packages which had no appearance of their being opened before 24 wine glasses 6 by 8, found broke upon opening the packages 10 wine glasses 8 by 10, found broke upon opening the packages 3 wine glasses 10 by 12, found broke upon opening the packages Interpretations The boats account closes with pitch, tar, turpentine, nails and paint, the caulking and protective materials that kept the small craft watertight, and is signed off in the same errors excepted form as the paymaster's book. A fresh document then follows, the storekeeper's account of goods short received from the ship <i>Exeter</i>, listing items found missing or broken when the cargo was unpacked. Turpentine was the spirit distilled from pine resin, a solvent and thinner for paint and a base for varnish, completing the run of naval stores used on the boats. The storekeeper's note carefully distinguishes goods found short in packages that showed no sign of having been opened, pointing to a shortfall at loading rather than theft in transit, from the glassware simply broken on the voyage. This record of a formal claim against a ship's delivery shows the East India Company's tight control of its cargoes, every missing frying pan and cracked wine glass entered so the loss could be charged back and the carrier held to account.
417	410	28 April Brought over £ 13 11/2 Oil vizt 6 p Do Train for the Kitchen & Bake House £ 17 3 3/4 Do Linseed for Painting 2 6 19 9 Iron 50 for makeing Rehacer up the Crane & for the Gunner Use 9 Starch vizt 3 3/4 Common 1 7 5/2 Poland for Linen 2 9 4 4 Turnersware 4 Pr Brushes for Painting 1 10	1755 1 horn lanthorn, found broke upon opening the packages 1 bottle Florence oil, found broke upon opening the packages 3 swine 117 sole leather, short weight 11 soap, short weight 37 single deals, short delivered 13 double deals, short delivered 3 pieces sea timber, short delivered 1 barrel powder, short delivered 1 iron shot, short delivered 30 single deals, short delivered for the coal hole 6 kipsers, short delivered for the coal hole Wine 7 bottles Lisbon, broke 16 bottles Fyall, broke 5 bottles Madeira, broke

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		Pitch vizt 1/2 Do Sar for the Crane £ 6 7 Rozin for the Doctors Shop 8 1 2 Lines vizt 5 No 4 for the Carpenter & Castle 1 4 1 3 for Whips 4 2 3 Deals vizt 1 Pr Oak Plank 3 Inch for the Crane 2 9 4 15 Double Deals 2 7 9/2 13 Single Do for a Chest for Cartridges Rulers 1 3 3/2 1 Kirfter for the Magazine, a Sceldion 3/2 1 Bewth the Hospital, Suanes to the Secret office Draw Bridge & c 3 6 6 12 Brandy 12/2 Do Do delivered to Soldiers for gitting up the Stores from Several Ships 1 10 Arrack 2/2 Do for Do for the Auction of Damaged Goods 7 3/2 Sugar 9 Do 3 Candles vizt 132 for the Castle 10 9 90 for the Cuncel 6 16 10/2 10 17 7/2 Soap 40 for the Castle 1 10 Leather 1/4 for the Pump 1 9/2 Carried over £ 28 12 11	2 bottles mountain, broke Number 1 half hogshead beer, gauge 61 gallons, water to fill 3 gallons Number 2, gauge 62 gallons, water to fill 4 gallons Number 3, gauge 61 gallons, water to fill 6 gallons Number 4, gauge 60 gallons, water to fill 5 gallons Number 5, gauge 61 gallons, water to fill 3 gallons Number 6, gauge 60 gallons, water to fill 6 gallons Total gauge, 369 gallons Less water, 32 gallons Fixed, 337 gallons The arms put on board for exercising the military were received in the following condition. There were 18 complete muskets and one wanting a cock. One musket wanted a cock, nails and screws and nine muskets wanted sights. Three muskets were damaged in the stocks, 25 in all of which several were broke in the butt. Of the slings 24 were wanting, two spare ramrods with 23 wanting, and 25 bayonets and scabbards complete with 25 cartouche boxes. The account was signed by M. Sturling Street. On 28 April 1755 the Honourable Company's cash was counted and examined for the month ending the 11 instant, which was as follows. Interpretations The storekeeper's claim against the <i>Exeter</i> continues, separating goods broken in carriage from those delivered short of the invoiced weight or count, the sole leather and soap marked short weight rather than missing outright. The beer casks were gauged individually, each half hogshead measured for how many gallons it actually held and how much water was needed to top it up, the shortfall of 32 gallons across six casks recording the ullage lost to leakage or evaporation on the long voyage. Fyall wine was the wine of Fayal in the Azores, one of the Atlantic island wines like Madeira and Lisbon shipped to victual the Company's stations and vessels. The inspection of the muskets sent ashore for drill lays bare the poor state of the garrison's small arms, many wanting cocks, sights or ramrods and several broken in the stock, a candid record of worn and damaged weapons. A cartouche box was the leather case a soldier wore to carry his paper cartridges, and mountain wine was a sweet Málaga wine from the Spanish hills, the varied wines all entered as broken on arrival.
418	411	1755 Brought over £ 28 12 11 Ironmongerware vizt 2 Pr Compasses £ 8 2 Gouges 7 2 Files for the Carpenters 1 4/2 1 Stone Saw for the Stone Sawyer 5 5/2 8 Ditching Shovels 1 16 3 Pickaxes for clearing the Ground for the Soldiers Barracks 9 2 Stock Locks for the Church 3 8 1 Dripping Ax of the Castle 2 10 2 19 7	28 April Cash, debtor 1755, March 12, to balance remaining, £3,223 13s 17d March 17, to exchange for one set of bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Captain John Purling or order, ninety days after sight, dated this day, £800 0s 0d To exchange for one set drawn as above, dated this day, payable to Captain John Fead or order, £400 0s 0d To exchange for one set drawn as above, dated this day, payable to Captain Robert Haldane or order, £900 0s 0d To exchange for one set drawn as above, dated this day, payable to James Sheridan or order, £30 0s 0d March 4, to ship <i>Sandwich</i>, the balance of her account, £16 9s 17d March 24, to ship <i>Warwick</i>, the balance of her account, £10 14s 4d March 26, to ship <i>Grantham</i>, the balance of her account, £7 5s 0d April 11, to Matthew Purling for store goods sold in the quarter ending this day, £648 12s 17d

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		Cartwheels 6 wheels & Barrows for clearing the Ground for the Soldiers Barracks 4 6 9 Bunting 2 Yards Red for the Castle 1 6 Cutleryware 1 Butchers knife for Do 9/2 Canvas vizt 5/2 Yards Ozenbrigs for covering Packets and for Umbrellos for the Castle 3 5/2 7/2 English 9 11/2 12 5 Tinware 1 Dripping Pan for the Castle 4 2 Do sooties 8 Do for Table Linen for Do 3 11 10 Thread No Brown 5 6/2 Cheetcloes 1/2 for the Do 8 10 Cordage 202 for a Crane Rope for the Gunners use and for Thatching 2 10 6 Coals 120 Bushels for the Armourers Shop 5 5 48 19 4 Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Issued for the use of the Table from the 12 Janry to the 11 April vizt £ 6 14 11 Arrack 46/2 Gallons Tea vizt 6 Singlo £ 7 7 1/2 Congo 2 9 7 Carried over £ 7 4 6	To licences for public houses, £11 10s 0d To plantation for provision sold, £2 7s 4d To store for goods sold at auction as per consultation of the 10 March last, £48 9s 4d Total, £6,699 0s 17d Interpretations This is the debtor side of the settlement's general cash account, gathering the money coming in over the quarter from bills of exchange, ships' balances and store sales. The four sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors in London, totalling £2,130, were the mechanism by which the island turned local silver into credit payable in England, ships' captains handing over cash at St Helena in return for bills they could redeem at Company headquarters ninety days after sight. This spared the dangerous carriage of coin across the oceans and let the Company move value between its stations on paper. The licences for public houses show the settlement regulating and taxing the sale of drink, charging alehouse keepers £11 10s for the right to trade, a small revenue that also gave the governor and council control over who might retail liquor on the island. The balances received from the <i>Sandwich</i>, <i>Warwick</i> and <i>Grantham</i> were the sums those East Indiamen owed the settlement for provisions and services when they cleared their accounts before sailing on.
419	412	28 April Brought over £ 7 4 6 Beef & Pork vizt 10 Do Beef £ 1 7 6 23 Do Pork 2 6 3 13 6 Candy 406 6 13 4 Rice 1/3 6 3 Flour 1160 8 4 11 Oyl 3 Bottles Florence 6 10/2 Salt 2/4 Bushels 6 9 26 18 1/2 Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued for their use from the 12 January to the 11 April vizt Brandy 27/2 Do for Drams 2 5 Arrack 1/2 gallon 1 5/2 Sugar 32 8 Tea 1/3 Bohea for the Sick 1 4 1 Rice 1/2 1 Pk 3 10 Beef & Pork vizt	1755 Per contra, creditor 1755, April 11, by sundry accounts advanced the paymaster in the quarter ending this day By balance remaining in the following species 1,000 venetians at 10s, £500 0s 0d 1,000 pagodas at 8s, £400 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £900 0s 0d 2,612 dollars at 5s, £653 0s 0d 12,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,350 0s 0d 1,299 half rials at 3d, £202 6s 3d 441 French sous at 3d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 3s 0d Silver amounting to, £2,208 19s 9d 146 cash notes at 40s, £293 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 Total, £6,699 0s 17d The settlement received no cordage by the <i>Exeter</i> and being much in want of some three-inch rope bought two coils of that size from Captain Ffennell, paying him £6 1s 0d. It was also obliged to buy three dozen gimlets for the carpenters use, paying £0 10s 6d, there being none in the Honourable Company's stores. Interpretations The credit side of the cash account sets out the actual coin, bullion and paper the settlement held at the quarter's close, a striking picture of the mixed money circulating on the island. Gold venetians and pagodas, silver dollars, rupees, half rials and French

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		217 Do Beef £ 29 16 9 6 Do Pork 12 30 8 9 Thread 2 Coloured for mending their Cloaths 6 8 Cutleryware 20 Butchers knives 5 10 Oyl 2 3/4 Gallons Train 7 10/2 Kersey 12 Yds 16 Swine 1 Do 6/2 Lead 6 Sheet 1 Deals vizt 13 Single 3 1 4/2 1 Bewth for Reprs to their Houses 5 6 3 6 11 Carried over £ 70 2 11/2	sous were all counted together, showing that St Helena ran on whatever coin the world's shipping brought to it rather than any single currency. Pagodas were South Indian gold coins and venetians were the gold ducats of Venice, both reaching the island through the eastern trade, while the mass of rupees valued at £1,350 reflected the Company's Indian connections. The cash notes were the settlement's own paper money, promissory notes issued in fixed denominations that circulated locally as currency, an early instance of paper credit standing in for scarce coin on a remote island. The closing note about buying rope and gimbals privately, because the <i>Exeter</i> had brought none and the stores held none, shows how a shortfall in a single ship's cargo forced the settlement into the open market at a premium, dependent as it was on the irregular arrival of supplies from half a world away.
420	413	1755 Brought over £ 70 2 11/2 Nails vizt 10 10 6 20 for repairs to their Houses 3 4 2 6 1 10/2 8/2 5 11/2 Hocks & Lines vizt 15 Lines No 4 5 9 6 Do 3 1 11 12 Do 2 for Fishing 3 4 125 Hocks 5 1 5/2 12 5/2 71 1 4 Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 January to the 11 April vizt Rice & Paddy vizt 75 1/2 Rice £ 15 7/2 9.2 1/2 Paddy for the Poultry 2 13 10 3 9 5/2 Nails vizt 9 6 3 2/2 8 10 for the Great Wood Enclonating 2 8 6 20 Gates for the Pastures 1 10/2 10 40 2 11 10 8 Cordage 69 for the Carts 17 3 Cartwheels 2 Axletrees for Do 17 10/2 Deals vizt 2 Bewths for repairs to the Barn in the Wood	28 April Certain soldiers refused to serve out the remainder of their enlisted time under the Articles of War, and after their dismissal they applied to the council for subsistence. The council assembled those who could not get a passage on any of the homeward-bound ships and told them they would be paid twelvepence a day each for such of them as were willing to work for the Honourable Company, but that otherwise they must not expect to be kept at the council's expense. Some men in the hospital who likewise refused to serve under the Articles of War were told that they might remain there and be maintained at the council's charge until they had recovered. Thomas Cheesborough, the Honourable Company's carpenter's mate, died without leaving a will, and the council ordered an inventory of his effects to be taken and sold at public auction to pay his debts. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations This shifts from accounts to the council's minutes, recording how it dealt with soldiers who had completed their enlistment but declined to sign on again under military discipline. The council used subsistence as leverage, offering the discharged men a labourer's wage of twelvepence a day only if they worked, while refusing free maintenance to those who would neither serve nor labour, a calculated pressure to keep useful hands on an island short of both workers and provisions. Those too sick to work were treated differently and kept in the hospital at the Company's charge, a distinction that shows the council separating the genuinely incapable from the merely unwilling. The handling of Thomas Cheesborough's estate reveals the standard legal process for a man dying intestate, his goods inventoried and auctioned to settle what he owed. On a remote island with no probate court close at hand, the governor and council took on this administration themselves, converting a dead servant's possessions to cash so his creditors could be satisfied before anything else remained.

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		11 7/2 1 Elm Plank for Carts 18 11 1 9 10/2 13 4 Sar 22 Gallons for Do 4 6 Iron 25 for Pickaxes and for Carts 5 8 Ironware 2 Sqr Axes for the Great Wood 8 8 9/2	
421	414	28 April The following Delivered for the Plantation House vizt Lead 2.3.20 Shot £ 2 11 8/2 Deals vizt 109 Double £ 17 7 8/2 10 Single 10 9/2 1 Elm Board 4 10 18 12 4 Nails vizt 48 6 17 10 16 3 4 10 20 3 4 1 3 5/2 Oil 2 Do Linsed 9/2 Ironware 12 Pr HL Hinges 2 8 Paint 12 White Lead 4 1 25 11 10/2 Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 January to the 11 April vizt Sugar 84 1 1 Flour 63 8 11/2 Oil 1/2 p Do 12 11 Salt 1/2 Bushels 4 10/2 Rice 1 Do 8 4 2 16 1 Fortification Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 Janry to the 11 April 1755 vizt Cordage 17 for the Flag and tying Wads £ 4 3 Carried over £ 4 3	5 May At a consultation held on Monday 5 May 1755 at the castle, there were present Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark, paymaster. The minutes of the previous consultation, held on 28 April 1755, were read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 29 April the Honourable Company's ship <i>Onslow</i> sailed for England. On Friday 2 May the Honourable Company's ship <i>Stafford</i> arrived from China. On Saturday 3 May the Honourable Company's ship <i>Exeter</i> sailed on her voyage. Also on Saturday 3 May the Honourable Company's ship <i>Stafford</i> , bound for England, had come to anchor the day before at a great distance from shore with the wind blowing hard. She parted her cable and left behind an anchor and several water casks. Mr Clark, who was then on board, had only just enough time to muster her company before the captain made sail at once, so the council could not write to the Honourable Court of Directors by that opportunity. On Sunday 4 May Susannah, wife of Joshua Worrall, planter, died. The accountant brought in his journal parcels for the quarter ending 11 April, which were examined, approved and ordered to be entered. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ship <i>Stafford</i> to muster her company and enquire for deserters, but found none, her muster roll being as follows. Interpretations The account of the <i>Stafford</i> losing an anchor, a cable and several water casks captures the real hazard of the island's open anchorage, where ships rode in deep water far from shore and a hard wind could drive them to slip their moorings and run for safety. The council's regret at being unable to send letters home shows how completely communication depended on the chance timing of ships, a homeward vessel making sail in haste cutting off the settlement's only means of writing to London for weeks. Mustering a ship's company on arrival was a fixed duty aimed at catching deserters, Company servants or soldiers who had fled the island by stowing away or signing on with a passing vessel to escape their service.
422	415	1755 Brought over £ 4 3 Bunting vizt 2/2 Do White £ 2 15 2/2 2 Do Blue 2 10 6 2 Do Red for two Flags one for 3 6 8 11 8/2 Canvas 3 Yd English the Main Fort the other 3 3 Lines 1 No 4	5 May The following was the muster roll of the ship <i>Stafford</i> . John Green, commander William Peters, first mate Jeffery Jackson, second mate William Abdy, third mate Nathanael Taylor, fourth mate Jeremiah Ray, fifth mate George John Glass, sixth mate John Isherwood, surgeon Emerson Pedry, purser James Keith, gunner Thomas Mason, boatswain George Hawes, carpenter

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		for Prosperous Bay 4/2 Thread 7 Coloured 3 4 Nails vizt 3 10 1 3/2 6 for putting up Shelves in the Gunners 1 3 2 2 Dry Store Room & for his use 1 2 3 5 Swine 7 Do for Do 3 9/2 Sar 1 Gill for Saving Carriage 8 Deals vizt 2 Double for Shelves in the Gunners Dry Store Room & for 6 4/2 2 Single the Magazine Door in Lemon Valley 3 11/2 10 4 Ironware 1 Pr HL Hinges for Do 4 10 3 1 Boast Dr for the following Stores Issued for Repairs & c from the 12 January to the 11 April vizt Cordage 58 £ 14 6 Deals vizt 2 Double £ 6 4/2 1 Single 1 10/2 1 Elm Board 4 10 13 2 Oil vizt 7/2 Do Train 2 6 1/2 Gallon Linseed 1 8 6 Lead 3 Sheet 7/2 Oars 2 Carried over £ 1 15 4/2	Simeon Morrie, midshipman William Bryant, second master Henry Glass, second master John Coster, second master John Howard, second master Charles Weidall, captains mate John Sadler, boatswains mate John Johnson, captains cook James Pokenhive, ships cook Hack Bennet, ships steward Samuel Lawrena, captains steward William Sarant, caulker John Jack, caulkers mate John Cox, barber Archibald Steward, poulterer William Hodgson, surgeons mate Alexander Spencer, armourer Robert West, cooper William Fordham, coopers mate Robert Gardner, gunners mate Bennett Hodgins, captains servant William Howard, captains servant Thomas Miller, first mates servant John Souder, second mates servant John Parkinson, surgeons servant John Forbes, gunners servant Thomas Lambs, boatswains servant Isaac Renbat, seaman James Louiston, seaman William Smith, seaman George Denn, seaman George Maitin, seaman John Redman, seaman William Smith, second seaman Phillip Smith, seaman Isaac Cooper, seaman John Sidy, seaman William Steward, seaman John Olwick, seaman William Sennant, seaman David Wight, seaman James Archibald, seaman Thomas Pitts, seaman Thomas Knight, seaman William Anderson, seaman Edward Sadler, seaman John Stainsbury, seaman Richard How, seaman William Rivers, seaman John Davis, seaman Joseph Martin, seaman Anthony Josia, seaman John Roger, seaman Anthony Dwazell, seaman Pedro John, seaman Pasquall Rosare, seaman Sant Jago Gomez, seaman John Terro, seaman Peter De Shano, seaman Thomas Mitchell, seaman William Grayham, seaman Michel Venice, seaman Christean Hollinhous, seaman Jay Buck, seaman John De Suez, seaman Lewis Bruin, seaman Gabriel Snaris, seaman Anthony Domingo, seaman John Trena, seaman Michael Bramer, seaman John Thompson, seaman William Fead, supercargo Interpretations The muster roll of the <i>Stafford</i> lays out the full complement of a China-trade East Indiaman, from her commander down through mates, specialist

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			tradesmen and the mass of ordinary seamen. The ship carried a striking range of skilled hands each with a distinct office, a caulker, armourer, cooper, poulterer and barber among them, showing how a large merchantman on a long voyage had to be a self-sufficient community able to repair and provision itself at sea. The many foreign names among the seamen, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and others, reflect the mixed international crews that manned these vessels, the Company shipping men of many nations to make up the large numbers a big ship needed. The supercargo William Fead held a role peculiar to the trade, the officer who took charge of the cargo and conducted the buying and selling at the eastern ports, a merchant sailing with the ship whose commercial authority ran alongside the commander's control of the vessel itself.
423	416	28 April Brought over £ 1 15 10/2 Pitch & Sar vizt 34 Pitch £ 4 3 4/2 Do Sar 5 3 Rozin 4 8 Turpentine 16 9 1 Nails vizt 4 40 1 2 8 6 2 10 1 10 4 1 20 3/2 1 4 5 5 1/2 Paint vizt 3 White Lead 1 1/2 3 Red Do 3 7 Venet Red 1 1 9/2 2 15 11/2 11 April 1755 Errors Excepted (Signed) Sturling Streath The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Goods Short received from Ship Exeter Vizt Account of Goods short received from Ship Exeter Vizt 1 Short Handle Frying pan found Short upon Opening the Packages, which had no appearance of their being Opened before 1 Steel Bit for the Whimble Brace 2 Pr Mens Ordy Shoes 24 Sqr Glass Glaz 8 10 Do Do 8 by 10 found Broke upon Opening the Packages 3 Do Do 10 by 12/2	1755 Mr Thomas Greentree applied to the council for leave to pay into the Honourable Company's cash, on account of Captain John Oliver of the former storeship, the sum of £720 sterling. The council received the money and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to himself or order, ninety days after sight and dated that day. Lieutenant Herbert complained that he had lost a hog, and on enquiry found it had been stolen and taken to the house of Mr Richard Beale by Peter Shelly, a black slave of Mr Beale, and Toby, a black slave of Mr Steward. The two had killed the hog at Mr Beale's house and eaten it among themselves. Peter Shelly and the two black men appeared before the council and, when questioned, admitted the theft. The council ordered Shelly and Toby to be severely whipped. Because Peter Shelly had helped uncover the theft of the hog to Mr Herbert, and being a poor ignorant fellow, the council ordered him to pay Mr Herbert £1 13s 4d, the sum at which the hog was valued. The ship <i>Stafford</i> brought the following supply. Interpretations The theft of the hog shows the summary justice the council meted out to slaves, ordering both men whipped on their own admission with no trial beyond an appearance before the governor and council. The record reveals the enslaved population as active agents in the island's daily life, moving between the households of different masters and acting on their own account, here to the point of stealing and slaughtering livestock. The distinction drawn in Shelly's favour, that he had helped disclose the theft and was a poor ignorant fellow, tempered his punishment with a requirement to make good the animal's value at £1 13s 4d rather than exempting him from restitution. The £720 paid in by Thomas Greentree on Captain Oliver's account worked through the same bill-of-exchange system used throughout the settlement's finances, coin surrendered at St Helena in return for paper redeemable in London, letting a departing captain settle his affairs without carrying specie home across the sea.
424	417	1755 1 Horn Lanthorn 1 Bottle Florence Do	5 May

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		found Broke upon opening the Packages 3 Swine 1 . 1 17 Sole Leather Short Weight 11 Soap 37 Single Deals 13 Double Deals 3 Pr Sea Timber Short Delivered 1 Barrel Powder 1 Iron Shot 30 Single Deals 6 Cliffins Do for the Cole Hole Wine vizt 7 Bottles Lisbon 16 Do Post 5 Do Madeira Broke 2 Do Mountain No 1 Ihtd Beer Gage Cl Wm to fill 6 Gallons 2 Do 62 Do 4/2 3 Do 61 Do 6/2 4 Do 60 Do 5/2 5 Do 61 Do 3 6 Do 60 Do 6/2 360 32 Fixed 337 Gallons The Arms & c put on Board for Exercising the military Reed in the following Condition 18 Musquets Compleat 24 Slings Wanting 1 Do want a Cock 2 Span Ramrods 23 Wanting 1 Do want Cock Nails & Jaw 25 Bayonets & Scablards Compleat 9 Do want Sights 25 Cartouch Boxes 3 Do Damaged in the Stocks 25 one of which Brakes in the Butt (Signed) 28 April 1755 M Sturling Streath Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the month endinge the 11 instant which was as follows vizt	The following was the invoice of the ship <i>Stafford</i>, its values entered in taels, mace and candareens. Number 1, one chest chinaware 4 setts round dishes and plates blue and white, 5, 20, 1, 12 each sett, 3 taels 5 mace 2 soup dishes, 9 mace 20 plates, 4 mace 20 sneakers, 2 taels 5 mace 10 bowls, 1 tael 3 mace 2 chamber pots, 2 taels 6 mace 3 large chamber pots, 3 taels 6 mace 5 gugglets and basons, 3 mace 20 quarter pint cups and saucers enamelled, 4 taels 5 mace 20 half pint cups and saucers dragon, 6 taels 5 mace 18 single coffee cups blue and white, 1 tael 5 mace 5 sauce boats, 1 tael 3 mace Sett total, 24 taels 7 mace 2 candareens Less 2 per cent discount for breakage, 4 mace 9 candareens 4 [...] Nett, 24 taels 2 mace 2 candareens 6 [...] Chest total, 42 taels 2 mace, 25 taels 6 mace 4 candareens 6 [...] Numbers 2 and 3, two chests single tea, gross weight 177, less 18 tare and 19 cask 37, nett 140, at 1 tael 5 mace per hundredweight, 24 [...], 25 taels 2 mace Numbers 4 and 5, two chests congo tea, gross weight 213, less 39 tare and 3 cask 43, nett 170, at 1 tael 27 per hundredweight, 24 [...], 30 taels 4 mace 8 candareens Numbers 6 to 9, four chests bohea tea, gross weight 345, less 19 tare and 57 cask 76, nett 269, at 22 per hundredweight 16 taels 3 mace, 33 taels 3 mace 3 candareens Carried over, 113 taels 6 mace 5 candareens 6 [...] Interpretations This is the invoice of goods loaded aboard the <i>Stafford</i> at Canton, its values kept in the Chinese money of account used at the China trade, taels, mace and candareens. A tael was the Chinese ounce of silver, divided into ten mace and each mace into ten candareens, the whole a decimal system of weight- money in which the Company's Canton purchases were reckoned before conversion to sterling. The 2 per cent discount allowed for breakage was a standard trade allowance built into porcelain invoices, the buyer knowing a fixed proportion of any china cargo would crack on the long sea passage and negotiating a deduction against it in advance. Sneakers were small handleless cups or bowls, gugglets were the long-necked earthenware jars used to cool and pour water, and the dragon and enamelled wares named here were decorated Chinese export porcelains graded and priced by their ornament, the whole cargo the fine china that was one of the great staples of the Canton trade.
425	418	28 April Cash Dr 1755 March 12 To Ballance Remaining £ 3223 13 7/2 17 To Exchange for one Sett of Bills drawn on the Honorable Court of Directors, Payable to Captain John Purling or Order, Ninety Days after sight Dated this Day 800 To Do for one Sett Do drawn as above, Dated this Day	1755 Brought over, 113 taels 6 mace 5 candareens 6 [...] Numbers 10 to 29, twenty chests sugar, gross weight 3,257, tare 22 each 440, nett 2,817, at 24 taels 12 per hundredweight, 5 taels 1 mace, 107 taels 7 mace 1 candareen 2 [...] Numbers 30 to 34, five chests sugar candy, gross weight 1,588, tare 36 each 180, nett 1,408, at 10 taels 56 per hundredweight, 6 taels 4 mace, 67 taels 5 mace 8 candareens 4 [...] Proportion of charges, 18 taels 1 mace 6 candareens 5 [...] Sales, 307 taels 1 mace 6 candareens 5 [...]

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		Payable to Captain John Fead, or Order 400 To Do for one Sett Do drawn as above, Dated this Day Payable to Captain Robert Haldane or Order 900 To Do for one Sett Do drawn as above, Dated this Day Payable to James Sheridan, or Order 30 11 To Ship Sandwich, the Ballance of her Account 16 9 3/2 24 To Ship Warwick, the Ballance of her Account 10 14 4 26 To Ship Grantham the Ballance of her Account 7 5 April 11 To Matthew Purling for Store Goods Sold in the Quarter ending this Day 648 12 4/2 To Licences for Publick Houses 11 10 To Plantation for Provision Sold 2 7 4 To Store Goods Sold at Auction as p Consultation of the 10 March last 48 9 4 £ 6099 8/2	The invoice was made up at Canton on 2 January 1755, errors excepted, and signed by Thomas Thomson, Samuel Blount, Thomas Sandys, William Fead and Ben Torin. The storekeeper brought in the following account of stores short received from the invoice of the ship <i>Stafford</i>. 3 meat dishes, broke 2 plates, broke 4 enamelled cups, broke 6 saucers, broke 1 soup dish, broke 1 plate, broke The account was drawn up on 3 May 1755 and signed by M. Purling. Interpretations The invoice closes with the bulk of the <i>Stafford's</i> cargo, twenty chests of sugar and five of sugar candy loaded at Canton alongside the porcelain and tea. The proportion of charges added at the foot was the cargo's share of the common costs of lading at the Chinese port, the fees, duties and handling spread across all the goods so each line bore its fair part of the expense. Sugar candy was refined sugar crystallised hard, a Chinese export dearer than the raw sugar packed in the other chests, the two entered separately at their different rates. The storekeeper's account of goods broken records the porcelain that failed to survive the passage from Canton, the meat dishes, plates and cups cracked on arrival despite the discount already allowed for breakage. This formal noting of every broken piece let the settlement reconcile what the invoice promised against what actually landed, holding the record straight so the loss fell where it belonged rather than on the receiving store.
426	419	1755 Per Contra Cr 1755 April 11 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster in the Quarter ending this Day By Ballance remaining in the following Species vizt 1000 Venitians 10/ £ 500 1000 Pagodas 8/ 400 Gold Amounting to £ 900 2612 Dollars 5/ 653 12000 Rupees 2/3 1350 1295 half Rials 3/4 202 6 3 441 French Do 1/3 3 13 6 Odd Mony 7/ 2208 19 9/2 Silver Amounting to 146 Cash Notes 40/ 293 162 Do 20/ 162	5 May None of the gentlemen in the Honourable Company's service could be spared from their own offices to act as judge advocate, so the council asked Mr Richard Beale junior to fill that post. He readily accepted, and the council left it to the Honourable Court of Directors to grant him whatever allowance they thought proper for his trouble. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The difficulty in finding a judge advocate reveals how thinly stretched the settlement's small body of qualified men was, every Company officer already tied to a post that could not be left. The judge advocate was the officer who prosecuted and advised on the law at courts martial, a role demanding some legal competence that the council had to fill from outside its own ranks by turning to a private resident. By leaving the question of his pay to the directors in London rather than fixing it themselves, the governor and council kept within the bounds of their authority, declining to commit the Company to a new charge without the sanction of head office.

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		263 Do 5/ 65 15 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to £ 530 15 6099 8/2 We having received no Cordage by the Exeter and being much in want of some 2/2 Inch we Bought two Coil of that size of Captain Fewell for which we paid him £ 6 . 1 . 10 we were likewise obliged to buy two Dozen of Gimblets for the Carpenters use for which we paid £ 10 6 there not being any in the Honorable Companys Stores	
427	420	28 April Serrat of the Soldiers who refused to serve the Honorable Company the remainder of thar Contracted Time subject to the Articles of War, having applied to us for Subsistence after they were Dismissed, we Assembled those who could not get a Passage upon any of the Homeward bound Ships and acquainted them, that they should be paid twelve Pence a Day each of thay inclined to Work for the Honorable Company, but that otherwise they must not expect to be supplied at their Expence Some Men that were in the Hospital who refused to serve the Honorable Company subject to the Articles of War were likewise told that they might remain there, and should be subsisted at their Honors expence untill they were recovered Thomas Cheesborough the Honorable Companys Carpenters mate Dying intestate, we ordered an Inventory of his effects to be taken and sold at Publick Auction in Order to pay his Debts Chas Hutchinson John Damson John Clarke	12 May At a consultation held on Monday 12 May 1755 at the castle, there were present Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The minutes of the previous consultation, held on 5 May 1755, were read, approved and signed. On Thursday 8 May four ships under Dutch colours passed the island. On Saturday 10 May William Pendery and Matthew Campbell, soldiers, died. On Sunday 11 May a Danish ship arrived from China called the <i>Princess Louisa</i>, Captain Jasper Withe, of 900 tons burthen with 150 men and 24 guns, loaded with tea, chinaware and silk and bound for Copenhagen. The executors of the late William Pendery presented his last will and testament and asked that it be proved, which was done on the oaths of the witnesses to it. The will was as follows. William Pendery, a soldier in the Honourable United East India Company's service, being weak in body but of sound and perfect understanding and memory, made his last will and testament. He commended his soul to God his maker, trusting in the acceptance of it through the merits and mediation of his redeemer Jesus Christ, and committed his body to the earth in sure hope of its resurrection at the last day. He desired that his funeral be decent, at the discretion of his commander, and left his executors, whom he trusted would manage the matter with all requisite prudence. Interpretations The passing of four ships under Dutch colours and the arrival of the Danish <i>Princess Louisa</i> laden with tea, silk and porcelain from China show St Helena's position athwart the great sea road home from the East, where the vessels of every trading nation converged on the same Atlantic track. The detailed noting of the Danish ship's tonnage, crew and armament reflects the settlement's constant watch on passing shipping, both to gather intelligence and because a heavily armed vessel of 900 tons was a matter of note for a lightly held island in an age of frequent war between the European powers. The proving of William Pendery's will illustrates how the governor and council acted as a probate authority on the island, admitting a dead soldier's testament to proof on the sworn word of its witnesses. This gave legal force to the wishes of a Company servant far from any ecclesiastical court in England, the council's oversight ensuring that even an ordinary soldier's estate passed according to law.
428	421	5 May At a Consultation held on Monday the 5 Day of May 1755 at the Castle	12 May William Pendery ordered that all his just debts be duly and justly paid as soon as money could be raised from his effects. He gave one silver-laced hat and one

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		Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 28 April 1755 Tuesday the 29 April, Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Onslow for England Friday the 2 May, Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Stafford from China Saturday the 3 Do Sailed the Honorable Company Exeter on her Voyage the 3 Do Do The Honorable Companys Ship Stafford for England having come to Anchor the Day before at a great Distance and the Wind blowing hard, She parted her Cable, and left an Anchor and several Water Casks behind, Mr Clark, who was then on board had but just Time to Muster her Company, and the Captain making Sail immediately, we therefore could not Write to the Honorable the Court of Directors by that opportunity Yesterday Died Susannah Wife of Joshua Worall Planter The Acomptant this Day brought in his Journal Parcels for the Quarter ending the 11 of April last, which were examined, and approved, and ordered to be entered Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ship Stafford to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Rolles as follows Vizt	new regimental coat to William Langhorne. He left the remainder and residue of his effects, together with his wearing apparel, to his sister Esther Pendery, but should she not be living, then to his mother Sarah Pendery, and should she also be dead, then to his brother Abraham Pendery. He appointed his trusted friends Mr Samuel Price and William Langhorne executors of the will. He set his hand and seal to it on 8 May 1755. The will was signed, sealed and delivered by William Pendery in the presence of Thomas Harper and John Walker. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark.
429	422	5 May Muster Roll of Ship Stafford John Green Commander Wm Fordham Coopers Mate Wm Rivers Seaman William Peters 1 Mate Rob Gardner Gunners Do John Davis Do Jeffery Jackson 2 Do Bennett Hodgins Capt Servant Joseph Martin Do William Abdy 3 Do Wm Howard Do Do Anthony Josia Do Nathanel Taylo 4 Do Thomas Miller 1 Mate Do John Roger Do Jeremiah Ray 5 Do John Louder 2 Do Anthony Dwazill Do George John Pton 6 Do John Parkinson Surg Do Pedro John Do John Sherwood Surgeons John Forbes Gunners Do Pasquall Rosare Do Emerson Peay Purser Thomas Lamb Boatswain Do Sant Jago Gomez Do James Keith Gunner Isaac Reoket Seaman John Terve Do Thomas Mason Boatswain Junius Louston Do Peter De Shame Do	19 May At a consultation held on Monday 19 May 1755 at the castle, there were present Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The minutes of the previous consultation, held on 12 May 1755, were read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 13 May Mary, daughter of James and Sarah Powell, died. On Sunday 18 May the Danish ship <i>Princess Louisa</i> sailed. On Monday 19 May a French ship arrived from Mauritius called the <i>East India Company</i>, Captain Fevrile, of 606 tons burthen carrying 200 men and 24 guns, loaded with linen and bound for Port l'Orient. The widow and executors of the late Richard Mason brought in an inventory of his estate, appraised by Mr Richard Bagley and James Greentree, who were sworn that they had valued it to the best of their judgement, and the widow that she had produced every article. The council ordered it to be entered in the book for that purpose. The plantation, gunners and gardeners accounts for the month ending the 11 instant were brought in, examined, approved and were as follows. Interpretations The arrival of the French East Indiaman from Mauritius, bound for Lorient, marks St Helena's place on the shared homeward route of all the European India companies, French vessels from the Île de France crossing the same waters as the Danish and Dutch ships lately noted. The appraisal of Richard Mason's estate shows the settled procedure for valuing a dead resident's goods, two sworn appraisers setting a fair price and the widow attesting on oath that she had concealed nothing, safeguards that

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		George Hawes Carpenter Wm Smith Do Thomas Mitchell Do Simeon Morrie Midshipman George Denn Do William Gragham Do William Bryant 2 Master George Maitin Do Michel Venice Do Henry Glass Do John Redman Do Christean Hollinhous Do John Coster Do William Smith 2 Do Say Buck Do John Howard Do Phillip Smith Do John De Freze Do Charles Weidall Capt Mate Isaac Cooper Do Lewis Bruin Do John Fowler Boat Do John Sidy Do Gabriel Snaris Do John Johnston Capt Cook Wm Steward Do Anthony Domingo Do James Pehenhive Ships Do John Olwick Do John Frona Do Slack Bennet Ships Steward Wm Sennant Do Michael Bramer Do Samuel Laurena Capt Do David Wight Do John Thompson Do William Sewat Caulker James Archilald Do John Jack Do Mate Thomas Fitts Do William Fead John Cox Barber Thomas Keight Do Arch Steward Poulterer Wm Sniderson Do Supracargo Wm Hodgson Surg Mate Edward Fowler Do Ade Spencer Armourer John Stainsbury Do Robert West Cooper Richard How Do	protected the interests of creditors and heirs alike. The requirement that the inventory be entered in a book kept for the purpose reveals the council maintaining formal probate records on the island, a permanent register of estates that gave its administration of the dead the standing of a proper court.
430	423	1755 Mr Thomas Greentree this Day applied to us for liberty to pay into the Honorable Companys Cash on Account of Captain John Oliver of the Former Storeship the Sum of Seven hundred and twenty Pounds Sterling, 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 Lieutenant Herbert maketh Complaint, that he had lost a Hogg, and upon enquiry, found it had bee done to Wm Richard Beales, by Peter Shelly, Ice a Black man Slave of Mr Beales, and Tobey a Black man Slave of Mr Stewards, and that they had salted it in Mr Beales Sty, and killed and Eat it amongst them Peter Shelly, and the two Black Men this Day appearing, and being asked about it, Owned the Fact, Upon which we Ordered	This account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals ran from 12 April to 11 May 1755. The columns record, in order, bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers, bullocks, oxen and the cattle total, then ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and the sheep total, then cows, wethers, kids, rams and the goats total, then sows, shoats, pigs, boars and the hogs total, then poultry as turkeys, fowls, ducks and geese, then horses and mares with their total, and asses and she-asses with their total. Remaining 12 April, bulls 5, cows 80, calves 94, yearlings 15, heifers 31, steers 3, bullocks 7, oxen 14, cattle total 249, ewes 157, wethers 66, lambs 338, rams 7, sheep total 568, goat cows 119, goat wethers 24, kids 200, goat rams 8, goats total 351, sows 12, shoats 6, pigs 20, boars 1, hogs total 39, turkeys 65, fowls 246, ducks 45, geese 21, horses 6, mares 7, horses total 13, asses 1, she-asses 3, asses total 4 Increased, calves 9, cattle total 9, wethers 17, sheep total 17, kids 14, goats total 14, pigs 1, hogs total 1, turkeys 2 Total, bulls 5, cows 80, calves 103, yearlings 15, heifers 31, steers 3, bullocks 7, oxen 14, cattle total

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		the said Ice and Tobey to be severely Whiped, but as Peter Shelly had made a Discovery to Mr Herbert of the Theft of the Hog, and being a poor Ignorant Fellow, we Ordered him to Pay Mr Herbert, one Pound thirteen Shilling and four Pence the Sum it was valued at The Ship Stafford brought us the following supply Vizt	258, ewes 157, wethers 66, lambs 355, rams 7, sheep total 585, goat cows 119, goat wethers 24, kids 214, goat rams 8, goats total 365, sows 12, shoats 6, pigs 21, boars 1, hogs total 40, turkeys 65, fowls 248, ducks 45, geese 21, horses 6, mares 7, horses total 13, asses 1, she-asses 3, asses total 4 Killed, cows 1, oxen 14, cattle total 6, wethers 7, lambs 1, sheep total 8, goat wethers 2, kids 1, goats total 3, sows 1, pigs 2, hogs total 5, turkeys 3, fowls 29, ducks 9, geese 2 Died, calves 1, cattle total 6, ewes 5, sheep total 5, sows 2, hogs total 3, fowls 2, ducks 3 Killed by cats, lambs 5, sheep total 5, turkeys 2, fowls 3 Remaining 11 May, bulls 5, cows 79, calves 102, yearlings 15, heifers 27, steers 2, bullocks 7, oxen 14, cattle total 251, ewes 152, wethers 59, lambs 354, rams 7, sheep total 572, goat cows 119, goat wethers 22, kids 213, goat rams 8, goats total 362, sows 11, shoats 4, pigs 19, boars 1, hogs total 35, turkeys 60, fowls 214, ducks 33, geese 19, horses 6, mares 7, horses total 13, asses 1, she-asses 3, asses total 4 Names of the species changed, bulls 6, cows 86, calves 45, yearlings 48, heifers 27, steers 18, bullocks 7, oxen 14, cattle total 251, ewes 256, wethers 165, lambs 144, rams 7, sheep total 572, goat cows 194, goat wethers 98, kids 62, goat rams 8, goats total 362, sows 11, shoats 9, pigs 14, boars 1, hogs total 35, turkeys 60, fowls 214, ducks 33, geese 19, horses 6, mares 7, horses total 13, asses 1, she-asses 3, asses total 4 Beef supplied to the ships came to 560 pounds to the <i>Princess Augusta</i>, 560 to the <i>Ceylon</i>, 560 to the <i>Onslow</i> and 256 to the <i>Stafford</i>. One sow was killed for the slaves and two goats for the sick slaves. A slave named Mingo died. James expended 18,810 and refuse the same 6,400. The account was drawn up errors excepted and signed by John Adamson. Interpretations This monthly livestock return shows the Company running a substantial farm on the island, breeding and slaughtering cattle, sheep, goats, hogs and poultry to feed both the garrison and the ships that called. The row for animals killed by cats records a real and continuing loss, feral cats descended from ships' animals preying on lambs and poultry, one of the ecological consequences of European settlement on an island that had no such predators before. The large quantities of fresh beef supplied to the <i>Princess Augusta</i>, <i>Ceylon</i>, <i>Onslow</i> and <i>Stafford</i> reveal the settlement's central purpose as a victualling station, its herds raised precisely so that passing East Indiamen could take on fresh meat to stave off the scurvy and spoilage that plagued long ocean voyages. The line recording the death of a slave named Mingo, set among the tallies of dead beasts, starkly reflects how the Company's bookkeeping ranked its human property alongside its livestock. The row headed names of the species changed appears to reconcile the flock as animals moved between categories with age, lambs becoming wethers and kids becoming goats, the clerk adjusting the classification so the running totals stayed true from month to month.
431	424	5 May Invoice of Ship Stafford S m C C, S m C C, S m C C No 1 One Chest China Ware Vizt 4 Setts of round Dishes and Plates B & W 5 . 20 . 1 . 12 Each sett at 3 5 . 14 2 Soup Dishes Do 9 . 1 8	1755 This account records the gunner's stores expended from 12 April to 11 May 1755, the columns showing three-pound, four-pound and six-pound cartridges, then powder, and the total. The powder for priming is entered in pounds and ounces. May 12, an alarm, 6 three-pound, 22 four-pound, total 2 pounds 12 ounces Arrived the <i>Ceylon</i>, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9

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		20 Do Plates Do 4 . 8 20 Sneakers Do 2 5 . 5 10 Bowls Do 13 . 1 3 2 Chamber Potts Do 26 . 5 2 3 Do Large Do 36 . 1 8 5 Guglets and Basons Do 3 . 1 5 20 Quarter Cups and Saucers enamell'd 45 . 9 20 half Pint Do Do Dragon 65 1 3 18 Single Coffee Cups B & W 1 5 . 2 7 5 Sauce Boats Do 13 . 1 3 24 7 2 2 p Ct Discompt for Breakage 4 9 4 24 2 2 6 4 2 24 6 4 6 The Chests 2 & 3 Two Setts Single Sea Vizt Gross Weight 177 Tare 18/2 p Cask 37 Nett 140 at 1.5 C 24 25 2 4 & 5 Two Chests Congo Sea Vizt Gross Weight 213 Tare 3/2 p Cask 43 Nett 170 at 1.27 C 24 30 4 8 6 & 9 Four Chests Bohea Sea Vizt Gross Weight 345 Tare 19/2 p C 76 Nett 269 at 2.22 C 16 3 33 3 3 Carried over Sales 113 6 5 6	Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces May 14, departed the <i>Essex</i>, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9 Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces May 17, an alarm, 6 three-pound, 22 four-pound, total 2 pounds 12 ounces Arrived the <i>Onslow</i>, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9 Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces May 18, fired for Governor Saunders going on board, 19 guns, total 20 pounds 8 ounces Powder for priming, 3 pounds 8 ounces Departed the <i>Norfolk</i>, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9 Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces May 20, departed the <i>Ceylon</i>, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9 Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces Departed the <i>Princess Augusta</i>, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9 Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces May 29, departed the <i>Onslow</i>, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9 Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces May 22, an alarm at Bank's, 22 guns, total 9 An alarm, 6 three-pound, 22 four-pound, total 2 pounds 12 ounces Arrived the <i>Stafford</i>, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9 Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces May 23, departed the <i>Exeter</i>, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9 Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces Departed the <i>Stafford</i>, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9 Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces May 6, a double alarm for 4 ships that went by, 13 three-pound, 55 four-pound, total 3 pounds 28 ounces Powder for priming in order to have returned the salute, 3 pounds 8 ounces Powder for the same at the alarm house, 3 pounds May 10, an alarm, 6 three-pound, 22 four-pound, total 2 pounds 12 ounces May 11, arrived a Danish ship, returned the salute, 9 nine-pound, total 9 nine-pound, powder 9 Powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces Carried over, 157 three-pound, 2 four-pound, 4 six-pound, 4 [...], 16 [...], 11 [...], 231 Interpretations This gunner's account tracks every discharge of the island's cannon over the month, distinguishing the guns fired to answer ships' salutes from those fired to raise the alarm. Each arriving or departing East Indiaman exchanged a salute with the fort, the ship saluting and the batteries returning nine guns, a courtesy of the sea that also affirmed the island's authority and consumed a steady quantity of powder and shot. The alarms fired for unidentified or passing ships served a defensive purpose, warning the settlement and its outposts of possible danger, the double alarm for four ships going by showing the heightened vigilance a cluster of strange sail provoked. The nineteen-gun salute fired for Governor Saunders going on board marks the passage of a senior Company official through the island, the great number of guns reflecting his rank, since the strength of a salute was carefully graded to the standing of the person honoured. The powder kept at the alarm house points to a distinct signalling station holding its own ready store, part of the network of lookouts by which a vulnerable island watched the sea approaches and passed warning inland.

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432	425	1755 Brought over S M C C, S M C C, C 113 6 5 6 10 @ 29 Twenty Chests Sugar Vizt Gross Weight 3257 Tare 22 each 440 Nett 2817 this 24 . 12 C 5 1 . . 107 7 1 2 30 @ 34 Five Chests Sugar Candy Vizt Gross Weight 1588 Tare 36 each 180 Nett 1408 this 10 . 56 C 6 4 . . 67 5 8 4 288 9 5 2 18 16 5 Canton 2 January 1755 Sales 307 1 6 5 EE (Signed) p Tho Thomson Samuel Blount Tho Sandys Wm Fead Benj Torin The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Stores short received from the Invoice of Ship Stafford Vizt Account of Stores Short received from Ship Stafford vizt 3 Meat Dishes 2 Do Plates 4 Enameld Cups Broke 6 Do Saucers 1 Soup Dish 1 Do Plate 3 May 1755 (Signed) M Purling Stock	19 May Brought over, 157 three-pound, 2 four-pound, 4 six-pound, 4 [...], 16 [...], 11 [...], 231 Powder for the funeral of Anthony Morehan, 2 pounds 4 ounces Powder for the funeral of William Pendery, 2 pounds 4 ounces Powder for the funeral of Matthew Campbell, 2 pounds 4 ounces Powder for signals, 2 pounds Total, 157 three-pound, 2 four-pound, 4 six-pound, 4 [...], 16 [...], 11 [...], 239 pounds 12 ounces Needles broke with sewing of cartridges, 7 Paper for the use of the castle, 1 quire 25 Paper for making of great gun cartridges, 4 quire Tallow for the hall, 4 pounds Tallow for greasing the gun carriages and the axes also, 3 pounds Match found at the main fort, 6 pounds Handspikes broke with landing the guns and timber, 10 Iron shod trucks that came over last, rotten and unserviceable, 2 Axletrees broke at the main fort, 1 The following sundries were expended at the Honourable Company's general table in the month ending the 11 instant. 10 bottles port wine, £0 15s 17d 33 bottles Lisbon, £2 10s 8d 14 bottles Madeira, £1 13s 17d 5 bottles mountain, £0 7s 17d 54 arrack, £1 16s 6d 81 beer, £1 0s 3d 2 flour, £2 2s 0d 19 beef, £2 8s 11d 23 mutton, £4 17s 6d 20 fowls, £0 3s 6d 8 ducks, £0 13s 6d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d Carried over, £21 4s 10d Interpretations The gunner's account closes with powder spent on soldiers' funerals and the wear and breakage of the guns' equipment, then a fresh account opens for provisions consumed at the Company's table. The firing of powder at the funerals of Anthony Morehan, William Pendery and Matthew Campbell shows the military honours accorded even to ordinary soldiers, a volley over the grave being the customary mark of respect for a man who died in the service. The list of broken handspikes, rotten trucks and a shattered axletree reveals the constant toll that firing and moving heavy cannon took on their wooden carriages, the salt air and hard use wearing out the fittings that had to be renewed from store. The tallow drawn to grease the gun carriages and their axles was rendered animal fat, the standard lubricant of the age, keeping the heavy wooden carriages running so the guns could be trained and hauled without seizing. The great gun cartridges made up from quires of paper were the pre-measured powder charges wrapped ready for loading, the sewing of them wearing out needles by the handful, a glimpse of the steady labour behind keeping a battery ready to fire.
433	426	5 May As none of the Gentlemen in the Honorable Companys Service could be spared out of their respective Offices, to Act as Judge Advocate, we therefore spoke to Mr Richard Beale Senn to officiate in that Station who readily accepted of it, and submit it to	1755 Brought over, £21 4s 10d 102 pork, £2 11s 0d 2 pigs, £0 10s 0d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 7 pounds salt pork, £0 14s 0d 1 pound salt beef, £0 2s 9d 110 candy, £1 6s 8d

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		the Honorable the Court of Directors to give him what allowance, they thought proper for his Trouble Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	38 butter, £1 18s 6d Total, £30 2s 9d Mr Samuel Desfountain presented the following petition to the worshipful governor and council of the island of St Helena. Samuel Desfountain set out that he held a piece of land in James's Valley, 33 feet in length and 44 feet three inches in breadth, lying between the lands of the Honourable Company, Mr Thomas Greentree and Mr Joshua Worrall. He asked leave to assign his right in it to William Moore. The petition was dated 19 May 1755 and signed by Samuel Desfountain. The council granted the request. Interpretations Desfountain's petition shows that private landholding existed at St Helena within a framework of Company control, a resident holding a plot but needing the governor and council's leave before he could transfer his right in it to another. This requirement gave the Company oversight of who held land on the island, preventing the free trade in plots that might otherwise have let unwanted persons establish themselves, and preserving its ultimate authority over the ground even where individuals enjoyed possession. The precise dimensions and named neighbouring boundaries reflect how tightly space was measured and recorded in the cramped valley settlement, where the small area of usable flat land made every foot of ground worth exact definition.
434	427	12 May At a Consultation held on Monday the 12 Day of May 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 5 of May 1755 Thursday the 8 passed by four Ships under Dutch colours Saturday the 10 Died William Pendery, and Mathew Campbell Soldiers Yesterday Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Princess Louisa Captain Jasper Withe Burthen 900 Tons carries 150 Men and 24 Guns Loaded with Sea China Ware and Silk, bound to Copenhagen The Executors of the late William Pendery 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 William Pendery Senr in the Honble United East India Companys Service, thro the Abundant Mercy and Goodness of God, the weak in Body yet of a Sound and Perfect understanding and memory Do make this my last Will and Testament in manner following, that is to say Imprimis I most humbly bequeath my Soul to God my Maker, beseeching his most Gracious Acceptance of the Same, thro the Allsufficient merits and mediation of my most Blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ, Next I give my Body to the Earth, from whence it was taken, in full Assurance of its Resurrection from thence	19 May Mr Ingles the surgeon reported that he was much in want of sage for the use of the sick in the hospital, so the council bought 40 pounds weight on the Honourable Company's account, paying one shilling a pound for it. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The purchase of sage for the hospital reflects the medical practice of the age, when the dried herb was valued as a remedy taken in infusions for fevers, sore throats and digestive complaints, a staple of the physic chest before modern drugs. That the surgeon had to apply to the council and the herb be bought on the Company's account shows how even a small medical want passed through the governing body, the settlement's spending controlled from the top so that no charge fell on the Company without its sanction.

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		at the Last Day, As for my funeral I Desire it may be Decent, at the Discretion of my Executor hereafter Named, and my Executors hereafter Named, who I doubt not will manage it with all requisite prudence, and as to my	
435	428	12 May Worldly Estate & Effects, I do hereby Will and positively order, that all my Just Debts, as Soon as it possibly Can be raised from my said Effects be duely & Justly paid, and as for the remainder and residue of the Amount of the part of my Effects, together with my Wearing apparell (Except one Silver Laced Halt, & one new Regimental Coat which I do hereby give to Wm Langhorne) I do give & Bequeath to my Loving Sister Esther Pendery, but in Case she should not be living then I Bequeath the same to my Hond mother Sarah Pendery But if she also should be Dead, I then bequeath the same to my Loving Brother Adm Pendery, and I do hereby Constitute and appoint my trusty friends Mr Samuel Price and William Langhorne Executors of this my Last Will and Testament, In Witness whereof I do hereby set my hand and Seal this Eight Day of May in the Twenty Seventh year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George, and in the year of our Lord, one thousand Seven hundred & fifty five (Signed) Signed Sealed & Delivered in the Presence of us (Signed) Tho Harper John Walker William Pendery Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	24 May At a consultation held on Monday 24 May 1755 at the castle, there were present Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The minutes of the previous consultation, held on 19 May 1755, were read, approved and signed. On Thursday 22 May a ship under Dutch colours passed the island. On Friday 23 May the Honourable Company's ships <i>Lord Anson</i> from China and <i>Elizabeth</i>, Captain Wills, from Bencoolen arrived. The ship <i>Elizabeth</i> brought the following supply, its values entered in current rupees. Wax candles, numbers 1 to 5, 5 chests of 10 factory maunds at 15 rupees per maund, 750 rupees Batavia arrack, numbers 1 to 6, 6 third leaguers at 12 rupees 3 annas 4 pies per leaguer, 280 rupees, batta 8 per cent, 20 rupees, 270 rupees Sugar fine, numbers 1 to 10, 10 bags 9 maunds 22 seers 2 chittacks 7 pice at 4 rupees per maund, 159 rupees 14 annas 6 pies Rice fine, 40 bags containing 80 maunds at 24 rupees per hundred, 133 rupees 5 annas 3 pies, batta 8 per cent, 10 rupees 10 annas 9 pies, 144 rupees Charges merchandise 90 gunny bags and sewing, 13 rupees 11 annas 5 chests and packing, 12 rupees 8 annas mortars, 3 rupees 8 annas 35 matts, 4 rupees 6 annas iron, 1 rupee 8 annas soldiers diet, 2 rupees boat hire, 6 annas 6 pies sloop hire, 6 rupees 6 annas charges total, 70 rupees, 10 rupees 15 annas 8 pies The invoice was made up errors excepted and signed by W. Cuttenden, accountant. The total came to 1,431 current rupees 4 annas. Interpretations This invoice records goods shipped to St Helena aboard the <i>Elizabeth</i> from Bencoolen, the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, its values kept in the Indian money of that trade. A leaguer was a large cask used for spirits and water, the arrack shipped in third leaguers, a standard fraction of the full measure, while a maund, seer and chittack were the Indian units of weight by which the sugar and rice were reckoned. Batta was an exchange premium or allowance added in Indian trade, here a percentage charge on the arrack and rice, reflecting differences between the currencies and standards of the various Company settlements. Batavia arrack was the celebrated spirit distilled at the Dutch capital in Java from sugar and rice, prized above other arracks and traded widely through the eastern seas, its appearance here showing how goods passed between the settlements of rival European powers. The charges merchandise added at the foot were the costs of packing and carriage, the gunny bags, chests, matting and hire of boat and sloop needed to bring the cargo ashore, each expense set down so the true landed cost of the goods could be known.
436	429	19 May At a Consultation held on Monday the 19 Day of May 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor	24 May The ship <i>Lord Anson</i> brought the following supply, its values entered in tael, mace and candareens. Chinaware, 1 chest

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		John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed Dated the 12 of May 1755 Tuesday the 13 Died Mary Daughter of James and Sarah Powell Yesterday Sailed the Dane Ship the Princess Louisa This Day Arrived a French Ship from Mauritius called the East India Company, Captain Serrle Burthen 606 Tons carries 200 Men and 24 Guns Loaded with Linnen and bound to Port St Orient The Widow and Executors of the late Richard Mason brought in an Inventory of his Estate, appraised by Mefs Richard Bayley and James Greentree, who were sworn that they Valued the same to the best of their Judgment, and the Widow that she produced every Article, It was Ordered to be entered in the Book for that Purpose 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 vizt	4 table setts blue and white of 5, 20, 2 tael, 8 mace 1 soup dish, 8 mace, 8 mace 20 plates, 4 mace 3 candareens, 9 mace 20 sneakers, 2 mace 4 candareens, 18 mace 10 bowls, 9 candareens, 9 mace 5 chamber pots, 2 mace, 1 tael 5 gugglets and basons, 4 mace, 9 mace 20 quarter pint cups and saucers, 4 candareens, 8 mace 20 half pint sneakers, 1 mace 3 candareens, 3 mace 20 coffee cups, 1 candareen, 2 mace 5 sauce boats, 4 candareens, 2 tael Chest total, 15 tael 5 mace 8 candareens Sugar candy, 20 chests Number 1, tare 20, gross weight 172 Number 2, tare 23, gross weight 176 Number 3, tare 24, gross weight 182 Number 4, tare 22, gross weight 172 Number 5, tare 22, gross weight 174 Number 6, tare 22, gross weight 173 Number 7, tare 23, gross weight 172 Number 8, tare 23, gross weight 179 Number 9, tare 23, gross weight 174 Number 10, tare 23, gross weight 176 Number 11, tare 23, gross weight 172 Number 12, tare 23, gross weight 184 Number 13, tare 23, gross weight 175 Number 14, tare 22, gross weight 174 Number 15, tare 22, gross weight 174 Number 16, tare 23, gross weight 179 Number 17, tare 20, gross weight 172 Number 18, tare 20, gross weight 158 Number 19, tare 21, gross weight 170 Number 20, tare 22, gross weight 174 Tare total, 454 Gross weight total, 3,472 Nett 81, 3,028 pounds at 2 tael 71 per hundredweight 3 included, 16 tael 3 mace 783 Carried forward, 18 tael 3 mace 363 Interpretations This invoice records the cargo of the <i>Lord Anson</i> from Canton, the fine porcelain and sugar candy valued in the Chinese money of account. Twenty chests of sugar candy were weighed individually, each gross weight noted against its tare, the empty weight of the chest, so the net weight of candy could be found by subtracting the one from the other. The blue and white table setts were the standard Chinese export dinner services, made in graded sizes and shipped by the chest, a staple of the porcelain trade that furnished tables across Europe. The careful chest-by-chest weighing shows the precision with which the China trade was conducted, every parcel of goods measured and priced by exact weight at Canton before the long voyage home. The sneakers and gugglets recur here as in the <i>Stafford's</i> invoice, the small handleless cups and long-necked water jars that were regular items of the porcelain cargoes, the whole shipment reflecting the steady flow of Chinese manufactures that passed St Helena on the homeward run.
437	430	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca from the 12 April to the 11 May 1755 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Bullocks, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Cows, Wathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Suckeys, Fowls, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Joskes, Joskes, Total Remaining 12: Bulls 5, Cows 80, Calves 94, Yearlings 15, Heifers 31, Steers 3, Bullocks 7, Oxen 14, Total 249, Ewes 157, Wethers 66, Lambs 338, Rams 7, Total 568, Cows 119, Wathers 24, Kids 200, Rams 8, Total 351, Sows 12, Shoats 6, Pigs 20, Boars 1, Total 39,	1755 Brought forward, 181 tael 3 mace 63 candareens Sugar, 5 chests Number 1, tare 42, gross weight 296 Number 2, tare 43, gross weight 303 Number 3, tare 41, gross weight 297 Number 4, tare 42, gross weight 307 Number 5, tare 42, gross weight 308 Tare total, 210 Gross weight total, 1,507 Nett 1,297, at 9 tael 25 per hundredweight, 8 catty included, 56 tael 3 mace 6 candareens

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		Suckeys 65, Fowls 246, Ducks 45, Geese 21, Horses 6, Mares 7, Total 13, Joskes 1, Joskes 3, Total 4 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 9, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 9, Ewes 0, Wethers 17, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 17, Cows 0, Wathers 0, Kids 14, Rams 0, Total 14, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 1, Boars 0, Total 1, Suckeys 0, Fowls 2, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Joskes 0, Joskes 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 5, Cows 80, Calves 103, Yearlings 15, Heifers 31, Steers 3, Bullocks 7, Oxen 14, Total 258, Ewes 157, Wethers 66, Lambs 355, Rams 7, Total 585, Cows 119, Wathers 24, Kids 214, Rams 8, Total 365, Sows 12, Shoats 6, Pigs 21, Boars 1, Total 40, Suckeys 65, Fowls 248, Ducks 45, Geese 21, Horses 6, Mares 7, Total 13, Joskes 1, Joskes 3, Total 4 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 4, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Bullocks 0, Oxen 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Wethers 7, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 8, Cows 0, Wathers 2, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 1, Shoats 2, Pigs 2, Boars 0, Total 5, Suckeys 3, Fowls 29, Ducks 9, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Joskes 0, Joskes 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 1, Oxen 5, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Cows 0, Wathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Suckeys 2, Fowls 0, Ducks 3, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Joskes 0, Joskes 0, Total 0 Killed by Cats: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Bullocks 1, Oxen 5, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Cows 0, Wathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Suckeys 2, Fowls 0, Ducks 3, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 5, Joskes 0, Joskes 0, Total 0 Remaining the 11: Bulls 5, Cows 79, Calves 102, Yearlings 15, Heifers 27, Steers 2, Bullocks 7, Oxen 14, Total 254, Ewes 251, Wethers 152, Lambs 59, Rams 354, Total 7, Cows 572, Wathers 119, Kids 22, Rams 213, Total 8, Sows 362, Shoats 11, Pigs 4, Boars 19, Total 1, Suckeys 35, Fowls 60, Ducks 214, Geese 33, Horses 19, Mares 6, Total 7, Joskes 13, Joskes 1, Total 3, Total 4 Names of the Species Changed: Bulls 6, Cows 86, Calves 45, Yearlings 48, Heifers 27, Steers 18, Bullocks 7, Oxen 14, Total 251, Ewes 256, Wethers 165, Lambs 144, Rams 7, Total 572, Cows 194, Wathers 98, Kids 62, Rams 8, Total 362, Sows 11, Shoats 9, Pigs 14, Boars 1, Total 35, Suckeys 60, Fowls 214, Ducks 33, Geese 19, Horses 6, Mares 7, Total 13, Joskes 1, Joskes 3, Total 4 Beef to the Ships Princess Augusta 560 Tryton 560 Onslow 560 Stafford 256 1 Sow ready to the Slaves 2 Goats for the Sick Slaves A Slave dead named Mingo James Expended 18810 Refuse Do 6400 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Adamson	Sea bohea, 2 chests Number 1, tare 31, gross weight 167 Number 2, tare 30, gross weight 181 Gross weight total, 348 Nett 287, at 2 taels 15 per hundredweight, 17 catty per picul, 36 taels 5 mace 5 candareens Sea congo, 2 chests Number 1, gross weight 108 Number 2, gross weight 110 Gross weight total, 218 Allowed tare 42, nett 176, at 1 tael 32 per hundredweight, 30 catty, 39 taels 6 candareens Sea single, 2 chests Number 1, nett weight 69 Number 2, nett weight 69 Nett 138, at 1 tael 4 per hundredweight, 25 catty, 26 taels Sales, 339 taels 8 mace 9 candareens Proportion of charges, 14 taels 8 mace 1 candareen Sales, 354 taels 7 mace 10 candareens The invoice was made up at Canton on 24 January 1755, errors excepted, and signed by John Misenor, John Burrow, Alexander Hume and John Mapletoft, lieutenant. Interpretations This closes the <i>Lord Anson's</i> invoice from Canton, five chests of sugar weighed against their tare and three kinds of tea priced by the picul, the Chinese hundredweight of about a hundred and thirty pounds. A catty was the Chinese pound, a hundred of them making a picul, the weights of the sugar and tea reckoned in these units before the rate per hundredweight was applied. The three grades of tea, bohea, congo and single, were the black teas that formed one of the great staples of the China trade, shipped home by the chest in quantities that would grow enormously as the century advanced. The proportion of charges added at the foot spread the common costs of lading at Canton across the whole cargo, each parcel bearing its share of the port fees, duties and handling. The signing of the invoice by the ship's officers at Canton in January, months before it reached St Helena in May, marks the long passage of the homeward run, the document travelling with the goods as their record and warrant from the moment of loading in China to their landing on the Atlantic island.
438	431	1755 Gunnors Stores Expended from 12 April to 11 May 1755 vizt Hemi Aitted, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Quantity Remaining May 12 An Alarm 6, 22, 212, 3 Arrived the Tryton Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming	24 May Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ships <i>Elizabeth</i> and <i>Lord Anson</i> to muster their companies and enquire for deserters, but found none. Their muster rolls were as follows. The following was the muster roll of the ship <i>Elizabeth</i>. Edward Wills, commander Michael Sovey, first mate George Taylor, second mate Ben Wilth Smith, third mate

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		1 8 14 Departed the Essex Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming 1 8 17 An Alarm 6, 22, 212 Arrived the Onslow Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming 1 8 18 Fired for Governor Saunders Going on Board 10, 1 1 7, 208 Powder for Priming 3 8 Departed the Norfolk Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming 1 8 20 Departed the Triton Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming 1 8 Departed the Princess Augusta Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming 1 8 29 Departed the Onslow Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming 1 8 May 2 An Alarm at Bank's 22, 9 An Alarm 6, 22, 212 Arrived the Stafford Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming 1 8 3 Departed the Exeter Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming 1 8 Departed the Stafford Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming 1 8 6 A Double Alarm for 4 Ships that went by 13, 55, 328 Powder for Priming in order to have returned the Salute 3 8 Do for Do at the Alarm House 3 10 An Alarm 6, 22, 212 11 Arrived a Dean Ship Returned the Salute 9, 9, 9 Powder for Priming 1 8 Carried over 15 2 14 14 1611 231	George Alster, fourth mate Samuel Butter, fifth mate John Dale, surgeon John White, purser James Moffatt, surgeons mate Woolard Dickenson, carpenter Paul Darbyshire, boatswain Thomas Johnson, gunner John Saul, ships steward Joseph Hawkins, cooper Thomas Buckley, caulker Charles Koppenstall, caulker John Hansford, armourer John Cave, ships cook James Read, captains cook John Sley, carpenters mate Thomas Gorman, gunner William Grabam, boatswains mate Henry Emerton, caulker John Roak, captains steward Paul Askett, second caulker Barnaby Bland, midshipman Humphry Davis, midshipman William Ramsay, midshipman John Smith, midshipman Michael Doms, midshipman William Machin, midshipman William Henry, second master William Thompson, midshipman Charles Murry, midshipman William Smith, midshipman Samuel Stephens, seaman James Scorlock, seaman James Mecon, seaman Thomas Dents, seaman Richard Sarrow, seaman Richard Smith, seaman Henry Coil, seaman John Naysbe, seaman Robert Tugulverson, seaman Joseph Harmon, seaman Mathew Sindacomt, seaman Edward Whetherington, seaman Thomas Smith, seaman Humphry Brawnd, seaman Cato Hollywell, seaman John Shute, seaman John Sulten, seaman Leonard Serestepan, seaman Thomas Hufferman, seaman John Peter Plats, seaman Joseph Hitts, seaman John Patterson, seaman John Seaburn, seaman Thomas Stanfield, seaman Emanuel Deoshua, seaman Roderick Jefsa, seaman Thomas Somer, seaman Peter Hind, seaman John Williams, seaman John Gaus, seaman Abram Johnson, seaman Thomas Dobles, seaman Aram Armstrong, seaman Samuel Wright, seaman Thomas Hailsons, seaman Christian Patterson, seaman George Stanford, seaman Richard Dolley, captains servant Samuel Haytor, second mates servant Thomas Clark, surgeons servant Thomas Fowler, carpenters servant Thomas Johns, boatswains servant Samuel Lapp, gunners servant Interpretations

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			The muster roll of the <i>Elizabeth</i> sets out the full crew of an East Indiaman returning from Bencoolen, again showing the wide range of skilled tradesmen a ship carried to keep herself in repair on a voyage of many months. The presence of multiple caulkers, a cooper, an armourer and a carpenter with his mate reflects the constant maintenance a wooden ship needed, her seams caulked, casks mended and iron fittings kept sound far from any dockyard. The mustering of the crew for deserters was a fixed precaution at St Helena, the settlement watching for Company servants and soldiers who might try to slip away by joining a homeward ship, though on this occasion none was found among either crew.
439	432	19 May Brought over Great Guns, 9 Pr, 4 Pr, 3 Pr, 2 Pr, 1 Pr, Powder Remaining 15 2 14 14 16 11 231 3 Powder for the Funeral of Anthony Morehan 2 4 Do for the Do of William Pendery 2 4 Do for the Do of Mathew Campbell 2 4 Do for Signals 2 Total 15 2 14 14 16 11 239 12 Needles broke with sowing of Cartridges 7 Paper for the use of the Castle 1 25 Do for making of Great Gun Cartridges 4 Do Tallow for the Hall 4 lb Do for greasing the Gun Carriages & the Cap Also 3 lb Match Burnt at the main Fort 6 lb Handspikes broke with Landing the Guns & Timber 10 Iron shod trucks that came over last Rotten and Unserviceable 2 Axeltrees broke at the main Fort 1 Sundrys expended at the Honorable Companys General Table in the month ending the 11 instant Vizt 10 Bottles Port Wine £ 15 4/2 33 Lisbon 2 10 8/2 14 Madera 1 13 4 3/4 5 Mountain 7 4 3/4 54 Arrack 1 16 6 3/4 81 Beer 1 3 3/2 2 Flour 2 2 9 193/2 Beef 2 8 11/2 23/4 Mutton 4 17 6 29 Fowls 2 3 6 8 Ducks 13 6 3 Turkeys 15 2 Geese	1755 Alexander Demelt Tindale Alexander Sevelle Diego Gulmas Antonio Rosel Gabriel Sontyie John Baptista Emanuel Rosell John Thompson Thomas Crous John Brown Josea Anson Isabel Rosell The following was the muster roll of the ship <i>Lord Anson.</i> Charles Foulis, commander Thomas Crichton, first mate Robert Crichton, second mate Gabriel Stodard, third mate John Elliott, fourth mate Thomas Joseph Sheppard, fifth mate James Swithen, sixth mate William Brelyn, seventh mate Samuel Wagstaffe, purser David Carnegie, doctor William Wilton, carpenter Morris Herring, boatswain Lewis Arnold, gunner Thomas Mowbray, doctor James Spener, boatswains mate Richard Sletcher, second mate John Caulder, second master John Sealey, second master Alexander Mills, second master Archibald Crawford, second master Joseph Borthwick, cooper Warden Ballard, second mate John Wright, captains steward Duncan Cummings, ships doctor William Rocher, captains cook Gilbert Withins, ships cook Anthony Plate, armourer John Haggis, caulker Lewis Smith, second mate Robert Brown, sailmaker Edward Hunt, poulterer Joseph Milburn, butcher Robert O Saley, taylor William Purser, captains mate John Hart, captains mate John Bazett, midshipman Thomas Massey, midshipman Robert Fletcher, midshipman John Gibson, midshipman William Rickette, midshipman Thomas Souers, midshipman Charles Forbes, midshipman John Pickett, midshipman Cathe Oge, midshipman Henry Javey, midshipman William Cooke, captains servant

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		10 Carried over £ 21 4 10/2	Isaac Morrineau, seaman Richard Coster, seaman Phillip Cardell, seaman Robert Athinson, seaman John Bura, seaman David Wright, seaman John Elles, seaman John Wilton, seaman Robert White, seaman John Browne, seaman John Dringston, seaman Mich Davzey, seaman John Smith, seaman Lewis Louser, seaman Thomas Withens, seaman William Divoine, seaman Abraham Pointer, seaman David Lindsay, seaman William Garvair, seaman William Walker, seaman Walter Bread, seaman James Brond, seaman James Rawlinson, seaman James Moody, seaman Henry Sealey, seaman Alexander Purtin, seaman George Morris, seaman Elias Bradner, seaman Thomas Lewis, seaman John Mathers, seaman John Leah, seaman James Ayres, seaman Interpretations The muster roll of the <i>Lord Anson</i> names the full company of a China ship, notable for the depth of her officer ranks with mates numbered down to the seventh and a string of second masters and midshipmen below them. The distinct trades aboard, a sailmaker, butcher, poulterer and tailor among them, show how a great East Indiaman sailed as a floating community able to feed, clothe and repair itself across the long haul between Canton and England. The first group of names, listed apart from the ordinary roll and including women such as Isabel Rosell, may record passengers or private servants carried on the ship rather than her working crew, distinct from the seamen and officers who followed.
440	433	1755 Brought over £ 21 4 10/2 102 Pork 2 11 2 Pigs 10 1 Lamb 10 1 Kid 5 7 Pr Salt Pork 4 1 Pr Do Beef 2 9 110 Candy 1 6 8 38/2 Butter 1 18 6 30 2 9/2 Mr Samuel Desfontain presented the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Governor & Council of the Island St Helena The humble Petition of Samuel Desfontain Sheweth That I have a piece of Land lying in James's Valley thirty three feet in length, And nine feet three Inches in	24 May Peter Pickett, seaman Dan Mackinsey, seaman Joseph Silversides, seaman John Cowie, seaman Anthony Elder, seaman John Wade, seaman John Macklane, seaman Benjamin Rymen, seaman George Maitin, seaman Thomas Hunt, seaman Coto, seaman Pedro, seaman John Deeruse, seaman Thomas Coobs, captains servant Alexander Oglevie, captains servant Robert Gordon, second mates servant John Joice, second mates servant Henry Read, carpenters servant Robert Cahisae, gunners servant John Stewart, doctors servant William Peel, boatswains servant Supra cargoes John Burrow, esquire John Mapletoft, esquire Supra cargoes servants Robert Poth William Love

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		Breadth Situated between the Honorable Company, Mr Thomas Greentrees, and Mr Joshua Worralls Lands, which I humbly request I may have liberty to Assign any Right to the same to William Moore And your Petitioner as in Duty bound will ever pray (Signed) May 19 1755 Samuel Desfountain Granted	The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The roll of the <i>Lord Anson</i> closes with the last of her seamen and the servants attached to her officers, then names her supercargoes and their servants set apart at the foot. The supercargoes John Burrow and John Maplettoft, given the rank of esquire, were the merchants who took charge of the ship's trade at Canton, buying and selling the Company's goods and keeping the commercial accounts, their standing marked by the courtesy title and their own attendant servants. Their appearance among the officers who signed the earlier Canton invoice confirms that the men who conducted the buying in China sailed home with the cargo they had purchased, responsible for it from the quayside at Canton to its landing on the homeward route.
441	434	19 May Mr Ingles the Surgeon, represented that he was very much in want of some Sage, for the use of the Sick in the Hospital, we therefore bought 40 Wright on Account of the Honorable Company, for which we paid one Shilling p Pound Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	26 May At a consultation held on Monday 26 May 1755 at the castle, there were present Governor Charles Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor John Adamson and Lieutenant John Clark of the council. The minutes of the previous consultation, held on 24 May 1755, were read, approved and signed. On Saturday 24 May the Honourable Company's ships <i>Colchester</i> from Bengal and <i>York</i> from Bombay arrived. The same day a ship passed at a great distance. On Monday 26 May the Honourable Company's ship <i>True Briton</i> from China arrived. The ship <i>Colchester</i> brought the following supply. Batavia arrack, numbers 1 to 6, 6 leaguers at 125 rupees per leaguer, 250 rupees, batta 8 per cent, 20 rupees, 270 rupees Sugar fine, numbers 1 to 10, 10 bags of maunds 22 at 7 rupees 8 annas per maund, 166 rupees 2 annas Wax candles, numbers 1 to 5, 5 chests of maunds 10 at 15 rupees per maund, 750 rupees Rice fine, numbers 1 to 40, 40 bags of maunds 80 at 25 rupees per hundred at 8 annas per rupee, 128 rupees, batta 8 per cent, 10 rupees 4 annas, 138 rupees 4 annas Sales total, 1,324 rupees 6 annas Charges merchandise 90 gunny bags and sewing, 13 rupees 12 annas 5 chests and package, 12 rupees 8 annas cooly hire, 3 rupees 8 annas iron, 1 rupee 8 annas boat hire, 17 rupees 4 annas charges total, 48 rupees 8 annas The invoice was made up errors excepted and signed by W. Cuttenden, accountant. The total came to 1,372 current rupees 14 annas. Interpretations This invoice records goods brought to St Helena aboard the <i>Colchester</i> from Bengal, its values kept in the Indian rupees and annas of that trade. The cargo of arrack, sugar, wax candles and rice matches closely the supply lately landed from the <i>Elizabeth</i>, showing the settlement drawing the same staple provisions repeatedly from the Company's Indian settlements to feed its people and its shipping. Cooly hire among the charges was the wage paid to Indian labourers for loading and carrying the goods, the term for a hired porter or workman in the East that entered English through the Company's trade. The arrival of five Company ships within three days, the <i>Colchester</i>, <i>York</i> and <i>True Briton</i> joining others lately come, marks the height of the homeward season when the East Indiamen converged on St Helena in numbers on their way from India and China. This concentration of shipping put a heavy demand on the island's stores and fresh provisions all at once, the settlement's herds and gardens strained

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			to victual so many vessels in quick succession before they sailed on for England.
442	435	24 May At a Consultation held on Monday the 24 Day of May 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed Dated the 19 May 1755 Thursday the 22 Passed by a Ship under Dutch Colours Yesterday arrived the Honorable Companys Ships the Lord Anson from China and the Elizabeth Captain Wills from Bencoolen The Ship Elizabeth brought us the following supply Vizt WC Wax Candles No 1 to 5 5 Chests of 10 Factory Maund Ct 75 p Md 750 BA Batavia Arrack 1 @ 6 6 Third Leagues 12 3/4 p Leag 280 Batta 8 p Ct 20 270 SF Sugar Fine 1 @ 10 10 Bags 22 . 2 . 4 Ct 7 4 p Md 159 14 6 RF Rice Fine 40 Bags Cont 80 M 24 p A N 133 6 3 Batta 8 p Ct 10 10 9 144 Charges Merchandize 90 Gunny bags & sowing 13 11 5 Chests and Packing 12 8 Mortars 3 8 35 Matts 4 6 Pron 1 8 Soldiers Diet 2 Boat hire 6 6 Sloop hire 70 10 15 8 Errors Excepted (Signed) Current Rupees 1431 14 W Cuttenden Acompt	26 May Mr John Adamson paid into the Honourable Company's cash the sum of £281, for which the council gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to himself or order, ninety days after sight and dated that day. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ships <i>Colchester</i>, <i>True Briton</i> and <i>York</i> to muster their companies and enquire for deserters, but found none. Their muster rolls were as follows. The following was the muster roll of the ship <i>Colchester</i>. Roger Mainwaring, commander George Kerr, first mate Francis Reed, second mate John Hawkins, third mate Richard Chiltern, fourth mate William Kennedy, fifth mate William Candimore, sixth mate George Alexander, surgeon William Kerr, purser John Gentiles, gunner Martin Hall, boatswain William Stiff, carpenter John Cole, midshipman Francis Kerr, midshipman James Beer, midshipman Archibald Bentin, midshipman Walter Barrett, midshipman Francis Coutsworth, second mate Alexander Rough, second mate Samuel Bodman, second mate Joseph Alford, second mate Joseph Number, caulker George Roads, coopers steward Richard Beer, boatswains mate Alexander Williamson, carpenter Santa May, second mate Nicholas Perion, armourer Benjamin Stanbridge, sailmaker Thomas Willson, coopers mate Nicholas Viccris, ships cook George Jay, captains cook Benjamin Wraysworth, second steward Richard Lauder, second servant John Bell, second servant Andrew Cox, servant Henry Smith, second mates servant Lot Rosenworth, second mates servant John Walker, second mates servant Jefe, surgeon Thomas West, gunners servant William Harris, boat servant Henry Slayer, boatswains servant Cornelious Cokes, poulterer Joseph Swails, seaman John Snegar, seaman Richard Walker, seaman William Car, seaman John Uley, seaman Walter Dixon, seaman Alexander Hackney, seaman William Phillips, seaman Interpretations The muster roll of the <i>Colchester</i> names the full company of an East Indiaman home from Bengal, again ranked from the commander down through mates, tradesmen and seamen. The £281 paid in by John Adamson, the lieutenant governor himself, worked through the same bill-of-exchange system used throughout the settlement, coin surrendered at St Helena in return for paper redeemable in London, a convenience by which even the island's own

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			officers moved their money home without shipping specie. The persistent mustering of every arriving ship for deserters shows the settlement's steady guard against the loss of Company servants and soldiers, though on this occasion, as often, none was found among the crews.
443	436	24 May The Ship Lord Anson brought us the following supply vizt Invoice of Ship Lord Anson LA China Ware 1 Chest D P, S m C C, S m C C, S m C C 4 Table Setts Blue & White of 5.20 2 8 1 Soop Dish 8 8 20 Do Plates 0 43 9 20 Sneakers 0 24 18 10 Bowls 0 9 9 5 Chamber Potts 2 1 5 Guglets & Basons 4 9 20 Quarter Cups & Saucers 0 4 8 20 Halfpint Sneakers 0 13 3 20 Coffee Cups 0 1 2 5 Sauceboats 04 2 15 58 SC No 20 Sugar Candy 20 Chests No 1 Tou 20 Gross Weight 172 2 23 176 3 24 182 4 22 172 5 22 174 6 22 173 7 23 172 8 23 179 9 23 174 10 23 176 11 23 172 12 23 184 13 23 175 14 22 174 15 22 174 16 23 179 17 20 172 18 20 158 19 21 170 20 22 27/2 444 3472 444 Nett tt 3028 m Poules 2271 27 3 included 163 783 Carried forward 183 363	1755 Abraham Bevan, seaman Thomas White, seaman John Nowell, seaman James Burr, seaman Seymour Harkston, seaman Rodley Jones, seaman Edward Soded, seaman William Drisdale, seaman Patrick Roluts, seaman Nicole Arral, seaman Robert Davidson, seaman James Lindsey, seaman Charles Regner, seaman John Samuel, seaman Robert Sees, seaman Joseph Boutcher, seaman Samuel Grezeir, seaman John Taylor, seaman Neil Elalbroath, seaman Jacob Cornelious, seaman John Bray, seaman William Little John, seaman Timothy Helland, seaman Kent Cooke, mate William Smith, seaman John Cook, seaman Lewis Barber, lascar Augustin Krause, lascar Mathew Syring, lascar Emandey Sindall, lascar Mahommed, lascar Suggry, lascar Asuiry, lascar Simond, lascar Geoffrey, lascar Mohadny, lascar Alley, lascar Jafier, lascar Emandey, lascar Sione, lascar Saras, lascar Nancee, lascar William Gregory, seaman William Shutely, seaman Joseph Savis, seaman Richard James, seaman Charles Horner, seaman Captain David Robertson, passenger Emand Robertson, seaman Thomas Cook, seaman Joseph Rutherford, seaman The following was the muster roll of the ship <i>True Briton</i>. Henry Broadley, commander Robert Shaw, first mate Francis Fortesue, second mate William Baillie, third mate Halley Berwick, fourth mate Thomas McCoyde, fifth mate John Shaw, sixth mate Robert Broadley, surgeon William Roger, purser Sampson Swansby, gunner William Carr, boatswain William Leary, carpenter David Fulton, midshipman James Hindsman, midshipman John Elliot, midshipman

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			John Holman, caulker John Mingay, ships steward William Dale, captains cook John Dew, cooper Isaac Burge, sailmaker James Brine, armourer William Ellis, butcher John Diamond, barber Bryant Walton, taylor William Robinson, poulterer Robert Belfour, ships cook John De Prie, captains servant Andrew Paterson, second master William Dawson, second master Robert Edwards, second master George Mason, second master Thomas Bostwick, gunners mate John Furry, boatswains mate Stephen Frosby, carpenters mate John Smith, second cooper Edward Cripps, cooper Abraham Gostling, caulker William Blair, surgeons mate John Cave, cook John Broadley, captains servant Robert Shaw, second mates servant Benjamin Cornelison, first mates servant Howison Blake, second mates servant John Hermenden, surgeons servant Joseph Peeke, gunners servant Interpretations The roll of the <i>Colchester</i> closes with the last of her crew, including a body of lascars, Indian and other Asian seamen shipped in the East to work the vessel, their names set among the European hands. Lascars were engaged in large numbers on the homeward voyages, cheaper to hire than English sailors and readily available at the Indian ports, and their presence here marks the mixed manning that carried the Company's ships across the world. The <i>True Briton's</i> roll then follows in the same form, a China ship with the full range of officers, tradesmen and servants, Captain David Robertson entered among the <i>Colchester's</i> people as a passenger rather than crew, an officer taking passage home aboard a ship he did not command.
444	437	1755 Brought forward Sales S m C C 181 363 S No 1 to 5 Sugar 5 Chests No 1 Tou 42 Gross Weight 296 2 Tou 43 Gross Weight 303 3 Tou 41 Gross Weight 297 4 Tou 42 Gross Weight 307 5 Tou 42 Gross Weight 308 210 1507 Nett tt 1297 or Ct 9.7 20.5 8 Cwrtable 56 3/6 B No 1 to 2 Sea Bohea 2 Chests No 1 Tou 31 Gross Wt 167 2 Tou 30 Gross Wt 181 348 Nett tt 287 or Ct 2 . 15 . 3 7 p Picul 36 55 C No 1 to 2 Sea Congho 2 Chests No 1 Gross Wt 108 2 Gross Wt 110 218 Allowed Tare 42 Nett tt 176 Ct 1 . 32 30 39 6 S No 1 to 2	26 May William Dacks, carpenters servant Richard Hambrook, boat servant Robert Sherriff, seaman Arthur Marman, seaman Robert Marwood, seaman William Jones, seaman Joseph Davis, seaman Thomas Higdon, seaman Thomas Borthwick, seaman John Bruce, seaman Richard Morten, seaman James Malbon, seaman Joseph Guynner, seaman John Capstick, seaman Richard Owen, seaman Magnus Mow, seaman William Harding, seaman Matthew Palmer, seaman George Ord, seaman John Morrice, seaman John Jackson, seaman William Nesbett, seaman Robert Boltin, seaman William Aimson, seaman Charles Petty, seaman Thomas Clough, seaman George Higginston, seaman Francis Lodenzo, seaman

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		Sea Singlo 2 Tubs No 1 Nett Wt 69/2 2 Nett Wt 69/2 Nett tt 138/2 or Ct 1 . 4 25 26 Canton 24 Jan 1755 Sales 339 8 8 9 Proportion of Charges 14 8 8 1 Sales 354 7 10 Errors Excepted (Signed) John Misenor John Burrow Alex Hume John Mapleto Lieutenant	John Francisco, seaman Nicholas de Solentine, seaman John Matthews John De Rour Francisco Diego Andrew De Caste Peter De Crews John Baptist Jacob De Roger Antony De Roser Yolla Samuelson Jacob Hendrickson An Holstein Nicholas Twardell Charles Petty John De Buren The following was the muster roll of the ship <i>York</i>. Edward Wodd, commander Peter Loselle, first mate James Deuor, second mate William Cassell, third mate William Tomlinson, fourth mate Charles Wood, fifth mate William Willson, sixth mate John McFarquhar, surgeon John Pye, purser George Somways, midshipman William Sydey, midshipman Christopher Chase, midshipman John Stuit, midshipman Edward Hooker, midshipman John French, carpenter John Beale, boatswain John Gibson, gunner John Hardsley, caulker John Kirk, sailmaker John Todd, second master John Richards, second master Cley Rowly, second master William Hornsley, second master Richard Robert, boats mate Robert Sutter, second master Henry Cannem, gunner James Williams, captains servant Isaac Marks, caulkers mate William Dunkin, coopers servant John Baston, surgeons servant Paul Reid, captains cook Nathaniel Norren, second masters mate William Wallken, ships cook John Moor, captains steward George Harris, second servant Henry Dunn, poulterer Thomas Duttle, butcher Edward Thompson, captains servant Jefer Todd, servant Thomas Pomery, first masters servant Joseph Sorge, second servant Benjamin Sauman, gunners servant Robert Cox, carpenters servant John Bromley, boatswains servant Ralph Robinson, doctors servant John Brown, seaman Thomas Shepphard, seaman Christopher Say, seaman Interpretations The roll of the <i>True Briton</i> closes with the last of her seamen and a group of foreign hands set apart at the foot, names such as Jacob Hendrickson and An Holstein pointing to Dutch, German and Scandinavian sailors shipped into an English crew. The muster of the <i>York</i>, home from Bombay, then follows in the same form, her officers, tradesmen and servants set out from the commander down. The recurring pattern across all these rolls, each ship

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			carrying its own butcher, poulterer, sailmaker and cook, underlines how every East Indiaman sailed as a self-contained world, provisioned and manned to sustain a crew of well over a hundred through months at sea between the eastern ports and home.
445	438	24 May Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ships Elizabeth and Lord Anson to Muster their Companys and enquire for Deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follows vizt Muster Roll of Ship Elizabeth Edward Wills Commander Humphry Davies Midshipman Leonard Sessstepan Seaman Michael Sovey 1 Mate Wm Ramsay Do Thomas Hufferman Do George Taylor 2 Do John Smith Do John Peter Plate Do Bne Wilts Smith 3 Do Michael Wms Do Joseph Hillo Do George Alster 4 Do Wm martin Do John Patterson Do Samuel Butter 5 Do Wm Henry 2 Master John Seaburn Do John Dale Surgeon Wm Thompson Do Thomas Stanfield Do John White Purser Charles murry Do Emanuel Joshua Do James Moffatt Surg Mate Wm Smith Do Roderick Josea Do Woolard Dickenson Carpenter Samuel Stephens Seaman Thomas Tomer Do Paul Darlyshire Boatswain James Scorlock Do Peter Hlird Do Thomas Johnson Gunner James Mecon Do John Williams Do John Saul Ships Steward Thomas Doolt Do John Gaus Do Joseph Hawkins Cooper Richard Sarrouer Do Abram Johnson Do Tho Buckley Caulker Richard Smith Do Thomas Dobbs Do Charles Hoppenstall Caulker Henry Coil Do Aram Armstrong Do John Hansford Armourer John Nayhe Do Samuel Wright Do John Deane Ships Cooks Rob Tinguleuson Do Thomas Hailsons Do James Head Coopers Do Joseph Harmon Do Christian Patterson Do John Day Carpenters Mate Mathew Sindacont Do George Stanford Do Tho Gorman Gunners Edward Whetherington Do	1755 Hans Petterson, seaman Henry Moor, seaman John Pratt, seaman Arthur Christian, seaman Stephen Chandler, seaman Daniel Story, seaman William Lawson, seaman Richard Evans, seaman Edward Southomb, seaman Jacob Lascas, seaman Robert Briesfell, seaman William Bycraft, seaman Michle Dundie, seaman Thomas Stubbs, seaman John Dawson, seaman Henry Critian, seaman John Crouze, seaman John Smith, seaman John Frazier, seaman Thomas Dene, seaman William Crofs, seaman Richard Saber, seaman John Kiffell, seaman Francis Robinson, seaman Joseph Bunstar, seaman Thomas Metcalf, seaman James Art, seaman James Willson, seaman Robert Sutherland, seaman John Smith, seaman William Carter, seaman Joseph Johnson, seaman Joseph King, seaman Antony Scout, seaman Jacob Deorok, seaman Abraham Helen, seaman John Sinaw, seaman David Ramsay, seaman Michel Van Rifs, seaman Alexandra, seaman Mineily, seaman Johnry, seaman John Druzer, seaman James Dau, seaman Augustain, seaman Domingo Duzard, seaman Padro, seaman Joseph Deavido, seaman Domingo Antonel, seaman Thomas Rozars, seaman John Vaus, seaman The Honourable Company's cash for the month ending the 11 instant was counted and examined. Interpretations The muster of the <i>York</i> closes with the remainder of her crew, a long roll of ordinary seamen among whom the foreign names cluster toward the end, Portuguese, Dutch and other hands like Domingo Duzard and Michel Van Rifs shipped into the English company. This concentration of foreign and Asian sailors at the foot of each ship's roll reflects how the crews were entered by rank and standing, the English officers and rated men first and the mass of common hands, many recruited abroad, following after. The mustering of these successive companies for deserters, ship after ship through the crowded homeward season, shows the settlement's unremitting watch over the men who passed through

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Richard Dolley Ships Servants Wm Graham Boatswains Do Thomas Smith Do Samuel Haytor 2 Mates Do Henry Emerton Caulkers Do Humphry Braxand Do Thomas Clark Surgeons Do John Roak Capt Taylor Cato Hollywell Do Thomas Fowler Carpenters Do Paul Ayscott Do Caulker John Shute Do Thomas Johns Boatswains Do Barnaby Bland Midshipman John Sulton Do Samuel Lapp Gunners Do Next	its road, guarding against the loss of Company servants to the temptation of a berth for England.
446	439	1755 Alexr Demelt Tindale Gabriel Sonlgie Thomas Crous Alex Sevelle John Baptista John Brown Dego Gulmus Samuel Rosell Josea Anson Antonio Rosel John Thompson Sabel Rosell Muster Roll of Ship Lord Anson Charles Foulis Commander Anthony Plate Armourer John Ellis Seaman Tho Crichton 1 Mate John Haggis Caulker John Wilton Do Pat Crichton 2 Do Lewis Smith Do Mate Robt Whit Do Gabriel Steward 3 Do Robt Brown Sailmaker John Browne Do John Elliott 3 Do Edward Hunt Poulterer John Deington Do Tho Josp Sheppard 4 Do Josp Milborn Butcher Mich Davzey Do James Swelton 5 Do Robt Osaley Taylor John Smith Do Wm Brellyn 6 Do Wm Purser Capt mate Lewis Leviser Do Samuel Wagstaffe Purser John Hart Do Do Thomas Withers Do David Carnegie Doctor John Bazett Midshipman Wm Divoine Do Wm Wilton Carpenter Thomas Massey Do Abraham Poenter Do Morris Horraway Boatswain Robt Fletcher Do David Lindsay Do Lewis Arnold Gunner John Gibson Do Wm Gavait Do Thomas Mowbray Doctor Wm Rickette Do Wm Walker Do James Spener Boat mate Thomas Towers Do	26 May Cash, debtor 1755, April 12, to balance remaining, £3,648 14s 9d April 14, to ship <i>Essex</i> , the balance of her account, £7 5s 0d April 18, to ship <i>Norfolk</i> , the balance of her account, £9 2s 4d April 19, to ship <i>Princess Augusta</i> , the balance of her account, £10 7s 6d April 19, to ship <i>Ceylon</i> , the balance of her account, £7 12s 5d April 29, to ship <i>Onslow</i> , the balance of her account, £7 16s 4d May 6, to exchange for one set bills drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Captain John Oliver or order, ninety days after sight, dated this day, £720 0s 0d To ship <i>Exeter</i> , the balance of her account, £7 5s 0d Total, £4,418 3s 5d Interpretations This is the debtor side of the settlement's cash account for the new month, opening with the balance carried over and gathering the money coming in from ships' balances and a bill of exchange. The balances received from the <i>Essex</i> , <i>Norfolk</i> , <i>Princess Augusta</i> , <i>Ceylon</i> , <i>Onslow</i> and <i>Exeter</i> were the sums those East Indiamen owed the settlement for provisions and services when they cleared their accounts before sailing on, each vessel settling what it had drawn from the island's stores. The £720 raised by drawing bills on the Court of Directors for Captain John Oliver worked through the same mechanism used throughout the settlement's finances, coin taken in at St Helena in return for paper redeemable in London ninety days after sight, sparing the carriage of specie across the ocean.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Walter Broad Do Richard Fletcher Do Do Charles Forbes Do James Brond Do John Caulder 2 Master John Pickett Do James Rawlinson Do John Sealey Do Cathe Ogo Do James Moody Do Alex Mills Do Henry Javey Do Henry Sealey Do Arch Crowford Do Wm Cooke Do Hoiem Alex Farkin Do Josp Borthwick Cooper Jer Morrineau Seaman George Morris Warden Ballard Do mate Richard Coster Do Elias Bradner Do John Wright Capt Steward Phill Cantrill Do Thomas Lewis Do Duncan Cummys Ships Do Robt Athinson Do John Mathers Do Wm Roober Capt Cook John Bura Do John Leak Do Gilbert Wilkins Ships Do David Wright Do James Ayres Do Peter	
447	440	24 May Peter Pickett Seaman Thomas Hunt Seaman Robt Cahisae Gunners Servand Dan Mackinsey Do Coto Do John Stward Doctors Do Josep Silverudos Do Pedro Do Wm Peel Boatswains Do John Cowie Do John Deerusa Do Supra Cargoes Anthony Elder Do Thomas Coobs Capt Servant John Burrow Esq John Wade Do Alex Oglevie Do Do John Mapleto Esq John Macklane Do Robt Gordon 2 mates Do Supra Cargoes Servants Benjamin Rymen Do John Joice Do Do Robt Potho George Martin Do Henry Read Carpenters Do William Love Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	1755 Per contra, creditor 1755, April 24, by John Goodwin esquire for so much paid to the several creditors as per consultation of this day, £141 10s 11d May 11, by balance remaining in the following species 1,000 venetians at 10s, £500 0s 0d 900 pagodas at 8s, £360 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £860 0s 0d 2,583 dollars at 5s, £645 15s 0d 18,000 rupees at 2s 3d, £2,025 0s 0d 12,948 half rials at 3d, £202 6s 3d 441 French pieces at 2d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £2 8s 17d Silver amounting to, £2,876 17s 5d 156 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 Total, £4,418 3s 5d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The credit side of the cash account sets out the coin, bullion and paper the settlement held at the month's close, once more the mixed money of many nations counted together. Gold venetians and pagodas, silver dollars, rupees, half rials and French pieces circulated side by side, the great mass of rupees valued at over £2,000 reflecting the Company's Indian trade, while the whole shows how St Helena ran on whatever coin the world's shipping brought rather than any settled currency of its own. The rupee holding has climbed sharply since the previous count on 11 April, when 12,000 rupees were entered against 18,000 now, the increase drawn in from the many India ships that had called through the busy homeward season.

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			The cash notes were the settlement's own paper money, promissory notes in fixed denominations that passed locally as currency, an early reliance on paper credit to eke out scarce coin on a remote island. That the largest single element of the whole was silver rupees rather than English money underlines how far the settlement's cash reserve depended on the eastern trade, the coin of India and the wider world outweighing anything sent from home.
448	441	26 May At a Consultation held on Monday the 26 Day of May 1755 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Govern Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 24 May 1755 Saterdag the 24 arrived the Honorable Companys Ships the Colchester from Bengall and the York from Bombay Do Passed by a Ship at a great Distance This Day arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the True Britton from China The Ship Colchester brought us the following supply Vizt Invoice of Ship Colchester BA Batavia Arrack No 1 a 6 6 Leagures at Rs 125 p Leagure 250 Batta 8 p Ct 20 270 SF Sugar Fine No 1 a 10 10 Bags of Maunds 226 Ct 7.8 p Maund 166 2 WC Wax Candles No 1 a 5 5 Chests of Maunds 10 Ct 75 p Maund 750 RF Rice Fine 1 a 40 40 Bags of Maunds 80 Sm 25 p A R 128 Batta 8 p Ct 10 4 138 4 1324 6 Charges Merchandize 90 Gunny Bags & Sowing 13 12 5 Chests & Package 12 8 Cooley hire 3 8 Pron 1 8 Boat hire 17 4 48 8 Current Rupees 1372 14 Errors Excepted (Signed) W Cuttenden Acomp	
449	442	26 May	

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		Mr John Adamson, hath paid into the Honorable Companys Cash, the Sum of two hundred and eighty one Pounds, for which we have 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 Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ships Colchester, True Britton, and York to Muster their Companys and enquire for Deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Colchester Roger Mainwaring Commander Francis Coatswork Do Mates Andrew Corp Servant George Steer 1 Mate Alex Rough Do Henry Smith 2 mates Do Frances Reed 2 Do Samuel Bodman Do Lob Rosenworth Do Do John Hawkins 3 Do Joseph Alford Do John Walker Do Rich Chilton 4 Do Joseph Number Caulker Safe Surgeon Do Wm Hennedy 5 Do George Roads Cooper 2 Steward Thomas West Gunners Do Wm Candmore 5 Do Rich Beer Boatswains Mate Wm Havird Boat Do George Alexander Surgeon Alex Williamson Carpenter Do Henry Sayer Boatchie Wm Steir Purser Santa May Do 3 Do Cornelious Cokes Poulterer John Gentiles Gunner Nich Serieon Armourer Joseph Iwails Seaman Martin Hall Boatswain Beny Stanbridge Sailmaker John Snegar Do Wm Steff Carpenter Tho Willson Coopers mate Rich Walker Do John Cole Midshipman Nich Viccris Ships Cook Wm Car Do Frances Heir Do George Tays Captains Do John Way Do James Beer Do Beny Wagshworth 2 Steward Walter Dixon Do Arch Benton Do Rich Lauder Do Servant Alex Hackner Do Walter Barvett Do John Bell Do Do Wm Phillips Do Anthram	
450	443	1755 Abraham Bevan Seaman John Taylor Seaman Godfrey Lascar Tho White Do Neil Elalbroath Do Mohddy Do John Nowell Do	

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		Jacob Cornelious Do Alley Do James Burr Do John Bray Do Tafur Do Seymour Harkston Do Wm Little John Do Emandey Do Redley Jones Do Timothy Helland Do Sione Do Edward Sowded Do Kent Cooks Mate Saras Do Wm Drisdale Do Wm Smith Seaman Nance Do Patrick Roluts Do John Cook Do Wm Gregory Seaman Nicole Arral Do Lewis Barber Lascar Wm Shutely Do Rob Davidson Do Augustina Krause Do Joseph Tavis Do James Lindsey Do Mathew Symng Do Rich James Do Charles Reyner Do Emandey Tindall Charles Homer Do John Samuel Do Mohammed Lascar Capt David Robertson Difsurger Rob Tees Do Suggry Do Buddd Robertson Do Joseph Boutcher Do Assury Do Thomas Cook Do Samuel Grezeir Do Sumend Do Joseph Rutherford Do Muster Roll of Ship True Briton Henry Broadley Commander John Holman Caulker Genge mason 2 Master Rob Shaw 1 mate John Mingay Ships Steward Tho Bustwick Gunners Mate Fran Fortoune 2 Do Wm Dale Captains Do John Curry Boatswains Do Wm Baillie 3 Do Sam Dew Cooper Cooper Stephen Frosbey Carpenters Do Halley Berwick 4 Do Isaac Burge Sailmaker John Smith Do 2 Do Tho McCoyde 5 Do James Erine Armourer Edward Cripse Coopers Do John Sturn 6 Do Wm Ellis Butcher Abraham Gostling Caulkers Do Rob Broadley Surgeon John Diamond Barber Wm Blair Surgeons Do Wm Roger Purser Bryant Wilton Taylor John Crars Cooks Do Sampson Swansby Gunner Wm Robieson Poulterer John Broadley Capt Servant Wm Carr Boatswain	

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		Rob Bolfour Ships Cook Rob Shaw Do Wm Lisary Carpenter John De Prie Capt Benj Cornelieson 1 mates Do David Fulton Midshipman Andrw Paterson 2 master Howison Blake 2 Do Do James Hindsman Do Wm Dawson Do Fran Hermeeden Surgeons Do John Elliot Do Rob Edwards Do Joseph Peake Gunners Do 4th	
451	444	26 May Wm Dacks Carpenters Servant Magnus Mow Seaman John Matthews Rich Hambrock Boat Do Wm Haiding Do John De Roux Rob Sherriff Seaman Matthew Rimer Do Francisco Diego Arthur Masman Do George Ord Do Andrew De Coste Rob Marwood Do John Merrice Do Peter De Crews Wm Jones Do John Jackson Do John Baptist Rofs Davis Do Wm Nisbett Do Jacob De Roger Tho Higdon Do Rob Boltm Do Antony De Roser Tho Borthwick Do Wm Armson Do Jolla Samuelson John Bruce Do Charles Petty Do Jacob Hedrickson Rich Morten Do Tho Clough Do An Holstein James Malion Do George Higgentson Do Nicholas Twartell Jos Guymer Do Frances Lodenge Do Cha Petty John Capstick Do John Francisco John De Buren Rich Owen Do Nicklas de Solentina Muster Roll of Ship York Edwd Wedd Commander John Gibson Gunner Wm Wallken Ships Cook Peter Loselle 1 Mate John Hardgly Caulker John Moor Capt Steward James Deover 2 Do John Kirk Sailmaker George Hairs Do Servant Wm Cassell 3 Do John Loof 2 Master Henry Dunn Poulterer Wm Tomlinson 4 Do John Richards Do	

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		Tho Dutteld Butcher Charles Wedd 5 Do Cley Rowdy Do Edwd Thompson Capt Ser Wm Willson 5 Do Wm Hornsly Do Fryer Todd Do John McFarquhar Surg Rich Robert Boat 1 mate Tho Pomeroy 1 mates Do John Rye Purser Rob Sutter Do 2 Do Joseph Forges 2 Do George Tomways Midshp Henry Cannor Gun Do Benj Sauman Gunners Do Wm Sysly Do James Williams Capt Do Rob Cox Carpenters Do Christ Chase Do Isaac Marks Caulkers Do John Bromlly Boatswains Do John Sturt Do Wm Dunkin Coopers Do Ralph Robinson Doctors Do Edward Hooher Do John Baston Surgeons Do John Brown Seaman John French Carpenter Paul Ward Capt Cook Tho Shepperd Do John Beale Boatswain Nath Norren Do Do mate Christ Say Do	
452	445	1755 Hans Petterson Seaman John Smith Seaman Jacob Deorok Seaman Henry Moor Do John Fruzer Do Abraham Helen Do John Pratt Do Tho Deue Do John Sinaw Do Arthur Christian Do Wm Crofs Do David Ramsay Do Stephen Chandler Do Rich Faber Do Michel Van Rifs Do Daniel Story Do John Kiffell Do Alexandra Do William Lawson Do Francis Robinson Do Minely Do Richard Evans Do Joseph Bunstar Do Johnny Do Edwd Southomb Do Tho Matcalf Do John Druzer Do Jacobs Lascas Do James Art Do James Dau Do Rob Brieffell Do James Willson Do Augustain Do Wm Bycraft Do Rob Surther land Do Domingo Duzad Do Muhle Dundie Do John Smith Do Padre Do Thomas Stubbs Do	

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		Wm Carter Do Jozph Deavido Do John Dawson Do Joseph Johnson Do Dominga Anted Do Henry Critian Do Joseph Hing Do Tho Rozars Do John Crouze Do Antony Scout Do John Vaus Do Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the month ending the 11 instant Vizt	
453	446	26 May Cash Dr 1755 April 12 To Balance remaining £ 3648 14 9/2 14 To Ship Essex the Balance of her Account 7 5 18 To Ship Norfolk Do 9 2 4 19 To Ship Princess Augusta Do 10 7 6/2 To Ship Triton Do 7 12 5 29 To Ship Onslow Do 7 16 4 May 6 To Exchange for one Sett Bills Drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors, Payable to Captain John Oliver, or Order ninety Days after sight Dated this Day 720 To Ship Exeter the Balance of her Account 7 5 £ 4418 3 5/2	
454	447	1755 Per Contra Cr 1755 April the 24 By John Goodwin Esq for so much paid to the several Creditors as p Consultation of this Day 141 10 11/2 May 11 By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt 1000 Venetians 10/ £ 500 900 Pagodas 8/ 360 Gold Amounting to £ 860 2583 Dollars 5/ £ 645 15 18000 Rupees 2/3 2025 12948 half Rials 3/4 202 6 3 441 French Pieces 1/2	

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		3 13 6 Odd Money 2 8/ Silver Amounting to £ 2876 17 5/2 156 Cash Notes 40/ £ 292 162 Do 20/ 162 263 Do 5/ 65 15 160 Do 2/6 20 Cash Notes Amounting to 539 15 4418 3 5/2 Chas Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark	
455	448	Blank page	
456	449	Blank page	
457	450	Book cover	
458	451	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St. Helena Records 1754-55 Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) 48 cm x 33 cm x 7 cm No. written pages 448 No. blank pages 2 Spine and cover Good condition Minor borer insect damage on front cover Inside pages Good condition Slight foxing throughout volume Additional comments Time taken to photograph (hours) 5 hours	