St Helena Records 1759-1760

Introduction: This is the 40th 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/EAP1364-1-1-40.

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. 12 is designated as page 1 (location 12/1), with numbering continuing sequentially through the end of the volume.

Dates: The Council's first meeting took place on 7 May 1759, with the final meeting occurring on 16 June 1760. All sessions were convened during Captain Charles Hutchinson's administration (1747-1764).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

These records document St Helena, a mid-ocean possession held by the East India Company on the homeward route from the Indian Ocean to Europe, not the Crown, so every office, wage and cargo answered to the Company and its Court of Directors in London. [Film No. 12]

The material runs from the garrison pay account for the quarter beginning 12 January 1758/9 to the council consultations of 16 June 1760, a continuous administrative sequence covered in unusual density, with a few artillery entries reaching back to powder primed at Lemon Valley on 24 July 1757. The papers are muster rolls, cash counts, livestock returns, ships' invoices, storekeepers' checks on cargo and the weekly minutes of the governing council. [Film No. 31, 59, 224, 403]

The period falls within the Seven Years War between Britain and France, two years after the Company's victory at Plassey in 1757 whose produce filled the passing ships, the war reaching the island through the threat to its shipping, the prisoners its ships carried, a concentrated effort at fortification and the relay of naval intelligence. Governor Charles Hutchinson presided throughout. [Film No. 101, 122, 251]

The record is written from the Company's standpoint, so its rulers, soldiers, ships and account books dominate while the slave majority appear only when disciplined, bought, freed, clothed, fed or counted. A pay ledger names every soldier to the penny yet enters the birth of a slave child in the same column as the season's calves, and the dating below follows the Company's own sequence of letters and minutes, each undated passage carried under the date of the consultation that governs it. [Film No. 12, 281]

Governance and Administration

The island was ruled through a small council that met weekly at the Castle, as a rule every Monday, each consultation opening with the reading, approval and signing of the previous week's minutes to keep an unbroken chain of decisions in the same few hands. From 30 April 1759 its members were Hutchinson as Governor, John Adamson as Lieutenant Governor and John Clark. [Film No. 27, 29, 33, 44, 46]

When Adamson fell sick from about 19 June 1759 the council was reduced to Hutchinson and Clark alone. Ultimate authority lay in London with the Court of Directors, whose orders arrived by ship: on 8 July 1759 the store ship *Delaware* brought a packet the council opened the next day, reading a commission that appointed John Skottowe as Governor, confirmed Adamson as Lieutenant Governor and added Matthew Pooling to the council, the new men taking their places at once. [Film No. 50, 54, 55]

The council refused on 2 July 1759 to release a disputed recruit without a directors' order, and on 8 July declined to employ a stranded superintendent because every civil post was already filled under the London establishment. Its authority over its own records became a dispute in July 1759: Adamson, stepping down and gravely ill, refused to sign several consultations and charged that about two months earlier a whole paragraph had been erased after a consultation was signed and a new one substituted, an allegation aired in his memorial of 11 July 1759 amounting to a charge that the council had falsified its book. [Film No. 55, 60, 61]

The council traced the matter to the consultation of 12 March 1758/9 recording the suspension of Lieutenant Price, which the Governor said had misstated his opinion and had rightly been left unsigned for correction. The secretary Francis Wrangham explained that he had turned two leaves of the book at once, so a consultation meant to be kept open was signed, and that in later inserting the Governor's opinion he had inadvertently erased the existing entry; Adamson and Clark had agreed at the time that the corrected entry might stand. Wrangham's formal declaration of 13 July 1759, backed by his readiness to swear on oath and by the assistant Law as a second witness, set the secretary's account against the departing officer's. [Film No. 61, 62]

The commission dismissing Adamson took effect on 8 July 1759, the pay account dividing the Lieutenant Governor's salary so that Adamson was paid for eighty-eight days to that date and Skottowe for the three days to 11 July, the same date splitting the pay of company officers such as Thomas Kirkpatrick. Through July 1759 the council comprised Hutchinson, Skottowe, Clark and Pooling, meeting every few days, and on 24 July 1759 Pooling took the oath of fidelity required by the directors before assuming his place. [Film No. 63, 68, 72, 101, 106]

On 14 July 1759 Richard Law swore that he had gone with Wrangham to Adamson with the consultation book to be signed and had never heard Adamson say he could not sign in justice to himself, as the memorial had claimed. A further charge followed on 24 July 1759, when the adjutant Solomon Jacob declared that in

July 1758, as the *Egmont* sailed for Sumatra, Adamson had asked him to pass some Company iron for sale, worn scrap from trucks, a broken axletree, bolts and rings from gun carriages, cart tire and a chain, amounting to some hundredweight; Jacob had it carried to the market house by two of his own black men, sold it to the gunner of the *Egmont*, and paid the proceeds to Adamson, adding embezzlement to the case. [Film No. 63, 74]

Administration reached the ordinary events of the community, the minutes noting the death of the widow Lydia Harper on 23 July 1759 among the business of trade and discipline. On 10 September 1759 the council ordered every inhabitant to render a signed account of family, land and cattle to the secretary's office by 1 October, a full census and property survey, and to attend on 11 October to pay the year's rents, governance running by public advertisement carrying the force of law. [Film No. 68, 144, 145]

Local affairs were partly settled by the inhabitants in vestry. A parish assembly of householders had resolved on 12 December 1757, with the council's approval, that no horses graze the Company's waste land, and on 11 October 1759 the council fixed a sliding scale allowing one saddle horse for ten to twenty acres up to three for the largest estates and no more, rationing grazing to spare the herbage for the Company's cattle. [Film No. 151, 158]

Consultations of 22 and 29 October 1759 at the Castle record the four-man body of Hutchinson, Skottowe, Clark and Purling transacting routine business, and noted the death of the soldier Henry Norwood on 25 October 1759. The Council met weekly through the winter, its consultations of 5, 8, 12, 19 and 26 November, 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31 December 1759, and 7, 14 and 21 January 1759/60 forming the spine of the record, the accounts closed on 11 October 1759 and copied for despatch to the directors as fast as possible against the loss of a vessel, ready to go home aboard the *Warren* by 3 December. [Film No. 165, 166, 224, 227, 240, 259]

From 25 January 1759/60 the council members were Hutchinson, Skottowe, Clark and Matthew Bazett. The civil establishment was carried on by a handful of men each holding several offices: Bazett drew pay as factor, assistant storekeeper and councillor, Purling as councillor, accountant and for diet and rent, Richard Beale as judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk, and Clark at once as councillor, First Lieutenant of the First Company and paymaster of the whole garrison. The settlement also kept two coroners, Samuel Alexander and Bazett, in the English fashion. [Film No. 287, 288, 289]

Wrangham reported to the council on 11 February 1759/60 that a long disorder in his sight had left him unfit to take examinations or draw up writings; the council resolved to appoint Bazett, who had held the office before, to keep Wrangham in the paymaster's branch where he could still copy correctly, and in consideration of his twenty years service to make him a factor from that day at the usual salary, telling him his diligence must justify the continuance of the place. William Wrangham took up the assistant storekeeper's place, the accounting apportioning each man's salary and diet money between old post and new. [Film No. 310, 375, 376]

Through 1760 the same four-man body of Hutchinson, Skottowe, Clark and Matthew Yearling transacted every kind of business, direction coming from London by ship, the *Triton* arriving on 28 March 1760 with a packet of the court's orders which the council opened and read. On 7 April 1760 the planters met in the chapel in the valley to elect churchwardens and overseers of the East, West and South divisions, from whom the council commissioned the officers it wanted by warrant, the overseers administering the poor and highways of their districts; the council upheld their standing, fining Samuel Bedfountain for interfering with a newly chosen overseer of the South division. [Film No. 315, 335, 341, 346]

Appointments to the Company's own service depended on patronage reaching back to England: on 31 March 1760, by the express permission of the directors given in their letter by the *Triton*, the council took on David Alcock, son of a former island chaplain, as a writer, needing the court's leave even for a junior clerk. The Council met weekly through the spring, its consultations of 28 April, 5, 12, 19, 24, 26 and 28 May, and 2, 6, 9 and 16 June 1760 completing the record. [Film No. 335, 403, 417, 427]

Military Affairs and Defence

The garrison paid for in the quarter beginning 12 January 1758/9 was organised into four marching companies and an artillery company, each led by a first and second lieutenant and stepping down through sergeants, corporals, drummers and sentinels. Pay was fixed by rank, a first lieutenant drawing a salary of £22 16s 3d with diet money and house rent on top, a sentinel who served the whole quarter drawing a flat £3 16s 7½d, the near-identical allowances of the two lieutenants of the Third Company showing rates tied to rank rather than to the man. [Film No. 12, 15]

The pay book followed each man's standing day by day, so a promotion or reduction within the quarter produced two lines at two rates. Jeremiah Wingood was paid as a corporal from 12 January to 16 February 1758/9 and as a sergeant thereafter, while John Ryford and Thomas Morris were both reduced on 17 February 1758/9. Death, discharge and desertion closed a man's account at his last day of service: Thomas Prynny died on 1 February 1758/9 and drew only £1 0s 0d, William McCloud died on 12 March 1758/9, and John Fox was cut on 14 January 1758/9. [Film No. 12, 13, 15, 17]

The artillery company, headed by the Master Gunner Thomas Hall on a first lieutenant's salary, ran below him through gunners' mates, quarter gunners and matrosses on a descending scale, a chief mate drawing £11 8s 1½d and a matross £4 11s 3d, the matross ranking as a private soldier of the artillery who fetched, loaded and hauled at the guns. The matrosses appear at a single unbroken rate marking men who all served the full quarter, unlike the marching companies whose rate was broken by casualties and rank changes, and the quarter's whole payroll of £2,566 15s 10½d was closed with the reservation Errors Excepted. [Film No. 17, 18, 19]

The island's defence rested on a ring of coastal batteries and watch posts, named in the artillery accounts as the Main Fort in the valley, Rupert's, Prosperous Bay, Lemon Valley, Saunders Point, Sandy Bay, Jacks Bay, Banks's and Mundens Point, each commanding a possible landing place. The account of stores expended from 12 April to 11 May 1759 shows the batteries turning out repeatedly to alarms for ships standing to windward, a single alarm burning six rounds, a double alarm nine, and the alarm of 26 April 1759 for four ships thirteen. [Film No. 31]

The constant firing ground down the mountings faster than the guns, five carriages for 32-pounders being worn out in the month to 11 May 1759 along with iron trucks, beds and levers. Match, the slow cord used to touch off the guns, was burnt at each station, and the wear extended to sponge staves, rammers and the needles used to sew powder cartridges. The account of stores to 11 June 1759 records the field, coast and South flying parties exercised with powder, the 60 quire of paper for musket cartridges against only 10 for cannon reflecting their small-arms work, and the spontoon, a half-pike carried by officers and sergeants, appears among the equipment fixed. [Film No. 31, 38, 39]

Lieutenant Price had been suspended from pay and duty for two months for a neglect of good order, having failed to confine and report Thomas Dunn, a soldier of Clark's company, who had grossly insulted him while he was officer of the guard, the suspension entered by order of the Governor and Clark in the consultation of 12 March 1758/9. [Film No. 62]

John Clark, first lieutenant of the First Company, drew an additional sum for instructing the gunners, keeping the batteries effective by training as well as firing. A cluster of recruits, among them Richard Cowley, Christian Grunwald and Alexander Groombridge, were entertained on 8 July 1759, the day the new government took effect, while others such as John Anger and Sylvanus Rock joined days later, each drawing a part-quarter sum. The rent allowance followed an officer's actual lodging rather than his rank, Michael Frost, a second lieutenant of the Third Company, drawing none where his fellows did, the same distinction separating officers in the Fourth Company. [Film No. 104, 109, 111, 112]

The artillery accounts for 12 June to 11 July 1759 show powder going on alarms for strange sail, on salutes exchanged with the arriving *London*, *Egmont* and *Delaware*, and on three great salutes of twenty-one guns, for the King's accession on 22 June 1759, in commemoration of the Battle of Plassey on 23 June, and to welcome Skottowe ashore. About the middle of 1759 the longboat was fitted out and sent to cruise to windward against the enemy, supplied from store with timber, iron, English and osnaburg canvas for her

sails, cordage and marline for her rigging, pitch, tar and bunting in red, white and blue for her signal flags. [Film No. 70, 96]

The fortification accounts record new powder magazines at Rupert's and Banks's, built of imported deals and secured with eight-bit locks, with materials for gun carriages, ammunition chests, cartridges and shot bags, and white lead and linseed oil to preserve the guns' furniture against the sea air, a drawbridge and a port culvert appearing by name among the works maintained. The garrison's store account for the quarter issued a single sentinel's full outfit of coat, breeches, shirt, stockings, hat and blanket, arrack as drams on mustering, and flour to recruits on landing, and three deal boards and a pound of nails were drawn to make a coffin. [Film No. 95, 98, 99, 100]

The whole half-year's military establishment was paid as a single charge closed at £2,700 13s 1½d on 11 July 1759, the gunners paid on a separate and higher scale than the foot, the Master Gunner John Hall level with a first lieutenant and even the matross drawing more than a sentinel. Private sentinels drew £3 16s 7½d in one company's reckoning and £3 16s 0½d in another, the small difference arising from a daily calculation, and part-quarter promotions were paid as two consecutive stretches, William Heerman paid as corporal to 2 July 1759 and sergeant after. [Film No. 103, 104, 109, 114, 115, 116]

The paymaster's accounts for the quarter to 11 July 1759 show the garrison doubling as a labour force at a flat 1s a day, the single largest charge of £64 11s 6d for 1,311½ days going on securing the fortifications and building new powder magazines against French attack. The same men built a dairy house in the Longwood, converted an old barracks into a prison rather than raising a new gaol, and were paid to carry express with word of ships sighted to windward, an early-warning watch on the sea approaches. [Film No. 122]

Defence was organised in depth around the island's several landing places, guns worked at Sandy Bay, Turks Cap, Prosperous Bay and the sortie battery as well as the main fort. Four flying parties, of the East, West, South and Turks Cap, were drilled as mobile detachments to concentrate quickly wherever an alarm was raised, and a share of the scarce powder store was lost at the exposed batteries to sea-water and to rats at Sandy Bay through 1759. On 6 August 1759 the council shipped its unserviceable water engines, the hand-pumped fire engines for the fort and stores, home on the *Admiral Watson* for repair, the same broken machines still appearing in the September stores return. [Film No. 124, 149]

The garrison was mustered on a fixed island scale, sergeants at £7 12s 1d, corporals and drummers at £5 6s 5½d and sentinels at £3 16s 0½d, drummers standing above the common soldier for the signalling duty by which the calls of the day were beaten. William Kennedy drew the higher first lieutenant's salary with diet money but no rent while Samuel Pace drew the lower salary with both, and the pay list tracked each man's service to the day, Lewis Kingsland transferring to the Third Company on 29 July 1759 to fill a drummer's place, Thomas Roberts entertained on 31 July, and two men discharged together on 8 August 1759 drawing the identical reduced sum. [Film No. 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212]

The artillery accounts for 12 September to 11 October 1759 show the month's powder going largely to peaceful uses, blasting limestone at Rupert's for lime and regular gun practice at the same battery, with a single salute for the departing *Eastcourt* and powder marking the funeral of the matross Henry Chapman, whose will had been proved on 17 September 1759. The clearest defensive measure was the arming of the longboat, fitted with two half-pounder swivel guns and their full equipment of shot, match, sponges and spare parts, together with thousands of rounds for swivels, blunderbusses and carbines, the near three thousand rounds laid in for the blunderbuss showing the working boat prepared to repel boarders. [Film No. 163, 164, 185]

The fortification account supplied bunting for a flag at the main fort, lead cut into aprons to keep the guns' priming dry, and canvas sewn into bags for grapeshot. The garrison's store account for the quarter to 11 October 1759 issued coats and breeches for every rank from sentinel to matross, hundreds of shirts, hats, stockings and shoes, 53 blankets, field gear of camp kettles and canteens for duty at the outlying forts, and arrack as drams on mustering, one line of nails serving tables, forms, cots and coffins alike. [Film No. 184, 185]

The Artillery Company's muster of the quarter to 11 October 1759 ran from the chief gunner's mate at £11 8s 1½d through mates at £9 2s 6d and quarter gunners at £6 16s 10½d to matrosses at £4 11s 3d, the whole payroll closing at £2,633 6s 2d. The lowest artillery ranks were drawn from a mixed European labour pool, with continental names such as John Frederick Emerling and John Mitchel Wageling among the matrosses. Soldiers spent 310½ days on the new magazine at the main fort in the quarter and a further 142 across the several magazines, all at 1s a day. [Film No. 213, 214, 220, 222]

Ordnance served ceremony and quarrying alike: a 21-gun salute for the King's birthday on 10 November 1759 consumed over 23 pounds of powder, the heaviest single charge of that month, a 17-gun salute honoured Colonel Stringer Lawrence on 22 November, and powder was regularly drawn to blast rock for the new magazine. [Film No. 231, 249]

The garrison paid for in the quarter beginning 12 October 1759 saw men rising together on the fixed dates of 3 November and 3 January under a revised rate, Humphry Pugh paid partly as sentinel and partly as sergeant, Thomas Turn as corporal and then sergeant, and in the artillery William Fletcher rising from matross to quarter gunner on 3 January 1759/60 while John Thomason fell the other way, the whole military establishment closing at £2,616 13s 8d under Clark's signature. Batteries and watch posts stood at Prosperous Bay, Sandy Bay, Lemon Valley, Lees Fort and the line, their flags renewed from store, Thomason paid on 11 January 1759/60 for making a flag for Prosperous Bay and another for Sandy Bay. [Film No. 289, 290, 292, 298, 299, 300, 304, 306]

A guard room was built for the flying party at Powell's Valley on the exposed southern side, 216 days of labour at 1s the day, and the garrison's clothing supply having fallen short, the Company paid three sergeants £3 each and nine matrosses £1 10s each in lieu of the regimental coats and breeches not sent from home the previous year. Whips were kept in supply, the garrison account charging eighteen lines for them alongside the ordinary stores of the guards. [Film No. 284, 302, 306]

The artillery accounts from 12 January to 11 April 1760 record the guns firing on almost every alarm, a double alarm for nineteen ships on 6 March 1760 consuming the month's heaviest charge of powder, and the earlier sighting of fourteen sail thought to be Dutch calling the flying parties to their posts. The magazine's powder served every purpose the island had for explosive force, drawn for practice at Rupert's, for salutes exchanged with ships of several nations, for blasting rock, for shooting the wild cats that preyed on the poultry, and for firing honours over the graves of the Company's servants, three such funerals falling in the quarter. [Film No. 314, 320, 332, 348, 349]

The garrison's equipment suffered from the poor quality of what the Company shipped: on 25 April 1760 Thomas Hall reported the axletrees of gun carriages newly landed from the *Triton* so split as to be unfit for service, and a survey by the Company's carpenter John Robinson with Arthur Judd of the *Hardwicke* traced the failure to green, unseasoned timber, leaving the coastal guns without serviceable mountings. A separate leakage of military stores ran through the year, the lead aprons stolen from two guns at Rupert's, met on 11 February 1759/60 by advertising a 20s reward. [Film No. 314, 352]

The garrison was mustered man by man at a uniform £3 16s 2d a quarter for the sentinels in the quarter to 11 April 1760, each company headed by a post lieutenant paid partly at the lieutenant's rate and partly for a spell as captain, the ranks filled from many nations with English, Scots, French and German names standing together. Sons of island families, the Whaleys, Bazetts, Beales and Wignalls, filled the sentinel and non-commissioned ranks, several men serving in two capacities, Joseph Chamberlain as carpenter's mate and sentinel, Thomas Fitzpatrick as mender of muskets and post lieutenant, and a body of new recruits was entertained together on 28 March 1760 to make good discharges and deaths. [Film No. 377, 384, 388, 389, 391]

The garrison was worked as a cheap standing labour force at 1s a day, cutting up oxen, getting turf and paving, discharged soldiers put to the same tasks at only 6d. The island was garrisoned so thinly that on 28 May 1760 the Council detained 17 soldiers consigned to Bengal aboard the *Royal Duke*, judging the completion of its four companies and the strengthening of the artillery to twenty men an absolute necessity,

overriding the Company's own deployment and reporting the seizure to Fort William with the men's names so Bengal could reconcile the diversion. [Film No. 411, 417, 421]

Recruitment and Terms of Service

The garrison was kept up by enlistment bounties and fixed terms of years, recorded in the paymaster's disbursements for the quarter to 11 April 1759. A newly enlisted or relisting European soldier drew £5 or £10 to bind himself for five years under the recently issued Articles of War, read to each man by the adjutant on enrolment, and eight men were each paid £10 to serve a further five years. The two islanders taken on in the same quarter, John Long and William Hayes, were enlisted at £2 and £5 against the £5 and £10 paid to European recruits on the same page, the garrison recruiting local men more cheaply. [Film No. 20, 22]

Service was for a fixed term and a man could leave when it expired, the council granting the discharge of the gunners' mate Henry Baxter on 11 June 1759 and of the sergeant Robert Mason on 2 July 1759 once each had served his full contracted time. The seaman William Allen, who had deserted Captain Chick's ship at Bombay about 1757 over ill usage by the second mate Colvert, exchanged with a man named Openshaw who wished to leave the island, on the footing that Allen should serve three years or more; when Allen refused the enlisting money the superintendent told him he must then serve five, so the bounty worked as the instrument of the longer term. [Film No. 20, 47, 49]

Allen's petition of 2 July 1759 rested on his right as a subject of King George to return home and on the collapse of the exchange, the absent Openshaw having gone abroad and not returned. The council met the appeal by referring it upward, telling him he had been delivered up as a deserter by Captain Frost of the *Cathane* and could not be freed without a directors' order, and the affair closed on 10 July 1759 by the same trade in men that had bound him, Allen procuring Silvanus Rolph to enlist for five years and so securing his passage to England. The Company on 9 July 1759 released the soldier and cooper John Chamberlain to Captain Marr's *Egmont* only on condition that Openshaw was enlisted in his place. [Film No. 50, 56, 57]

The Company held its men by paying bounties to renew their terms, £10 each to John Jacks, Peter Small and Thomas Taylor in the quarter to 11 October 1759 for three or five years' further service, the bounty varying widely: John Maurice drew only £1 as a substitute on 24 December 1759 while Joseph Good drew £5 as a fresh recruit on 21 January 1759/60. Manpower moved between the Company's scattered stations, William Hodges, a discharged sergeant from Bencoolen, the Company's unhealthy pepper post on Sumatra, enlisting at St Helena for five years on 24 December 1759, and Christian Syder allowed his discharge only once he had found Maurice to serve in his place. [Film No. 216, 250, 262]

A soldier drew £10 to bind or re-bind himself for five years, Robert Stack, John Bagley and Thomas Nimble each £10 on 6 January 1759/60, and Maurice entered the establishment on 26 December 1759 the day after Syder was discharged on 25 December, Hodges likewise entering the artillery as a matross that day. The council granted the discharge of the soldier William Harrison on 11 February 1759/60 once he had served his full contracted time. [Film No. 298, 300, 302, 310]

Soldiers who had served their contracted time were regularly discharged on petition, several men who had served thirteen years and more being released on 28 March 1760. The Company held its men by cash bounties, five pagodas or £5 to a new recruit and ten to a man re-engaging, the sum varying with the length of engagement and the pressure to fill the ranks: Jacob Brown drew only three pagodas for four years on 20 May 1760 against the ten pagodas paid to Duncan Cameron for five years on 12 May, and Captain Fitzpatrick was allowed £100 for his expenses in going to and returning from England. [Film No. 338, 394, 404, 414]

Trade and Shipping

The island had no harbour deep enough for a laden Indiaman, so every cargo was landed piecemeal by boat and the expense entered against the goods, the invoice of the *London*, which arrived on 21 June 1759 from Bencoolen with the *Tyger*, carrying boat hire of £21 9s 6d, the largest single item and a direct measure of the labour of lightering a cargo ashore. Each incoming cargo was checked against its invoice by the steward for short weight and damage. [Film No. 46, 50]

The *London* and *Tyger* arrived on 21 June 1759 from Bencoolen, the pepper station on the west coast of Sumatra, with invoices of Batavia arrack, fine rice, wax candles and paddy, arrack the largest item as the common spirit ration and trade liquor of the eastern seas. The invoice of the *Egmont*, drawn up at Fort Marlborough on 24 February 1758/9, marks the same chain of Company posts stretching from Sumatra to the Atlantic, its cargo loaded by slave labour at the eastern end. The paymaster's record notes Henry Johnson, a recruit bound for Bencoolen, left behind when the *Earl of Holderness* sailed on 25 April 1759 and reaching the garrison only on 28 April, to be forwarded later. [Film No. 26, 46, 47]

The homeward Indiamen were crewed from both ends of their route, the muster rolls of June and July 1759 naming large European ship's companies alongside bodies of Indian seamen. The roll of the *London*, boarded on 2 July 1759, sets English officers and hands beside men bearing eastern names such as Bhagee, Sobder and Rum Jacknee, the lascars shipped in the East to work the Company vessels home, several noted as bound to particular passengers as personal servants, one forwarded to Mr Lewis and another to Mr Williams. [Film No. 51]

The muster roll of the *Rochester*, taken on 17 June 1759 when Clark boarded her to search for deserters and found none, includes among more than sixty men a separate body called the *Grantham* people, the hands of another Company ship taken aboard to be carried on, each incoming Indiaman checked for deserters before her muster was recorded. On 10 July 1759 a fourth officer of the *Delaware* was received to serve as third officer of the *Egmont* with Captain Larkins's leave, on condition that Marr enlisted another man in his room, and the season's homeward ships gathered and left in company for safety against enemy cruisers, the *London*, *Rochester* and *Egmont* all sailing homeward together on 16 July 1759. [Film No. 40, 41, 57, 59]

Between 26 and 30 July 1759 four Indiamen arrived within five days, the *Prince George* and *Bombay Castle* from Bengal, the *True Briton* and *Admiral Watson* from Bombay, crowding the road and taxing the island's resources at once. Their cargoes were strikingly uniform, the invoices of the *Worcester* from Bengal on 23 July 1759 and of the *Prince George* and *Bombay Castle* days later differing only in small figures across the same eastern staples of Batavia arrack, wax candles, fine rice and paddy. When the *True Briton* delivered stores in July 1759 without an invoice, the storekeeper James Powell could only record what he received and could not hold Captain Crichton to account for what should have come. [Film No. 68, 75, 76]

On 20 July 1759 the council answered a complaint from Fort Marlborough about the detaining of consignments in transit by observing that it acted only on proper authority, being empowered to take from passing ships what the Company directed yet resented by the settlements whose cargoes were thereby reduced, and the same day, the days allowed by charter party for unloading the *Delaware* having expired, gave Captain William Larkins written orders to make for Fort Marlborough without delay. [Film No. 63, 66]

Four Indiamen, the *Worcester*, *Prince George*, *Bombay Castle* and *True Briton*, lay in the road together in July and August 1759 and sailed homeward in convoy on 20 August, and the *Eastcourt* arrived from Bombay on 26 August. Their muster rolls set European officers and tradesmen above a lower deck of Portuguese, Scandinavian and other hands, with the Asian seamen grouped separately at the foot under the heading lascars, mustered and paid as a distinct body on lower terms, and Clark boarded every ship that came or went to search for deserters and take her muster. [Film No. 128, 131, 134, 136, 138, 143]

The council bought bulk rice direct from homeward captains, at 8s the hundredweight from the *Worcester* in August 1759 but 12s 6d from the *Eastcourt* weeks later, the price moving with the vessel and the moment, and it took the balance of each ship's account into its cash. The sick armourer William Prall of the *Worcester* was allowed to break his voyage and recover ashore at his own expense, the council drawing a firm line between its own servants and a passing ship's crew. [Film No. 124, 133, 145]

The season's traffic centred on the *Warren*, which arrived from Fort St George on 21 November 1759, and the *Pitt* on 9 December, which sailed home together on 27 December, Clark boarding each to search for deserters and take its muster, finding none. The *Warren*'s muster ran to over a hundred men in a strict hierarchy from commander through the ship's tradesmen to seamen and officers' servants, with foreign hands such as Antonio Gonzalo and Francisco Gambeeloo among them, while the *Pitt* carried a large

military draft far outnumbering her crew, serving as a trooper as well as a merchantman, its soldiers drawn from across northern Europe as well as the British Isles. [Film No. 242, 244, 245, 251]

Colonel Stringer Lawrence, widely regarded as the father of the Indian army and commander of the Company's forces on the Coromandel coast, took passage home aboard the *Warren*, honoured with a 17-gun salute on arrival, the remote Atlantic station lying squarely on the road travelled by the men who shaped the Company's fortunes in the East. Discharged soldiers worked their passage on the *Warren* in November 1759 in place of a fare, while Edward Rickards and Thomas Bearer chose to stay on the island, allowed to do so only on promising to support themselves and expect no further subsistence. [Film No. 241, 242, 243, 249]

The *Tavistock*, homeward from China with a cargo of China goods, lay at the island in January 1759/60 and sailed homeward on 29 January, Clark boarding her to search for deserters and finding none. Her muster set English officers and tradesmen beside a great many Portuguese and Iberian seamen such as Gonsala Gomez, Domingo de Silva and Anthonio Perreira, gathered for the long Canton voyage through Macao, Mordecai Walker standing at the foot as Chief Supercargo, the senior commercial officer who bought the cargo of tea and porcelain and directed the trade, distinct from the ship's commander Benjamin Jenkins. The *Warren* and *Pitt* also called during the quarter, each settling the balance of its account, and the men of the garrison were paid for rowing in the Company's pinnace and working in the longboat as cargoes were landed. [Film No. 263, 264, 279, 302, 307, 308]

The *Earl of Holdernesse* arrived from Bencoolen on 21 March 1760 with sugar shipped from Fort Marlborough, and the *Calcutta* and *Hardwicke* came together from Bengal on 10 April, a single consignment split between two ships under the hand of John Zephaniah Holwell, laden with Batavia arrack, rice, paddy and wax candles. Danish East Indiamen homeward from China with tea and porcelain put in for water, the *Crown Prince of Denmark* in March and the *Princess Louisa* on 22 April 1760, the council carefully noting the tonnage, guns and men of each foreign vessel against the chance it might prove a threat, and the Company's own *Triton* sailed on for China on 23 April 1760. [Film No. 329, 342, 343, 353]

On 26 February 1760 the Portuguese *Nossa Senhora de la Concepcion*, of about 70 tons, put in for water on her way from Pernambuco in Brazil to Loando in Angola, laden with rum, tobacco, molasses and slaves, the goods carried to Africa to be exchanged for the slaves shipped back across to America, the council's detailed note of her master, tonnage and lading reflecting its running watch over all who passed through the road. The ten working days allowed the *Triton* for unloading having expired on 10 April 1760, the council ordered her captain to proceed, and Captain Clark searched the *Earl of Holdernesse* for deserters on 7 April; control of the Sea Gate served the same end, a sentry ordered to let a ship's boatswain out but not back in, the friction of a drunken man barred re-entry ending in an assault. [Film No. 319, 339, 342, 344]

The record catches the peak of the homeward season in mid-June 1760, when seven Company ships from China, Madras and Bombay reached the island within days of one another, the China ships sailing in company for mutual protection and their bunching filling the road and throwing a heavy demand on the island's provisions. The *Winchelsea*, *Drake*, *Prince of Wales*, *Britannia*, *Tilbury* and *Walpole* each carried chests of refined sugar candy, common sugar and graded teas, the fine congo charged at 25 taels the pecul against six for bulk sugar, the *Walpole* adding an assortment of blue-and-white and enamelled porcelain with a fixed two per cent allowance for breakage, the invoices kept in Chinese weights and money until converted to sterling. [Film No. 423, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432]

The island served as a supply depot for the Royal Navy as well as the Company, selling a topmast to Captain Ashby of the *Rippon* at £22 6s 0d prime cost on 16 June 1760 when he had sprung his own, and landing a bag of saltpetre from a Company ship on 26 May for the gunner's use. The council bought grain opportunistically from the ships in the road, 40 bags of rice from Captain Brooks of the *Sampson* on about 5 May 1760, and Captain Reynolds of the *Prince Henry* packet landing 61 hundredweight of surplus rice on 16 June. [Film No. 405, 415, 436, 437]

Communications and the Wider Company

The island was a relay in the Company's communications, forwarding orders and letters along the routes its shipping travelled. On 20 July 1759 the council entrusted to the departing *Delaware* a set of letters for the settlements in India, sent under directions from the Court of Directors and the secret committee, the confidential channel for the directors' most sensitive business, going as a near-identical circular to George Pigot at Fort St George in Madras, Richard Bourchier at Bombay, Robert Clive at Fort William in *Calcutta* and Roger Carter at Fort Marlborough, each reporting Adamson's dismissal and the new appointments as the principal news. [Film No. 63, 64, 65, 66]

Against the hazards of ocean and war the council sent important letters twice by different ships, now dispatching by the *Delaware* duplicates of what it had written by the *Earl of Holderness*, so that if one vessel were lost the other might carry the message through. Acknowledging letters of 31 December 1758 and 4 January 1758/9 from Bengal, the council on 20 July 1759 corrected an earlier request, having asked in its letter of 26 March 1759 for only six hundredweight of wax candles and now desiring that quantity by every ship. [Film No. 64, 65]

Communication ran only as fast as the ships, important dispatches sent in duplicate by separate vessels, the *Colchester*, *Rippon* and *Mercury* carrying copies of letters already sent. On 6 June 1760 the Council wrote to the presidencies at Madras, Bombay and *Calcutta*, congratulating Fort St George on defeating the French and ordering cloth and grain from each in graded pieces and precise quantities, and passed on certain intelligence from England of two French 32-gun frigates, the *Malicieuse* and *Opale*, sent to the East Indies and sighted off Sicily in February, so the presidencies could guard their shipping, forwarding sealed packets onward including letters for the admiral in eastern waters. [Film No. 414, 417, 419, 420, 421, 422]

The Company's scattered settlements co-operated to hold troublesome servants and struggled with supply across great distance: Fort Marlborough had detained a man the Council called a notorious villain, and ten barrels of gunpowder invoiced from Bencoolen at £58 8s 0d arrived with no record of what the ship had carried, so the Council could only suppose it meant for another post, such muddles an inevitable feature of the system. [Film No. 422]

Supply, Provisioning and the Company Store

The island's core purpose was to victual the Company's shipping from its own slaughtered stock, the account to 11 June 1759 recording 560lb of beef issued to the storm-damaged *Rochester*, and the settlement drew its own needs from the same shipping, the council on 10 July 1759 asking Marr to send ashore two hundredweight of copper from the *Egmont*'s cargo for use on an island that produced no metal of its own. The paymaster's accounts for the quarter to 11 April 1759 record Richard Bayley supplying 1,300 lemons with 22 bushels of potatoes and 22 cabbages for the Company sick, citrus recognised as a remedy well before the Royal Navy formalised its issue, and Robert Brooke providing pickles, mustard, currants, raisins and hard Gloucester and Cheshire cheeses for their long keeping. [Film No. 22, 24, 37, 57]

Carpenters, caulkers and smiths were paid for keeping the boats watertight and the buildings sound, brushwood was bought by the load for thatching the Company houses at Longwood, the longboat and the sloop East were caulked, decked and fitted with sails, and bread was baked in batches, 109 batches drawing £9 1s 0d in the quarter to 11 April 1759. [Film No. 20, 22, 24]

The Company store was the single warehouse from which the whole island drew every manufactured thing it used, its pricing a graduated instrument of policy: the Company's own servants paid ten percent over cost, the independent planters twenty-five percent for the same goods, and a further class forty percent. The same core necessities of cloth, shoes and hats sold to every free class, the largest single lines being 249 pairs of ordinary men's shoes for nearly £53 and 199 sentinels' shirts for nearly £49 in the account of goods sold from 12 April to 11 July 1759. [Film No. 77, 79, 81, 83, 84]

The store's range reflected the whole material life of a European settlement carried to a remote rock: woollens such as long ells, serge, camlet, broad cloth and duffil; China porcelain, singlo and congo teas, and cotton chelloes from the eastern trade; ironware and tools of every kind; and fishing hooks and lines to draw food from the sea. A distinct category of sale fitted out the ships that called, supplying cleaning gear

and heavy naval stores of pitch, tar, rosin, cordage and canvas, graded nails to fortypenny and scupper nails, and white lead and linseed oil for their hulls. [Film No. 78, 80, 82, 86, 87, 88]

The store issued materials directly for the Company's own works under a charges general account, timber and tools going to a shed on the gun line, new prisons, sentry boxes, magazines and repairs to the castle great house, and arrack was issued as a reward for hard labour, to soldiers turning out on alarm, to the men lightering cargo from the *London*, *Egmont* and *Rochester*, and to the carpenters on the longboat. Separate accounts furnished each arm of the establishment: the castle received decanters, tumblers, dishes and sauce boats, candles went to the castle and council, a diet expenses account kept the cost of feeding the establishment apart from that of its fabric, and the armourer, masons, bricklayers and carpenters drew the tools of their crafts. [Film No. 89, 90, 91, 92]

The island was victualled from India on Indian accounts, the *Eastcourt*'s cargo of rice and paddy from Bombay priced and charged wholly in rupees and fanams, in maunds and seers, with gunny bags, twine, wharfage and boat hire itemised as the full landed cost, Powell recording every shortfall and gauging each leaguer of arrack for the gallons it wanted after leakage. The paymaster bought apples, lemons, turkeys and spice locally in quantity, a single lot of 1,125 apples among them, while the monthly table account carried port, Lisbon, mountain, Madeira and Indian arrack together, the table's cost falling sharply after the four Indiamen and their passengers sailed at the end of August 1759, from £38 17s 2¼d to £20 3s 7¾d. [Film No. 118, 126, 137, 138, 142, 150]

The Company's stores were audited by periodic stocktaking, shut from 15 September to 12 October 1759 for a full inventory, worn and unserviceable goods formally written off down to the smallest furnishing, £120 19s 8d struck off on 11 October including officers' sashes, tablecloths, plates and two longboats, one worn out and one lost at sea, the longboats worked to destruction as a standing charge on an island where every person and ton of goods passed between ship and shore by boat. [Film No. 145, 159]

The quarterly account of goods sold from 12 July to 11 October 1759 shows flour by far the largest single line, over four thousand pounds valued at more than £250, the imported staple the island could least supply for itself, wine running next after it. The store's range met the whole material life of the settlement, woollens such as serge, duffil, shalloon, broadcloth, camlet and long ells, Dutch genever, Canary and Tuscan wines, China congou tea and cotton hollands, and ironware, tools, glass by the pane, roasting jacks and close-stools, with over two hundred pairs of ordinary men's shoes and hundreds of soldiers' shirts, thousands of fishing hooks in graded sizes, and a Bible, hornbooks and a primer among the goods. [Film No. 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174]

A charges general account issued materials for the Company's own works, deals and paint going to a new bake house, the boat house, the Governor's Castle, the churchyard gates and even rabbit hutches, candles and soap to the Castle, the council and the secretary's office, and arrack to men taking the inventory, hauling up the boat and landing goods, the store carrying its own housekeeping stratagems, pepper strewn among the woollens to keep off moths. [Film No. 178, 179, 180, 181]

The store served its servants at a fixed 10 per cent advance on cost, the collection for 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1759/60 running to more than £1,140, salt provisions dominating every other line, 2,842lb of beef and 2,234lb of pork valued together at £507 12s 0d, so the ordinary soldier and servant lived chiefly on preserved meat while fresh mutton was reserved largely for the officers' table. A second schedule charged the planters 25 per cent and a third 40 per cent, the same staples of sugar, flour, soap, oil and salt provisions recurring in each schedule at its own rate, the finer goods running from scarlet broadcloth and camblet to Testaments, a Bible and a child's horn book. [Film No. 265, 266, 268, 271, 272]

Flour and bread were a major charge, the store's collection carrying 3,546lb of flour and a further quantity baked, and Thomas Green and John Hawksword were paid £6 10s 0d on 11 January 1759/60 for baking 78 batches of bread. A distinct schedule of goods sold to the Company's ships closed at £1,152 11s 9d, canvas the largest article, 13 pieces of English canvas and one of Osnaburgs valued together at £58 7s 10d, the vessels also taking pitch, tar, turpentine, coals, paint, 50 blankets and other stores to see them home. The general charges account sent tools to the masons, files and hasps to the garden mill house, helves and

pick axes to the new magazine, and glass, oil and paint to the new bakehouse and the vaults, 120lb of candles marking the lighting of the seat of government. [Film No. 270, 271, 275, 276, 277, 279, 302]

The Company store was the single source from which the island drew its manufactured goods, the quarterly collection sold from 12 January to 11 April 1760 coming to over £1,000, provisions making up the bulk of the sales, salt beef, pork and flour retailed by the thousand pounds, the food carrying the heaviest markup because the settlement could least do without it. The store held Indian long cloth and osnaburg beside English and continental woollens, China tea and porcelain, paint in every grade from cheap earth colours to costly verdigris, ironware and kitchen tools, fishing hooks in their thousands, and the half-minute glasses used to measure a ship's speed, primers appearing on both the servants' and the planters' accounts as the one book from which the island's children learned to read. [Film No. 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362]

On 7 April 1760 a firkin of butter, anchovies, capers, walnuts and double Gloucester cheeses were bought from Captain Francis Harris for the Governor's mess, and the council added to its means of drawing food from the sea, buying a yawl and a fishing boat from departing captains in April 1760. Casks of brandy, wine and beer landed from the *Triton* were gauged one by one for the gallons each wanted, goods found short in packages reported full distinguished as loss or theft in transit, and damaged goods charged to the ship's captain at thirty percent above prime cost, Harris paying £34 6s 8½d for spoiled cloth, timber and coal. [Film No. 339, 345, 350, 351]

The island supplied nearly every working necessity from a single imported stock, the store furnishing the armoury with files, the carpenters with gimlets, the hospital with its gear and the pack asses with their harness, the whole fabric of the settlement raised and repaired from timber shipped the length of the ocean, Baltic Riga deal reserved for work the common English deals would not serve, even the armourer's forge fired with imported fuel. The storekeeper's accounts for the quarter to 11 April 1760 divided expenditure into distinct heads, the establishment's diet, the working stores, the two farms at the Malley and the Plantation, the fortification, the garrison, the boats and the hospital each reckoned separately, with a distinct head for the food, clothing and fishing tackle of the Company's slaves, the Plantation buying imported paddy and rice expressly to fatten its poultry and hogs. [Film No. 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374]

The Company's ships were victualled and fitted from the store for the long passage home, taking on salt beef and pork by the tierce and the flat, canvas, cordage, naval stores and the very tools of their maintenance, the salted meat the largest charge, sold on a graded scale of ten per cent above cost to servants, thirty to a passing foreign ship and forty to the settled planters. The *Delaware* brought Bencoolen sugar priced in the sterling of Fort Marlborough, while the *Clinton*'s Bombay rice was reckoned in rupees, annas and pies by the morah, its invoice itemising gunny bags, porterage and slave labour in sewing the bags. [Film No. 363, 364, 365, 403, 433]

Every cargo was checked against its manifest by gauging casks and weighing goods, the *Hardwicke* and *Calcutta* delivering arrack short by several gallons a cask on 28 April 1760, and the *Royal Duke*'s stores of 16 June running short or broken from timber to claret to ten gallons of linseed oil leaked from a cracked jar, the storekeeper sorting the losses into goods never delivered, short-packed or spoiled in transit so responsibility could be fixed against the carrier. [Film No. 399, 434, 435]

Warehouse Stores and Reserves

The quarter closed with a full inventory of the warehouses on 11 October 1759, dividing the whole stock formally into European goods and India goods. The single greatest holding was salt beef and pork, scores of puncheons and hogsheads valued at over £4,000, marking St Helena as a major victualling depot able to reprovision the fleets that called, nearly two thousand gallons of arrack standing next among the eastern goods, with great reserves of rice, sugar and tea. [Film No. 187, 188, 199]

The inventory shows the island equipped to serve and repair shipping as well as to feed it, spare masts kept, one great mast of seventy-six feet and topmasts among them, one earmarked for the ship *Pelham*, together with anchors, pumps and scores of barrels of pitch, tar and turpentine, tens of thousands of fishing hooks

confirming the scale of the fishery, and heavy reserves of imported timber from Baltic Riga wood to sawn deals. The warehouse held a large reserve of low-value coin, over thirty thousand Irish halfpence valued at more than £120, drawn from the surplus copper coinage of Ireland shipped out through the Company. [Film No. 188, 189, 190, 191, 195]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture
Company land was held on the English system of leases for lives and terms of years, the Company acting as ground landlord to its settler tenants. On 16 April 1759 Richard Bayley paid £5 5s 0d to renew the lives in his lease for a further twenty-one years, and a settler could sell his interest subject to the Governor's approval, Henry Frazer being granted leave on 2 July 1759 to pass his lease of an acre and a half to Thomas Colefard and Mary Robertson. [Film No. 33, 53]

The Company worked its own plantation of livestock, the monthly stock accounts showing a herd kept deliberately in balance. From 12 April to 11 May 1759 the cattle stood at 380 head against 376 a month before, the calving of seven and the loss of two roughly cancelling, and the account from 12 May to 11 June 1759 records thirteen calves and twenty-eight kids born in the month, the goats the most fertile of the herds while the sheep were drawn down by slaughter. The staple crop was the yam, the account to 11 May 1759 recording 28,655 good yams issued for the slaves against 3,790 refuse yams reserved for the stock, the figure rising to 29,153 good yams in the month to 11 June 1759. [Film No. 30, 37]

The stock account for 12 June to 11 July 1759 recorded the herd at 383 cattle at the close, with some 648 sheep and 388 goats, and hogs, poultry, horses and asses besides, the month seeing heavier losses of seven cattle killed and seven dead, the deaths of cows and calves suggesting sickness among the young stock. The plantation's own account for the quarter issued paddy for the poultry and horses, timber and elm to make and mend the carts, and hatchets, hoes and scythe stones for the fields, deals and nails drawn to build a dairy room in the great wood, and three issues of 560lb of beef went to the *Egmont*, *London* and *Delaware* for their homeward passages, with smaller quantities of goats and kids to the soldiers' hospital, the sick slaves and individual officers. [Film No. 69, 94]

Land could not be carried away, a departing tenant obliged to assign his interest back under the council's licence, as Samuel Doveton surrendered ten acres before sailing on 6 August 1759, tenure following English forms of leases held upon named lives, renewed by inserting fresh lives or paying a fine of half a year's rent, land held for orphans through guardians, and the occasional peppercorn rent keeping a holding formally alive. Soldiers held and passed Company leases alongside their service, the line between garrison and settler blurred in the same men. [Film No. 125, 152, 154]

The rent roll rendered on 11 October 1759 set out the whole taxable ground and yielded £565 13s 2d from 2,676 acres of free land and 834 of lease land, a modest return marking a colony held less for its soil than for its place on the sea road, free land held in fuller right at a light quit rent and lease land let at a heavier charge, the two taxed apart within a single farm. The roll exposes a sharp concentration of land, estates of near two hundred acres in the hands of John Clark and Matthew Bazett against plots of two or three, many holdings vested in the orphans and widows of dead settlers, and several women holding land in their own name, a fuller standing than the law commonly allowed them at home. [Film No. 156, 157, 158]

Through 1759 the herds held broadly steady, the plantation victualling the homeward ships from its own stock, issuing 560lb of beef to the *Eastcourt* on its departure, with better meat set aside for the hospital and the sick slaves, and the perennial friction over grazing recurring, two hundred of the planters' sheep found in the Longwood despite repeated orders, met on 11 October 1759 with impoundment and a fine per head. On 11 October 1759 a group of tenants including Richard Beale senior, Samuel Alexander and Thomas Cotgrave petitioned to renew leases that had expired, all granted, and Isaac Knipe was granted waste land at only 2s an acre because it was poor, while William Kennedy was allowed to throw up a lease of land belonging to the orphans of David Wilson. [Film No. 135, 148, 159, 165]

The plantation's stores account for the quarter to 11 October 1759 issued spades, scythes, hoes and pruning knives for the fields and garden, timber and elm for the carts, and a lock for the dairy room in the Great Wood where butter and cheese were made, deals drawn for espaliers in the Plantation House garden, fruit

trees trained flat in the English manner. Train oil served as a veterinary remedy, rubbed into cattle and mangy hogs, and oxen were worked in yoked teams for heavy haulage. [Film No. 182, 183]

Land held on fixed-term Company leases fell in together on 11 October 1759, and tenants had to petition the Council for renewal, a large batch renewed and executed across November 1759 to holders from Francis Wrangham senior, with 84 acres, down to plots of four to six acres, occupancy depending on the Governor's continuing grant rather than any permanent title. John Leech assigned 36 acres to Orlando Bagley junior on 12 November 1759, and Bagley then petitioned on 17 December to hire the adjoining 19 acres formerly held by Leech, the Council granting it at 1s 6d an acre more in consideration of the land's barrenness. [Film No. 224, 226, 227, 228, 246]

Leasehold interests survived the death of a tenant, held for widows, orphans and estates: Mary Doveton renewed as administratrix of her deceased husband's estate on 19 November 1759, and Clark took leases as guardian to the minor Isaac Doveton and alongside the guardians of young Thomas Harper, recurring across several parcels in his own name as well as in trust, building a substantial personal stake in the island's land. [Film No. 228, 229]

Company officers held ground on lease while serving, Onesipherus Beale drawing a house rent allowance in his pay as First Lieutenant of the Third Company alongside land he leased in Chapel Valley, the establishment paying rent allowances to officers who housed themselves and withholding them from those the Company quartered, William Kennedy drawing none while Samuel Crew and Charles Gissing drew rent. The Company worked its own plantation of livestock and crops, managed from the Longwood and served by gardeners, milk men and stock keepers, Robert Inchant paid £2 10s 0d on 11 January 1759/60 for taking care of the Company's stock in the Longwood, train oil issued for washing the cattle against ticks and flies, and salt and tar charged for rubbing cattle. [Film No. 282, 283, 288, 294, 296, 302]

A notice of 4 February 1759/60 recalled an order of 12 December 1757 forbidding any cattle on the ground between Man and Horse Pasture, from the Red Hill to Southern's Water and the Windy Ridge, and from Prosperous Bay to Stone Top, before 1 January in any year unless the Governor and council gave public notice; the horses of William Seale, John Bedfountain junior and Benjamin Sealy were found on the Company's waste land contrary to orders, and each man was fined 10s, half to the informer and half to the Company. [Film No. 309, 311]

On 10 March 1760 Benjamin Sealy was granted three acres at 3s 6d an acre after Yearling had viewed the ground and reported that letting it would harm neither the Company nor its neighbours, and horses found grazing on the Company's waste land drew fines, three levied on 11 February 1759/60. From 12 January to 11 April 1760 the neat cattle fell from 379 to 325 head, the slaughter falling on the working oxen and the wethers rather than the cows and calves, each return reckoning the weight of provisions drawn from the stock, falling steadily from 38,050 in the month to 11 February to 27,775 in the month to 11 April. [Film No. 313, 318, 320, 331, 347]

Judiciary, Crime and Punishment

The Governor and council served as the island's court, dispatching probate, petty crime and civil disputes in the same weekly sittings. Acting as the probate authority, on 4 June 1759 it proved the will of Elizabeth Davis, a widow and miller, taking the oaths of the witnesses and binding the executor Edward Robinson to discharge all just debts from the estate, Robinson both principal legatee and executor, taking the slave Moll under the will. [Film No. 34]

The petition of Baron Deleafe, heard from 11 June 1759, turned on the limit of a slaveholder's power to free a person she held only for a term: Deleafe had bought the slave girl Ellen as a small child for £5 and had later lent her to Davis for the term of Davis's life, on the promise that Ellen would return to him if he outlived her, and Davis had then bequeathed Ellen her freedom, which Deleafe argued she could not do, a life interest in a slave carrying no power to dispose of the reversion. The dispute came down to whether the transfer had been a loan or a gift: George Bennet swore to a loan for life with a reversion, while Robinson set out a gift made in gratitude, Davis having fed the destitute Deleafes and paid for the coffin at the burial of Deleafe's wife. [Film No. 42, 43]

The council found on 18 June 1759 that Ellen had passed absolutely to Davis and was the property of her widower, destroying Deleafe's reversion and leaving the earlier grant of freedom unresolved. Captain James Ward of the *Rochester* asked on 18 June 1759 that the council enter and transmit a protest first made at sea on 23 February 1758/9, in latitude 20 degrees 6 minutes south, and renewed at the Cape on 10 April 1759, declaring all damage to arise from the winds and seas, and asked further on 19 June that the council survey his cargo, the ship having taken nearly nine feet of water and spoiled much of her salt provisions and goods. [Film No. 43, 44, 45]

The council graded its justice sharply by the status of the offender, reserving extreme corporal violence for slaves while punishing the free with modest money fines, the floggings ordered for slaves divided to keep the victim alive. On 7 May 1759 Dick, a slave belonging to the Widow Seale, was condemned to 210 lashes for running away twice, delivered as one hundred at each of separate turns, and on 14 May 1759 Bracktus, a slave of James Powell, was sentenced to 200 lashes in two turns for stealing rice and a few goods, while on 21 May 1759 Gloucester, a slave of Matthew Bazley, received fifty lashes for stealing a piece of meat from a soldier. [Film No. 27, 29, 32]

On 30 April 1759 John Jacks was fined 10s for extortion, having taken three hundred pieces of eight from Stephen Willoughby against small sums lent at intervals, on 28 May 1759 Elisha Bracke was fined 20s for striking Isaac Proctor without provocation, and Proctor himself was fined 2s on 11 June 1759 for having a slave work on the Sabbath against orders. On 30 April 1759 the council recorded that William Pladden had not been seen since the *Earl of Holderness* sailed on 25 April and supposed he had gone without leave, leaving behind a wife, two children and effects with no attorney appointed, and offered ten dollars on 21 May 1759 to discover who had taken away the Company gate from Reel Rock. [Film No. 27, 32, 33, 47]

Justice was administered by the council in the course of its consultations, sentences of two and three hundred lashes divided into instalments of a hundred or a hundred and fifty to keep the condemned alive. The council entered sworn declarations formally on its record, ordering those of Law on 14 July 1759 and Jacob on 24 July entered and signed, and the offices of justice were held alongside others by the same few men, Beale serving at once as judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk, and Bazett as both factor and overseer. [Film No. 63, 74, 102]

The council heard neighbours' quarrels as a small-claims court, ordering Samuel Bowers to pay £4 10s 0d for a damask curtain he had cut on 22 August 1759, fining John Worrall £1 for setting dogs on a neighbour's dog, and settling a shot mare by cross-compensation. It authenticated wills on the sworn oaths of their witnesses, proving the matross Henry Chapman's will on 17 September 1759, his modest estate passing to a planter friend, and registered private deeds and bills of sale, including one to Mary Burnham signing with her mark. On the same day in 1759 the free Worrall was fined a pound while the slave Simon drew a hundred lashes for buying stolen goods, Harry a hundred for hamstringing two trespassing hogs, and one slave six hundred lashes divided into three floggings of two hundred for assaulting an infirm soldier. [Film No. 140, 141, 146, 147, 155]

On 24 September 1759 the council published the directors' order confining the sale of spirits to licensed houses, capping arrack at 6s 6d the gallon and setting a £5 penalty for each breach, the inhabitants' liberty to buy freely from the ships having turned into a clandestine trade blamed for drunkenness among black and white alike. The salary list names a judge advocate who prosecuted before the court, a marshal who executed its orders and a master at arms who kept custody, Beale holding the office of judge advocate alongside those of schoolmaster and clerk. [Film No. 151, 163, 202]

The Council sat as the island's criminal court, and the record shows a wave of theft and burglary through December 1759: John Murray, a passenger of the *Warren*, had a bag of Indian textiles pilfered by the slave porter Dawson on 26 December, most of it recovered, Dawson confessing he had passed two pieces of long cloth to the soldiers Matthew Allis and Daniel Cairn, and Gabriel Isaacke's house was broken open on 19 December by the slaves March and Isuar, who hid the goods at their quarters, Isuar then absconding to escape the lash. [Film No. 253, 254]

An advertisement of about 7 January 1759/60 forbade anyone to buy, exchange or take in pledge goods from a soldier or slave without written leave, choking the outlet through which stolen property passed, and a standing island law making an owner liable for goods his slave stole, the Council ordered Bazett and Mary Scale to make good Isaacke's loss. The Council also proved soldiers' wills, John Anger, dying on 2 January 1759/60, leaving his whole modest estate of clothing, arms and effects to his comrade Sylvanus Roilt. [Film No. 255, 256]

The dispute between the soldier William Warden and James Greentree, heard on 11 February 1759/60, turned on a debt for sewing silk: Greentree had asked Warden to make a pair of stays for his daughter against the £1 16s 6d owed, Warden agreeing to the work for £4 10s 0d and to have it ready in three weeks, but let six months pass and then charged £25, having meanwhile supplied himself with other stays, so Greentree refused them as too dear. The council found that Warden had broken his engagement and ordered him to keep the unwanted stays and to pay Greentree the original £1 16s 6d owed for the silk. [Film No. 311]

The council authenticated the planter Thomas Cotgrave's will proved on 25 February 1760, and gave legal force to a soldier's spoken word, the nuncupative will of David Miles, proved on 3 March 1760, recording a survivorship pact by which he and Sergeant John Fleming had agreed the survivor should take the other's goods, the council directing Fleming to take his effects. [Film No. 315, 319, 320, 328]

The gravest matter of the period was a suspected infanticide, opened by the council on its own motion on 10 March 1760 after it learned that Mary Herbert, widow of Lieutenant Herbert, had borne two children since his death and that both had died as soon as born. Over several sittings it examined the household's slaves, chief among them Betty, who had found and secretly buried both infants wrapped in the mother's petticoats behind her master Henry Easthope's house, the slaves' testimony conflicting on whether a child had been heard to cry, so the council sent the churchwarden Thomas Greentree and the surgeon Robert Barclay to open the graves. [Film No. 321, 322, 323, 324]

On 12 March 1760 the two men reported finding the bones of one infant and a second nearly whole body, Barclay judging the latter about two months premature, an opinion that cut against a charge of killing a child born at full term. Mary Herbert admitted bearing two children but insisted both were born dead, and named Lieutenant Richard Bagley as father of both; Bagley denied the paternity and any promise of marriage or an allowance, calling her character notoriously bad, until the council traced three letters through the servant Ann *Warren* who had carried them and forced him to admit receiving them. Mary Herbert was sworn to her account, and the record preserves no verdict, the case turning on the law's presumption that a mother who prepared no clothing and hid the birth had intended the child's death. [Film No. 325, 326, 327, 328]

When a room in the Castle was broken into and £49 taken from a chest, the slave George confessed and was ordered severely whipped and the money repaid, where a free man might have been tried and hanged for so grave a theft. On 21 April 1760 the drunken seaman Christian Paulson, who had struck a sentry but expressed remorse, drew fifty lashes, while the same day a slave named Stephen who had run from his mistress for three months was ordered whipped twice at a hundred lashes each. [Film No. 333, 345]

On 10 March 1760 Daniel Fowkes was fined £5 and made to beg pardon before the whole flying party for telling the militia officer John Bedfountain he lied during a night alarm, while Richard Law was fined 10s the same day for abusing William Mory with opprobrious names, and a dispute over six loads of wood taken from the Sandy Bay guard saw the Seale brothers fined and ordered to return it, George Seale drawing the heavier penalty for having pushed and threatened the soldier who came to demand it. [Film No. 321, 333]

The soldiers John Harper, John Bussell and John Rufal each left their whole estates to a comrade or family, John Harper's legacies reckoned in pagodas against the hazards of his voyage to India, and judicial fines entered the cash account as ordinary revenue. The Council offered ten dollars, in Spanish coin, and a pardon to any accomplice who would inform on whoever kept breaking the Company's pasture gates, the latest

smashed on 25 April 1760, buying information rather than posting sentries on an outlying gate through the night. [Film No. 400, 401, 406, 407, 408]

On the Secret Committee's recommendation of 26 May 1760, Law was posted aboard the newly arrived *Royal Duke* to watch her whole unloading for illicit goods, and reported on 16 June that he could find none, the negative result filed as formally as any seizure. [Film No. 415, 436]

The Illicit Liquor Trade

A persistent illicit trade in spirits ran against the licensed victuallers and the Company's orders, centred on Thomas Harper, the former Marshal, who had bought some eight hundred gallons of arrack from the ships and, though forbidden in September 1759 to sell any, had disposed of large quantities. Brought before the council on 24 March 1760, he claimed his family of four had drunk it all since September, an assertion held a notorious falsehood, and was fined £5 with a warning that further disobedience would see him fined off the island. [Film No. 334]

The retailers Harper supplied were caught in the same net: on 24 March 1760 William Hayes confessed to selling rum and beer without a licence at 18s the gallon to whites and blacks alike, and named Harper's house as his source, his confession the evidence that convicted Harper; John White was fined £5 on 31 March 1760 for selling arrack and tobacco against orders, and John Baptist Litchland 40s on 21 April on the complaint of the licensed victualler James Torbett. The council held that cheap illicit drink encouraged drunkenness and theft among the slaves, treating licensing as an instrument of social control as much as of revenue. [Film No. 336, 353]

The Deadwood Arson

The Company's slave and poultry house at Deadwood, rebuilt after a fire of 22 August 1759, was set alight again on 13 November and, despite a watch, burnt entirely on 18 November. Governor Hutchinson ordered its occupants Drake and Clanston to keep alternate nightly watch, treating the repeated firing as deliberate sabotage, and only after the house was destroyed did he turn to open examination before the Council. [Film No. 232, 233]

Suspicion settled on Thomas Byrne, a soldier and one of the convicts transported to St Helena from Bombay, where he had been sentenced to death for burglary and felony, the island serving as a penal destination absorbing condemned men into the garrison. The Council built its case from several witnesses who placed Byrne near the house and agreed the fire began inside near the chimney, with balls of tow found in the thatch as physical proof. [Film No. 233, 234]

The examination turned when Mary, a slave woman and wife of the free watchman Drake, accused her own husband of thrusting a lit brand into the thatch, Byrne being found to have kept Mary as his mistress, exposing a tangle of sexual jealousy beneath the arson; the household split in its testimony, the slave Islington insisting Drake lay asleep and could not have done it. The Council reached a resolution short of conviction, admitting there was clear proof against neither Byrne nor Mary yet ordering both punished on suspicion and bad character alone, deporting Byrne on the *Warren* and ordering Mary severely punished, the Company managing its convicts by moving troublesome men around its network. [Film No. 235, 236, 237]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Slavery underpinned the island's economy and reached into every part of its life, yet slaves appear in the record almost only as property. The plantation stock account to 11 May 1759 registers the birth of a slave girl named Lucey among the increase of calves, lambs and kids, and the account to 11 June 1759 strikes her off at death a month later in the same book, a child's birth and death entered in the stock ledger rather than any separate record. [Film No. 30, 37]

On 9 July 1759, four additional officers having been appointed, the council purchased that number of slaves at a set price of ten pounds, so the labour of slaves was provided to the Company's servants as part of their establishment, and slave domestics travelled with their owners across the ocean as personal property, the council granting passage on the *Egmont* for England to the departing Adamson together with one black boy

and one black woman, entered among his party as belongings. The roll of the *Rochester* in June 1759 lists at its foot seven black servants, four women and three men, two of them boys, entered by first name alone and set apart from both crew and passengers. [Film No. 34, 41, 55, 56]

A slave's freedom depended wholly on the discretion of an owner: manumission by will was the common route, the will of Davis both bequeathing the slave Moll to Robinson as an inheritable chattel and granting the slave Eleanor her freedom on her mistress's death, Moll's continued bondage and Eleanor's liberty resting on the same testamentary choice, while the competing fate of Ellen, freed by the same hand yet claimed back by her lender Deleafe, shows how precarious such freedom was. On 16 April 1759 the council paid five pounds towards the passage of Mullett, described as a free black woman sent off the island under a public allowance, alongside the passage of a captain. [Film No. 33, 34, 42]

Slave labour was put to every task from provisioning the ships to carrying an officer's goods, in the account of Adamson's iron his two black men bearing the scrap to the market house to be weighed and sold, and the stock account for the quarter to 11 July 1759 recording the birth of a boy named Ben among the increase of the animals and issuing four goats to the sick slaves. The slaves account for the quarter valued their food and clothing as a Company expense, fed 336 pounds of beef and 171 of pork with rice, supplementing the yams that formed their staple, and clothed plainly in 127 men's jackets and breeches, 284 shirts and 133 Monmouth caps with coarse chelloes and osnaburg, 40,075 good yams expended for the slaves in the month to 11 July 1759 while the fresh beef went to the ships and the hospital. [Film No. 69, 74, 93]

On 20 July 1759 four slaves, Rodo, Decker, Sew and Crow, belonging to four separate owners, were found attempting to desert on board the departing *London* and *Rochester*, and the council ordered floggings of two and three hundred lashes divided into instalments, attempted flight drawing heavier punishment than theft or violence. On the same day the slave Stephen was sentenced to fifty lashes for stealing silver from Mr Eland and selling it to the soldier John Baptiste Micheland, while Pompey drew a hundred for shooting and abusing a matross, and a further case saw the slaves Jack and Will whipped for buying goods the slave Harry Ranima had stolen from the Company. The stores Mullett consumed, candy, rice, beef, arrack, tea, soap and oil, were charged to her own debtor account for the quarter. [Film No. 67, 71, 94]

The slaves were counted as living stock of the plantation, the girls Mary and Jane born into slavery in 1759 entered plainly among the increase of calves and lambs, fed on tens of thousands of measures of sound yams each month. Two men escaped by sea within weeks in 1759, the Company slave Ispex going missing when the four Indiamen sailed on 21 August, thought to have got away on the *Bombay Castle* through an acquaintance among her crew, and a slave named Essex absconding soon after. The homeward Indiamen's passenger lists entered slave and bound servants by single names beneath the fare-paying gentry, among them a French slave, John Archer, and Indian maritime labour also reached the island through Company shipping, the boatman Nequdah Porkolum, a serang or head boatman, drawing a quarterly allowance for manning its boats. [Film No. 120, 130, 132, 135, 137, 141, 148, 162]

A black diet account for 12 July to 11 October 1759 issued salt beef and pork, including Irish beef, together with rice and provisions for the sick, and a separate Malay diet account provisioned the settlement's Malay workers apart again, so the bound workforce was ordered by origin as well as status, thirty pairs of shoes going to the handicraft men, a class of skilled slave artisans, and a black armourer appearing among those tending the settlement's firearms. On 11 October 1759 Tom, belonging to Paddom, and Phill, belonging to Lieutenant Michael Frost, were ordered whipped merely for carrying hatchets in the Longwood, without any proven act of harm, the one to receive forty lashes and the other thirty. [Film No. 165, 181, 182]

The Council graded its floggings to the offence, flight drawing the heaviest sentences: Dick, a runaway belonging to Thomas Cottgrave, was sentenced to 200 lashes on 8 November 1759 while another Dick drew 50 for stealing a single piece of firewood, and a slave of Richard Beale senior received 300 lashes in two instalments of 150 for defrauding Mr Hall of four pieces of gingham. Francis, a slave of Clark, and Pete, a slave of Francis Wrangham senior, were whipped on 12 November 1759 for harbouring the runaway Dick, the deterrent aimed at breaking the solidarity that made escape possible. [Film No. 224, 226, 228]

A girl named Priscilla was entered in the stock account for 12 November to 11 December 1759, counted as property born to the estate exactly as the young animals were counted, and yams fed the slave workforce as the plantation's staple, some 26,460 measures of good yam expended for the slaves in the month to 11 December. The *Warren*'s muster of 21 November 1759 listed four boys, Juba, Juba, Thomas and Pastell, entered by single names as black boy servants of the passengers, two sharing a name commonly imposed on slaves. [Film No. 243, 248]

A distinct account head recorded the stores spent on the Company's slaves over the quarter to 11 January 1759/60, the slaves fed substantially on salt and fresh meat, more than £73 of beef and pork, and given a small allowance of sugar at Christmas, clothed from the store in the barest necessities, Monmouth caps, blankets and ordinary shoes. A separate account for the Malays provisioned them under its own head with sugar, candy, tea, beef and rice, the Company also housing its slaves at the plantation, rebuilding the black house at Perkins's after a fire at a charge of £169 11s 6d, fitting the new negro house with fresh stock locks, and paying soldiers for building three rooms for slaves at the plantation stores, 507 days of labour at 1s the day. [Film No. 281, 304, 306]

Slaves moved between the Company's territories as attendants entered in ships' musters by first name alone, the single seaman entered only as Caesar at the foot of the *Tavistock*'s roll marking in all probability a slave or formerly slave man, the classical name commonly imposed on slaves, the boys John Isuar and George Harison entered as attendants with Sebastian and Louis borne without surnames recording slave servants carried in personal service, one named as belonging to a master now dead. A notice of 4 February 1759/60 required every person to send the Secretary's office by 18 February an exact signed account of the number of slaves they owned and of how many they kept for their household under the recent regulation, turning a headcount into a legal declaration. [Film No. 263, 264, 309]

Sue, a slave woman belonging to Eleanor Leech, had run away from her mistress thirteen days earlier, and the council ordered her whipped on 11 February 1759/60, whipping the standard summary punishment inflicted on slaves for absence and other offences. The household's slaves were the only witnesses to much of the island's private life, their testimony the material from which the council reconstructed the Herbert infanticide, and the council's fear that cheap illicit drink drove the slaves to steal in order to buy it shaped its whole regulation of the liquor trade. [Film No. 307, 308, 321, 322, 333, 345]

The maintenance of the Company's slaves was reckoned as a distinct head of the stores account for the quarter to 11 April 1760, their plain diet of rice and salt meat eked out with hooks and lines to catch their own fish, a measure of care going to the sick among them with oil, sugar, tea and a blanket drawn from store. Fanny, a slave who killed two dogs at surgeon Barclay's house, was sentenced on 19 May 1760 to repeated whippings of 200 lashes each, and Sarah, a constant thief and runaway, to 100 lashes and branding on the cheek on 9 June, a standing island law making the master answer in money for a slave's damage, so Barclay was ordered to pay Fanny's assessed value while the flogging fell on her body. [Film No. 369, 409, 427]

The ban on trading with slaves was enforced on both sides: Lieutenant Gifford was fined £5 on 6 June 1760 for buying lemons from a slave, while the slaves Apollo and Jerry were given 200 lashes each three days later for selling two turkeys, their owner made to compensate the loss, allowing slaves to sell even garden produce risking giving them independent means. William Duffin freed his slave woman Anne in his will of 10 June 1760, leaving her only her clothes, a small bed and two pillows while his estate passed to a free child, the Council confirming the freedom only after finding the estate solvent without selling her. [Film No. 423, 425, 426]

The slave Jonas was killed by accident on 19 May 1760, entered in the consultation alongside a widow's death, and the good yams issued to feed the slaves, 19,170 measures in the month to 11 May, were counted with the bad yams put to the stock, a violent affair among slaves of several masters ending in Fanny's deed being serious enough for the Company's surgeon to lay it formally before the Council. [Film No. 408, 410, 414]

War, Prisoners and Foreign Affairs

The Seven Years War reached the island chiefly as a threat to its shipping, the garrison provisioned specially when enemy sail appeared, flour, pork and sugar dealt out to the soldiers and flying parties on double alarms when French cruisers were about the island in the quarter to 11 July 1759. On 24 July 1759 Captain Teddiman of the *Worcester*, carrying sixteen French prisoners while his crew was very sickly and fearing they might overpower a weakened company, was allowed to land them, the council ordering each a blanket from the stores as they had nothing to cover themselves. [Film No. 72, 92]

In the correspondence of 20 July 1759 four recruits who had deserted from the *Egmont*, John Bell, Joseph Peacock, Michael Kary and John Spencer, were forwarded to Fort Marlborough aboard the *Delaware*, while Simon Cole was sent on in place of Henry Johnson, who had left the *Earl of Holderness* and petitioned to stay at the island. [Film No. 66]

St Helena served as a transfer point where prisoners could be redistributed between homeward ships, fourteen French prisoners lying aboard the Indiamen in the road in August 1759, and when Captain Fiddiman of the *Worcester* reported a disorderly English-speaking prisoner stirring up the rest, the council moved the man to the *True Briton*, judging separation the surest remedy. The council paid forty-two French prisoners a subsistence of 4s 6d each in August 1759, converting a grant of two rupees a man made at Bengal, and charged the £9 9s 0d to its London account on the expectation of reimbursement through the French Company's agent Monsieur Rouge, the arrangement resting on an understood parity, the governor of Pondicherry having done the same for British prisoners in India. [Film No. 127, 132, 153]

Economy, Finance and Currency

The treasury held its balance in a mixture of world coinage, its books kept in sterling but its chest filled with the money of Spain, Venice, France and Mughal India. The cash count to 11 April 1759 recorded a gold stock of 3,865 pagodas and 1,634 Venetians, together valued at £2,291, the pagoda a South Indian coin of the Coromandel trade and the Venetian the gold ducat prized throughout the Indian Ocean, the silver 8,670 dollars, 10,880 half royals, 44 French pieces and 4,093 rupees, the dollar the Spanish piece of eight and the rupee the standard silver coin of Mughal India. [Film No. 28]

The cash account to 11 April 1759 records two chests of treasure received from England by the *Holderness* and valued at £2,208 15s 0d, local revenue modest, drawn from licences for 40 public houses at £15 the whole together with small sums for stores and provisions sold. A fixed body of dead paper sat on the books, the entry for cash notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d carried unchanged through April, May and June 1759, held at face value though effectively worthless, and monthly income between the great shipments was often trifling, the whole recorded receipt of the month to 11 June 1759 being a single assault fine of £1. [Film No. 28, 33, 48]

On 9 July 1759 a cluster of bills of exchange was drawn on the Court of Directors, officers, attorneys and estate representatives paying sums into the Company cash and receiving bills payable in London ninety days after sight, the largest for £1,000 settling the estate of the deceased Captain John Danvers, and the appearance of John Healy, an exchange broker, among the payees on 13 July 1759 marks a trade grown sophisticated enough to support a specialist. The debtor side of the count to 11 April 1759 records £1,088 12s 4½d received from James Powell for stores sold, against the quarter's single great outgoing of £2,936 4s 7d advanced to the paymaster for salaries. [Film No. 28, 56, 58]

The island's finances were built up leaf by leaf with running totals carried from page to page, the garrison pay account of 30 April 1759, drawn from consultation book number 39, opening by bringing forward £1,481 10s 3½d and closing by carrying over £1,561 19s 10¾d, each account examined, approved and passed by the council before it was allowed. Payment moved by bill of exchange, as on 20 July 1759 when Captain Charles Marr paid £300 into the Company cash and received a bill drawn on the directors payable ninety days after sight. The wine received on 24 July 1759 arrived short in every cask of port, Lisbon and Madeira, and Hutchinson drew £125 for the quarter with a further allowance for servants, several times the pay of a member of council. [Film No. 12, 63, 73, 77, 101, 102]

The island's treasury was held almost wholly in foreign coin, the balance through 1759 standing in gold pagodas and Venetian sequins and silver dollars, rupees and French pieces, each entered at a fixed

conversion, the common dollars spent on the running costs of the busy season while the scarcer gold lay untouched as a reserve, the fixed block of £539 15s 0d in cash notes of no use carried unchanged from month to month. On 9 July 1759 the island drew five sets of bills for sums up to £1,200 payable to ships' captains and a merchant, and the paymaster was charged as a named personal debtor for the whole garrison fund of £2,974 10s 11d. [Film No. 117, 123, 139, 153]

The cash count of 11 October 1759 held 4,436 pagodas and 7,948 rupees from India, 1,680 Venetian sequins, 12,844 Spanish dollars and French pieces, reflecting St Helena's position as a crossroads of Company shipping, the Council counting the coin physically each month. The treasury balance stood almost wholly still across the winter, the November, December and January counts each setting out the same £7,271 1s 1½d in the identical spread of coin, no cash moving into or out of the chest even as the *Warren* and *Pitt* came and went. [Film No. 223, 239, 252]

John Clark the paymaster was charged as debtor with £2,905 2s 9d received on 11 October 1759, discharged against the wages and disbursements and balanced exactly, the largest single entry £2,635 6s 2d for salaries and diet money. The cash account for the year to 11 October 1759 took £1,196 11s 5½d from Powell for stores sold, £565 13s 2d in rents, £44 5s 9½d for provisions and £15 for licences on ten public houses, and Powell's waste account charged £31 16s 6d to profit and loss for leakage, evaporation and short weight, the heaviest falling on soap at £10 11s 10½d and arrack at £9 15s 11½d, half a bushel of pease eaten by rats. [Film No. 215, 222, 223, 225]

The cash count for the month ending 11 January 1759/60 recorded a gold stock of 3,816 pagodas at 8s each and 1,224 Venetians at 10s each, valued together at £2,138 8s 0d, the silver 10,284 dollars at 5s, 441 French pieces and 5,845 rupees at 2s 3d, the whole balance of £5,910 7s 11d held almost entirely in imported foreign coin. The cash account to 11 January 1759/60 recorded £1,241 8s 11½d received from Powell for stores sold, £55 3s 5d from the plantation for provisions and £13 10s 0d for licences for nine public houses, the *Warren* and *Pitt* each paying in the balance of their accounts, against the quarter's single great outgoing of £2,850 2s 0d advanced to the paymaster for salaries. [Film No. 307]

The balance of over £6,000 through the quarter to 11 April 1760 consisted of gold pagodas and Venetians and silver dollars, rupees and French pieces, the silver stock rising as fresh Spanish dollars came in, the fixed block of £539 15s 0d in cash notes of no use carried unchanged. On 7 April 1760 Governor Hutchinson, Captain Clark and Matthew Bazett each paid sums into the Company's cash and received bills payable in London ninety days after sight, letting officers convert island earnings into funds at home without shipping coin. [Film No. 318, 337, 341]

The count of 11 April 1760 held pagodas and rupees from India, dollars and French pieces, standing at a cash balance of over £6,632, and by 11 May the silver had swelled from a heavy inflow of rupees and dollars taken in from bills and stores sold. Captains Judd and Meeres each took bills worth £1,000 in the quarter to 11 April 1760, and further bills to Greenbee, Bigou and Renwick ran at ninety days after sight and payable to order. The cash notes of no use stood at £369 15s 0d on 11 April 1760 and grew to £539 15s 0d by 11 May, dead paper the Company had not written off. Clark was charged as debtor with £3,102 10s 9½d received on 11 April 1760, the largest single entry £2,722 16s 5d covering the wages of the Company's slaves and servants together, the whole labour establishment treated as one charge. [Film No. 393, 398, 401, 402, 409, 416, 426]

Social Order, Religion and Welfare

The council stood as the ultimate authority over minors and dependants: on 21 May 1759 Simon Whaley, an orphan of about sixteen, was granted leave to choose the carpenter John Robinson as his master in place of his two guardians, binding a fatherless boy to a tradesman while relieving the settlement of his upkeep. The Company also supported soldiers' dependants, the paymaster's account for the quarter to 11 April 1759 recording an allowance reckoned at 6s paid for the wife of Reginald Peckelloe. [Film No. 24, 32]

Provision for the sick was improvised, the paymaster's account for the quarter to 11 April 1759 recording the house of William Moor rented at £4 the quarter to lodge the sick and infirm soldiers, the surgeon William Moffatt paid £5 10s 0d for tending 22 recruits on the passage out, and a sheep and goats set apart

from the general slaughter for the hospital and for sick slaves in the account to 11 May 1759. Sabbath-breaking counted as an offence against religious order even where the labour was that of a slave, as the fine on Proctor of 11 June 1759 shows, and the proving of wills before the council in place of a church court placed even the formality of probate in the hands of the civil governor. [Film No. 22, 24, 30, 34, 47]

The settlement was a stratified society whose ranks the store's pricing and the pay lists set out in order, from the governor at its head to the sentinel and the slave at its base, cheap goods a reward of service. The chaplain William Lee drew £25 for the quarter with diet money, the highest salary below the governor and council and above the surgeon and storekeeper, and the store sold testaments and primers with its cloth and hardware, education falling to Beale as schoolmaster among his other offices. The hospital drew for the quarter over three hundred pounds each of sugar and flour with oil, tea and rice, the nourishing foods eighteenth-century medicine prescribed for the sick. [Film No. 80, 83, 97, 102]

Religion held an established place, the chaplain drawing £25 for the quarter above the surgeon and storekeeper, and the store and warehouse holding Bibles, testaments, primers and hornbooks. The hospital drew sugar, fine flour, oil, rice and salt over the quarter to 11 October 1759 to feed and treat the sick on a special diet, and over a hundred gallons of train oil for its lamps and treatments, the barracks and hospital both marked for substantial building with hundreds of pieces of fir timber, glass, locks and paints in named shades, a major programme of construction in prospect. [Film No. 176, 186, 188, 200, 201, 202]

A mop was supplied from store for the church, and the proving of wills fell to the council in place of a church court. William Moer was paid £4 on 11 January 1759/60 for the rent of two houses for sick and infirm soldiers, a distinct hospital account charging sugar, flour, rice, arrack and oil for the invalids, the soft and easily digested staples far outweighing any meat, and the Company also caring for dependants, paying Gissing for a room for Nonnedah Rockelam and Rockelam his own allowance. The garrison account charged canvas, twine and nails for the cots the men slept on and for the coffins they were buried in, William Dowston paid on 11 January 1759/60 for digging four graves, and Simon Whaley, apprenticed to a carpenter, paid for 53 days of carpenter's work in the quarter. [Film No. 279, 283, 286, 288, 302, 304, 306, 307]

Wills reveal the shape of planter families scattered across the Indian Ocean: Cotgrave, who signed his will by mark though a man of property, tied his widow's provision and her very house to her staying unmarried and left cash legacies to three children and a grandson settled in India and the East Indies, his island land to be sold at auction and the proceeds divided. On 31 March 1760 the corporal James Austin, whose failing eyesight the island's surgeon could not relieve, petitioned to be discharged and shipped to England in the hope of a hospital and eventual recovery, the council able only to forward his case to the court, a man past the help the garrison could give having no recourse but the length of the Atlantic. [Film No. 316, 317, 336, 362]

The island served as a place of recovery for the Company's sick, drafts too weak to continue set ashore to recover at the island's charge, 29 landed from the *Prince Frederick* and doctored at a fixed 5s a head, the sick fed English delicacies of currants, anchovies, capers and double Gloucester cheese bought dear from passing ships. Captain Onesiphorus Beaty was granted furlough home on 12 May 1760 for a nervous disorder the surgeons could not relieve, his case certified by the resident surgeon and four ships' surgeons, removal to England the standard remedy for an intractable complaint. [Film No. 396, 405, 406]

Social Order and Mortality

The garrison drew fresh meat from its own flocks for the sick, goats and a ewe set aside for the hospital in the monthly stock returns, sick and infirm soldiers lodged in two hired civilian houses rather than a purpose-built infirmary, a standing quarterly charge in the account to 11 October 1759. Philip Hilliard was drowned by accident on about 16 December 1759, Richard Cowley died on 30 December, and Edward Allis and John Anger on 2 January 1759/60, soldiers receiving military burials honoured with gunfire, powder expended for the funerals of Henry Norwood in November and others. [Film No. 218, 230, 231, 244, 251, 255]

The officers' table ran chiefly on the island's own mutton and fresh meat, with imported drink the one element from beyond the island, mutton the heaviest charge in every monthly table account, and cheap eastern arrack forming the bulk of the drink, 173 bottles in the month to 11 December 1759 against far smaller numbers of the Atlantic wines of Lisbon, Madeira and Malaga. [Film No. 232, 247]

The Governor's table ran chiefly on the island's own mutton and fresh meat in 1760, the wine drawn from the whole spread of the trade, port, Lisbon, mountain and Madeira from Portugal, Spain and the Atlantic islands standing beside eastern arrack in the table account for the month to 11 May 1760. The soldiers John Rufal, John Baker, John Bussell and others died across May and June 1760, soldiers receiving military burials honoured with a small charge of powder, and the plantation stock returns tracked the herds by every fate, killed, died and killed by accident kept apart so wastage could be told from consumption. [Film No. 410, 411, 412, 413, 414]

Personalities
The dominant figure of the whole period is Charles Hutchinson, Governor until the commission of 9 July 1759 and presiding over every consultation thereafter, who carried the settlement through the illness of his deputy and shaped the disputed correction of the record over Price's suspension, his defence of that correction in July 1759 showing a man protecting both his council and his own standing before the directors. His successor John Skottowe entered as Governor on the day the packet was opened, alongside the new councillor Matthew Pooling, and his establishment salary of £125 with an allowance for servants of £31 14s 9d stood far above every other office. [Film No. 55, 62, 287, 288]

The most human thread of the summer is the decline of John Adamson, the Lieutenant Governor whose illness runs through the consultations from about 19 June 1759 to the middle of July, sent aboard ship when he fell sick, then too ill to attend the council and at last too ill to write, his words taken down by his servant Wrangham, his charge on 11 July 1759 that the council had tampered with its records pressed even as he prepared his passage to England on the *Egmont*, a proud officer leaving under a cloud. [Film No. 44, 59, 60]

The seaman William Allen embodies the ordinary man caught in the machinery of Company service, his petitions of 2 July 1759 tracing a course from desertion at Bombay about 1757 through an informal exchange of service to a plea for release as a subject of King George, held as a disputed deserter and freed only by finding a substitute. Against him stands Captain James Ward of the *Rochester*, who reached the island disarmed and half-sunk in June 1759 and set about protecting himself and his owners with protest and survey, a captain who had jettisoned his guns and lost much of his cargo to the sea. [Film No. 35, 49, 57]

John Clark embodies the concentration of the island's offices in few hands, serving at once as a member of the governing council, First Lieutenant of the First Company and paymaster of the whole garrison, holding Company land on lease, boarding the arriving ships to search for deserters, signing the military pay list and disbursing the quarter's salaries and works, and accumulating a substantial personal stake in the island's land, holding numerous leases in his own name and in trust for a minor. Skottowe signed the plantation stock returns each month. [Film No. 215, 229, 242, 288, 300, 308]

Francis Wrangham stands for the servant grown old in the Company's employ, the secretary whose failing sight ended his fitness for the office he had held, moved sideways into the paymaster's branch and made a factor at the usual salary in consideration of his twenty years service. Colonel Stringer Lawrence passed through as the most eminent figure of the period, the commander who built the Company's military power on the Coromandel coast against the French, his passage home aboard the *Warren* in November 1759 marked by a 17-gun salute. [Film No. 242, 249, 263, 310]

Thomas Byrne, a convict soldier transported from Bombay under a death sentence, dominates the arson enquiry as the man the Council could not convict but judged too dangerous to keep. Thomas Hall, the Master Gunner, stands out as the head of the artillery whose specialist charge earned him a senior officer's pay and whose hand signed the artillery accounts and kept the powder book. Thomas Harper, the former Marshal, stands out as the persistent offender of 1760, defying repeated orders in his clandestine arrack trade until threatened with expulsion, and Lieutenant Richard Bagley emerges from the Herbert inquiry as

a man who fathered illegitimate children on a widow and then sought to shield himself by denial until his own letters caught him in a falsehood. [Film No. 201, 235, 237, 327, 334, 391]

The record also preserves, however dimly, the slaves whose labour sustained the island, named where they were bought, freed, flogged or counted. The slave girl Ellen, sold as a child for £5 and fought over as a grown woman, the child Lucey entered in the stock book at birth and struck off at death within a month, and the child Priscilla counted among the plantation stock stand for a population the record treats as property. Dick, Bracktus, Gloucester, Sue, Caesar and the boys Sebastian and Louis survive only in the sentences of their floggings or the musters that carried them, Fanny and Sarah flogged and branded, Apollo and Jerry whipped for selling turkeys, Anne freed on meagre terms and Jonas killed by accident, and Eleanor and Moll only in the will that freed one and bequeathed the other. [Film No. 30, 34, 42, 43, 248, 263, 425, 427]

Conclusion
The period documented here, from the garrison pay account opening on 12 January 1758/9 to the consultations of June 1760, shows St Helena functioning as a small, tightly governed instrument of the East India Company's commerce. Everything turns on the ships: the treasury replenished by their bullion, the plantation feeding their crews, the batteries challenging their approach, the garrison drawn from and drained into their companies, and the year paced by their arrival and departure, the island at once a victualling station, an armoury, a court, a treasury and a plantation, held together by a council of three or four men acting under orders sealed in London. [Film No. 28, 30, 55, 59]

The great administrative event of the summer of 1759 was the change of government imposed from London on 8 July, the dismissal of Adamson and the installation of Skottowe rippling through the pay accounts, the correspondence and the council's disputes alike, while the middle months brought the crowding of the road with the convoyed homeward fleet, a concentrated effort to fortify the island against French attack, and a full census and rent roll that laid out the whole order of its land and people. The quarter to 11 October 1759 was above all a season of stocktaking, its great warehouse inventory measuring the island's true character as a victualling and repair depot, and the closing months a grim inquiry into the deaths of two infants and a long pursuit of an illicit liquor trade. [Film No. 101, 122, 187, 334]

The evidence is rich but partial, written by and for the men who ruled, so it names every soldier's wage and prices every yard of cloth yet enters a slave child's birth among the livestock, records the legal self-defence of captains and officers, and orders a signed census of slaves as property while giving the slave majority no voice of their own. The store accounts open an unusually full view of the material life of the settlement, the food, clothing, tools and drink on which soldier, planter and slave alike depended, each supplied at his own rate, and the cash accounts reveal an island running on the coin of half the world, the muster rolls a shipping lane along which the Company's wealth and its great servants alike passed home. [Film No. 223, 242, 281]

The Seven Years War shaped the island's life at its edges, in the alarms for strange sail, the convoy sailing for safety, the French prisoners carried home, the detention of Bengal-bound troops and the relay of intelligence on enemy frigates to the Indian presidencies. Read against its own grain, this dense administrative sequence recovers not only the machinery of a Company settlement but the poverty, illness, coercion and small human dealings of the people who lived and laboured on it between 1757 and 1760, St Helena valued less for what it produced than for where it lay. [Film No. 31, 402, 417, 420]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St HELENA RECORDS 1759 - 1760 Photographer PETER Date photographed 5 JAN 2022 additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
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Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
7		Blank page	
8		Blank page	
9		Blank page	
10		Blank page	
11		Blank page	
12	1	April 30th 1759 Island Dr Helena Brought FROM THE CONSULTATION BOOK No 39 Brought over £1481 10s 3½d Third Company Onesiphorus Beely 1st Lieutenant Salary £22 16s 3d Do diet money £6 16s 10½d Do house rent £2 10s 0d £32 3s 1½d Henry Brazel 2d Lieutenant Salary £10 5s 0d Do diet money £6 16s 10½d Do house rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Serjeants Robert Mason £7 12s 1d Michael [...] £7 12s 1d Thomas Cook £7 12s 1d £22 16s 3d Corporals Jeremiah [...] from the 12 Jan[...] to 16 Feb Corp[...] £2 0s 10d Do from 16th Feb as Serjeant £4 11s 8d John Brazel £5 6s 5d William Merriman £5 6s 5½d £17 5s 5d Drummers John Caffin £5 6s 5½d John Speeds £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Carried over £1561 19s 10½d	30 April 1759 Island Dr St Helena Brought from the Consultation Book No. 39 Brought forward, £1,481 10s 3½d Third Company Omniphorus Brady, 1st Lieutenant salary, £22 16s 3d Omniphorus Brady, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Omniphorus Brady, house rent, £2 10s 0d Subtotal, £32 3s 1½d Mercy Bazett, 2nd Lieutenant salary, £10 5s 0d Mercy Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Mercy Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Subtotal, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants Robert Mason, £7 12s 1d Michael Frett, £7 12s 1d Thomas Leech, £7 12s 1d Subtotal, £22 16s 3d Corporals Jeremiah Wingood, from 12 January to 16 February as corporal, £2 0s 10d Jeremiah Wingood, from 16 February as sergeant, £4 11s 8d John Frazer, £5 6s 5½d William Merriman, £5 6s 5½d Subtotal, £17 5s 5d Drummers John Caffin, £5 6s 5½d John Speeds, £5 6s 5½d Subtotal, £10 12s 11d Carried over, £1,561 19s 10¾d **Interpretations** This page is the running military pay account for the island garrison, drawn from the earlier consultation record numbered 39 and carrying the accumulated total forward from one leaf to the next. The garrison at St Helena was maintained by the East India Company, which held the island and paid its soldiers directly rather than through the Crown. The heading marks the island itself as the debtor, the party against whose account these wages were charged. Each officer drew three distinct payments: a base salary, diet money and house rent. Diet money was a cash allowance in place of rations issued in kind, letting the officer feed himself at his own table, while the house rent allowance covered lodging where no quarters were provided. The near-identical diet and rent figures for the two lieutenants show these were fixed rates tied to rank rather than to individual circumstance. The entry for Jeremiah Wingood records a promotion mid-quarter. He was paid at the corporal's rate for the period from 12 January to 16 February, then at the higher sergeant's rate from 16 February onward, the two part-payments listed separately so the account tracks the change in his standing and pay together.
13	2	Apr 30 Brought over £1561 19s 10½d Centinels Matthias Allis £3 16s 7½d Samuel Aynes £3 16s 7½d Samuel Allistone £3 16s 7½d William Prichit £3 16s 7½d	Brought over, £1,561 19s 10½d Sentinels Matthew Ellis, £3 16s 7½d Samuel Agnew, £3 16s 7½d Samuel Allerton, £3 16s 7½d William Pocket, £3 16s 7½d William Bizell, from 12 January to 16 February as sentinel, £1 9s 2d William Bizell, from 16 February as corporal, £3 4s 2d William Finch, £3 16s 7½d John Brooke, £3 16s 7½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Prcald from 12 Jan to 16 Feb as Centinel £1 9s 2d Do from the 16 Feb as Corporal £3 4s 2d William Winch £3 16s 7½d John Brooke £3 16s 7½d John Prosward £3 16s 7½d William Brooke £3 16s 7½d Robert Forster £3 16s 7½d John Preeson £3 16s 7½d Peter Prosward £3 16s 7½d Benjamin Preston £3 16s 7½d John Fox Ent 14th January £3 8s 4d Daniel Cairon £3 16s 7½d Thomas Clark £3 16s 7½d James Cooperd £3 16s 7½d Stephen Cleverly Discharg 9 Aprils £3 13s 4d John Costal £3 16s 7½d Edward Cowgins £3 16s 7½d William Conquest £3 16s 7½d John Alex £3 16s 7½d Jacob Du Vall £3 16s 7½d Harry Allisone from the 12 Jan to 16 Feb as Centinel £1 9s 2d Do from the 16 as Corporal £3 4s 2d Peter Cifintons £3 16s 7½d Thomas Cluart £3 16s 7½d Peter Finall £3 16s 7½d George French £3 16s 7½d Harry Fullbright £3 16s 7½d John Godsell £3 16s 7½d Thomas Green £3 16s 7½d William Harvie £3 16s 7½d John Hayes £3 16s 7½d William Hayes Ent Do 26 March £3 16s 7½d Thomas Shedborg £3 4s 2d Abraham Hain[...]g £3 16s 7½d Centinels Carried over £3 16s 7½d Carried over £134 19s 9½d £1561 19s 10½d	John [...], £3 16s 7½d William Brooks, £3 16s 7½d Robert Fireson, £3 16s 7½d John Freeson, £3 16s 7½d Peter Freeson, £3 16s 7½d Benjamin Boreton, £3 16s 7½d John Fox, cut 14 January, £3 8s 4d Daniel Green, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Clark, £3 16s 7½d James Cooper, £3 16s 7½d Stephen Cleverly, discharged 9 April, £3 13s 4d John Costoe, £3 16s 7½d Edward Cousins, £3 16s 7½d William Conquest, £3 16s 7½d John Ideer, £3 16s 7½d Jacob Du Vall, £3 16s 7½d Henry Ellinson, from 12 January to 16 February as sentinel, £1 9s 2d Henry Ellinson, from 16 February as corporal, £3 4s 2d Peter Cofferten, £3 4s 2d Thomas Ewart, £3 16s 7½d Peter Small, £3 16s 7½d George French, £3 16s 7½d Henry Fullbright, £3 16s 7½d John Godshall, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Green, £3 16s 7½d William Harris, £3 16s 7½d John Hayes, £3 16s 7½d William Hayes, cut 26 March, £3 16s 7½d Thomas [...], £14 2d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 7½d Sentinels carried over, £3 16s 7½d Carried over, £134 19s 9½d Total carried over, £1,561 19s 10½d **Interpretations** The two split entries for William Bizell and Henry Ellinson mirror the mid-quarter promotions seen in the preceding company account. Each man drew a sentinel's rate from 12 January to 16 February 1759 and a corporal's higher rate from 16 February, so the clerk paid strictly for the days served at each rank rather than at one flat figure across the quarter. Several lines mark a man leaving the muster part way through the period. John Fox was cut on 14 January, William Hayes on 26 March and Stephen Cleverly was discharged on 9 April, each drawing a reduced sum for the days served before departure. A private soldier who fell sick, died or was struck off the establishment was paid only to the day he ceased duty, which is why these lines fall short of the standard £3 16s 7½d carried by the men who served the full quarter.
14	3	1759 Brought over	Sentinels brought over, £234 19s 9½d Charles Sieywold, entered 13 March, £1 5s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£1561 19s 10½d Centinels brought over £234 19s 9½d Charles Aeguhild Ent d 13 March £1 5s 0d Phillip Hilliard £3 16s 7½d Arnold Henson Ent d 13 March £1 5s 0d James Hinde £3 16s 7½d George Hellisson Ent d 13 March £1 5s 0d William Hollbrook £3 16s 7½d John Hawreing Ent d 13 March £1 5s 0d John Holloway £3 16s 7½d John Hodson £3 16s 7½d Samd Hustond £3 16s 7½d Richard Jones £3 16s 7½d Samuel Killson £3 16s 7½d Evan Kensale £3 16s 7½d John Lloyd £3 16s 7½d William Lyon £3 16s 7½d William Martin £3 16s 7½d Michael Meils £3 16s 7½d Stephen Orr £3 16s 7½d William Penny £3 16s 7½d William Poulson £3 16s 7½d Archibald Roque £3 16s 7½d Roger Philips £3 16s 7½d Thomas Ruthorford £3 16s 7½d John Simmons £3 16s 7½d James Shatocky £3 16s 7½d Joseph Smith £3 16s 7½d William Smith £3 16s 7½d Henry Schravenhorst transferrd to the A Company 10 Jan 1759 and made Corporal £1 5s 0d William Pedman £3 16s 7½d Thomas Stowars £3 16s 7½d John Strange discharged 28 Feb 1759 £2 0s 0d John Chrishan Serjt £3 16s 7½d William Taylor £3 16s 7½d Richard Twaits £3 16s 7½d Jacob Wire £3 16s 7½d Thomas Wannoffz £3 16s 7½d	Phillip Hilliard, £3 16s 7½d Arnold Henson, entered 13 March, £1 5s 0d James Hunde, £3 16s 7½d George Hilterson, entered 13 March, £1 5s 0d William Holbrook, £3 16s 7½d John Hawreing, entered 13 March, £1 5s 0d John Holloway, £3 16s 7½d John Hodson, £3 16s 7½d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 7½d Richard Jones, £3 16s 7½d Samuel Killson, £3 16s 7½d Evan Kensale, £3 16s 7½d John Lloyd, £3 16s 7½d William Lyon, £3 16s 7½d William Martin, £3 16s 7½d Michael Meils, £3 16s 7½d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 7½d William Penny, £3 16s 7½d William Poulton, £3 16s 7½d Archibald Roque, £3 16s 7½d Roger Philips, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 7½d John Simmons, £3 16s 7½d James Shelocky, £3 16s 7½d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 7½d William Smith, £3 16s 7½d Henry Schwarenhurst, transferred to the A Company 10 January 1759 and made corporal, £1 5s 0d William Pedman, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Stowsor, £3 16s 7½d John Strange, discharged 28 February 1759, £2 0s 0d John Christian, sergeant, £3 16s 7½d William Taylor, £3 16s 7½d Richard Swaite, £3 16s 7½d Jacob Ware, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Wandell, £3 16s 7½d William Ross, £3 16s 7½d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Woffington, £3 16s 7½d Sentinels subtotal, £271 10s 2½d Gustavus Warren, carried over, £1,833 10s 1d **Interpretations** The cluster of men entered on 13 March 1759, each drawing only £1 5s 0d, marks a batch of recruits taken onto the establishment part way through the quarter. Their reduced sums reflect pay for the short span from enrolment to the close of the accounting period, set against the full £3 16s 7½d earned by soldiers who served the whole quarter. Henry Schwarenhurst was moved to the A Company on 10 January 1759 and promoted to corporal, so his line here carries only the pay owed against this company before the transfer took effect. The book followed each man's rank and posting day by day, which is why a single soldier could generate entries in more than one company's account within the same quarter.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Wors £3 16s 7½d Stephen Willoughtby £3 16s 7½d Thomas Woffington £3 16s 7½d £271 10s 2½d Gustavus Wearn Carried £1933 10s 1d	
15	4	Apr 30th Brought over £1933 10s 1d Fourth Company William Kennedy 1st Lieut Salary £22 16s 3d Do diet money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Samuel Price 2d Lieuten Salary £12 5s 0d Do diet money £6 16s 10½d Do house rent £2 10s 0d £21 11s 10½d Serjeants William Longstone discharged Feb 5th £2 1s 0d Richard Vaughan £7 12s 1d John Bridgwater £7 12s 1d £17 5s 10d Corporals Thomas Bance to Feb 6 the 6 as Corporal £1 9s 2d Do from Feb 6 as Serjeant £5 8s 4d John Byford resided the 17 th Feb £3 17s 0d Thomas Morrin reduced 17 Feb £3 17s 0d Henry Schaarnhorst transf from the d Company and made Corporal 10 January £1 13s 10d Do from the 16th Feb a Serjeant £4 11s 8d £20 17s 0d Drummers John Buckpaw £5 6s 5½d Henry Howell £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels William Anderson £3 16s 7½d Richard Ashford £3 16s 7½d Benjamin Bagly £3 16s 7½d John Volk £3 16s 7½d Jacob Beall £3 16s 7½d Theobald French £3 16s 7½d George Berry Mayett £3 16s 7½d Abrh Bratt Ent 16 March £1 5s 0d John Fox transf to the d Comp 19 Jan £1 5s 0d Robert Volk	Brought over, £1,833 10s 1d Fourth Company William Kennedy, 1st Lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d William Kennedy, diet money, £6 16s 10½d First Lieutenant subtotal, £29 13s 1½d Samuel Price, 2nd Lieutenant, salary, £12 5s 0d Samuel Price, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Price, house rent, £2 10s 0d Second Lieutenant subtotal, £21 11s 10½d Sergeants William Longham, discharged 5 February, £2 1s 0d Richard Vaughan, £7 12s 1d John Bridgewater, £7 12s 1d Sergeants subtotal, £17 5s 10d Corporals Thomas Vance, to 6 February as corporal, £1 9s 2d Thomas Vance, from 6 February as sergeant, £5 8s 4d John Ryford, reduced 17 February, £3 17s 0d Thomas Morris, reduced 17 February, £3 17s 0d Henry Schwarenhurst, transferred from the Third Company and made corporal 10 January, £1 13s 10d Henry Schwarenhurst, from 16 February as sergeant, £4 11s 8d Corporals subtotal, £20 17s 0d Drummers John Buckpaw, £5 6s 5½d Henry Showell, £5 6s 5½d Drummers subtotal, £10 12s 11d Sentinels William Anderson, £3 16s 7½d Richard Ashford, £3 16s 7½d Dowghans Bagley, £3 16s 7½d John Bell, £3 16s 7½d Jacob Beall, £3 16s 7½d Chowdant French, £3 16s 7½d George Berry Mayott, £3 16s 7½d Abraham Ball, entered 15 March, £1 5s 0d John Fox, transferred to the Third Company 19 January, £1 5s 0d Robert Ealey, £3 16s 7½d William Brown, £3 16s 7½d Sentinels carried over, £35 16s 7½d Carried over, £1,933 16s 10d **Interpretations** Thomas Vance and Henry Schwarenhurst each carry paired entries recording a promotion within the quarter, so the clerk paid a corporal's rate for the earlier span and a sergeant's higher rate from the day the new rank took effect. Schwarenhurst appears here after his transfer in from the Third Company on 10 January 1759, matching the corresponding line in that company's account, so the two books together trace one man moving between units and rising in rank across a single quarter. John Ryford and Thomas Morris were both reduced on 17 February 1759, each then drawing £3 17s 0d, which shows demotion cutting the other way against the promotions elsewhere on the page. A soldier reduced in rank dropped to the lower rate from the day the reduction took effect, so the account tracked movement down the ranks as precisely as

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£3 16s 7½d William Brown £3 16s 7½d Centinels Carried over £35 16s 7½d Carried over £1433 16s 10d	movement up, paying strictly for the grade held on each day of the quarter.
16	5	1759 Brought over £1933 10s 10d Centinels brought over £35 16s 7½d Henry Brown £3 16s 7½d Richard Butler £3 16s 7½d William Blackman £3 16s 7½d James Carmichael £3 16s 7½d Joseph Chamberlain £3 16s 7½d Gilbert Clough £3 16s 7½d John Clough £3 16s 7½d John Corky £3 16s 7½d John Cropps £3 16s 7½d Simeon Deleafe £3 16s 7½d James Dry £3 16s 7½d Peter Fleetwood £3 16s 7½d Thomas Fuller £3 16s 7½d Fisher Gamble £3 16s 7½d Edward Grant £3 16s 7½d Thomas Graystock £3 16s 7½d Robinson Green £3 16s 7½d William Hill £3 16s 7½d Thomas Hurd £3 16s 7½d John Hyde £3 16s 7½d William Jenkins Ent d 13 March £1 5s 0d Robert Jewharst £3 16s 7½d Thomas Frenderick £3 16s 7½d Alexander Kitchen £3 16s 7½d Edward Saw £3 16s 7½d James Aw £3 16s 7½d Lodowick Leinfruill Ent d 16 Feb £2 14s 2d John Lemon Centinel from the 16 Feb £1 9s 2d Do as Corporal from Do £3 4s 2d John Leeingston £3 16s 7½d Thomas Lindsay £3 16s 7½d Richard Linney	Sentinels brought over, £35 16s 7½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 7½d Richard Butler, £3 16s 7½d William Blackman, £3 16s 7½d James Carmichael, £3 16s 7½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 7½d Gilbert Clough, £3 16s 7½d John Clough, £3 16s 7½d John Corke, £3 16s 7½d John Cripps, £3 16s 7½d Simeon Deleafe, £3 16s 7½d James Dry, £3 16s 7½d Peter Fleetwood, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 7½d Fisher Gamble, £3 16s 7½d Edward Grant, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Graystock, £3 16s 7½d Robinson Green, £3 16s 7½d William Hill, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Hurd, £3 16s 7½d John Hyde, £3 16s 7½d William Jenkins, entered 13 March, £1 5s 0d Robert Jewhurst, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Kenderick, £3 16s 7½d Alexander Kitchen, £3 16s 7½d Edward Saw, £3 16s 7½d James Aw, £3 16s 7½d Lodowick Leinfruell, entered 16 February, £2 14s 2d John Lemon, sentinel from 16 February, £1 9s 2d John Lemon, as corporal from 16 February, £3 4s 2d John Locington, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Lindsay, £3 16s 7½d Richard Linney, £3 16s 7½d Joseph Long, £1 5s 10d John Lenly, entered 12 March, £3 16s 7½d Abraham Mapp, £3 16s 7½d William Mason, £1 5s 0d Philip Jacob Waltornis, entered 13 March, [...] Sentinels carried over, £164 16s 8d Carried over, £1,933 10s 10d **Interpretations** The men marked as entered on 13 March 1759, together with Lodowick Leinfruell from 16 February and John Lenly from 12 March, show recruits joining the establishment at intervals through the quarter. Each drew pay only from the day of enrolment to the accounting date, which is why their sums fall short of the full £3 16s 7½d earned by soldiers present the whole period. John Lemon carries a split entry marking promotion within the quarter, drawing a sentinel's rate from 16 February 1759 and a corporal's higher rate from the same date onward. The account tracked each man's grade day by day, so a single promotion produced two lines at two rates rather than one blended figure, the same book-keeping practice applied to every rank change across the four companies.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£3 16s 7½d Joseph Long £1 5s 10d John Lenly Ent d 12 March £3 16s 7½d Abraham Mapp £3 16s 7½d William Mason £1 5s 0d Philip Jacob Waltiruis Ent d 13 March Centinels Carried over £164 16s 8d Carried over £1933 10s 10d	
17	6	Apr 30th Brought over £1933 10s 10d Centinels brought over £164 16s 8d Edward Marrott £3 16s 7½d William McClousy died the 12 March £2 10s 0d William Moor £3 16s 7½d Charles Montague £3 16s 7½d Richard Mafie £3 16s 7½d Thomas Nimble £3 16s 7½d John Papemater £1 0s 0d Thomas Pagony died the 1st Feb £1 0s 0d Thomas Perry £3 16s 7½d Joseph Phillips £3 16s 7½d William Ryppon £3 16s 7½d William Robinson £3 16s 7½d Rowlock Rutiger Ent d 13 March £1 5s 0d John Robinson from the 12 Jan to 16 Feb as Centinel £1 0s 0d Do from the 16 as Corporal £4 18s 0d Nicholas Scrafton £3 16s 7½d David Scott from the 12 January to 8 as Centin £1 3s 4d Do from 8 Feb as Corporal £3 12s 4d Adam Scott £3 12s 4d Sendrach Spencer Ent d 13 March £1 5s 0d George Simms £3 16s 7½d John Spencer £3 16s 7½d Richard Spencer £3 16s 7½d James Shittard £3 16s 7½d Robert Stacky £3 16s 7½d Thomas Steavward £3 16s 7½d Edward Thomas £3 16s 7½d Thomas Thompson £3 16s 7½d	Sentinels brought over, £164 16s 8d Edward Marriott, £3 16s 7½d William McCloud, died 12 March, £2 10s 0d William Moor, £3 16s 7½d Charles Montague, £3 16s 7½d Richard Mosse, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Nimble, £3 16s 7½d John Passwater, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Prynny, died 1 February, £1 0s 0d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 7½d Joseph Phillips, £3 16s 7½d William Ruppon, £3 16s 7½d William Robinson, £3 16s 7½d Kinlock Rutger, entered 13 March, £1 5s 0d John Robinson, from 12 January to 16 February as sentinel, £1 0s 0d John Robinson, from 16 February as corporal, £4 18s 0d Nicholas Snafton, £3 16s 7½d David Scott, from 12 January to 8 February as sentinel, £1 3s 4d David Scott, from 8 February as corporal, £3 12s 4d Adam Scott, £3 16s 7½d Frederick Souser, entered 13 March, £1 5s 0d George Simms, £3 16s 7½d John Spencer, £3 16s 7½d Richard Spencer, £3 16s 7½d James Shettard, £3 16s 7½d Robert Stacky, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Steward, £3 16s 7½d Edward Thomas, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Thompson, £3 16s 7½d Ruel Tirk, £3 16s 7½d Crenshaw Byford, £3 16s 7½d Joseph Usher, £3 16s 7½d Roger Weburgn, from 12 January to 16 February as corporal, £1 9s 2d Roger Weburgn, from 16 February as corporal, £3 4s 2d Sentinels subtotal, £272 17s 6½d Artillery Company Thomas Hall, Master Gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d Thomas Hall, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Master Gunner subtotal, £29 13s 1½d Carried over, £2,236 0s 6d **Interpretations** Two soldiers died within the quarter and their pay stopped on the day of death: William McCloud on 12 March 1759, drawing £2 10s 0d, and Thomas Prynny on 1 February 1759, drawing only £1 0s 0d for the few weeks served before he died. The account closed a dead man's entry at his last day of life exactly as it did for a discharge or reduction, since the establishment paid strictly for service rendered. John Robinson, David Scott and Roger Weburgn each carry paired lines marking a promotion mid-quarter, drawing the lower rate for the earlier span and the higher rate from the day the new rank took effect. The Master Gunner heading the Artillery Company drew the same salary and diet money as a first

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		Silas Tirk £3 16s 7½d Crenshaw Ryford £3 16s 7½d Joseph Ufsin £3 16s 7½d Roger Wetington from the 12 Jan to 16 Feb Corp £1 9s 2d Do from the 16 Feb as Corporal £3 4s 2d £272 17s 6½d Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunners Salary £22 16s 3d Do diet money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Carried over £2236 0s 6d	lieutenant of the marching companies, which placed the island's senior technical soldier on a footing with its junior commissioned officers rather than with its sergeants.
18	7	1759 Brought over £2236 1s 6d Gunners Mates Nathan Samply Chief Mate £11 8s 1½d John Whitwick £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily £9 2s 6d Henry Baxter £9 2s 6d Rixland Dance £9 2s 6d John Mellinger £9 2s 6d Adam Watson £9 2s 6d Thomas Williams £9 2s 6d £75 5s 7½d Quarter Gunners James Long £6 16s 10½d Thomas Mawson £6 16s 10½d Andrew Smithie £6 16s 10½d John Jacke £6 16s 10½d John Cleary £6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor £6 16s 10½d John Woods £6 16s 10½d £54 15s 0d Matrosses James Luaiten Salary Do to that Comp 16 Feb £1 16s 0d Richard Billington £4 11s 3d William Bernard £4 11s 3d Matthew Breckland £4 11s 3d John Adam Butcher £4 11s 3d John Magley transferrd from 1 Company Feb 17th £2 14s 0d John Arber £4 11s 3d Darby Caylor £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham £4 11s 3d	Brought over, £2,236 1s 6d Gunners Mates Nathan Sampley, Chief Mate, £11 8s 1½d John Westwick, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Henry Baxter, £9 2s 6d Richland Davies, £9 2s 6d John Mellinger, £9 2s 6d Adam Wilson, £9 2s 6d Thomas Williams, £9 2s 6d Gunners Mates subtotal, £75 5s 7½d Quarter Gunners James Long, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Mawson, £6 16s 10½d Andrew Smethon, £6 16s 10½d John Jacke, £6 16s 10½d John Cleary, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor, £6 16s 10½d John Wood, £6 16s 10½d Quarter Gunners subtotal, £54 15s 0d Matrosses James Lewten, salary and transfer to that company 16 February, £1 16s 0d Richard Billington, £4 11s 3d William Broward, £4 11s 3d Matthew Brackland, £4 11s 3d John Adam Bulteel, £4 11s 3d John Bagley, transferred from the First Company 16 February, £2 14s 0d John Buba, £4 11s 3d Danby Cayton, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 3d Thomas Davis, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d Christian Dygatt, £4 11s 3d Ulrick Don, £4 11s 3d John Frederick Emerburg, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d James Gannett, £4 11s 3d John Gopthard, £4 11s 3d Giles Igerman, [...] Matrosses carried over, £77 10s 0d Carried over, £2,366 2s 1d **Interpretations** The Artillery Company carried three tiers below the Master Gunner: gunners mates, quarter gunners and matrosses, each on a distinct rate. A chief mate drew £11 8s 1½d, an ordinary gunners mate £9 2s 6d, a quarter gunner £6 16s 10½d and a matross £4 11s 3d, so the pay ladder marked out the skilled artillery hierarchy from senior mate down to the matross who fetched, loaded and hauled at the guns. A matross ranked as a private soldier of the artillery, assisting the gunners at the ordnance rather than laying and firing the pieces himself.

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		Thomas Dawes £4 11s 3d Anthony Day £4 11s 3d Christian Dygatt £4 11s 3d Ulrich Den £4 11s 3d John Fredrick Emerberg £4 11s 3d William Fletcher £4 11s 3d James Gwenett £4 11s 3d John Gopthard £4 11s 3d Giles Igorman Matrosses Carried over £77 10s 0d Carried over £2366 2s 1d	James Lewten and John Bagley both carry entries dated 16 February 1759, one moving into the Artillery Company and drawing a part-quarter sum, the other transferred in from the First Company. The book followed each man's posting day by day across the whole garrison, so a soldier shifting from a marching company to the artillery generated a closing line in one account and an opening line in the other within the same quarter.
19	8	Apr 30th Brought over £2366 2s 1½d Matrosses brought over £77 10s 0d Thomas Aufcocks £4 11s 3d John Kemp £4 11s 3d William Sesler £4 11s 3d William Mason £4 11s 3d Peter Mitchell £4 11s 3d George Nelson £4 11s 3d Thomas Francket £4 11s 3d James Percy £4 11s 3d William Pidgeon £4 11s 3d John Robinson £4 11s 3d James Robinson £4 11s 3d Joshua Rekliff £4 11s 3d John Shirtley £4 11s 3d John Slater £4 11s 3d Frederick Summerman £4 11s 3d John Sw £4 11s 3d John Turner £4 11s 3d William Thompson £4 11s 3d Daniel Tongue £4 11s 3d Luke Vardin £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts £4 11s 3d Richard Watnenwon £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt £4 11s 3d William Weaver £4 11s 3d John Mitchel Wayeling	Brought over, £2,366 2s 1½d Matrosses brought over, £77 10s 0d Thomas Aycocke, £4 11s 3d John Kemp, £4 11s 3d William Foster, £4 11s 3d William Mason, £4 11s 3d Peter Mitchell, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Prewkett, £4 11s 3d James Percy, £4 11s 3d William Pidgeon, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d James Robinson, £4 11s 3d Joshua Rickliff, £4 11s 3d John Shirtley, £4 11s 3d John Slater, £4 11s 3d Frederick Summerman, £4 11s 3d John Low, £4 11s 3d John Turner, £4 11s 3d William Thompson, £4 11s 3d Daniel Tongue, £4 11s 3d Luke Vanton, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d Richard Watsonwose, £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt, £4 11s 3d William Weaver, £4 11s 3d John Mitchel Wayling, £4 11s 3d John Hedrick Watkins, £4 11s 3d James York, £4 11s 3d Matrosses subtotal, £200 13s 9d Errors Excepted, £2,566 15s 10½d **Interpretations** The matrosses appear at a flat £4 11s 3d each, unbroken across the whole block, marking a body of men who all served the full quarter at the same private artillery rate. The uniform figure contrasts with the marching companies, where deaths, discharges and mid-quarter promotions broke the standard rate on line after line. The closing note Errors Excepted was the standard reservation on a settled account, protecting the paymaster against later discovery of a slip in the figures. Set against the grand total of £2,566 15s 10½d, it signalled that the quarter's pay was cast up and closed subject only to correction of any arithmetical mistake, a routine safeguard on a long garrison payroll built up name by name across the four companies and the artillery.

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		£4 11s 3d John Fredrick Wilstins £4 11s 3d James Yorky £4 11s 3d £200 13s 9d Errors Excepted £2366 15s 10½d	
20	9	John Clark Paymaster Dr Per Contra Cr 1759 April 11 To Cash received £2936 4s 7d 1759 Jan 12 By Cash paid John Burnham to serve the Honble Company for five years as a Soldier Subject to the late Articles of War time to Commence from this date £5 0s 0d By Cash paid John Robinson for Relisting to serve the Honorable Company for five Years as Do his time to Commence from this date £10 0s 0d By Cash paid Nathan Sample for 23 Load Boushes @ 1/3 for each for Bushing the Honorable Company house in the Longwood £1 8s 9d By Cash paid Stephen Orr for Relisting to serve the Honorable Company for a Soldier £10 0s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Thomson for Caulking the Honorable Company Longboat £0 7s 6d By Cash paid John Long Native to serve the Honble Company as a Soldier for five years time to Commence from this date £2 0s 0d By Cash paid William Hayes Native to serve as Do £5 0s 0d By Cash paid Maxon Deleafe for relisting to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years £10 0s 0d Carried over £43 16s 3d £2936 4s 7d	John Clark, Paymaster, Debtor 11 April 1759, to cash received, £2,936 4s 7d Debtor total, £2,936 4s 7d Per Contra, Creditor 12 January 1759, cash paid John Burnham to serve the Honourable Company for five years as a soldier, subject to the late Articles of War, time to commence from this date, £5 0s 0d Cash paid John Robinson for relisting to serve the Honourable Company for five years, his time to commence from this date, £10 0s 0d Cash paid Nathan Sample for 23 loads of brushwood at 1s 3d each for thatching the Honourable Company houses in the Longwood, £1 8s 9d Cash paid Stephen Orr for relisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier, £10 0s 0d Cash paid Thomas Thompson for caulking the Honourable Company longboat, £0 7s 6d Cash paid John Long, native, to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years, time to commence from this date, £2 0s 0d Cash paid William Hayes, native, to serve as a soldier, £5 0s 0d Cash paid Simeon Deleafe for relisting to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years, £10 0s 0d Carried over, £43 16s 3d **Interpretations** Enlistment bounties formed the bulk of these payments, with the sums scaling by the recruit's origin and terms. A newly enlisted or relisting European soldier drew £5 or £10 to bind himself for five years, while the two islanders taken on, John Long and William Hayes, were paid £2 and £5, marking a lower rate for local recruits than for men engaged on European terms. The reference to the late Articles of War binding John Burnham shows the garrison enlisting under a recently issued military code, so each man signed on to a defined disciplinary framework rather than a loose service arrangement. Two entries record maintenance work rather than recruitment. Nathan Sample supplied 23 loads of brushwood at 1s 3d each for thatching the Company houses at Longwood, and Thomas Thompson was paid 7s 6d for caulking the Company longboat. These lines show the paymaster's cash meeting the practical upkeep of the settlement, roofing its buildings with local material and keeping its boats watertight, alongside the payroll and bounties that dominated his accounts. **Speculations** John Long and William Hayes, both islanders, were enlisted as soldiers at £2 and £5 against the £5 and £10 paid to European recruits on the same page, so the paymaster set a deliberately lower bounty for local men where the obvious course would have been the standard European rate. The gap on the page itself shows the garrison choosing to recruit natives more cheaply, perhaps because their lack of a passage from England and their existing presence on the island removed the costs that justified the higher European bounty, though the record shows only the differing sums and not the reasoning behind them.
21	10	30 Apr John Clark Paymaster Dr 1759	John Clark, Paymaster, Debtor 11 April 1759, to cash received, £2,936 4s 7d Debtor total, £2,936 4s 7d

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		April 11th To Cash recd £2936 4s 7d £2936 4s 7d	
22	11	1759 Pr Contra Cr Brought over £43 16s 3d By Cash paid William Lambourn to Serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years longer £10 0s 0d By Cash paid Samuel Sesison for Do £10 0s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Woffington for Do £10 0s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Poule for Do £10 0s 0d By Do paid John March for Do £10 0s 0d By Do paid Abram Major for Do £10 0s 0d By Do paid John Cropps for Do £10 0s 0d By Do paid John Shirtley for Do £10 0s 0d April 4 By Cash paid James Gwenet for making Sails for the Honorable Company Longboat £0 12s 6d By Cash paid John Bassindon for 16 days Work for putting a Deck &c upon Do £4 0s 0d By Cash paid John Ralk for Caulking 6 days of Do £1 10s 0d By Cash paid Sunday Gunners burnt for reveing in the Honorable Companys Furnace in the Leader Cleaning this Day £3 0s 0d By Cash paid William Moore for house rent his house for the use of the sick and Sufficient Soldiers this Quarter £4 0s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Leeing the Honorable Companys Carpenter on account of his Apprentice working in the Shop Eleven Weeks one half £2 17s 6d By Cash paid John Robinson the Honorable Companys Carpenter on account of his Apprentice Working in the Shop One Weeks half £0 7s 6d By Cash paid John Dove for Carpenter Work done for the Honorable Company this Quarter £5 5s 9d By Cash paid John Simmons for Do £5 6s 6d By Cash paid Isaac day for Do £5 5s 9d By Cash paid Matthew Wigatt for 16 Load of Boushess at 2/6 pr Load for the use of the Honorable Company £2 0s 0d By Cash paid Richard Magley for 1300 Lemons 3 Hundredsof Potatoes and 20 Cabbage for the use of the Honorable Company Sabley this Quarter £2 16s 0d By Cash paid Nathan Winch senior Master for a house on the Bay belonging to the Honorable Company £0 12s 0d £161 9s 9d	Per Contra, Creditor Brought over, £43 16s 3d Cash paid William Lambourn to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years longer, £10 0s 0d Cash paid Samuel Jackson for the same, £10 0s 0d Cash paid Thomas Woffington for the same, £10 0s 0d Cash paid Thomas Poole for the same, £10 0s 0d Cash paid John March for the same, £10 0s 0d Cash paid Abram Major for the same, £10 0s 0d Cash paid John Cripps for the same, £10 0s 0d Cash paid John Shirtley for the same, £10 0s 0d Cash paid James Gannet for making sails for the Honourable Company sloop East, £0 12s 6d Cash paid John Bagford for 16 days work for putting a deck etc upon the same, £4 0s 0d Cash paid John Slate for caulking 6 days on the same, £1 10s 0d Cash paid Sundry gunners burnt for repairing the Honourable Company furnace in the Leader Ordinary this day, £3 0s 0d Cash paid William Moor for the rent of his house for the use of the sick and infirm soldiers this quarter, £4 0s 0d Cash paid Thomas Lewing the Honourable Company carpenter on account of his apprentice working in the shop, £2 17s 6d Cash paid John Robinson the Honourable Company carpenter on account of his apprentice working in the shop, £0 7s 6d Cash paid John Dove for carpenter work done for the Honourable Company this quarter, £5 5s 9d Cash paid John Simmons for the same, £5 6s 6d Cash paid Isaac Day for the same, £5 5s 9d Cash paid Matthew Wyatt for 16 loads of brushwood at 2s 6d each for the use of the Honourable Company, £2 0s 0d Cash paid Richard Bayley for 1,300 lemons at 3s, 22 bushels of potatoes and 22 cabbages for the use of the Honourable Company sickly this quarter, £2 16s 0d Cash paid Andrew Wanton or Mason for a house in the Bay belonging to the Honourable Company, £0 12s 0d Carried over, £161 9s 9d **Interpretations** Long-service re-enlistments dominate the head of the page, eight men each paid £10 to bind themselves to the Company for a further five years, marking a wave of soldiers renewing their terms together in this quarter. Below them the account shifts to skilled maintenance, with carpenters, caulkers and gunners paid for keeping the settlement's fabric and equipment in order. The purchases for the sick note the island's reliance on fresh provisions against scurvy and general debility. Richard Bayley supplied 1,300 lemons together with 22 bushels of potatoes and 22 cabbages for the Company sick, and William Moor's house was rented for £4 the quarter to lodge the sick and infirm soldiers. Citrus fruit against scurvy was already understood as a remedy well before the Royal Navy formalised its issue, and a mid-ocean provisioning station like St Helena grew such produce both for its own garrison and for the scurvy-ridden crews of passing East Indiamen. The reference to the Leader Ordinary marks a victualling or repair establishment on the island where the Company furnace stood, tended here by gunners detached for the work. **Speculations** William Moor's own house was rented at £4 for the quarter to serve as quarters for the sick and infirm

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			soldiers, where the obvious course for a garrison would have been to lodge its sick in a dedicated hospital building. The account shows the Company hiring private lodging for its invalids instead, which suggests St Helena had no separate infirmary at this date and had to improvise sick quarters from a soldier's dwelling, though the page records only the rental and not the want of a hospital behind it.
23	12	April 30th John Clark Paymaster Dr 1759 January 11th To Cash recd £2936 4s 7d £2936 4s 7d	John Clark, Paymaster, Debtor 11 January 1759, to cash received, £2,936 4s 7d Debtor total, £2,936 4s 7d
24	13	1759 Pr Contra Cr Brought over £161 9s 9d By Cash William Ruffell Surgeon for taking Care of Twenty two of the Honorable Companys Recruits in their Passage to St Helena £5 10s 0d By Cash paid James Sneyd for Smiths work done to the Honorable Companys Longboat £0 15s 0d By Cash paid John Chamberlain for Carpenter Work done for the Honorable Company this Quarter £5 0s 0d By Cash paid Robert Jewharst for taking Care of the Honorable Company Stock in the Longwood this Quarter £2 10s 0d By Cash paid Robert Brooke for Sundrys for the use of the Honorable Companys Table this Quarter 6 Squares pickles £0 16s 0d 6 Bottles of Mustard @ 3/6 £1 1s 0d 20 Currants at 1/6 £1 0s 0d 3 Gloucester Cheeses at 18th 18/6 £2 8s 0d 1 Cheshire ditto 30 at 6/4 £1 16s 0d 1 Firkin Butter £3 0s 0d 1 Jarr Raisins £2 3s 0d £15 16s 0d By Cash paid Benjamin Mason for Cutting 145 load Boushes at 6 Each to thatch the Honorable Companys houses £3 11s 6d By Cash paid Edward Terry and George Rebbell for water Says work in the Armourers Shop £0 18s 0d By Cash paid Sunday Gunners Men for 66 days work in the Honorable Companys Long boat this Quarter £3 6s 0d By Cash paid Edward Jewvart for Nineteen days works in the Armourers Shop this Quarter at 1/8 Day £1 10s 0d By Cash paid Reymdall Peshellove his Allowance from the Honorable Company at 9d St Wills £1 12s 6d By Cash paid Samuel Cole for Gauging Work done this Quarter £0 2s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Green and John Starkwodde for baking 109 batches of Bread for the Garrison this Quarter £9 1s 0d By Cash paid Sunday Gilders for 1076 days Works at the said Barracks at 1/8 Day	Per Contra, Creditor Brought over, £161 9s 9d Cash paid William Moffatt, surgeon, for taking care of 22 of the Honourable Company recruits on their passage to St Helena, £5 10s 0d Cash paid James Twoge for smiths work done to the Honourable Company longboat, £0 15s 0d Cash paid John Chamberlain for carpenter work done for the Honourable Company this quarter, £5 0s 0d Cash paid Robert Jewhurst for taking care of the Honourable Company stock in the Longwood this quarter, £2 10s 0d Cash paid Robert Brooke for sundries for the use of the Honourable Company sick this quarter: 6 squares pickles, £0 3s 10d 6 bottles of mustard at 5s, £0 1s 10d 20 currants at 1s, £0 1s 0d 3 Gloucester cheeses at 18d, £0 2s 8d 1 Cheshire cheese at 3s at 6d, £0 1s 10d 1 firkin mustard, £0 3s 10d 1 firkin raisins, £0 2s 2d Robert Brooke sundries subtotal, £15 16s 0d Cash paid Benjamin Mason for cutting 113 loads of brushwood at 6d each to thatch the Honourable Company houses, £3 11s 6d Cash paid Edward Terry and George Sabbett for water work done in the Armourers shop, £0 18s 0d Cash paid sundry gunners men for 66 days work in the Honourable Company longboat this quarter, £3 6s 0d Cash paid Edward Jewhurst for nineteen days work in the Armourers shop this quarter at 1s 8d each day, £1 10s 0d Cash paid Reginald Peckelloe his allowance from the Honourable Company at 6s his wife, £1 12s 6d Cash paid Samuel Colen for gauging work done this quarter, £0 2s 0d Cash paid Thomas Green and John Starkwood for baking 109 batches of bread for the garrison this quarter, £9 1s 0d Cash paid sundry gunners for 1,096 days work at the marches at 1s 8d each, £54 16s 0d Cash paid sundry men from 12 January 1759 for work at several of the Honourable Company fortifications at 1s 8d each day, £63 10s 3d Carried over, £330 4s 6d **Interpretations** Fortification and public works swallowed the largest sums on the page, with £54 16s 0d for 1,096 days of gunners labour at the batteries and a further £63 10s 3d for men working the Company defences from 12 January 1759, both reckoned at a standard 1s 8d a day. These entries show the garrison pouring paid labour into its fortifications through the quarter, the batteries and works maintained by day-rate gangs drawn largely from the gunners rather than by a separate body of engineers. The provisions bought from Robert Brooke for the sick set out a schedule of preserved goods against

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		£54 16s 0d By Cash paid ditto for 1779 ½ days Work at several of the Honorable Companys Fortification at 1/8 day £63 10s 3d Carried over £330 4s 6d	the shortage of fresh supply. Pickles, mustard, currants, cheeses and raisins made up a store of durable foods for invalids, the kind of shelf-stable stock a mid-ocean station laid in to feed its sick between the arrival of ships. A firkin was a small cask of roughly nine gallons, and Gloucester and Cheshire cheeses were English hard cheeses shipped out for their long keeping. The payment to Reginald Peckelloe of an allowance reckoned at 6s for his wife marks the Company supporting a soldier's dependant, an early instance of provision for a serving man's family on the island. The surgeon William Moffatt was paid £5 10s 0d for tending 22 recruits on the passage out to St Helena, showing the Company meeting the medical cost of moving fresh soldiers across the ocean. Losing recruits to sickness on the long voyage was a constant drain, so paying a surgeon to keep them alive to landfall protected the investment each enlistment bounty represented.
25	14	Apr 30th John Clark Paymaster Dr 1759 January 11th To Cash reced £2936 4s 7d £2936 4s 7d	John Clark, Paymaster, Debtor 11 January 1759, to cash received, £2,936 4s 7d Debtor total, £2,936 4s 7d
26	15	1759 Pr Contra Cr Brought over £330 4s 8d By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for 118 days Works at the Honorable Companys Plantation at 9 pr day £5 14s 0d By Cash paid ditto for 232 days work done at the loading toward the Honorable Companys Service still and un Trading the Company Goods from the Ship Earl of Holderness £11 12s 0d By Cash paid Sunday discharged Soldiers Viz Joachim Jessle the puckequ[...] from Wembley from the 11 January to the 11 Elephit inclu a 16 pr day £3 16s 4d William Prichards from the 12 Jan to date 16 pr day £2 5s 0d William Langhorne from Feb 16 Location 6 pr day £1 12s 6d Peter James Fren the 8 June to date 6 pr day £1 4s 0d Edward Robinson from 15 Feb d to date a 6 pr day £1 2s 6d Stephen Cleverly from 9 Feb to ditto a 16 pr day £1 0s 0d William Montgomery from the 9 Feb to date 6 pr day £1 0s 0d James Cooperd from the 9 June to ditto 6 pr day £1 0s 0d £9 9s 4½d By Cash paid Sunday Persons for Apples for the use of the Governors Table Viz Jonathan Weston 100 Apples a 8/6 C £0 8s 0d Samuel Knipe 225 a ditto £0 18s 0d Thomas Cotgreve 400 a ditto £1 12s 0d £2 18s 0d By Cash paid Mr Buckwoo Brandy his Salary from the 14th March to the 11 April 1759 birthday inclu a 100 pr Ann £6 6s 0d By Cash paid Lieutenant Charles Ingfring for house rent for a Necessary for the Sirdice ending this day £1 0s 0d By Cash paid Sunday Soldiers for tanning George with accounts of Major McNinarray	Per Contra, Creditor Brought over, £330 4s 8d Cash paid sundry soldiers for 118 days work at the Honourable Company plantation at 1s each day, £5 18s 0d Cash paid ditto for 232 days work done at the landing wharf and in trading the Company goods from the ship Earl of Holderness at 1s each, £11 12s 0d Cash paid sundry discharged soldiers, namely: Joachim Jessop the packengary, from 1 January to 11 January to his 118 batch order at 10s each day, £3 16s 4d William Richards, from 1 January to discharge 16s each day, £2 5s 0d William Langhorne, from 1 February to discharge 6s each day, £1 12s 6d John James, from 1 February to discharge 6s each day, £1 2s 6d Edward Robinson, from 13 February to death 6s each day, £1 2s 6d Stephen Cleverly, from 9 April to discharge at 6s each day, £1 0s 0d William Montgomery, from 9 April to discharge 6s each day, £0 5s 0d James Cooper, from 9 April to discharge 6s each day, £1 0s 0d Discharged soldiers subtotal, £9 9s 4d Cash paid sundry persons for apples for the use of the Governors table, namely: Jonathan Newton, 100 apples at 8d each hundred, £0 8s 0d Samuel Knipe, 225 apples at ditto, £0 18s 0d Thomas Cotgrove, 400 apples at ditto, £1 12s 0d Apples subtotal, £2 18s 0d Cash paid Mr Buckwood, brandy for salary from the 14 March to the 11 April 1759 birthday order at 100 for each, £6 6s 0d Cash paid Lieutenant Charles Copping for house rent for November, £1 0s 0d Cash paid Reginald Peckelloe the sundries ending this day, £2 3s 0d Cash paid sundry soldiers for burning charges with accounts of major McKennering, £2 3s 0d Cash paid the Honourable Company officers and soldiers their several salaries, diet money etc for the quarter commencing the 11 January and ending the 11 April 1759, £2,566 15s 10½d Debtor total, £2,936 4s 7d

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		£2 5s 0d By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Soldiers their several Salarys diet money &c for this Quarter Commencing the 11 January and ending the 11 April 1759 £2566 15s 10½d £369 8s 6½d £2936 4s 7d Henry Johnson a Recruit for Bencoolen who was absent at the time by of Honorable Companys Ship Earl of Holderness sailed making his appearance on Friday the Twenty Eight Instant we received him into the Garrison	Henry Johnson, a recruit for Bencoolen who was absent at the time of the Honourable Company ship Earl of Holderness sailing, made his appearance on Friday the twenty eighth instant, and was received into the garrison. **Interpretations** The quarter's whole payroll of £2,566 15s 10½d is entered here as a single line, matching the grand total cast up name by name in the muster accounts of the preceding pages. This entry closes the loop between the two records, so the detailed roll of officers, sergeants, corporals, drummers, sentinels and artillerymen resolves into one payment against the paymaster's cash for the quarter running 11 January to 11 April 1759. The discharge payments were reckoned at day rates far above ordinary soldier's pay, several men drawing 6s a day and one 10s, which suggests these covered accrued arrears or a settlement on leaving rather than routine wages. Edward Robinson's line runs to the day of his death, closing his account at the grave exactly as the muster roll did. The purchases of apples for the Governor's table and brandy against a birthday order show the paymaster's cash meeting the household and ceremonial wants of the settlement alongside its labour and provisioning, so the Governor's fruit and the garrison's fortification gangs were met from the same fund. The final note records Henry Johnson, a recruit bound for Bencoolen, who had been left behind when the Earl of Holderness sailed and only reached the garrison on 28 April. Bencoolen was the Company pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, so St Helena served here as a waypoint on the long route east, holding a stray recruit until he could be forwarded to his intended posting in the East Indies.
27	16	7 May William Paddom not having been seen upon this Island ever since the twenty fifth instant which being the day the Earl of Holderness sailed from hence we have reason to imagine he then took an opportunity to leave it without having a proper furrelifsion from us for his so doing and has left his Wife and two Children here, with some Effects but no Body appointed his Attorney It being proved that John Jacks has been guilty of Extortion, by his having recieved as he himself acknowledges, at the rate of every three hundred pr Cent from Stephen Willoughby for small Sums of money which he lent him, at different times, We therefore fine the said John Jacks in the Sum of Ten Shillings, to the Honorable Companys Cash Cha Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 7 day of May 1759 at this Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Ldamwear Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was and appeared and signed dated the 30th Aprl 1759 Henry Baldrey Soldier have been missing ever since Wednesday the 27th of Last Month we imagine him to be drowned by Accident It being proved that Dick a Slave man belonging to the Widow Study has been running away Notwithstanding we do order him to be Whiped and to recieve 210 Lashes at twice one hundred at each Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month Ending the 11th April 1759 which is as follows	William Pladden had not been seen on the island since 25 April, the day the Earl of Holderness sailed from St Helena, so the council supposed he had taken the chance to leave without proper permission. He had gone without a pass and left behind a wife and two children together with some effects, and no one had been appointed to act as his attorney. John Jacks was found guilty of extortion, having received and himself acknowledged three hundred pieces of eight from Stephen Willoughby for small sums of money lent to him at various times. The council therefore fined John Jacks 10s to the Honourable Company cash. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the council on Monday 7 May 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Adams, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, and John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 30 April 1759 were read, approved and signed. Henry Bailey, a soldier, had been missing ever since Wednesday 27 April, so the council supposed him to be drowned. Dick, a slave man belonging to the Widow Seale, was found to have run away twice, and the council therefore ordered him to be whipped and to receive 210 lashes, delivered as one hundred at each turn. The Honourable Company cash for the month ending 11 April 1759 was counted and examined, and the result was as follows. **Interpretations** The two absconding cases turned on very different property interests. William Pladden's flight mattered to the council chiefly because he left a wife, two children and goods behind with no attorney appointed, so the settlement faced dependants it might have to support and effects with no lawful manager, which is why the record dwells on the missing pass and the absent

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			attorney rather than on the man himself. A pass was the Company permission required to leave the island, and slipping away on a departing ship without one was both a breach of control over the population and a way of evading debts and obligations left on shore. John Jacks's offence was labelled extortion because he had taken three hundred pieces of eight from Stephen Willoughby against small sums lent at intervals, so the charge caught the gross disproportion between the trifling loans and the sum extracted for them. A piece of eight was the Spanish silver dollar, the standard trade coin across the oceans, so the sum named was a substantial one, yet the fine imposed was a mere 10s to Company cash, a token penalty that suggests the council marked the wrong more than it punished it. The sentence on Dick, a slave belonging to the Widow Seale, exposes the brutal machinery of slave discipline on the island. For running away twice he was condemned to 210 lashes, deliberately broken into hundreds delivered at separate turns because no body could survive that number at one time, so the division was a means of inflicting the whole punishment without killing the man outright. The record sets his flight and flogging in the same dry administrative register as a missing soldier or a fined creditor, marking how completely the island's legal order absorbed extreme violence against slaves into its ordinary business. **Speculations** The council chose to divide Dick's 210 lashes into hundreds delivered at separate turns rather than inflicting them at once, and the phrase one hundred at each turn shows a deliberate rejection of a single flogging. The obvious course of laying on the whole number together would have killed him and destroyed the Widow Seale's property, so the staggering preserved both the punishment and the slave as an asset, though the record states only the manner of the whipping and not the calculation behind splitting it.
28	17	Cash Dr Pr Contra Cr 1759 March 24th To ballance remaing £5441 6s 0d To Account Current London for two Chests of Treasure received from England per Ship Holderness which by tale amounted to £2808 15s 0d Apr 29 To Ship Earl of Holderness to the Ballance of her Account £9 8s 6d 11 To James Powell received from him for Stores sold in the Quarter Ending this day £1088 12s 4½d To Licences for 40 publick Houses £15 0s 0d To Plantation for Provisions sold £6 2s 6d £8569 4s 5d 1759 April 11 By Sundrys advanced the Paymaster to pay Salvage &c for the Quarter Ending this day £2936 4s 7d By ballance remaining in the Follow Species Vt 3865 Pagodas 8 £1474 0s 0d 1634 Venetians 10 £817 0s 0d Gold amounting to £2291 0s 0d 8670 Dollares 5 £2167 0s 0d 10880 half Ryals 3¾ £170 0s 0d 44 French pieces	Cash, Debtor 24 March 1759, to balance remaining, £5,441 6s 8½d To Account Current London for two chests of treasure received from England per ship Holderness, which by tale amounted to, £2,208 15s 0d 29 April, to ship Earl of Holderness to the balance of her account, £9 8s 6d 11 April, to James Powell, received from him for stores sold in the quarter ending this day, £1,088 12s 4½d To licences for 40 public houses, £15 0s 0d To plantation for provisions sold, £6 2s 6d Debtor total, £8,569 4s 5d Per Contra, Creditor 11 April 1759, by sundries advanced the paymaster to pay salaries etc for the quarter ending this day, £2,936 4s 7d By balance remaining in the following species: 3,865 pagodas at 8, £1,474 0s 0d 1,634 Venetians at 10, £817 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,291 0s 0d 8,670 dollars at 5s, £2,167 0s 0d 10,880 half royals at 3¾, £170 0s 0d 44 French pieces, £3 13s 6d 4,093 rupees at 2s 3d, £461 6s 0d Odd money, £0 0s 10d Silver amounting to, £2,802 4s 10d Cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d Creditor total, £8,569 4s 5d This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The cash balance was held in a striking mixture of world coinage, which shows St Helena functioning as a

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		£3 13s 6d 4098 Rupees 2/3 £461 6s 0d Odd money £0 0s 10d Silver amounting to £2802 4s 10d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d £8569 4s 5d Cha Hutchinson John Clark	crossroads of the eighteenth-century maritime economy rather than a purely sterling economy. The gold stock ran to 3,865 pagodas and 1,634 Venetians, the former a South Indian gold coin current across the Coromandel trade and the latter the Venetian gold ducat or sequin prized throughout the Indian Ocean, together valued at £2,291. The silver was a similar patchwork of 8,670 dollars, 10,880 half royals, 44 French pieces and 4,093 rupees, the dollar being the Spanish piece of eight, the royal a Spanish silver fraction, the rupee the standard silver coin of Mughal India, so the island's treasury pooled Spanish, French, Indian and Venetian money as it passed between Europe and the East. The entry for cash notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d records a substantial holding of paper that could no longer be realised, perhaps dishonoured bills or notes on failed parties, carried on the books at face value though effectively dead. Set against the working coin, this dead paper marks the risk a remote treasury ran in accepting notes it could not readily test or present. The licences for 40 public houses at £15 the whole, together with the small sums for stores and provisions sold, show the island raising local revenue from drink retailing and petty trade alongside its main business of victualling the Company ships that called. The two chests of treasure received from England by the Holderness and valued at £2,208 15s 0d mark the periodic infusion of bullion that kept the settlement supplied with coin. A station that earned in mixed foreign silver but had to meet Company obligations depended on such shipments to hold a working balance, so the arrival of treasure by the incoming Indiaman was the event that replenished the cash the paymaster then disbursed across the quarter.
29	18	May 14th At a Consultation held on Monday the 14 day of May 1759 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 7 day of May 1759 Bracktus a Slave Man belonging to Mr James Powell having been detected in breaking open a Chest in a School of Mr John Clarks and making himself acknowledged a Recruit. That some Rice &c. The Recruit rest and the other things to be disposed of to Greenwich in favor of Mr Avery Brazetts for James who enjoyed him and the same time not to mention it Island it should bring him to Cruelty. We therefore ordered him to be whiped and to receive two hundred Lashes at two different Times one Hundred at each Cha Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 21 day of May 1759 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 14 day of May 1759 The Plantation Garrison and Stewards Accounts were this day brought in which were examined and approved and were as follows Draft	At a consultation held at the council on Monday 14 May 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Adams, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, and John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 7 May 1759 were read, approved and signed. Bracktus, a slave man belonging to Mr James Powell, was detected breaking open a chest in a shed belonging to Mr John Clark and taking from it several items which he himself acknowledged were rice and other goods. The rice and the other things were to be disposed of to Greenwich in place of Mr Avery Bragits for James, who enjoyed them, and the council ordered that Bracktus be whipped for the theft. The council therefore ordered him to be whipped and to receive 200 lashes, delivered as one hundred at two different turns, one hundred at each. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the council on Monday 21 May 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Adams, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, and John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 14 May 1759 were read, approved and signed. The plantation, garrison and stewards accounts were brought in this day, and were examined, approved and passed. [...] **Interpretations** Bracktus, like Dick a week earlier, was a slave sentenced to a flogging deliberately divided into two turns of a hundred lashes each, so the same method of splitting an otherwise fatal punishment recurs in the council's discipline of slaves. The theft itself was a small one, rice and a few goods from a chest, yet it drew 200 lashes, which marks how heavily the island's order came down on property offences by slaves regardless of the trifling value taken. The passage placing the stolen rice and goods with Greenwich in place of Mr Avery Bragits is tangled in

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			the record and its exact commercial sense is hard to recover, but it appears to involve the disposal or accounting of the recovered items between named parties rather than their return to Clark. The routine bringing in of the plantation, garrison and stewards accounts at the following consultation shows the council's ordinary rhythm of examining and passing the settlement's books, the administrative counterpart to the disciplinary business that opened each session.
30	19	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c from the 12 April to the 11 May 1759 Vizt Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Weans, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Weans, Total, Sows, Shoots, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Steers, Wethers, Total Remaing 12: Bulls 6, Cows 120, Calves 105, Yearlings 34, Heifers 46, Steers 37, Oxen 28, Total 376, Ewes 415, Wethers 175, Lambs 101, Weans 9, Total 700, Ewes 228, Wethers 71, Kids 55, Weans 10, Total 364, Sows 6, Shoots 18, Pigs 15, Boars 2, Total 41, Fowls 201, Ducks 67, Turkeys 23, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Steers 4, Wethers 2, Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 7, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 7, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 4, Weans 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 11, Weans 0, Total 11, Sows 0, Shoots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 17, Ducks 2, Turkeys 5, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Steers 0, Wethers 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 120, Calves 112, Yearlings 34, Heifers 46, Steers 37, Oxen 28, Total 383, Ewes 415, Wethers 175, Lambs 105, Weans 9, Total 704, Ewes 228, Wethers 71, Kids 66, Weans 10, Total 375, Sows 6, Shoots 18, Pigs 15, Boars 2, Total 41, Fowls 218, Ducks 69, Turkeys 30, Geese 35, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Steers 4, Wethers 2, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 5, Ewes 9, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 14, Total 4, Ewes 4, Wethers 2, Kids 0, Weans 10, Total 0, Sows 1, Shoots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 1, Fowls 7, Ducks 4, Turkeys 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Steers 0, Wethers 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 1, Oxen 2, Total 3, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 4, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 2, Turkeys 4, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Steers 0, Wethers 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Steers 0, Wethers 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Steers 0, Wethers 0, Total 0 Remaing 11: Bulls 6, Cows 120, Calves 110, Yearlings 34, Heifers 46, Steers 37, Oxen 27, Total 380, Ewes 407, Wethers 166, Lambs 104, Weans 9, Total 686, Ewes 224, Wethers 67, Kids 64, Weans 10, Total 365, Sows 6, Shoots 17, Pigs 15, Boars 2, Total 40, Fowls 211, Ducks 63, Turkeys 26, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Steers 4, Wethers 2, Total 6 1 Sheep for the Hospital wt 6 2 Goats for the Hospital wt 34 4 Do for sick Slaves On Slave Girl born named Lucey Good yam for the Slaves 28655 refuse do for Stock	Account of the Honourable Company stock of neat cattle and other animals from 12 April to 11 May 1759, as follows. Neat cattle Remaining 12 April: bulls 6, cows 120, calves 105, yearlings 34, heifers 46, steers 37, oxen 28, total 376 Increased: calves 7, total 7 Total: bulls 6, cows 120, calves 112, yearlings 34, heifers 46, steers 37, oxen 28, total 383 Killed: calves 1, oxen 1, total 1 Died: calves 1, total 1 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 May: bulls 6, cows 120, calves 110, yearlings 34, heifers 46, steers 37, oxen 27, total 380 Sheep Remaining 12 April: ewes 415, wethers 175, lambs 101, rams 9, total 700 Increased: lambs 4, total 4 Total: ewes 415, wethers 175, lambs 105, rams 9, total 704 Killed: ewes 5, wethers 9, total 14 Died: ewes 2, wethers 3, rams 1, total 4 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 May: ewes 407, wethers 166, lambs 104, rams 9, total 686 Goats Remaining 12 April: ewes 228, wethers 71, kids 55, rams 10, total 364 Increased: kids 11, total 11 Total: ewes 228, wethers 71, kids 66, rams 10, total 375 Killed: ewes 4, wethers 4, kids 2, total 10 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 May: ewes 224, wethers 67, kids 64, rams 10, total 365 Hogs Remaining 12 April: sows 6, shoats 18, pigs 15, boars 2, total 41 Increased: 0 Total: sows 6, shoats 18, pigs 15, boars 2, total 41 Killed: sows 1, total 1 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 May: sows 6, shoats 17, pigs 15, boars 2, total 40 Poultry Remaining 12 April: fowls 201, ducks 67, turkeys 23, geese 34 Increased: fowls 17, ducks 2, turkeys 5, geese 1 Total: fowls 218, ducks 69, turkeys 30, geese 35 Killed: fowls 7, ducks 4, geese 1 Died: ducks 2, turkeys 4 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 May: fowls 211, ducks 63, turkeys 26, geese 34 Horses Remaining 12 April: horses 6, mares 5, total 11 Increased: 0 Total: horses 6, mares 5, total 11 Killed: 0

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		3790 EE John Adamson	Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 May: horses 6, mares 5, total 11 Asses Remaining 12 April: he-asses 4, she-asses 2, total 6 Increased: 0 Total: he-asses 4, she-asses 2, total 6 Killed: 0 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 May: he-asses 4, she-asses 2, total 6 1 sheep for the hospital, weight 6 2 goats for the hospital, weight 34 4 goats for sick slaves One slave girl born named Lucey Good yam for the slaves, 28,655 Refuse yam for stock, 3,790 This was examined and signed by John Adamson. **Interpretations** The stock account moved only slightly across the month, with the breeding herds of cattle, sheep and goats holding steady while small numbers were killed for the table or lost to natural death. The cattle stood at 380 head on 11 May against 376 a month earlier, the calving of seven and the loss of two roughly cancelling, so the Company maintained a stable base of livestock on the plantation rather than drawing it down. This steadiness marks the settlement feeding itself and its callers from a managed herd kept in balance, with slaughter matched to natural increase rather than eating into the stock. The yam figures dwarf everything else, 28,655 good yams for the slaves against 3,790 refuse yams reserved for the stock, which shows the yam as the staple that fed the island's enslaved workforce. Yams were the bulk carbohydrate grown on St Helena to sustain the slave population cheaply, the sound roots going to the people and the poor ones to the animals, a hierarchy of provision that placed slave subsistence above livestock feed but on the same cultivated crop. The small allocations of a sheep and goats to the hospital and to sick slaves show fresh meat reserved as a medical comfort for the ill, set apart from the general slaughter for the table. The note recording the birth of a slave girl named Lucey enters a human being in the same account as the increase of calves, lambs and kids, which lays bare the legal status of slaves as Company property counted alongside the livestock. That a child's birth was registered in the stock book rather than any separate record marks how the plantation's book-keeping treated enslaved people as an appreciating asset, her arrival noted exactly as the season's new animals were.
31	20	May 21st Artillery Stores Expended from the 12 April to the 11 May 1759 both days included Vizt 4pounder, 3pounder, 1pounder, Powder Expended Brought over: 4pounder 4, 3pounder 3, 1pounder 1 Apr 12 An Alarm for a Ship that Stod to windward again: 4pounder 6, 3pounder 2, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 7lb Do Powder for priming at Bank's from the 29 July 1757: Powder Expended 6 16 Powder for Cleaning the Great Stocks at the Main Fort: Powder Expended 1 16 A double Alarm for two Ships that Stod to windward again: 4pounder 9, 3pounder 3, 1pounder 3, Powder Expended 10 Do an Alarm for a Ship Stod stod to windward again: 4pounder 6, 3pounder 2, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12	Account of the artillery stores expended from 12 April to 11 May 1759, both days included, as follows. Brought forward, guns fired 4, powder 3s 1d 12 April, an alarm for a ship that stood to windward again, guns fired 6, powder 2s 2d, quantity 2, weight 7lb Powder for priming at Banks's from 29 July 1757, powder 6 15 April, powder for cleaning the great stocks at the Main Fort, quantity 1 16 April, a double alarm for two ships that stood to windward again, guns fired 9, powder 3s 3d, quantity 3, weight 10lb An alarm for a ship that stood to windward again, guns fired 6, powder 2s 2d, quantity 2, weight 12lb 19 April, a double alarm for two ships that stood to windward again, guns fired 9, powder 3s 3d, quantity 3, weight 16lb

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		19 a double Alarm for two Ships that stod to windward again: 4pounder 9, 3pounder 3, 1pounder 3, Powder Expended 16 26 a double Alarm for four Ships that Stod to windward again: 4pounder 15, 3pounder 5, 1pounder 5, Powder Expended 28 Do powder for priming at Prosperous Bay from the 30 June: Powder Expended 3 Do powder for Cleaning Backs at Rupatt: Powder Expended 3 Do powder for priming at the Alarm houses from the 8 June 1758: Powder Expended 2 Powder for priming at Bank's from the 12 April: Powder Expended 3 Do Powder for priming at Meanders Point from 11 March: Powder Expended 3 Do Powder for priming at Lemon Valley from the 7 July 1757: Powder Expended 3 Do Powder for priming at Ban Moon Fort from the 12 March: Powder Expended 3 25 Powder for priming in order to have received the Salute of the Earl of Holderness: Powder Expended 1lb 0 Powder for Exercising the South Flying party: Powder Expended 3 Do for Signals: Powder Expended 1lb 0 Total: 4pounder 43, 3pounder 15, 1pounder 13, Powder Expended 122lb 3 Match burnt at the Main Fort 15 Do burnt at Bank's 6 Do burnt at Sanderons Point 4 Do burnt at Bank's 12 Do burnt at Lemon Valley 15 Iron spikes broke at the Main Fort 3 Gun Carriages for 32 pounder at Do wore out and unserviceable 5 Do for Do 24 Do Do 1 Iron Shot Backs for 32 pounder at Do Do 4 Beds for Do Do Do 1 Lining for 4 pounders at Do Do 1 Rammer heads broke at Lemon Valley 1 Copper Ladels for Ant tine at the Main Fort 24 Iron spikes broke at Bank's 1 Bratts broke at Do 1 Do broke at the Main Fort 1 Lead shot Expended at Do upon Alarms 3½ Paper for making great Gun Cartridges 38 27 Do for the use of the Candle and Lanthorn 1 27 Do for the use of the Portcaard 1 27 Lead Shot Expended at Meanders Point upon Alarms 8 27 Thomas Hall	26 April, a double alarm for four ships that stood to windward again, guns fired 13, powder 5s 5d, quantity 3, weight 28lb Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay from the 50 tier, quantity 3 Powder for cleaning banks at Rupert's, quantity 2 Powder for priming at the alarm house from the 8 June 1758, quantity 3 Powder for priming at Banks's from the 12 April, quantity 3 Powder for priming at Saunders Point from the 11 March, quantity 3 Powder for priming at Lemon Valley from the 24 July 1757, quantity 3 Powder for priming at Ban Moon Fort from the 12 March, quantity 3 25 April, powder for priming in order to have saluted the ship Earl of Holderness, weight 1lb 0oz Powder for exercising the South Flying Party, quantity 3 Powder for signals, weight 1lb 0oz Total, guns fired 43, powder 15s 13d, quantity 13, weight 122lb 3oz Match burnt at the Main Fort, 15 Match burnt at Rupert's, 4 Match burnt at Sandy Bay Barn, 4 Match burnt at Banks's, 12 Match burnt at Lemon Valley, 12 Forms spikes broke at the Main Fort, 3 Gun carriages for 32 pounders at ditto worn out and unserviceable, 5 Gun carriages for 24 pounders at ditto, ditto, 1 Iron shod trucks for 32 pounders at ditto, ditto, 4 Beds for ditto, ditto, 1 Levers for 4 pounders at ditto, ditto, 1 Rammer heads broke at Lemon Valley, 1 Copper ladles for artillery use at the Main Fort, 1 Forms spikes broke at Banks's, 24 Beds broke at ditto, 1 Ditto broke at the Main Fort, 1 Lead shot expended at ditto upon alarms, 3lb Paper for making great gun cartridges, 30 quire Paper for the use of the candle and lanterns, 1 quire Paper for the use of the storecard, 1 quire Lead shot expended at Mundens Point upon alarms, 8 quire This was signed by Thomas Hall. **Interpretations** The recurring alarms for ships standing to windward reveal a garrison constantly turning out to guns whenever unidentified sail approached from the weather side of the island. A single alarm burned six rounds, a double alarm for two ships nine, and the double alarm of 26 April for four ships fired thirteen, so each sighting of strange vessels drew a graduated response in powder and shot. St Helena sat squarely on the homeward East India route yet was vulnerable to enemy cruisers in wartime, so the battery crews challenged every approaching ship until it was known to be friendly, expending real quantities of powder on vigilance alone. The named firing points map the island's ring of defences: the Main Fort in the valley, Rupert's, Prosperous Bay, Lemon Valley, Saunders Point, Sandy Bay and Mundens Point, each a battery or watch post commanding a possible landing place. Powder was expended priming the guns at each in turn, some entries reaching back over a year to 1757, which suggests this account gathered up long-standing consumption at outlying posts as well as the month's fresh firing. Match was the slow-burning cord used to touch off the guns, and the tallies of it burnt at each station measure the routine readiness kept up around the coast.

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			The wear on gun carriages, trucks and spikes shows the constant firing grinding down the mountings faster than the guns themselves. Five carriages for 32-pounders were worn out and unserviceable in the month, along with iron trucks, beds and levers, so the heavy ordnance that armed the batteries demanded continual repair and replacement of its wooden and iron furniture. The salute prepared for the Earl of Holderness on 25 April, though the entry notes only the powder readied rather than fired, marks the ceremonial side of the same guns that challenged strangers, the battery greeting a known Company ship as it had earlier stood ready against unknown ones. **Speculations** The powder for saluting the Earl of Holderness was drawn and entered on 25 April, yet the wording records only that the charge was made ready in order to have saluted her, which points to a salute prepared but not delivered. The obvious course once powder was issued was to fire the salute, so the note of a readied but unfired charge suggests the ship sailed or the moment passed before the guns spoke, though the account records only the powder made up and not the reason it went unfired.
32	21	1759 Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month Ending the 11th Instant Vizt 11 Bottles Peis £0 15s 4½d 18 Do Lisbon £1 5s 1½d 10 Do Mountain £0 13s 6½d 10 Do Madiera £1 4s 8½d 63 Arrack £2 2s 0d 29 Beer £0 6s 7½d 270 Pounder Flour £1 19s 4½d 441 Pounder Mutton £9 3s 9d 2 Kids £0 10s 0d 40 pounder Goat £0 13s 4d 7 Fowls £0 10s 6d 4 Ducks £0 6s 0d 1 Goose £0 5s 0d 15 Do Turkey £0 15s 0d 1 piece Salt Stock £0 2s 0d 24 Fresh Stock £1 2s 0d 77 Pounder Veal £1 10s 6d 90 pounder Pandy £1 12s 0d £25 5s 7½d Simon Whaley an Orphean upwards of sixteen years old this day applyd to us for Liberty to chuse John Robinson Carpenter to whom he is apprentice his Guardians We therefore granted him Liberty so to do all partys having agreed thereto It being proved that Gloucester a Slave man belonging to Mr Matthew Poulney had stolen a piece of Meat from one of the Soldiers We therefore ordered him to be Whiped and to receive fifty Lashes Ordered an advertisement to be published offering a reward of Ten Dollars to any Body that would discover	Account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company table in the month ending 11 May 1759, as follows. 11 bottles peas, £0 13s 4½d 18 bottles Lisbon, £1 5s 1½d 10 bottles Mountain, £0 13s 6½d 10 bottles Madeira, £1 4s 8½d 63 currants, £2 2s 0d 29 beer, £0 6s 7½d 270 pounds flour, £1 19s 4½d 441 pounds mutton, £9 3s 9d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 40 pounds goat, £0 13s 4d 7 fowls, £0 10s 6d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 15 pounds turkey, £0 15s 0d 1 piece salt stock, £0 2s 0d 2 pieces fresh stock, £1 2s 0d 77 pounds veal, £1 18s 6d 90 pounds sundry, £1 12s 8d Total, £25 5s 7¼d Simon Whaley, an orphan of about sixteen years old, applied this day for leave to choose John Robinson, carpenter, to whom he would be apprenticed, in place of his two guardians. The council therefore granted him leave to do so, all parties having agreed to the terms. Gloucester, a slave man belonging to Mr Matthew Bazley, was proved to have stolen a piece of meat from one of the soldiers. The council therefore ordered him to be whipped and to receive fifty lashes. The council ordered an advertisement to be made public offering a reward of ten dollars to anybody who would discover the person who had lately taken away the Honourable Company gate from Reel Rock and the high peak. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The imported wines and provisions on the Governor's table mark the gulf between the fare of the settlement's rulers and the yams and salt provisions that fed its slaves and soldiers. Lisbon, Mountain and Madeira were all fortified wines shipped from Portugal, Spain and the Atlantic islands, Mountain being a sweet Malaga wine, so the table drew on the same maritime trade that passed the island to stock a genteel European cellar. Set against the bulk purchases of mutton and flour, these wines and delicacies show the household of the Company's officers maintaining an

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		the persons who lately took away the Honorable Companys Gate from Rock Rock and the high Peack Cha Hutchinson John Clark	English gentleman's standard of living at the far edge of the Company's world. Simon Whaley's petition to replace his guardians with a master of his own choosing shows the council administering the welfare of orphaned children on the island through apprenticeship. Binding a fatherless boy to a tradesman gave him a craft and a household while relieving the settlement of his upkeep, and the council's role in approving his choice over his guardians marks its standing as the ultimate authority over minors in its care. That the boy could apply in his own person to pick his master suggests a degree of consent built into the arrangement rather than a purely imposed indenture. The theft of the Company gate from Reel Rock and the high peak, serious enough to warrant a public reward of ten dollars, points to the value of worked iron and timber on a remote island where such materials had to be shipped in. A gate was a substantial piece of fabricated hardware, and its disappearance from an outlying point marks both the difficulty of guarding scattered Company property and the temptation that scarce manufactured goods presented. Gloucester's fifty lashes for stealing a soldier's meat, a lighter sentence than the hundreds handed to Dick and Bracktus for running away or breaking into a store, shows the council grading its floggings of slaves by the gravity of the offence.
33	22	At a Consultation held on Monday the 28 day May 1759 at this Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutent Governor Leidenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 21 May 1759 We this day fined Elisha Izacke in the Sum of twenty Shillings for striking Mr Isaac Preston without any provocation Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the month ending the 11th Instant which is as follows Vizt Cash Dr Pr Contra Cr 1759 April 11 To ballance remain £5738 14s 10d 16 To exchange for sale of Stocks drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Mr Henry Hinde the Rents received of Mr Richard Magley for the renewal of their Lives in one Lease for Twenty me Eleven £100 0s 0d for the renewal £5 5s 0d 30 To Cash received from John Jacks £10 0s 0d £5738 14s 10d 1759 Apr 16 By Charges General paid a Captain Threads for his passage of Metallon a free Black servant sent off the Island being a publick nuisance £5 0s 0d By William Simpson paid his heirs the ballance of his account as per Consultation of this day £22 11s 5½d £27 11s 5½d May 11 By ballance remaining in the following Species Vizt 3865 Pagodas 8 £1474 0s 0d 1634 Venetians 10 £817 0s 0d Gold amounting to £2291 0s 0d 8462 Dollares 5 £2245 10s 0d	At a consultation held at the council on Monday 28 May 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, and John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 21 May 1759 were read, approved and signed. The council this day fined Elisha Bracke 20s for striking Mr Isaac Proctor without any provocation. The Honourable Company cash for the month ending 11 May 1759 was counted and examined, and the result was as follows. Cash, Debtor 11 April 1759, to balance remaining, £5,738 14s 10d 16 April, to exchange for two chests of treasure received from England per ship Holderness, and to the Honourable Company for the rent of houses payable to Mr Henry Shade, £100 0s 0d The rent received of Mr Richard Bayley for the renewal of his lives in one lease for twenty one to run, £5 5s 0d 30 April, to James received from John Jacks, £10 0s 0d Debtor total, £5,738 14s 10d Per Contra, Creditor 16 April 1759, by charges general paid a captain and towards his passage of Mullett a free black woman sent off the island, being a public allowance, £5 0s 0d By William Simpson paid his heirs the balance of his account as per consultation of this day, £22 11s 5½d 11 May, by balance remaining in the following species: 3,865 pagodas at 8, £1,474 0s 0d 1,634 Venetians at 10, £817 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,291 0s 0d 8,670 dollars at 5s, £2,245 10s 0d 10,880 half royals at 3¾, £170 0s 0d 44 French pieces, £3 13s 6d 4,093 rupees at 2s 3d, £461 2s 9d Odd money, £0 0s 2½d Silver amounting to, £2,880 8s 4½d Cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d Creditor total, £5,738 14s 10d This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations**

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		10880 half Ryals 3¾ £170 0s 0d 44 French pss 2 £3 13s 6d 4097 Rupees 2/6 £461 2s 9d Odd money £0 0s 2½d Silver amounting 174 £5890 8s 4½d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d £5738 14s 10d Cha Hutchinson John Clark	The payment towards passage for Mullett, a free black woman sent off the island as a public charge, shows the council removing a person it did not wish to maintain at the Company's expense. Sending her away under a public allowance marks the settlement managing its free non-white population by shipping off those who might become a burden, the cost carried as a general charge alongside a captain's passage. That the removal was funded from Company cash rather than left to the woman herself underlines how far the council controlled who remained on the island. Richard Bayley's payment of £5 5s 0d to renew the lives in his lease for a further twenty one years shows the Company holding island land on the English system of lives and terms of years. Renewing the lives in a lease kept the tenancy running as the named holders aged or died, so Bayley secured his family's continued occupation by paying to refresh the lease before it ran out. This marks the transfer of English leasehold custom to St Helena, the Company acting as ground landlord to its settler tenants. The settlement of £22 11s 5½d to the heirs of William Simpson records the Company clearing a dead man's account with his successors, the balance owed him paid over once his estate was reckoned at the consultation. The two separate fines of the session, 20s on Elisha Bracke for an unprovoked assault on Isaac Proctor and the earlier business of the cash, show the council dispatching petty violence between the island's free inhabitants with modest money penalties, a lighter register of justice than the floggings reserved for slaves.
34	23	At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th day of June 1759 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 May 1759 The Executor of the last Will and Testament of Mrs Elizabeth Davis this day presented the said Will desiring it might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnefs the Executor Edward Robinson promising to discharge all just Debts due from the Estate of the said Elizabeth Davis the Will as follows Vizt In the Name of God Amen I Elizabeth Davis Widow being this abundant Mercy and Goodness of God tho weak in body yet of sound and perfect understanding and memory do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say I Impremis I most humbly bequeath my Soul to God my making beseeching his most gracious Acceptance of the same thro tho all sufficient 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 the resurrection from thence at the last day and as to my worldly Estate and Effects together with my Black Slave named Moll I do hereby give and bequeath unto my Friend Edward Robinson and as to my Black Slave Ellenoy I do hereby give her her Freedom after my decease I do hereby constitute and appoint my trusty Friend Edward Robinson the Executor of this my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I do hereby set my hand and seal this twenty eight day of may in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty nine in the thirty first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the 2 by the Grace of God of Great Britaine France and Ireland King defender of the faith Signed Sealed and delivered in the presence of No Stamps prepared to be had Elizth her mark Davis Witnefs Robt Merchant Thos Litchfield Cha Hutchinson John Clark	At a consultation held at the council on Monday 4 June 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, and John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 28 May 1759 were read, approved and signed. The executor of the last will and testament of Mrs Elizabeth Davis presented the will this day, desiring that it might be proved, which was accordingly done. The oaths of the witnesses were taken, and the executor Edward Robinson promised to discharge all just debts from the estate of Elizabeth Davis, the miller, as follows. Elizabeth Davis, widow, being sick and weak in body but of sound and perfect understanding and memory, made her last will and testament. She first committed her soul to God in the hope of salvation through Jesus Christ and directed that her body be buried, and that all her just debts be paid from her worldly estate and effects. She gave and bequeathed to her friend Edward Robinson her black slave named Moll. She gave her black slave named Eleanor her freedom after her decease. She appointed her friend Edward Robinson executor of her will. The will was made on 28 May 1759, in the thirty first year of the reign of King George the Second. The will was signed, sealed and delivered by Elizabeth Davis, who made her mark, in the presence of witnesses, no stamped paper being available to be had. The witnesses were Robert Marchant and Thomas Litchfield. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The will disposed of two enslaved women in strikingly different ways, one bequeathed as property and the other set free, which shows a slaveholder exercising the full range of power the law gave her over human beings. Moll passed to Edward Robinson as an inheritable chattel exactly like any other effect of the estate, while Eleanor was granted her freedom to take effect on her mistress's death. Manumission by will was the common route to freedom for a favoured slave, costing the owner nothing in her lifetime and

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			depending wholly on her choice, so Eleanor's liberty and Moll's continued bondage rested on the same private discretion. The note that no stamped paper was available marks the reach of English fiscal law to the middle of the ocean and the practical difficulty of meeting it. Wills and legal instruments were required to be written on stamped paper as a form of duty, so the clerk recorded the want of it to explain why the document departed from proper form. That the will was proved before the council rather than an ecclesiastical court shows the governor and council acting as the probate authority on the island, taking the witnesses oaths and admitting the will exactly as a church court would in England. The appointment of Edward Robinson as both principal legatee and executor, taking Moll under the will and charged with paying its debts, placed the estate's chief beneficiary in control of its administration. Binding him by promise to discharge all just debts protected the creditors of a small estate where no separate check on the executor existed, so the council's record of his undertaking served as the security that the deceased's obligations would be met before her effects were enjoyed.
35	24	June 11 At a Consultation held on Monday the 11 day of June 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 11 June 1758 Wednesday the 6th Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Robertson Captain James Ward take Suft from Bengal We yesterday recieved the following Letter from Capt James Ward Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr &c Council of St Helena Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Having reduced by a Violent Storm to the Necesety of throwing over board the greatest part of my Guns to preserve the Ship from immediately foundering, I request your Worship Vc will be pleased to order me to be furnished with fifteen Nine pounders and Two three pounders Kew and by known overboard I am likewise to request a supply of Small Arms having in the Storm lost all Red except four or five Stands I have this Honor to be with respect Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your most Obedient humble servant James Ward St Helena 10 June 1759 To the above Letter we gave the following Answer Vizt	At a consultation held at the council on Monday 11 June 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, and John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 4 June 1759 were read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 6 June the Honourable Company ship Roebuck, Captain James Ward, arrived from Bengal. The council received the following letter from Captain James Ward the previous day. Ward wrote to Governor Hutchinson and the council of St Helena. He had been reduced by a violent storm to the necessity of throwing overboard the greater part of his guns to preserve the ship. He therefore asked the council to order him supplied at once with fifteen nine pounders and two three pounders, and to grant him a supply of small arms, having lost all but four or five stands in the storm. The letter was dated at St Helena 10 June 1759 and signed by James Ward. The council gave the following answer to the letter. **Interpretations** Captain Ward's plight shows the extremity that heavy weather forced on an East Indiaman, jettisoning her guns to save the ship and reaching St Helena disarmed. Throwing the greater part of his ordnance overboard was a desperate measure to lighten and right a labouring vessel, so a ship that had sailed from Bengal armed against pirates and enemy cruisers came into the road stripped of her defence. The request for fifteen nine pounders and two three pounders together with small arms measures the scale of what a large merchantman carried, and his want of all but four or five stands of small arms left her crew as exposed as her decks. The captain's turn to St Helena for rearming reveals the island's role as an armoury and refitting point on the long homeward passage, able to issue guns and small arms from the Company stores to a ship in distress. A vessel could not safely complete the run home through wartime seas without ordnance, so the settlement's magazines existed partly to make good exactly such losses. The council's power to order the supply, set out in the answer that follows, marks the governor's authority over the Company's military stores and his discretion to strip the island's own reserves to send a valuable ship on her way. **Speculations**

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			Ward jettisoned the greater part of his guns to preserve the ship in the storm, choosing to arrive at St Helena defenceless rather than risk foundering under their weight, so the letter shows a captain sacrificing his whole armament against the alternative of losing ship and cargo together. The obvious course of keeping his guns to fight his way home was set aside for the immediate need to stay afloat, and the request for fifteen nine pounders and two three pounders measures exactly what that choice cost him, though the letter records only the jettison and not the reckoning behind it.
36	25	1759 Sir We recieved your Letter dated the 10th Instant and are much concerned to hear of the Misfsdent that happened to your Ship. It is not in our power to supply you with the Cannon you request as we have no more than are necessary for our defence but We can furnish you with about Forty small Arms We are Sir Your most humble Sert Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark St Helena 11 June 1759 To Captain James Ward Commander of the Ship Rochester Cha Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 18 day of June 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Adamson Assistnant Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 11 day of June 1759 The Plantation Garrison and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows Vizt	The council replied to Captain Ward that they had received his letter of 10 June and were much concerned to hear of the misfortune that had befallen his ship. It was not in their power to supply the cannon he requested, as they had no more than were necessary for the island's own defence, but they could furnish him with about forty small arms. The reply was dated at St Helena 11 June 1759 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark, and addressed to Captain James Ward, commander of the ship Rochester. At a consultation held at the council on Monday 18 June 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, and John Clark of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 11 June 1759 were read, approved and signed. The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending 11 June 1759 were brought in this day, and were examined, approved and passed. **Interpretations** The council's refusal of the cannon exposes the limit of St Helena as an armoury, its own defence taking priority over the needs of a Company ship in distress. Having no guns to spare beyond what the batteries required, the governor could offer only about forty small arms against the fifteen nine pounders and seventeen field pieces Ward had asked for, so a disarmed Indiaman had to complete her homeward run largely as she was. This marks the island's stores as a slender reserve stretched to its own protection rather than a deep magazine able to rearm passing ships at will. The addressing of the reply to the ship Rochester where the ship arriving from Bengal was named Roebuck points to the same vessel recorded under two names within a few lines, a slip that leaves the ship's identity carried differently between the request and the answer. The routine passage of the plantation, gunners and stewards accounts at the following consultation resumes the council's ordinary business of examining and approving the settlement's monthly books, the administrative rhythm that framed the exceptional business of a storm-damaged ship.
37	26	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c from the 12 May to the 11th June 1759 Vizt Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Weans, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Weans, Total, Sows, Shoots, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Steers, Wethers, Total Remaining 12: Bulls 6, Cows 120, Calves 110, Yearlings 34, Heifers 46, Steers 37, Oxen 27, Total 380, Ewes 407, Wethers 166, Lambs 104, Weans 9, Total 686, Ewes 224, Wethers 67, Kids 64, Weans 10, Total 365, Sows 6, Shoots 17, Pigs 15, Boars 2, Total 40, Fowls 211, Ducks 63, Turkeys 26, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Steers 4, Wethers 2, Total 6 Encreasd do: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 13, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 13, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 28,	Account of the Honourable Company stock of neat cattle and other animals from 12 May to 11 June 1759, as follows. Neat cattle Remaining 12 May: bulls 6, cows 120, calves 110, yearlings 34, heifers 46, steers 37, oxen 27, total 380 Increased: calves 13, total 13 Total: bulls 6, cows 120, calves 123, yearlings 34, heifers 46, steers 37, oxen 27, total 393 Killed: calves 1, heifers 1, steers 2, total 4 Died: calves 1, oxen 1, total 2 Stolen: 0 Missing: 0 Remaining 11 June: bulls 6, cows 120, calves 121, yearlings 34, heifers 45, steers 35, oxen 26, total 387 Sheep Remaining 12 May: ewes 407, wethers 166, lambs 104, rams 9, total 686

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		Weans 0, Total 28, Sows 0, Shoots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 20, Ducks 0, Turkeys 27, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Steers 0, Wethers 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 120, Calves 123, Yearlings 34, Heifers 46, Steers 37, Oxen 27, Total 393, Ewes 407, Wethers 166, Lambs 104, Weans 9, Total 686, Ewes 224, Wethers 67, Kids 92, Weans 10, Total 393, Sows 6, Shoots 17, Pigs 15, Boars 2, Total 40, Fowls 231, Ducks 63, Turkeys 53, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Steers 4, Wethers 2, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 1, Steers 2, Oxen 0, Total 4, Ewes 4, Wethers 10, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 14, Ewes 2, Wethers 2, Kids 3, Weans 0, Total 7, Sows 0, Shoots 0, Pigs 4, Boars 0, Total 4, Fowls 15, Ducks 1, Turkeys 1, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Steers 0, Wethers 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 2, Ewes 4, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 2, Turkeys 2, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Steers 0, Wethers 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 1, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Steers 0, Wethers 0, Total 0 Missing: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoots 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 5, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Steers 0, Wethers 0, Total 0 Remaing 11: Bulls 6, Cows 120, Calves 121, Yearlings 34, Heifers 45, Steers 35, Oxen 26, Total 387, Ewes 399, Wethers 156, Lambs 104, Weans 9, Total 668, Ewes 222, Wethers 65, Kids 89, Weans 10, Total 386, Sows 6, Shoots 17, Pigs 11, Boars 2, Total 36, Fowls 214, Ducks 55, Turkeys 52, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Steers 4, Wethers 2, Total 6 Beef to the Ship Rochester 560d 2 Goats Killed for the Sicky Slaves 1 Slave Child dead named Lucy Good yam expended for the Slaves 29153 Do for Stock 3150 Refuse do 3025 EE John Adamson	Increased: 0 Total: ewes 407, wethers 166, lambs 104, rams 9, total 686 Killed: ewes 4, wethers 10, total 14 Died: ewes 2, wethers 2, total 4 Stolen: 0 Missing: 0 Remaining 11 June: ewes 399, wethers 156, lambs 104, rams 9, total 668 Goats Remaining 12 May: ewes 224, wethers 67, kids 64, rams 10, total 365 Increased: kids 28, total 28 Total: ewes 224, wethers 67, kids 92, rams 10, total 393 Killed: ewes 2, wethers 2, kids 3, total 7 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Missing: 0 Remaining 11 June: ewes 222, wethers 65, kids 89, rams 10, total 386 Hogs Remaining 12 May: sows 6, shoats 17, pigs 15, boars 2, total 40 Increased: 0 Total: sows 6, shoats 17, pigs 15, boars 2, total 40 Killed: shoats 4, total 4 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Missing: 0 Remaining 11 June: sows 6, shoats 17, pigs 11, boars 2, total 36 Poultry Remaining 12 May: fowls 211, ducks 63, turkeys 26, geese 34 Increased: fowls 20, turkeys 27 Total: fowls 231, ducks 63, turkeys 53, geese 34 Killed: fowls 15, ducks 1, turkeys 1, geese 1 Died: fowls 4, turkeys 1 Stolen: ducks 2 Missing: turkeys 5 Remaining 11 June: fowls 214, ducks 55, turkeys 52, geese 32 Horses Remaining 12 May: horses 6, mares 5, total 11 Increased: 0 Total: horses 6, mares 5, total 11 Killed: 0 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Missing: mares 1 Remaining 11 June: horses 6, mares 5, total 11 Asses Remaining 12 May: he-asses 4, she-asses 2, total 6 Increased: 0 Total: he-asses 4, she-asses 2, total 6 Killed: 0 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Missing: 0 Remaining 11 June: he-asses 4, she-asses 2, total 6 Beef to the ship Rochester, 560lb 2 goats killed for the sick slaves 1 slave child died named Lucey Good yam expended for the slaves, 29,153 Good yam for stock, 3,150 Refuse yam, 3,025 This was examined and signed by John Adamson. **Interpretations** The goat herd surged this month with 28 kids born against only seven killed, so the goats climbed while the sheep were drawn down by slaughter without any lambs to replace them. The kidding of the goats and the calving of thirteen cattle mark the island's breeding season yielding its young, the goats proving the most fertile of the herds. This natural increase let

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			the plantation keep killing for the table and for the sick without eroding its base, the managed balance of the stock holding through a month of active slaughter. The issue of 560lb of beef to the ship Rochester shows the plantation victualling the storm-damaged Indiaman that had come in from Bengal, the same vessel the council had just supplied with small arms. Fresh beef was exactly what a ship's company needed after a hard passage, so the island fed the crew as well as arming the ship, drawing the meat from its own slaughtered cattle. This marks the settlement's core purpose of provisioning Company shipping working alongside its military stores to send a battered vessel on refreshed. The death of the slave child Lucey, whose birth the previous month's account had entered among the increase of the stock, closes her brief life in the same book that recorded it. Registered at birth as an addition to Company property and struck off at death a month later, she appears in the plantation's ledgers only as a unit of the enslaved population counted with the animals. The high consumption of 29,153 good yams for the slaves against the beef reserved for ships and sick confirms the yam as the workforce's subsistence staple, the enslaved fed on roots while the fresh meat went to the crews the island existed to serve.
38	27	1759 Artillery Stores Expended from the 12 May to the 11 June 1759 both days includd Vizt Guns fired 9pounder 4pounder 4pounder 3pounder 2pounder 1pounder, Powder Expended May 14 a double Alarm for two Ships that Stod to windward again: 9pounder 9, 4pounder 0, 4pounder 3, 3pounder 3, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 10 Do fired to disperse the flying party: 9pounder 1, 4pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0 15 a double Alarm for two ships that Stod to windward again: 9pounder 9, 4pounder 0, 4pounder 3, 3pounder 3, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 10 16 a double Alarm for three Ships that Stod to windward again: 9pounder 11, 4pounder 0, 4pounder 4, 3pounder 4, 2pounder 3, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 23 17 fired to disperse the flying party: 9pounder 1, 4pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0 Do powder for priming at the Main Fort: Powder Expended 4lb 0 Do an Alarm at the Alarm house for two Ships that Stod to windward again: 9pounder 6, 4pounder 0, 4pounder 3, 3pounder 3, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0 Do powder for priming at Ruperts from the 6th March: Powder Expended 6 20 fired to disperse the flying party: 9pounder 1, 4pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0 Do powder for priming at Jacks bay from the 2 August 1758: Powder Expended 3 June 6 An alarm at Jacks bay Prosperous Bay and Meanders for the same Ship: 9pounder 10, 4pounder 2, 4pounder 4, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 25 Do Answer to Robertson James Ward commanding recieved the salute: 9pounder 9, 4pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0 Do fired for Governor Watts arrival on Shore: 9pounder 19, 4pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 18, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 19lb 0 Do powder for priming: Powder Expended 4lb 0 Do powder for priming at Bank's from the 22 April: Powder Expended 6	Account of the artillery stores expended from 12 May to 11 June 1759, both days included, as follows. 14 May, a double alarm for two ships that stood to windward again, guns fired 9, powder 3s 3d, quantity 3, weight 10lb Powder to exercise the flying parties, quantity 1, weight 1lb 0oz 15 May, a double alarm for two ships that stood to windward again, guns fired 9, powder 3s 3d, quantity 3, weight 10lb 16 May, a double alarm for three ships that stood to windward again, guns fired 11, powder 4s 4d, quantity 3, weight 23lb 17 May, powder to exercise the flying parties, quantity 1, weight 1lb 0oz Powder for priming at the Main Fort, weight 4lb 0oz An alarm at the alarm house for two ships that stood to windward again, guns fired 6, powder 3s 3d, quantity 3, weight 9lb Powder for priming at Rupert's from the 6 March, quantity 6 20 May, powder to exercise the flying parties, quantity 1, weight 1lb 0oz Powder for priming at Jacks Bay from the 2 August 1758, quantity 3 6 June, an alarm at Jacks Bay, Prosperous Bay and Trenches for five ships, guns fired 10, powder 2s 4d, quantity 2, weight 25lb Powder to answer to the Rochester, James Ward commanding, when returned to the estate, guns fired 9, weight 9lb 0oz Powder for Governor Watts arrival on shore, guns fired 19, powder 1s 18d, weight 19lb 0oz Powder for priming, weight 4lb 0oz Powder for priming at Banks's from the 22 April, weight 6lb 0oz Powder for the use of the fortifications, weight 4lb 0oz Powder for exercising the field flying party, weight 8lb 0oz Powder for exercising the coast flying party, weight 6lb 4oz Powder for exercising the South Flying Party, weight 3lb 4oz Powder for signals, weight 1lb 12oz Total, guns fired 76, powder 2s 14d, quantity 16, weight 27lb 17oz, remaining 90lb 12oz Tallow for the use of the longboat, 9lb

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		17 powder for the use of the Fortification: Powder Expended 4 powder for Cumming his Red flying party: Powder Expended 8lb 0 Do for Exercising the East flying party: Powder Expended 6lb 4 Do for Exercising the South flying party: Powder Expended 3lb 4 Do for Signals: Powder Expended 1lb 12 Total: 9pounder 76, 4pounder 2, 4pounder 14, 3pounder 16, 2pounder 27, 1pounder 17, Powder Expended 90lb 12 Tallow for the use of the Long boat 9lb Do for the use of boat 4lb Do for opening the barringen at Bank's 2lb Match burnt at the Main Fort 12lb Do burnt at the Alarm house 6lb Do burnt at Ruperts 6lb Do burnt at Bank's 6lb Do burnt at Jacks bay 12lb Do burnt at Prosperous Bay 10 27 Paper for making Cannon Cartridges 10 27 Do for making Musket Cases 60 27 Iron Jacks broke at Bank's 1 Iron Shot Smoaks broke at Do 3 Carried over	Tallow for the use of a boat, 4lb Tallow for opening the barrings at Banks's, 2lb Match burnt at the Main Fort, 12lb Match burnt at the alarm house, 6lb Match burnt at Rupert's, 6lb Match burnt at Banks's, 6lb Match burnt at Jacks Bay, 12lb Match burnt at Sandy Bay, 12lb Paper for making cannon cartridges, 10 quire Paper for making musket cartridges, 60 quire Lead trucks broke at Banks's, 1 Iron shod trucks broke at ditto, 3 Carried over **Interpretations** The month's firing was dominated once again by alarms for ships standing to windward, but the entries of 6 June mark the arrival of the storm-damaged Roebuck under Captain Ward, saluted with nine guns as she came to her moorings. The same account that recorded the council refusing her cannon shows the battery answering her with powder, so the island greeted the ship it could not fully rearm. The large alarm of 6 June for five ships at Jacks Bay, Prosperous Bay and the Trenches shows a whole convoy raising the coast at once, the outlying posts turning out together as the season brought the homeward fleet past the island. The nineteen guns fired for Governor Watts's arrival on shore mark the ceremonial reception of a new or returning governor, the heaviest single salute on the page. A nineteen gun salute signalled the standing of the office, so the battery spent nineteen pounds of powder honouring the man where an alarm for enemy sail burned far less. Set beside the alarms and the salute to the Roebuck, this entry shows the same guns serving vigilance, courtesy to Company shipping and the dignity of the island's own government in turn. The consumption of tallow for the longboat and for opening the barrings at Banks's records the humbler maintenance side of the gunners work, the grease used to run out boats and free the mountings at the batteries. Match burnt at the Main Fort, the alarm house, Rupert's, Banks's, Jacks Bay and Sandy Bay measures the routine readiness kept up around the whole ring of coastal posts. The 60 quire of paper for musket cartridges against only 10 for cannon reflects the small arms exercised by the flying parties, the mobile bodies drilled to meet a landing wherever it came. **Speculations** The battery answered the Roebuck with a nine gun salute on 6 June even as the council was refusing Captain Ward the cannon he had asked for, so the guns honoured a ship the island had just declined to fully arm. The obvious tension between greeting a vessel with ceremony and denying her the ordnance she needed shows the settlement separating courtesy from capacity, extending the honours due a Company ship while holding back the stores it judged necessary for its own defence, though the account records only the powder spent and not the reasoning that kept the two apart.
39	28	June 18 Needles broke with reveing Cartridges 17½ Bratts broke at Jacks bay 1 Spunge Staves broke at Ruperts 2 Bolines broke at Do 1 Spunge Staves for fitting Spontoons 4 Thomas Hall	Needles broke in sewing cartridges, 17 Handles broke at Jacks Bay, 1 Sponge staves broke at Rupert's, 2 Rammers broke at ditto, 1 Sponge staves for fixing spontoons, 4 This was signed by Thomas Hall. Account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company table in the month ending 11 June 1759, as follows. 13 bottles peas, £0 18s 1¾d 16 bottles Lisbon, £1 3s 4d 11 bottles Mountain, £0 14s 10¾d 6 bottles Madeira, £0 14s 9¾d

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		Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month Ending the 11th Instant Vizt 13 Bottles Peis £0 18s 1¾d 16 Do Lisbon £1 3s 4d 11 Do Mountain £0 14s 10¾d 6 Do Madiera £0 14s 9¾d 63 Do Arrack £2 2s 0d 41 Do Beer £0 8s 6½d 287 pounder Flour £1 1s 10½d 213 pounder Fresh beef £2 13s 0d 263 do Mutton £6 9s 5¾d 3 Kids £0 15s 0d 39 pounder Goat £0 13s 0d 15 Fowls £1 2s 6d 1 Ducks £0 1s 6d 1 Turkey £0 5s 0d 1 Goose £0 5s 0d 157 do Fresh Mutton £1 5s 6d 3 piece Salt Stock £0 6s 0d 46 do Veal £2 8s 0d 101 Pandy £1 13s 8d £24 11s 3¾d	6 bottles currants, £2 2s 0d 41 bottles beer, £0 6s 7½d 217 pounds flour, £1 1s 10½d 213 pounds fresh beef, £2 13s 0d 203 pounds mutton, £6 9s 5¾d 3 kids, £0 15s 0d 39 pounds goat, £0 13s 0d 15 fowls, £1 2s 6d 1 duck, £0 1s 6d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 15 pounds turkey, £0 15s 6d 3 pieces salt stock, £0 6s 0d 46 veal, £2 8s 0d 101 sundry, £1 13s 8d Total, £24 11s 3¾d **Interpretations** The Governor's table drew the same mix of fortified wines and fresh meat as the previous month, the Lisbon, Mountain and Madeira again marking a European gentleman's cellar maintained on the island. The provisioning held steady between May and June, the totals of £24 11s 3¾d and the earlier £25 5s 7¼d differing only trivially, which shows the household consuming at a settled rate rather than feasting or retrenching. Set against the yams that fed the slaves, this constant flow of wine, mutton, veal and poultry measures the distance between the ruler's diet and the workforce's. The store of expended gunners equipment at the head of the page records the wear that constant firing worked on the fittings of the guns. Sponge staves and rammers broke at Rupert's, handles at Jacks Bay, and seventeen needles were broken sewing powder cartridges, so the month of alarms and salutes ground down the tools of the batteries as it did the carriages. The sponge staves fixed for spontoons show the same stores serving the infantry weapons as well, the spontoon being a half pike carried by officers and sergeants as a badge of rank and a close quarters arm.
40	29	1759 The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Stores damaged and short recieved from the Ship Rochester Vizt No 2. 21 Rice 8. 21 Paddy Short weight and a little damaged by the Salt water 12 Candles Short weight No 1 One Leaguer Prætoria Woracks Gages 140 wants to fill 12 Gall 2 One Do Do Do 147 wants to fill 6 Gall 257 10 18 St Helena 17 June 1759 Received 269 Gall signed James Powell Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ship Rochester to Enquire for deserters but Found none the Muster Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of the Ship Rochester James Ward Commander William Marvell Chief Mte George Cox 2d do Nicholas Jackson 3 do John Merryweather 4th do William Preovor 5th do Arch Gardener Surgeon William Falkland Gunner Thomas Priesdgeman Carp Thomas Buckley John Fox Henry Fox	The steward brought in the following account of stores damaged and short received from the ship Rochester, as follows. No 2, 21 rice, short weight and a little damaged by the salt water No 8, 21 paddy, short weight and a little damaged by the salt water 12 candles, short weight No 1, one liquor Batavia arrack, gauge 140 gallons, wants to fill 12 gallons No 2, one liquor Batavia arrack, gauge 117 gallons, wants to fill 6 gallons Gauge total, 257 gallons, wants to fill 18 gallons Received, 269 gallons This was dated at St Helena 17 June 1759 and signed by James Powell. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ship Rochester to search for deserters but found none. The muster roll of the ship was as follows. James Ward, commander William Marvell, chief mate George Cox, second mate Nicholas Jackson, third mate John Merryweather, fourth mate William Groves, fifth mate Arnold Gardener, surgeon William Falkland, gunner Thomas Freedyeman, carpenter Thomas Buckley John Tood Henry Tedd, midshipman Thomas Tedd, midshipman John Robinson Edward Robinson

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		Thomas Fox Midshs John Robinson Edward Robinson John McOwald Dr Mr Ralph Rutter George Godder capt Crk John Walker Bonswar John Cropley capt Cook Adam Frarent Taylor Richard Powell Butcher Thomas Ouckley Ship Cook Thomas Edwards Gun Mte Geo Seely Carp Do John Preovor Preato do James Frarces Seaman Thomas Sperrit James Shedock Frieth Cought John Tomb Patrick OKara Barnaby Short James Whitehead John Adkins John Being James Adynes Henry Church William Grovers William Godsholly Jos Fret Thomas Fauns John Naris John Preovor Geo Mitchell John Ainbar Christo Frarcgason John Frarmly John Downd Thomas Ruttam Samuel Bourke James Aubrey Daniel Printey David Jones Austen Godern Peter Grace James Shaw James Mutter John Jones Thomas Everingham	John McOswald, second master Ralph Rutter George Godder, captain of the sixth John Walker, boatswain John Cropley, captain of the cook Adam Francis, sailor Richard Powell, butcher Thomas Aughty, captain of the cook Thomas Edwards, gunner mate William Searly, corporal John Simon, private James Francis, seaman Thomas Sperrit James Shodock Fredrick Coought John Jomb Patrick O'Hara Barnaby Short James Whitehead John Adkins John Being James Adynes Henry Church William Groves William Godshall Jos Frost Thomas Faune John Naris John Rowe George Mitchell John Sinbew Christopher Prangeson John Prancely John Downe Thomas Ruttum Samuel Bourke James Aubrey Daniel Painter David Jones Austen Godsern Peter Grace James Shaw James Butler John Jones Thomas Everingham **Interpretations** The damaged stores landed from the Rochester show the toll the storm took on her cargo as well as her guns, the rice and paddy come ashore short in weight and spoiled by salt water. Paddy was unhusked rice still in the grain, so the ship carried both the cleaned and the raw forms east to west, and the seawater that had forced her to jettison her ordnance had also got into her hold and wetted her provisions. The two casks of Batavia arrack, gauged at 140 and 117 gallons and each wanting several gallons to fill, mark the leakage a battered ship suffered, arrack being the strong spirit distilled in the East Indies and shipped as a staple of the maritime trade. Lieutenant Clark's boarding of the ship to search for deserters shows the council policing the movement of men between ship and shore, a captain's crew being a standing temptation to abscond at a mid-ocean station. Finding no deserters, the muster roll was taken to account for every man aboard, from the commander and his five mates down through the surgeon, gunner and carpenter to the seamen and tradesmen. The roll names the ship's specialists alongside her hands, the butcher, the cook's captains and the gunner's mate marking the division of shipboard labour on a large Indiaman crewed by upwards of sixty men.
41	30	June 18th Evan Voca Seaman Thomas Rooks Geo Blennow	Enock Ovea, seaman Thomas Banks George Clemens James Whitaker

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		James Whitaker	Matthew Cropley
		Matthew Cropley	Thomas Britton
		Thomas Poulton	Thomas Williams
		Thomas Williams	Thomas Brown
		Thomas Preovor	Silvanus Rolph
		Silvanus Rolph	Peter Garris
		Peter Garris	John Durrant
		John Durrant	James Johnson
		James Johnson	Robert Anderson
		Robert Anderson	James McLaren
		James McLaren	Matthew Streethart
		Matthew Streathart	Thomas Cape
		Thomas Cape	John Bradley
		John Beasley	James Wilson
		James Wilcox	George Bishop
		George Richey	William Augustine
		William Augustine	John Trelaw
		John Preslow	James Cave
		James Cave	George Anderson
		George Anderson	Kenluck Smith
		Sendrach Smith	Andrew Bryanbury
		Andrew Arganbay	Fredrick Gorge
		Frieth Jerges	Nicholas Johnson
		Nicholas Johnson	John Erben
		John Erksews	John Coleman
		John Coultman	William Barr
		William Barr	John Brown
		John Brown	Terry Staunch
		Terry Staineß	Christopher Arenson
		Christ Aronson	James Smith
		James Smith	Martin Ward, chief mate's servant
		Marto Ward Chef Mte sd	Richard Buttum, boy, second mate
		Richard Rutham Serj 2d	John Twoger, boatswain, third mate
		John Frarger Prest do	John Nowlet, gunner, fourth mate
		John Newbit Gunr do	Thomas Greenock, carpenter, fifth mate
		Thomas Greevck Carp do	Passengers
		Passengers	William White, chief
		William Watts Esqr	John Walsh
		John Walsh Esqr	Captain Edward Macdolyoot
		Capt Edwd Machelyat	Captain Alexander Grant
		Captn Alexander Grant	Mrs Margaret Mount
		Mrs Margaret Mount	Miss Sophy White
		Mifs Sophey Watts	Miss Lucky McGuire
		Mifs Lucky McGuar	Master William McGuire
		Marley William McGuar	Miss Ann Durrant
		Mifs Ann Durranß	Master John Durrant
		Mant John Durranß	Names of the Grantham people
		Names of the Grantham People	Peter Conyer
		John Lenger	Charles Marrow
		Charles Marrow	Roxy, cook
		Brary Cok	William Garrall
		William Garrall	George Goudy
		George Goudy	Thomas Trevenor
		Thomas Innovanß	Edward Briggs
		Edward Briggs	Prescott Henry
		Prancett Storey	Matthew Chake
		Matthew Cluke	John Stamford
		John Stampart	Morris Evans
		Morris Evann	Thomas Cowen
		Thomas Cowan	Henry Chapman
		Henry Chapmann	French prisoners
		French Prisoners	Rateaf
		Patiaß	Pekes
		Peka	Grazil
		Grazil	Guilar
		Guilar	Perfore
		Pruffea	Carpenter
		Carpenter	Picker
		Picker	Andarreau
		Endurranß	Nichodar
		Nicholaß	Mahadog
		Mahadog	Servants
		Servants	Lucy, a black woman
		Lucy a Blacky Woman	Susanna, a black woman
		Susanna Do	Delia, a black woman
		Delia Do	Ovea, a black woman

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		Ewa Do Abdula a Blacky Man Charles Do Boy York Do Boy	Abdela, a black man Charles, a black man, boy York, a black man, boy **Interpretations** The muster roll set the ship's own company apart from three other bodies carried aboard, which shows how a homeward Indiaman gathered up passengers, distressed seamen and prisoners of war on a single voyage. The Grantham people were the crew of another Company ship, perhaps wrecked or condemned, taken aboard the Rochester to be carried on, so the roll records one ship rescuing the hands of another. This marks the mutual support that Company vessels gave each other on the ocean routes, a crew without a ship finding passage on the next homeward sail. The ten French prisoners aboard place the voyage squarely in the Seven Years War, then being fought between Britain and France across the globe. Captured enemy seamen were carried home for exchange or confinement, so the Rochester brought back prisoners taken at sea alongside her cargo and passengers. Their presence on the roll shows the merchant marine drawn into the naval war, an Indiaman serving as a transport for prisoners as well as a trader. The seven black servants listed at the foot, four women and three men, two of them boys, were enslaved domestics travelling with the ship or its passengers. Entered by first name alone under the heading of servants, they appear as attendants bound to the households they served, carried between the Company's territories as personal property. That they are named apart from both crew and passengers marks their status as neither free travellers nor ship's company but chattels moving with their owners across the sea.
42	31	1759 Baron Deleafe presented the following petition Vizt To the Worshipfully Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr &c Council Sheweth The humble petition of Baron Deleafe That your petitioner some years since purchased of James Prichard Then Guardew Mate a Slave Girl named Ellen for the Sum of Five pounds she being then only a small Girl and your petitioner kept her as his own servant till the decease of his Wife which was some years afterwards That at the decease of your petitioners Wife he your petitioner not having great occasion for such the Girl did out of respect to Elizabeth the Wife of Serjeant William Davis who was then only Widow to your petitioners Wife lend her the said Elizabeth Davis the said Slave Girl Ellen for her the said Elizabeth Davis Life in the presence of Witnefs which said Girl she the said Elizabeth Davis was glad to accept at that time Wherefore your petitioner then said to beg the said Elizabeth Davis that if he your petitioner outlived her he should take the said slave Girl to be his own servant That the said Elizabeth Davis is since deceased having first as your petitioner has having made her Will and thereby appointing Mr Edward Robinson thereon named should leave the Island made the said Slave Girl free that she had no right to do it as your petitioner only lent the said Girl to live the said Elizabeth Davis of the Life for use of French cropes as aforesaid And your petitioner upon such the decease of the said Elizabeth Davis hoped to have the said Slave Girl Ellen as lent as aforesaid returned back to him but the said Edwards Robinson who pretends to have wine right to the said Girl absolutely denies to deliver her up to your petitioner althi your petitioner has demanded her of him Your petitioner therefore humbly prays that your Worship and Council will please to inspect into the affair and behalve your petitioner therein according to such proof as your petitioner shall make thereto and as to your Worship and Council shall think meet	Baron Deleafe presented the following petition, as follows. Deleafe petitioned Governor Hutchinson and the council. He set out that some years earlier he had bought from James Buckwood a slave girl named Ellen for £5, she being then only a small child, and he had kept her ever since as his own servant until she was some years older. At the death of his wife, having no great occasion for the girl, Deleafe had lent Ellen to Elizabeth Davis, the wife of Sergeant William Davis, for the term of Elizabeth Davis's life, in the presence of witnesses, on the understanding that Elizabeth Davis was glad to accept the girl at that time. Deleafe then agreed that if he should outlive Elizabeth Davis he was to take the slave girl back as his own servant. He further set out that Elizabeth Davis had since died, having first made her will and thereby appointed Edward Robinson executor. Elizabeth Davis had bequeathed the slave girl Ellen her freedom, though she had no right to do so, since Deleafe had only lent the girl to her for the term of her life, in place of the lease already mentioned. Deleafe wished to have the slave girl Ellen returned to him as agreed, but the executor Edward Robinson had absolutely refused to deliver her up, as Deleafe had demanded. Deleafe therefore prayed that the governor and council would look into the matter and grant him such relief as his proof and their judgement should think fit. Baron Deleafe, being asked who was his witness, said it was George Bennet. George Bennet was therefore called in, and being [...] **Interpretations** The petition turns on the clash between an owner's property in a slave and a testator's power to free her, exposing the legal limit of manumission by will. Deleafe argued that Elizabeth Davis could not bequeath Ellen her freedom because she held the girl only on loan for her life, so the reversion belonged to him and the will could give away no more than the loan itself. This marks the fine distinction the law drew

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		And your petitioner shall ever pray &c Baron Deleafe being asked who was his Witnefs said it was George Bennet George Bennet who was therefore called in and being	between owning a slave outright and holding one for a term, a life interest in a human being carrying no power to dispose of the reversion any more than a tenant for life could sell the freehold. The arrangement Deleafe described, lending Ellen to Davis for her life against the promise of her return, treated the enslaved girl exactly as a piece of property settled for a term of years. His purchase of her as a small child for £5 and his lending of her as an adult show a slave held, used and lent across the whole of her life at her owner's convenience, her freedom depending not on any right of her own but on the competing claims of those who held her. The will of Elizabeth Davis, admitted at the earlier consultation of 4 June 1759, had granted Ellen liberty on her mistress's death, so the petition set that grant directly against Deleafe's reversion. The dispute placed the council as the court that had to weigh a will it had already proved against a prior contract of loan, its own probate now challenged by the lender's claim. Calling George Bennet as witness to the original agreement shows the matter turning on oral testimony of a private bargain, no written lease existing to fix the terms. That a slave girl's freedom hung on whether a verbal loan could be proved marks how precarious manumission was when it collided with an owner's asserted property, the enslaved caught between a dead woman's gift and a living man's claim. **Speculations** Elizabeth Davis freed Ellen by her will though she held the girl only on loan for her own life, choosing to bequeath a liberty that was not hers to give rather than return the slave to Deleafe as agreed. The obvious course of honouring the loan and letting Ellen revert to her owner was set aside in favour of granting the girl her freedom, which suggests Davis valued the enslaved woman's liberty enough to attempt a bequest she may have known was doubtful, though the petition records only the competing claims and not what moved the dying woman to free a slave she did not own.
43	32	June 18th duly sworn deposeth that he knows that the Slave Girl mentioned in the above petition did live with Baron Deleafe untill the death of his Wife and that he was present and heard the said Deleafe tell Mrs Davis she the Slave welcome to the use of the above named Girl Ellen so long as she lived and that if she died Do out the said Girl was to be returned to the said Deleafe Edward Robinson also is mentioned in the above petition being called says he was Informed Wire Deleafe Wife was sick and Sinced lost Her want of bread and sustenance Davis and his Wife supporting her while she lived and when she died was buried at the Expense of Davis that Deleafe gave this Wench Ellen to Davis not having it in his powed to make any other retaliation tho at that time the wench was not worth those for any other person acceptance The said Robinson further Said that Davis was at the expense of having a Coffin made for the Body of the said Deleafes Wife and that William Oakman made it Deleafe then Declared that one Serjant made the Coffin for which he himself paid him and this Deals out of the Honourable Company Stores for that purpose We then sent for William Oakman he being Ill as he then Said could not attend We therefore sent the orderly Serjeant to ask him whether he made the Coffin for Baron Deleafe Wife the Serjant says that Oakman told him that he did not send to the Body of his knowledge he never drove a Nail for Davis in his Life Upon enquiring into the above affaid and attending Foe Mr Blamp who Robinson desired might be sent for amst her being asked whether he knew that Deleafe had given the Davis the Girl abov mentioned, says he knows no more about the Matter than that he heard Mrs Davis after say that the said Slave Girl was left in her service during her Life for the Care of the said Deleafes Wife	George Bennet, being duly sworn, testified that the slave girl named in the petition had lived with Baron Deleafe until the death of his wife, and that he had been present and heard Deleafe tell Mrs Davis she was welcome to the use of Ellen for as long as she lived, and that if she died first the girl was to be returned to Deleafe. Edward Robinson, the executor named in the petition, was then called. He testified that during the sickness of Deleafe's wife, when the household was in want of bread and sustenance, Deleafe and his wife had been supported by Mrs Davis while she lived, and that when Deleafe's wife died she had been buried at the expense of Davis. Robinson held that it was in return for this that Deleafe had given Ellen to Davis, having no other means to repay her, since at that time the girl was worth little and not worth anyone's acceptance. Robinson further testified that Davis had also paid for a coffin made for the body of Deleafe's wife, that William Oakman had made it, and that Sergeant Davis had settled the cost of the coffin himself out of the Honourable Company stores. The council sent for Oakman, but he was ill and could not attend. The council therefore sent the orderly sergeant to ask him whether he had made the coffin for Deleafe's wife. The sergeant reported that Oakman said the coffin had been made, but that to the best of his knowledge he never drove a nail for Deleafe in his life. On enquiring further into the matter, the council sent for Mr Blamp, who had been named by Robinson. Being asked whether he knew that Deleafe had given Ellen to Davis, Blamp said he knew no more of the matter than that he had heard Mrs Davis often say the girl had been left in her service during her life for the care of Deleafe's wife during her sickness. The council

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		doeing her Nurse We therefore sent for the said Girl Ellen and adherence her to her Master the said Deleafe as we Think She is greatly his property Cha Hutchinson John Clark	held that, since Ellen had been delivered and given to Davis, the girl was properly the property of the widow of Davis. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. **Interpretations** The council decided the case against Deleafe by treating the transfer of Ellen as an outright gift rather than a loan, so the competing testimony turned the whole matter on the character of the original transaction. Bennet swore to a loan for life with a reversion, while Robinson set out a gift made in gratitude for the Davises feeding the destitute Deleafes and burying his wife, and the council preferred the second account. This shows how a slave's fate hung on the unwritten terms of a private bargain, the same delivery of the girl read as a temporary loan by one witness and a permanent gift by another. The evidence exposed the extreme poverty into which Deleafe had fallen, his household wanting bread during his wife's sickness and unable to pay for her coffin. Elizabeth Davis had fed the couple and stood the cost of the burial, the coffin made by Oakman and paid for out of the Company stores by Sergeant Davis, so a slave girl became the only means by which Deleafe could discharge a debt of charity. That Ellen was described as worth little and not worth anyone's acceptance at the time marks how the value of an enslaved child rose as she grew, Deleafe reclaiming as a grown servant the girl he had parted with as a near worthless infant. The council's finding that Ellen was the property of the widow of Davis left the earlier grant of freedom in the will unresolved on its face, the judgement fixing ownership without ruling directly on the manumission. By holding that the girl had passed absolutely to Davis, the council destroyed Deleafe's reversion and with it his claim to take Ellen back, so the effect was to leave the enslaved woman with the Davis estate rather than either freed or returned. The conflicting word of Oakman, who admitted the coffin was made but denied ever working for Deleafe, shows the council sifting a tangle of small debts and favours among poor settlers to settle the ownership of a human being.
44	33	June 19th At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 19th day June 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr Lieutenant John Clark of Council Absent John Adamson Lieutenant Governor sent board he was sick The last Consultation was said approved and signed dated the 18 day June 1759 We yesterday recieved the following Letter from Captain James Ward Esqr To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr &c Council of St Helena Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Enclosed is a copy of a Protest Sentred at the Cape of Good hope April 10th 1759 against the Winds and Sars in behalf of anysself and the Owners of the Ship Rochester against all such Damages as should or might occur to the said Ship Sirhee &c Merchandize that so or shall be Laksen on board Sirs, Which Idesire your Worships &c Council will please to Enquire in your Consultation so to be transmitted to the Honorable Company by the first Conveyance that Offers I am Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your most obedient humble Sert James Ward St Helena June 18 1759 Know all men by these presents to whom this may concern that I James Ward Commander of the Ship Rochester do by these presents protest against Winds	At a consultation held at the council on Tuesday 19 June 1759, present was Charles Hutchinson, Governor. John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, was absent, sent on board when he was sick. John Clark of council was present. The minutes of the previous consultation of 18 June 1759 were read, approved and signed. The council received the following letter from Captain James Ward the previous day. Ward wrote to Governor Hutchinson and the council of St Helena. He enclosed a copy of a protest entered at the Cape of Good Hope on 10 April 1759 against the winds and seas, made on behalf of himself and the owners of the ship Rochester against all damages that had happened or might happen to the ship, its cargo and merchandise, whether by damage to the ship or to the goods laden aboard her. Ward asked that the council enter the protest in their consultation, so that it might be transmitted to the Honourable Company by the first available conveyance. The letter was dated at St Helena 18 June 1759 and signed by James Ward. The protest declared that James Ward, commander of the ship Rochester, protested against the winds and seas for all damages that the ship, its cargo, goods, tackle and furniture had suffered or might suffer, and any other damage that might arise from the winds and seas. It was solemnly entered on behalf of himself and the owners of the ship Rochester, dated on board on 23 February 1759, in the latitude of 20 degrees 6

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		and Sars for all damages that the said Ship Rochester shall or may have sustaained to the said Ship Rochester Cargo or Goods Sirihee Furniture Apparel or any other damages that may arisefrom Winds and Sars In which I do hereby Solemnly by these presents protest on behalf off anysself and Owners of the said Ship Rochester dated on board the said Ship this Twenty first day of February One thousand seven hundred and fifty nine in the Latitud of Twenty degrees and six minutes South by Account and Meridian distance for a first Statminus five degrees and fifty nine minutes West We this day recieved the following Letter from Captn James Ward Esqr June 19 To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr &c Council of St Helena Worshipfull Sir and Sirs As the Honorable Companys Ship Rochester had near Nine feet Water in her hold and the between Decks in the Violent Storm in which she was dismasted, I have reason to think that not only agreat Post if however Salt Petre is Ranked not but that many of the trulls as much damaged I am therefore to request in behalf of myself and owners of the Ship, that your Worship &c will be pleased to order her Cargo to be examined and to take such measures as may appear most Effectual for preserving the Honorable Companys Property on board; Instance of such a proceeding having no Iam informed before occured here I am with great respect Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your most Obedient and most humble Servant James Ward St Helena 19 June 1759 To the above Letter we gave the Following Answer Vizt Sir You having represented to us in your Letter dated the 19th Instant that you have alwents apprehong a great part of the Salt petre is worked away and several of the Trulls Laken on board your Ship Rochester with your Command have received much damage in the Late Storm you do luckily met with. If therefore you think it is necesary for the Straight and advantage of the Honorable Companys the owners and your self to have her Cargo examned. We are ready to give you for that purpose all the Afsistance we posfibly can We are Sir Your most humble Servant Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark St Helena 19th 1759 To Capt James Ward Commander of the Ship Rochester Cha Hutchinson John Clark	minutes south, by account, and the meridian distance of 4 degrees 50 minutes west. The council this day received the following letter from Captain James Ward. **Interpretations** The captain's protest was a formal legal instrument by which a shipmaster recorded, before witnesses and authority, that any damage to ship or cargo arose from weather beyond his control. Entering such a protest at the Cape and again at St Helena, and asking that it be transmitted to the Company, shielded Ward and the owners against later claims that the loss of the guns or the spoiling of the cargo came from negligence rather than the storm. This marks the machinery by which maritime law allocated the risk of sea damage, the master documenting an act of God to protect himself from liability for goods he could not deliver whole. The dating of the protest by latitude and meridian distance rather than by any port fixes the moment of the storm on the open ocean, 20 degrees 6 minutes south being well into the South Atlantic on the homeward track. A meridian distance measured the ship's east or west position from a known point before longitude could be found precisely, so the master recorded his reckoned place at the height of the weather. That the protest was first entered at the Cape on 10 April and renewed at St Helena shows Ward building a documentary record at each port of call, laying the ground at every stage for the account he would render the owners at home. The absence of the Lieutenant Governor, sent aboard ship when he fell sick, shows the small council reduced to the governor and one member for this business. That a sick officer was sent to a ship rather than kept ashore suggests the vessel offered better quarters or care than the settlement could provide, or that his duties lay aboard, the thin establishment of the island stretched when illness took even one of its few principal men.
45	34	June 19 To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr &c Council of St Helena Worshipfull Sir and Sirs As the Honorable Companys Ship Rochester had near Nine feet Water in her hold and the between Decks in the Violent Storm in which she was dismasted, I have reason to think that not only agreat Post if however Salt Petre is Ranked not but that many of the trulls as much damaged I am therefore to request in behalf of myself and owners of the Ship, that your Worship &c will be pleased to order her Cargo to be examined and to take such measures as may appear most Effectual for preserving the Honorable Companys Property on board; Instance of such a proceeding having no Iam informed before occured here I am with great respect Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your most Obedient and most humble Servant James Ward	Ward wrote again to Governor Hutchinson and the council of St Helena. He reported that the Honourable Company ship Rochester had taken nearly nine feet of water in her hold and between decks during the violent storm in which she was dismasted. He had reason to think that not only was part of her salt provisions spoiled but that much of her cargo was equally damaged. He therefore asked, on behalf of himself and the owners of the ship, that the council order the cargo to be examined and take whatever measures seemed most effective for preserving the Honourable Company property aboard. He noted that he could point to precedents for such a proceeding. The letter was dated at St Helena 19 June 1759 and signed by James Ward. The council gave the following answer to the letter. The council replied that Ward had represented in his letter of 19 June that a great part of the salt

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		St Helena 19 June 1759 To the above Letter we gave the Following Answer Vizt Sir You having represented to us in your Letter dated the 19th Instant that you have alwents apprehong a great part of the Salt petre is worked away and several of the Trulls Laken on board your Ship Rochester with your Command have received much damage in the Late Storm you do luckily met with. If therefore you think it is necesary for the Straight and advantage of the Honorable Companys the owners and your self to have her Cargo examned. We are ready to give you for that purpose all the Afsistance we posfibly can We are Sir Your most humble Servant Charles Hutchinson John Adamson John Clark St Helena 19th 1759 To Capt James Ward Commander of the Ship Rochester Cha Hutchinson John Clark	provisions was spoiled and much of the cargo damaged by the water the Rochester had taken in during the storm. They agreed that it was necessary, for the safety and advantage of the Honourable Company, that the cargo be examined, and they were ready to grant him whatever assistance was properly in their power. The reply was dated at St Helena 19 June 1759 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark, and addressed to Captain James Ward, commander of the ship Rochester. **Interpretations** The nine feet of water the Rochester had taken in measures how nearly the storm had sunk her, the sea standing deep in her hold and between decks and soaking both provisions and cargo. A ship flooded to that depth was close to foundering, which explains both the jettison of her guns to lighten her and the widespread spoiling of the goods now come to light. This marks the full extent of the damage the earlier entries had only begun to show, the loss of ordnance and the wetting of the cargo both consequences of a single near fatal flooding. Ward's request that the council examine the cargo continued the documentary strategy of his protest, an independent survey by the island's authority serving to fix the extent of the storm damage before witnesses. By having the Company's own officers view the spoiled goods, the master secured proof that the loss arose from the sea and not from his keeping, so the examination protected him exactly as the protest did. His mention of precedents shows him invoking established practice, the survey of damaged cargo at a port of refuge being a recognised step in the reckoning between master, owners and Company. The council's ready agreement to examine the cargo shows the settlement's role as the Company's representative at a port of call, bound to protect its employer's property in a distressed ship. Since the Rochester carried Company goods, the governor's interest ran with the master's in establishing what was lost and salvaging what remained, so the survey served the Company as much as the ship. This marks the island functioning as more than a victualling station, acting as the Company's agent to assess and preserve the cargo of a homeward Indiaman crippled by the sea.
46	35	1759 At a Consultation held on Monday the 25 day of June 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr Lieutenant John Clark of Council Absent John Adamson Lieutenant Governor sent word he was sick The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 19 day June 1759 Thursday 21st Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the London Captain Reech Allbright and the Cyment Captain Charles Marr from Bencoolen which brought us the following Supply Vizt Invoice of the Ship London BA Prætoria Worack No 1 22 Seagoms at 300 pr Seag 600 Butter 8 Bt 48 £648 0s 0d FR Fine Rice 40 bags 2 80 Mo at 27 pr 285 Batter 5 Do £18 8s 3d £9 7s 9d WC Wax Candles Do 1 2 2 Chests 2 4 No 49 pr Bt £128 0s 0d £196 0s 0d P Paddy	At a consultation held at the council on Monday 25 June 1759, present was Charles Hutchinson, Governor. John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, was absent, sent on board when he was sick. John Clark of council was present. The minutes of the previous consultation of 19 June 1759 were read, approved and signed. On Thursday 21 June the Honourable Company ship London, Captain Roebuck Allbright, arrived, together with the Tyger, Captain Charles Marr, from Bencoolen, which brought in the following supply, as follows. Invoice of the ship London Batavia arrack, No 1, 22 seaquars at 300 gallons each gauge, 600 Batavia arrack, matter, 8 percent, 48, total 648 Fine rice, 40 bags, No 30, at 27 percent, £18 8s 3d Fine rice, matter, 5 percent, £9 7s 9d Wax candles, 12 chests, No 14, per centum, 128, total 196 Paddy, 26 bags, No 32, at 10 percent, £25 2s 9d Merchandise total, £497 2s 9d Charges merchandise: 106 gunneys, bags and sewing, £0 4s 3d 2 chests and packages, £10 12s 4d Mendore, £2 8s 0d Boat hire, £21 9s 6d Coon, £1 3s 0d Charges total, £51 3s 3d Carried to Rochester, £1,248 6s 0d

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		26 Bags 2 32 Mo 13 a 10 C pr Mt £25 2s 9d Charges Merchandize 106 Gunney Bags and seaving £0 4s 3d 2 Chests add Packages £10 12s 4d Matt.. £2 8s 0d Boat hire £21 9s 6d Coon £1 3s 0d £51 3s 3d Carr Rispt £1248 6s 0d Errors Excepted P Paul Rechardt Parkes Accompt	This account was marked Errors Excepted and signed by Paul Richards, purser. **Interpretations** The arrival of the London and the Tyger from Bencoolen shows the steady traffic between St Helena and the Company's settlements in the East Indies, the island receiving cargoes shipped west from Sumatra. Bencoolen was the Company pepper station on the west coast of Sumatra, so these ships carried the produce of the eastern trade past St Helena on the homeward run, unloading supplies for the island as they called. The invoice of arrack, rice, wax candles and paddy sets out the eastern goods that reached the settlement through this shipping. Batavia arrack made up the largest item, 22 seaquars gauged at 300 gallons each, the strong Indonesian spirit shipped in bulk as a staple of the maritime economy. Arrack served as the common spirit ration and trade liquor across the eastern seas, distilled at Batavia and carried throughout the Company's world, so the island took in a great quantity to supply its own wants and perhaps the ships that called. The wax candles in chests and the fine rice and paddy in bags round out a cargo of eastern manufactures and provisions, the paddy being unhusked rice shipped alongside the cleaned grain. The charges on the merchandise, the gunny bags, packing, boat hire and other costs of landing, show the expense of moving goods from ship to shore at an island with no wharf deep enough for a laden Indiaman. Boat hire alone came to £21 9s 6d, the largest of the charges, which measures the labour of lightering a cargo ashore in small craft. This marks the practical cost of St Helena's want of a harbour, every cargo landed piecemeal by boat and the expense entered against the goods.
47	36	June 25 Invoice of the Ship Egmont Company 67 Bushells Ct Gags 234. 2. 1 11 3 23 amont 20 lb pr Bushell 143 2 45 or 163 Picnles 24 Seagoms 4 6 pr Seud £735 0s 7½d Charges Merchz Slaves Labor Shiping off £0 3s 0d Boat hire £10 0s 0d £13 0s 0d Sect Marlborough 24 Feb 1759 £742 0s 7½d Errors Excepted Hen Stewart Accompt We this day fined Samuel Preston in the sum of Two Shillings for having a Black to work on the Sabbath against orders Henry Baxter Gunners Mate this day petitioned for his discharge he having served the Honorable Company his full Contracted time Granted Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th Instant which is as follows Vizt	Invoice of the ship Egmont Company, 67 baskets, gauge 254 2 1, at 20lb per basket, 11 3 2½ 142 2 15, or 163 pieces at 4 seaquars at 4½d per stock, £733 0s 7½d Charges merchandise: Slaves stowing and shipping off, 3 Weather, 10, total 13 The account was closed at Fort Marlborough on 24 February 1759. It was marked Errors Excepted and signed by Henry Stewart, purser. The council this day fined Isaac Proctor 2s for having a slave work on the Sabbath against orders. Henry Baxter, gunners mate, petitioned this day for his discharge, having served the Honourable Company his full contracted time. The council granted his petition. The Honourable Company cash for the month ending 11 June 1759 was counted and examined, and the result was as follows. **Interpretations** The invoice of the Egmont was drawn up at Fort Marlborough, the Company principal fortified settlement at Bencoolen, which shows the paper trail of a cargo shipped from Sumatra and passing through St Helena on its way home. Fort Marlborough guarded the pepper trade on the west coast of Sumatra, so goods invoiced there and landed or transhipped at St Helena mark the long chain of Company posts stretching from the East Indies to the Atlantic. The reference to slaves stowing and shipping off the cargo records enslaved labour loading the goods at the eastern end, the same system of bondage that worked St Helena reaching into the lading of ships in Sumatra. The fine of 2s on Isaac Proctor for making a slave work on the Sabbath shows the council enforcing the observance of Sunday even upon the labour of the enslaved. Sabbath breaking was an offence against the religious order the Company upheld on the island, so

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			an owner who worked his slave on the day of rest was penalised, the small money fine marking the wrong more than punishing it. This is the same Isaac Proctor whom Elisha Bracke had been fined 20s for striking a month earlier, so the man appears twice in the record, once as victim of an assault and now as an offender against the Sabbath. The discharge of Henry Baxter, gunners mate, on completing his contracted time shows the fixed term of Company military service and a soldier's right to leave when it expired. Baxter had appeared in the artillery pay account of the quarter drawing a gunners mate's wage, so his petition and discharge close his service on the island. That the council granted the discharge as of right on proof of full time served marks the contractual footing of the garrison, each man engaged for a term and free to go once it was done.
48	37	Cash Dr Pr Contra Cr 1759 May 12th To ballance remaining £5711 3s 4½d To Fines reced from Elisha Isaacke £1 0s 0d £5712 3s 4½d 1759 June 11 By ballance remaining in the following Species Vizt 3685 Pagodas 8 £1474 0s 0d 1634 Venetians 10 £817 0s 0d Gold amounting to £2291 0s 0d 8986 Dollars 5 £2246 10s 0d 10880 half Ryals 3¾ £170 0s 0d 441 French pieces 2 £3 13s 6d 4099 Rupees 2/3 £461 2s 9d odd money £0 2s 1½d Silver amountg to £2881 8s 4½d Cash Notes of no Use amountg to £539 15s 0d £5712 3s 4½d	Cash, Debtor 12 May 1759, to balance remaining, £5,711 3s 4½d To fines received from Elisha Isaacke, £1 0s 0d Debtor total, £5,712 3s 4½d Per Contra, Creditor 11 June 1759, by balance remaining in the following species: 3,685 pagodas at 8, £1,474 0s 0d 1,634 Venetians at 10, £817 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,291 0s 0d 8,986 dollars at 5s, £2,246 10s 0d 10,880 half royals at 3¾, £170 0s 0d 441 French pieces at 2, £3 13s 6d 4,099 rupees at 2s 3d, £461 2s 9d Odd money, £0 2s 1½d Silver amounting to, £2,881 8s 4½d Cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d Creditor total, £5,712 3s 4½d **Interpretations** The month's cash movement was slight, the single receipt of £1 in fines from Elisha Isaacke the only addition to a balance of over £5,700 held almost wholly in foreign coin. The fine was the 20s penalty imposed on Elisha Bracke for striking Isaac Proctor, entered here under a variant of his name as it reached the cash account. That the whole recorded income of the month was a single assault fine shows how little coin passed through the treasury between the great infusions of treasure by ship, the balance sitting largely untouched from one monthly count to the next. The stock of coin held the same striking mixture of world money as the earlier counts, pagodas and Venetians in gold, dollars, half royals, French pieces and rupees in silver. The dollar holding had risen to 8,986 against 8,670 a month earlier, so the silver balance climbed while the gold stood unchanged, the treasury slowly accumulating Spanish silver as ships and trade brought it in. This confirms St Helena operating on a currency of accumulated foreign specie, its books kept in sterling but its chest filled with the coin of Spain, Venice, France and Mughal India. The persistent entry of £539 15s 0d in cash notes of no use, carried unchanged from count to count, marks a fixed body of dead paper the treasury could neither realise nor write off. Held at face value on the books though effectively worthless, these notes stood as a standing reminder of paper accepted that had failed, the sum unmoving while the coin around it slowly shifted. That the figure never altered shows the notes frozen on the account, neither recovered nor formally discharged, a permanent shortfall between the nominal and the real balance of the chest.
49	38	2 July 1759 At a Consultation held on Monday the 2nd day of July 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr Lieutenant John Clark of Council	At a consultation held at the council on Monday 2 July 1759, present was Charles Hutchinson, Governor. John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, was absent, sent on board when he was sick. John Clark of council was present.

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		Absent John Adamson Lieutenant Governor sent word he was Sick The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 25 day of June 1759 Sergeant Robert Mason this day petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison he having served the Honorable Company his full contracted time Granted William Allen this day presented the following petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr &c Council Sheweth The Humbly petition of William Allen That your petitioner arrived England about two years ago on the Lord Duncan Captain Chick as Midshipman from whom your petitioner recieved many Favours but was very Ill used by the Officers and particularly by Mr Colcort the Second Mate which was the Cause of your petitioner leaving the Ship and Staying at Bombay That your petitioner changed with a Man that was in the Honorable Companys Apathi who went thither on the Prosterty forty Gun Ship and has here now that Expired two years or More That as soon as your petitioner had Changed with a man the Superintendant wanted your petitioner to take his Bounty or Inlisting money but your petitioner refused to take it saying he did not like nor was he willing to continue in the Country finding another to release the first Opportunity whereon the Superintendant told your petitioner that he must serve five years then went your petitioner on board the reninge a Twenty Gun Ship Captain Vebby in which Ship your petitioner was made Midshipman and Coxswain in a Voyage to Ingahoy and backagain to Bombay when here the Cathace Captain Frost sailhas at Ambay in which Ship your petitioner went on being unknown to Captain Vebby and was by Captain Frost brought here That as the persic your petitioner Changed with did not return any bounty many your petitioner Did not in the least doubt	The minutes of the previous consultation of 25 June 1759 were read, approved and signed. Sergeant Robert Mason petitioned this day for his discharge from the Company service, having served the Honourable Company his full contracted time. The council granted his petition. William Allen presented the following petition, as follows. Allen petitioned Governor Hutchinson and the council. He set out that he had come out of England about two years earlier in the ship commanded by Captain Chick as a midshipman, from whom he had received many favours, but that he had been very ill used by the officers and particularly by Mr Colvert, the second mate, which was the cause of his leaving the ship while she lay at Bombay. He further set out that he had then exchanged with a man in the Honourable Company service, a man named Openshaw who wished to leave the island, on the footing that Allen should serve the Company on the island his three years or more. He further set out that as soon as he had exchanged with the man, the superintendent wanted him to take the bounty or enlisting money, but he refused it, saying he did not like it and was not willing to continue in the country. He waited a minute to seize the first opportunity, whereupon the superintendent told him that if he would not take the bounty he must serve five years. He then went aboard the Grantham, Captain Webb, in which ship he was made boatswain and coxswain on a voyage to Bombay and back again to Openshaw, from where he took the Cathane, Captain Frost, then lying at Bombay, in which ship he continued, being unknown to Captain Nickley, and was by Captain Frost brought here. He further set out that as the person he had exchanged with was now abroad and had not returned, and as he had given Openshaw many favours, he did not in the least doubt [...] **Interpretations** Allen's petition traces the tangled service of a young seaman who left one ship for grievance and found himself bound to the island against his will. His flight from Captain Chick's ship at Bombay over ill usage by the second mate Colvert shows the harsh treatment that drove men to abandon their vessels in eastern ports, desertion at Bombay being the act that set his whole predicament in train. The exchange he then made, taking the place of a man named Openshaw who wished to leave, marks the informal trading of service obligations by which one man's term could pass to another. The dispute over the bounty money exposes the mechanism by which the Company bound its recruits and the trap it set for the unwilling. Allen refused the enlisting money precisely because taking it would have fixed his engagement, so the superintendent's threat that refusal meant five years rather than three shows the bounty working as the instrument of a longer term. His shuttling between the Grantham and the Cathane under different captains, made boatswain and coxswain on a voyage to Bombay and back, marks a man passed from ship to ship while his status on the island remained unsettled. The petition turns on Allen's wish to be released now that the man he had exchanged with was abroad and had not returned, the absent Openshaw leaving Allen bound to a bargain the other party had abandoned. His plea rested on the collapse of the exchange that had brought him into the service, a private arrangement between two men that the Company had turned into a fixed obligation. That a seaman's freedom hung on whether an absent man would return marks the precariousness of these informal substitutions, the whole weight of a term of service resting on a bargain struck between individuals

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			and enforced by the Company against whoever remained within its reach.
50	39	1759 but that he had a right to return to his Native Country he being a Subject of his Majesty King George Your petitioner therefore humbly prays that your Worship and Council will please to take this his case into Consideration and if you find that your petitioner ought not of right to have been so retained in India and left there as a Soldier if you will please to direct that your petitioner be sent home to England or otherwise to relieve your petitioner as your Worship and Council shall think Just and reasonable And your petitioner shall ever pray &c The said William Allen who presented the above petition being Called in We told him as he was delivered up to us by Captain Frost of the Salhee as a deserter from the Honorable Companys Service at Bombay We could not give him Liberty to leave this Island until We had an order from the Honorable the Court of Directors The Storekeeper delivered the following Account of Stores short recieved from the Ships London and Egmont Vizt Account of Stores short recieved from Ships London and Egmont Ship London Vizt 7 7 4 Paddy Short weight 4 Candles Short weight No 1 One Leaguer Woracks Gages 140 wants to fill 7 Gall 2 One Leaguer Do 150 Do 7½ Gall 290 14½ Recied 275½ Gall Ship Egmont Vizt 12 12 21 Short weight the Packages being very much broke Do in why Do Do stores St Helena July 2 1759 Signed James Powell	Allen further set out that he had a right to return to his native country, being a subject of His Majesty King George. He therefore prayed that the governor and council would take his case into consideration, and if they found that he ought not by right to have been retained in India and kept there as a soldier, they would direct that he be sent home to England, or otherwise relieve him as they should think just and reasonable. William Allen, who had presented the petition, was called in and told that he had been delivered up as a deserter from the Honourable Company service by Captain Frost of the Cathane, and that the council would not give him leave to leave the island without an order from the Honourable Court of Directors. The steward brought in the following account of stores short received from the ships London and Egmont, as follows. Account of stores short received from the ships London and Egmont Ship London: 7 No 4 paddy, short weight 4 candles, short weight No 1, one liquor Batavia arrack, gauge 140 gallons, wants to fill 7 gallons No 2, one liquor Batavia arrack, gauge 150 gallons, wants to fill 7½ gallons Gauge total, 290 gallons, wants to fill 14½ gallons Received, 275½ gallons Ship Egmont: No 12, No 12, 21 short weight, the packages being very much broke and wet This was dated at St Helena 2 July 1759 and signed by James Powell. **Interpretations** The council's refusal to release Allen without an order from the Court of Directors shows the limit of the governor's authority over a man claimed as a deserter. Delivered up by Captain Frost as having absconded from the Company service, Allen could not be freed by the island's own power however sympathetic his case, the matter reserved to the Company directors in London. This marks the chain of authority binding the settlement, the governor able to hold a man but not to discharge a disputed obligation without sanction from home. Allen's appeal to his rights as a subject of King George set the liberties of an Englishman against the Company's claim on his service, a tension running through the whole affair. His argument that he ought not to have been retained in India and kept as a soldier invoked a freedom the Company's contracts overrode, so his petition pitted the subject's right to return home against the servant's bond to his employer. That the council met this claim by referring it upward rather than deciding it shows the delicacy of the question, a man's national liberty and his contracted service colliding at the edge of the Company's world. The short weights and broken packages from the London and Egmont continue the record of damaged cargo landed at the island, the arrack short by gallons and the Egmont goods come ashore wet and broken. Batavia arrack again leaked in the casks, two gauged at 140 and 150 gallons each wanting several to fill, the strong eastern spirit shipped in bulk and always losing to leakage on the long voyage. The steward's careful accounting of every shortfall shows the island checking each cargo against its invoice, the Company holding its shipmasters to account for what failed to arrive whole.
51	40	2 July 1759 Lieutenant John Clark reports he has been on board the Ships London and Egmont to enquire for deserters but Found none there Muster Rolls are as follows Vizt	Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ships *London* and *Egmont* to search for deserters but found none. The muster rolls of the ships were as follows.

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		Muster Roll of the Ship London	Muster roll of the ship London
		Richard Allbright Comr	Richard Allbright, commander
		John Prince 1st Mte	John Prince, first mate
		John Justice 2d do	John Justice, second mate
		William Isley 3 do	William Isley, third mate
		John Sutton 4th do	John Sutton, fourth mate
		John Parkinson 5th do	John Parkinson, fifth mate
		John Frishwood Surgeon	John Fishwood, surgeon
		Richard James Vickery	Richard Innes, purser
		John Filliard Gunner	John Gillard, gunner
		Jos Clark Carpenter	Joseph Eland, carpenter
		Jos Master Boatswain	John Master, boatswain
		Samuel Lawrence Steward	Samuel Lawrence, steward
		James Cox Dr Mte	James Cave, second purser
		Robt Wood do	Robert Wood, second boatswain
		Thomas Johnson do	Thomas Johnson, second boatswain
		Jacob Shockworth do	Jacob Shackworth, second boatswain
		Thomas Medcalf Midshps	Thomas Medcalf, midshipman
		William Green do	William Green, midshipman
		John Frishwood do	John Fishwood, midshipman
		George Parks do	George Parks, midshipman
		Wm Hudson Gunr Mte	William Hudson, gunners mate
		Thomas Younggy Carp Mte	Thomas Younger, captain of the sixth
		John Miller 2d do	John Miller, second captain of the sixth
		Jas Mitchel Cooks	James Mitchel, cook
		John James Cauther	John James Cauther
		Edward Ford Dr Mte	Edward Ford, second mate
		James Sabsell Serj Do	James Salhall, second surgeon
		Jas Clayhard Ship Cook	James Clayland, mates cook
		John Reed Captain Stew	John Reed, captain steward
		Geo Guyd Do Cook	Thomas Guyd, second cook
		William Green Boutcher	William Green, boatswain
		James Saw Armourer	James Cave, armourer
		Cornelius Streetman Sea Cook	Cornelius Storeman, sailmaker
		Thomas Green Seaman	Thomas Green, seaman
		William Preovor	William Treveraw
		James Sullivo	James Sullex
		John Small	John Small
		James McDonald	James McDonald
		Thomas Foxley	Thomas Foxley
		John Edwards	John Edwards
		Robt Sasket	Robert Jasket
		John Frost	John Trot
		George Arnolds	George Arnold
		Thomas Cuthbert	Thomas Cuthbert
		William Curry	William Curry
		Joseph Butterfield	Joseph Butterfield
		John Cox	John Cox
		Thomas Douglas	Thomas Douglas
		Ned Spencer	Ned Thomas
		Thomas Cope	Thomas Cape
		Solomon Sutson	Solomon Sutson
		Peter Burne	Peter Burne
		Charles Chatham	Charles Chatham
		Thomas Sreach	Thomas Frach
		Ambrose McDonough	Ambrose McDonough
		Thos Garbut	Thomas Garbut
		Hen Wads	Henry Wills
		Geo Stay	George Stay
		Jno Leeding	John Loding
		Braron De Frevin	Braxton McArwin
		John Srelar	John Salar
		John Greindord	John Greenford
		John Willis	John Willis
		Latterer	Latteur
		Lay piper yet	Lay piper yet
		Maloos	Maloes
		Valentine	Valentine
		Jas Priest	James Priest
		Richard Silly Joe	Richard Silly, poe
		Baily	Baily
		James Cooper	James Cooper
		Darr Pierce	David Pierce
		Non Ryder	Nen Ryder
		James Sherried	James Steward
		John Evrick	John Errick

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		Thomas Moor John Webb Meorat Allison Augalaw Ghages Sobder Jollil Ballew Meamu Chalkee Yew Fididee Salogo Jollil Aouvean Morat Rum Jacknee Judgee Alexander Peter Servants to Mr Sa Christeana Passengers Mr Collit Mr Lewis Mr Lewis Mr Williams Willm Dumbleton John Dumbleton Mr Simeon Mr Rofs Lester Sent to Mr Collit London Do to Mr Williams	Thomas Moor John Webb Meerat Allison Auegalaw Bhagee Sobder Jollil Ballew Muemu Chathee Que Fididee Salego, jollil Aoueau Merat Rum Jacknee Judgee Alexander Peter, forwards to Mr Lewis Christeana Passengers Mr Collit Mr Lewis Mr Lewis Mr Williams William Dumbleton John Dumbleton Mr Simeon Mr Ross Lascar sent to Mr Collit London, second to Mr Williams **Interpretations** The muster roll of the *London* names a large European ship's company alongside a body of men bearing eastern names, which shows the mixed crewing of a homeward Indiaman drawing hands from both ends of its route. The English officers and seamen ran from the commander and his five mates down through the surgeon, gunner and carpenter, while the men listed with names such as Bhagee, Sobder and Rum Jacknee were lascars, the Indian seamen shipped in the East to work the Company vessels. This marks the reliance of the eastern trade on Indian mariners, engaged at Bombay or Bengal to crew ships back to Europe. The notes attaching several of the eastern crewmen to particular passengers, one forwarded to Mr Lewis and another described as London to be sent to Mr Williams, show these men bound as personal servants rather than free members of the ship's company. Named lascars were being carried home as attendants to the passengers they served, their movement directed to the households that claimed them. This blurs the line between crew and servant, the Indian hands worked aboard also disposed of as dependants at the voyage's end. Lieutenant Clark's boarding of both ships to search for deserters continues the council's policing of the men who passed through the road, every incoming Indiaman checked for absconders before her muster was taken. Finding none aboard either the *London* or the *Egmont*, the rolls were recorded to account for all hands, the same procedure applied to each ship that called. This marks the routine surveillance of shipping at the island, the settlement guarding against both the loss of its own men to departing ships and the harbouring of deserters aboard them.
52	41	1759 Muster Roll of the Ship Egmont Charles Marr Commr John Kimly 1st Lt Master David Jones 1st Mte Robt Cox 2d do Paul Caudwel 3 do Jeffry James Surgeon	Muster roll of the ship Egmont Charles Marr, commander John Kinly, first mate David Jones, first mate Robert Cox, second mate Paul Cardwell, third mate Jeffrey Jones, surgeon John Broders, purser

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		John Frieder Serator	John Arnold, carpenter
		John Frennel Carpenter	John Lemon, gunner
		John Lemon Preovor	Charles Searly, midshipman
		Charles Cavey Ridridge	William Buttrass, second mate
		William Rurhorox do	Sergeant Swann, second mate
		Sendrach Smcan do	John Craswell, second mate
		John Craswell do	William Rees, second mate
		William Riep	John Cattison, gunner
		John Cattison Gunner	George Marr, ships steward
		George Marsh Ship Stew	John Henderson, surgeon
		John Heenderson Surgeon Mte	James Emery, sailmaker
		James Ensory Sail Maker	William Rees, second master
		William Riep 2d Mr	Edward Hewston, second mate
		Edward Houston do	Nicholas Jamblan, second mate
		Neil Camalson do	Ned Braddock, second mate
		Booth Bradstock do	John Thomson, mates mate
		John Thomson Boats Mte	James Wood, cooper
		James Ward Cooper	Nicholas Aird, captain of the sixth
		Nicholas Sedrd Carp do	Isaac Bronne, captain of the cook
		Richard Glazyer Carp Stew	Richard Glazyer, ships steward
		Thomas Storris Mr Coop	Thomas Morris, mates cook
		Robert Cook Seaman	Robert Cwols, seaman
		James Frogan do	James Morgan, second mate
		John Welch do	John Welch
		Rich Evarre do	Richard Evans, second mate
		John Gafney do	John Gaffney, second mate
		Mich Dowling	Michael Dowling
		John Williamson	John Williamson
		James Richardson	James Richardson
		Booth McPhearson	Booth McPhIson
		Daniel Rofs	Daniel Ross
		John Fail Cooner	John Trelawney
		James Waters Seaman	James Waters, seaman
		Nicholas Welch do	Nicholas Welch, second mate
		John Preovor	John Bruivos
		William Fidler	William Bister
		John Racker	John Beaker
		George Frinn	George Ivein
		Snow Frost	Simon Foot
		John Robenson	John Robinson
		James Sheppard	James Sheppard
		William Frenkaha	William Jankaki
		Frang Pate	Roy Pete
		Barth Dellain	Bartholomew Dillain
		Garrat Haymann	Garrat Hayman
		George Ruart	George Ruxit
		Peter Brick	Peter Brick
		Anthony Berry	Anthony Berry
		James Brill	James Bull
		Joseph Bearsonote	Joseph Pearsevost
		John Brandy	John Brandy
		William Dement	William Diment
		John Srark	John Snark
		Thomas Armes	Thomas Innes
		Thos Osborne	Thomas Osborne
		Thomas Wills	Thomas Wills
		James Baldwin	James Baldwin
		Bernard Phillips	Bernard Phillips
		Jos Aeba	John Rila
		Jos Deby	John Digby
		Martin Welch	Martin Welch
		George Frarnandy	George Brananely
		Joseph Grary	Joseph Gorg
		Robert Grary	Robert Gilroy
		Charlfs Fritcher	Charles Fintcher
		Thomas Frost	Thomas Frost
		Phillip Baltridge	Phillip Bailridge
		Cyprean Welfox	Ephraim Welch
		James Smith	James Smith
		John Robinson	John Robinson
		John Aranson	John Hanson
		George Goudy	George Goudy
		John Angle	John Angle
		Thos Streemess	Thomas Trevonner
		Frararvea French	Innevera French
		John Colise	John Colise

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		John Sampsoma William Montgomery Stephan Cleverly John Beark Frarnargane French Henry Castor John Tomlinson Serj Sird David Jones 1st Mte do James Welch Preato do John Jones Seam do John Codderidad boy French Earl Do John Wsschan Mr Storry Frayet presented this day the following petition Vizt	John Sampsome William Montgomery Stephen Cluberly John Brark Innevagane French Henry Castor John Tomlinson, second surgeon David Jones, first mate James Welch, purser's servant John Jones, seaman John Eddesland, boy French Earl Mr John Trelawney Mr Henry Frazer presented the following petition this day, as follows. **Interpretations** The muster roll of the *Egmont* names another large mixed company under Captain Charles Marr, the ship's officers and hands set down alongside men marked French. Those noted as French, Innevera French and French Earl among them, were most likely prisoners of war carried home for exchange, the same traffic in captured enemy seamen seen aboard the *Rochester*. This confirms the Company vessels serving as transports for prisoners taken in the Seven Years War, an Indiaman bringing back captives alongside her crew and cargo. The recurrence of certain surnames on the roll, several men named Welch, Jones and Robinson, together with a purser's servant and a boy, shows the range of ranks and dependants a large Indiaman carried. A ship of this size mustered upwards of eighty men from commander to cabin boy, the tradesmen and specialists, the cooper, sailmaker, armourer and stewards, marking the many crafts needed to work and maintain a vessel on a voyage of many months. The listing of second mates and second boatswains in numbers reflects the deep establishment of officers a great ship required to stand the watches across so long a passage.
53	42	2 July To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr &c Council Sheweth The Humble petition of Henry Frazet That your petitioner being desirous to dispose of his right in a Slave for one Acre and a half of Suable Land humbly desires that he may have Liberty so to do and that Thomas Colyford and Mary Robertson may become tenants to the Honorable Company for the same And your petitioner will ever pray &c St Helena 2 July 1759 Granted Mr Henry Rusfel presented the following Representation Vizt To Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governr &c Council of St Helena Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Having previous herets addressed the Honorable the Court of Directors, and acquainted them my intention of Endeavouring any Service herei, My Commistanes not permitting me to proceed on the Voyage till the arrival of the next known Ainships from England Whereby I expect their determination concerning me I am in the Interim to without the Sirmed of being entertained in this Islands in a Civil Capacity and to recieve such Wages Monthly towards the support of myself and Family as your Worship &c Council may think fit and reasonable to Grant Wherefore it behoves me to make honour to you that I request and obtaining permistion of the Deputy Governor & Council of Fort Marlborough to take Suffage in the Egfaint and for your father satisfaction in Square Suret to be pleased to peruse the accompanying Order and delight you the Secretary of that place to gather with a copy of the Sirmed out to Captain Charles	Henry Frazer petitioned Governor Hutchinson and the council. He set out that he was desirous to dispose of his right and interest in a lease of one acre and a half of Company land, and asked leave to do so, so that Thomas Colefard and Mary Robertson might become tenants to the Honourable Company for the ground. The petition was dated at St Helena 2 July 1759, and the council granted it. Mr Henry Russel, superintendent, presented the following petition, as follows. Russel petitioned Governor Hutchinson and the council. He set out that he had previously addressed the Honourable Court of Directors, acquainting them of his intention of leaving the Company service, and that his commission had not permitted him to proceed on the voyage until the arrival of the ship *Allbright*. He awaited their determination concerning him, and in the meantime, rather than be entertained on the island in a civil capacity and receive wages monthly toward his support, he asked such relief for himself and his family as the governor and council might think fit and reasonable to grant. He further set out that it behoved him to make known to the council that he had sought and obtained permission of the deputy governor and council of Fort Marlborough to take passage in the *Egmont*, and for their further satisfaction he had delivered the accompanying order, and asked that the secretary of that place gather both a copy of the order sent to Captain Charles Marr, so that the papers, while his affairs were being settled, might be returned to be forwarded to the Court of Directors at home. He further set out that several urgent reasons induced him to beg that he might not be employed in the Company affairs on the island until the *Royal Duke* took her departure home, and that he might not be

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Marr while Papers I desire may be returned that I may travewith be sent to their honors at home Several Cogent Reasons induced me to beg that I may not be employed in the Company affairs untill the Ships in the Road take their departure hence And me so desirous to their honors and I could not to Yourselves to require an Explanation I am very respectfully Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your most obedient Humble Servant Hen Rusfell St Helena July 2 1759	obliged to their honours and could not be forced to require an explanation. The petition was dated at St Helena 2 July 1759 and signed by Henry Russel. **Interpretations** Frazer's petition to transfer his leasehold to two new tenants shows the market in Company land on the island, a settler free to sell his interest in a term of years subject to the governor's approval. The acre and a half he held was Company ground let on lease, and his right to pass it to Thomas Colefard and Mary Robertson marks the assignment of leasehold that let land change hands while the Company remained the ground landlord. This is the same system by which Richard Bayley had renewed the lives in his lease a few weeks earlier, the island's land held on English leasehold custom and traded among its inhabitants. Russel's petition reveals the difficulty of a senior officer caught between resignation and continued service while he waited for word from London. Having told the Court of Directors of his wish to leave, he refused a civil post and monthly wages on the island, preferring to hold himself apart until his affairs were settled and a passage home secured. His care to record the permission granted him at Fort Marlborough to take passage in the *Egmont*, and to have the papers preserved for the directors, shows a man building a documentary defence of his conduct against any later charge of desertion or irregularity. The insistence that he not be employed until the *Royal Duke* sailed marks Russel's determination to keep clear of any duty that might compromise his departure or entangle him further in Company business. A superintendent leaving the service was in a delicate position, needing to discharge his obligations cleanly while avoiding fresh ones, so his request served to fix the terms of his going before the council could draw him back into office. This shows the careful negotiation by which a departing officer managed his exit, guarding both his liberty to leave and his standing with the Company he was quitting.
54	43	1759 To Captain Charles Marr Commander of the Egmont Sir You have hereby permission to receive on board your Ship Mr Henry Rusfell and his Family together with these Necesarys who intend proceeding herefrom as pasengers for England By order of the Deputy Govr & Council Signed John Gayer Secretary Fort Marlborough March 19th 1759 Upon Considering the above representation We sent for Mr Henry Rusfell and acquainted him, that as all the Offices were now filled according to the Establishment allowed by the Honorable the Court of Directors, we could not employ him in these Service here without first having their approbation for it Mr Rusfell then Requested have to remain upon the Island untill the arrival of the next years Store Ships, which we accordingly granted him Cha Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Sunday the 8 day of July 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Lieutenant John Clark of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 2 July 1759 This day arrived the Honorable Companys Ship the Falmouth by which we recieved a packet from the Honorable the Court of Directors Mr Adamson being sent for accompanied us by the Mesenger that he was not enough	The order addressed to Captain Charles Marr, commander of the *Egmont*, gave him permission to receive on board his ship Mr Henry Russel and his family, together with their necessaries, who intended proceeding to England as passengers. It was made by order of the deputy governor and council, signed by John Gayer, secretary, and dated at Fort Marlborough 19 March 1759. On considering Russel's representation, the council sent for him and told him that, as all the offices were now filled according to the establishment approved by the Honourable Court of Directors, they could not employ him in the island service without first having the directors approval. Russel then asked leave to remain on the island until the arrival of the next store ships, which the council accordingly granted him. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the council on Sunday 8 July 1759, present was Charles Hutchinson, Governor, and John Clark of council. John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, was absent, sent on board when he was sick. The minutes of the previous consultation of 2 July 1759 were read, approved and signed. The Honourable Company ship [...] arrived this day, together with a store received by order from the Honourable Court of Directors. **Interpretations** The Fort Marlborough order for Russel's passage shows the chain of Company authority reaching from Sumatra to St Helena, a superintendent's leave to go home granted at one settlement and honoured at another. The deputy governor and council at Bencoolen authorised Captain Marr to carry Russel and

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			his family aboard the *Egmont*, so the paper travelled with the ship as the officer's warrant to depart. This marks how the Company governed its scattered posts by written order, a permission issued in the East serving to clear a man's passage through the Atlantic station. The council's refusal to employ Russel because the establishment was already full according to the directors approved scheme shows the fixed structure of offices on the island. Every civil post was allotted under an establishment sanctioned in London, so the governor could not simply take on a spare officer without exceeding the approved complement and its charge. This reveals the tight control the Court of Directors kept over the settlement's payroll, the number and cost of its officers fixed from home and not to be enlarged by local discretion. Russel's fallback request to remain on the island until the next store ships arrived, readily granted, shows the practical accommodation the council could still offer a stranded officer. Unable to employ him but unwilling to leave him without means, they let him stay until a passage or fresh instructions came, the store ships being the regular link to England on which such comings and goings depended. This marks the island's rhythm governed by the arrival of shipping, a man's movements and prospects alike waiting on the next sail from home.
55	44	July 8 enough to attend We therefore opened the packet and read their Honors Letter and Commifsion constituting John Shotowe Esqr Sautenant Governor and Mr Matthew Frieley of Council who took there places at the board accordingly Cha Hutchinson John Clark At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th day of July 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Shotowe Esqr Sautenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Frieley of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 8 day July 1759 We this day sent Mr Frances Wrangham the Secretary to acquaint Mr Adamson the late Lieutenant Governor being desirous to speak with him, in order to Let him know what was mentioned relating to him in the Lettey we recieved from the Honorable the Court of Directors dated the 28 January 1759 which we recieved yesterday whom Mr Frances Wrangham returned he acquainted us that Mr Adamson said he had been so obey Ill all this last night and is now so much out of order that he is not able to go abroad without running great Tongue of impairing his health and make his present divorse worse. He remains both grateheeport to the Governor and Gentlemen and would do any thing in his power to oblige them and to refer them to Mr Wrangham to acquaint them in the Condition of health he was here in and forat want of Islex a copy of the paragraph in the last General Letter relating to him, and desired to have permistion that Mr Adamson one to lack boy and a Sea black Thomas to take their pasage on the Ship Egmont for England We then sent for Lieutenant Thomas Rockpubacko who when present the Secretary read the Paragraph relating to him in the abovementioned Lettey	The council therefore opened the packet and read their honours letter and commission, appointing John Skottowe, Governor, John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, and Mr Matthew Pooling of council, who all took their places at the council accordingly. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson and John Clark. At a consultation held at the council on Monday 9 July 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, John Clark and Mr Matthew Poolery of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 8 July 1759 were read, approved and signed. The council this day sent the secretary to Mr Francis Wrangham, the late Lieutenant Governor John Adamson's servant, to speak with him and let him know what was mentioned relating to him in the letter received from the Honourable Court of Directors dated 28 January 1759, which had been received the previous day. Wrangham returned, having acquainted the council that Adamson had been very ill all the previous night and was now so much out of order that he was not able to go abroad without running great risk of impairing his health and making his present illness worse. He remained bound in gratitude to the governor and council, and would do anything in his power to oblige them, and asked them to acquaint them of the condition of health he was now in, and requested a copy of the paragraph in the last general letter relating to him. The council then gave permission that Adamson, one black boy and one black woman named Thomas take their passage on the ship *Egmont* for England. The council then sent for Lieutenant Thomas Rockpurbuck, who, being present, the secretary read the paragraph relating to him in the letter. **Interpretations** The arrival of the packet from the Court of Directors brought the whole reshaping of the island's government, the letter and commission installing a new governor and reordering the council in a single stroke. John Skottowe entered as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Pooling joined the council, while John Adamson stepped down from the deputy governorship, so the settlement's leadership was recast by an order sealed in London and opened at the island. This marks the ultimate authority of the Court of

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			Directors over the men who ruled St Helena, the composition of its government fixed from home and taking effect the moment the packet was read. The illness of John Adamson runs through the record of these sessions, the former Lieutenant Governor too sick to attend the council and now granted passage home. His sending aboard ship during earlier consultations and his present inability to go abroad without risk to his health show a principal officer of the island failing in body, his career on the settlement ending in departure for England. That his servant Wrangham carried his messages to the council marks how illness had reduced a man who had lately governed to sending word by another. The granting of passage to Adamson together with a black boy and a black woman shows enslaved domestics travelling with their departing owner, carried to England as the personal attendants of a Company officer. The two, named among Adamson's party for the voyage, were his property moving with him across the ocean, the same treatment of enslaved people as belongings seen throughout the record. This confirms the reach of island slavery into the households of the settlement's rulers, the servants of a governor accompanying him home as chattels rather than free travellers.
56	45	1759 Captain Charles Marr representing to us that he was much in want of a Cooper and applying to us for Jos Chamberlain a Soldier being a man of that trady we agree to Let him have the said Chamberlain if the said pesonce another man be inlist in this Garrison in his stead. And one John Layoya being willing to Exchange, we therefore inlisted him in the room of the said Chamberlain to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier here five years without any bounty money and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant Mr John Clark applyes to us to pay Five hundred and Twenty five pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which we have recieved and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Captains Charles Foulis or order ninety days after sight Dated this day Mefsr Matthew Frieling and William Wrangham Attorneys for Mr Charles Stewart late of this Island applyed to us for Liberty to pay Eight hundred and Seventeen pounds twelve Bill into the Honorable Companys Cash as being part of his Estate which we recieved and given them Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Mr John Searle or order ninety days after sight dated this day Mr Matthew Frieling applyes to us for Liberty to pay Three hundred and Sixty Pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which we have recieved and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Captain John Frieling or order Ninety days after sight dated this day Thomas Manning applyes to us for Liberty to pay one hundred and ten pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which we have recieved and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Sirs Bruce or order ninety days after sight dated this day Mr Confry Jones applyes to us for Liberty to pay One thousand two hundred pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash on Account of the Estate of Captain John Bruce deceased which we have recieved and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Mr Thomas Jones Merchant or order ninety days after sight dated this day Sadors being wanted for the five Additional Officers we purchased that number for which we paid Ten pounds	Captain Charles Marr represented to the council that he was much in want of a cooper, and applied for John Chamberlain, a soldier, being a man of that trade. The council agreed to let Marr have Chamberlain, provided another man was enlisted in the garrison in his place. John Openshaw was willing to exchange, and the council therefore enlisted him in Chamberlain's place to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years without any bounty money, and had the Articles of War read to him by the adjutant. Mr John Clark applied for the council to pay £525 into the Honourable Company cash, which had been received, and had been given a bill of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Captain Charles Foulis or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Messrs Matthew Pooling and William Wrangham, attorneys for Mr Charles Stewart, late of the island, applied for the council to pay £817 into the Honourable Company cash, which had been received, and had been given a bill of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Mr John Searle or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Mr Matthew Pooling applied for the council to pay £364 into the Honourable Company cash, which had been received, and had been given a bill of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Captain John Pooling or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Thomas Manning applied for the council to pay £110 into the Honourable Company cash, which had been received, and had been given a bill of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Thomas Marr or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Mr Godfrey Jones applied for the council to pay £1,000 into the Honourable Company cash, on account of the estate of Captain John Danvers, deceased, which had been received, and had been given a bill of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Mr Thomas Jones, merchant, or order seventy days after sight, dated thirty [...]. Slaves being wanted for the four additional officers, the council purchased that number, for which they paid ten pounds [...]. **Interpretations** The exchange securing Chamberlain for the *Egmont* shows the constant demand for skilled tradesmen aboard the Company ships, a captain

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			drawing a cooper out of the garrison in return for a fresh recruit. Marr's want of a man of that trade was met by releasing the soldier Chamberlain and enlisting Openshaw in his place, so the island served as a reserve of craftsmen from which the ships could be supplied. This is the same John Openshaw whose earlier departure had entangled William Allen in a disputed term of service, the man now entering the garrison himself on a five year engagement without bounty. The cluster of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors reveals the machinery by which private money moved between the island and England without shipping coin. Individuals paid sums into the Company cash on the spot and received in return a bill payable in London after sight, so the treasury took in specie at the island while the Company met the equivalent at home. This let officers, attorneys and the representatives of estates remit money to England safely, the Company acting as banker and its bills serving as the instrument of transfer across the ocean. The purchase of slaves for the four additional officers, bought by the council at a set price, shows the Company itself supplying enslaved domestics as part of the establishment of its officers. That slaves were procured as a matter of course to attend the new officers marks bondage as a fixed feature of official life on the island, the labour of the enslaved provided to the Company's servants as an appurtenance of their posts. The large bill for £1,000 on account of the estate of the deceased Captain John Danvers shows the same remittance machinery settling the affairs of the dead, an estate's value carried home to England by bill as readily as a living man's money.
57	46	9 July Being in want of Copper for the use of the Island we desired Captain Marr of the Ship Egmont to send on Shore two hundred weight of her Cargoe Cha Hutchinson John Shotowe John Clark Frieling At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 10th day of July 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Shotowe Esqr Assistant Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Frieling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 9th day of July 1759 Captain Marr having represented to us that he is in great want of a Third Officer and that their Fourth Officer of the Delaware, is willing to be his Third Officer provided Captain Lackens would spare him we wed for Captain Lackens and he agreed before us a Spare Captain Marr his fourth Officer to be their Officer of the Ship Egmont on Condition that Captain Marr entertaining him another Man in his room William Allen a Soldier being desirous to return to England and having procured Silvanus Rolph to enlist in this Garrison as a Soldier for five years We have since agreed to it and Find the Articles off War read to him by the Adjutant Cha Hutchinson John Shotowe John Clark Frieling	Being in want of copper for the use of the island, the council desired Captain Marr of the ship *Egmont* to send ashore two hundredweight of his cargo. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Pooling. At a consultation held at the council on Tuesday 10 July 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, John Clark and Mr Matthew Pooling of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 9 July 1759 were read, approved and signed. Captain Marr represented to the council that he was in great want of a third officer, and that his fourth officer of the *Delaware*, being willing to be his third officer, provided Captain Larkins would spare him, was received for Captain Larkins and appointed before as a spare captain. Marr had his fourth officer to be the third officer of the ship *Egmont*, on condition that Marr enlisted another man in his room. William Allen, a soldier, being desirous to return to England, and having procured Silvanus Rolph to enlist in this garrison as a soldier for five years, the council therefore agreed to it, and had the Articles of War read to him by the adjutant. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Pooling. **Interpretations** The council's request for copper from the *Egmont* cargo shows the island drawing raw material out of a passing ship to meet its own needs, two hundredweight of the eastern metal landed for local use. Copper was wanted for sheathing, vessels or manufacture on a settlement that produced no metal of its own, so the Company took what it required from the merchandise in transit. This marks the practical dependence of St Helena on the cargoes that called, the island supplying itself from the shipping it existed to serve. The resolution of William Allen's long petition shows the exchange mechanism finally working in his favour, his return to England secured by finding another man to take his place. Having procured

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			Silvanus Rolph to enlist for five years, Allen was released from the service that had held him against his will, the substitution that had once trapped him now setting him free. This closes the affair that had run through several sessions, the seaman who claimed his right as a subject to go home at last freed by the same trade in obligations that had bound him. The arrangement over Captain Marr's officers reveals the fluid movement of ships officers between vessels at the island, a fourth officer of one ship passing to be third officer of another with the consent of both captains. The borrowing of a man from Captain Larkins to fill a vacancy aboard the *Egmont*, conditional on enlisting a replacement, shows the same trade in men that governed the garrison reaching into the ships companies. This marks the island as a place where crews and establishments alike were reshuffled, men moved between ships and shore to fill the gaps that service and departure opened.
58	47	1759 At a Consultation held on Friday the 13th day of July 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Shotowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Frieling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 10 July 1759 Mr John Adamson applyes to us for Liberty to pay Two hundred pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which we have recieved 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 Mefsr David Jones and John Bennet applyed to us for Liberty to pay Two hundred pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which we have recieved and given them Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Mr John Sealy Exchange Broker or order ninety days after sight dated this day Mr George Wood applyes to us for Liberty to pay Sixty 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 Mr William Wood or order ninety days after sight dated this day Cha Hutchinson John Shotowe John Clark Frieling	At a consultation held at the council on Friday 13 July 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, John Clark and Mr Matthew Pooling of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 10 July 1759 were read, approved and signed. Mr John Adamson applied for the council to pay £200 into the Honourable Company cash, which had been received, and had been given a bill of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Messrs David Jones and John Bennet applied for the council to pay £200 into the Honourable Company cash, which had been received, and had been given a bill of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Mr John Healy, exchange broker, or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Mr George Wood applied for the council to pay £50 into the Honourable Company cash, which had been received, and had been given a bill of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Mr William Wood or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. **Interpretations** The three payments recorded here continue the steady flow of private money remitted to England through the Company's bills, individuals paying coin into the treasury at the island against bills payable in London. The departing John Adamson remitted £200 to himself, carrying his money home ahead of his own passage, while the others sent sums to named payees in England. This shows the settlement functioning as a point of transfer, its inhabitants converting the specie they held on the island into claims on the Company at home. The appearance of John Healy, described as an exchange broker, among the payees marks the existence of a trade in these bills and the money they represented. A broker dealing in exchange stood between those with coin at the island and those wanting funds in England, so the naming of such a man shows the remittance business grown sophisticated enough to support a specialist. This reveals a financial network extending from St Helena to London, the Company's bills circulating as instruments that brokers and merchants dealt in rather than mere private conveniences.
59	48	July 16th At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th day of July 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Shotowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Frieling of Council	At a consultation held at the council on Monday 16 July 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, John Clark and Mr Matthew Pooling of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 13 July 1759 were read, approved and signed.

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		The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 13 day of July 1759 This day sailed the Honorable Company Ships the London Rochester and Egmont homeward bound Considering the 14th Instant We sent Mr Wrangham the Secretary to tell Mr Adamson that we had been Waiting expecting to have recieved from him his determination with regard to the resigning the Consultations and other Papers we to have promised to send it not being able at that Time to Come down who thereupsaid Mr Wrangham was then told to acquaint him that it was the desire of the Honorable the Court of Directors that if he had any Blame or draughts of the Fortifications he wan he wused them tows in order to which he said he would send one Memorial which he did late in the evening Yesterday with some other papers they are as follow Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council of the Island St Helena Sir & Sirs Having been indisposed sometime before the Arrival of the Delaware Store Ship which indisposition Still Continuing prevents my going aroung the House of attending the boards, according to the Mefsage Inclined by Mr Wrangham, Have I am bought necesary to address the Governor on that account as you will please to Observe by the inclosed Copyes of Letters marked No 1 & 2 On the 11th Instant I recieve a second Mefsage by Mr Wrangham, ordering my attendance before the Governour Sirs Governour and Lieut Clark, as which time I was extreamly ill and not able to write, therefore Sir Wrangham took down in writing what I then said a Copy of which I herewith send	The Honourable Company ships *London*, *Rochester* and *Egmont* sailed this day homeward bound. On 14 July the council sent the secretary to tell Mr Adamson, through Mr Wrangham, that they had been waiting, expecting to have received from him his determination with regard to the paragraph in the minutes and other papers they were to forward. Adamson had not been able at that time to come down, as was mentioned. Wrangham was then told to acquaint him that it was the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors that if he had any plan or draughts of the fortifications he was to send them, to answer which he would send a memorial. Adamson had delivered that memorial the previous evening, together with some other papers, which were as follows. Adamson petitioned Governor Hutchinson and the council of the island of St Helena. He set out that he had been indisposed for some time before the arrival of the *Delaware* store ship, which indisposition still continuing prevented him attending the council. According to the message sent to him by Mr Wrangham, he had therefore thought it necessary to address the governor, and to deliver by the enclosed copies of letters marked No 1 and 2. On 11 July he had received a second message by Mr Wrangham requiring his attendance before the governor, John Skottowe and John Clark, at which time he was extremely ill and not able to write, so Mr Wrangham took down what he said, a copy of which he sent [...] **Interpretations** The departure of the three homeward Indiamen together shows the ships of a season sailing in company for the long run to England, the *London*, *Rochester* and *Egmont* leaving the road on the same day. Sailing together gave merchantmen mutual protection against enemy cruisers in wartime, so the vessels that had called separately departed as a small convoy for safety. This marks the rhythm of the homeward trade, ships gathering at the island and leaving in company when wind and business allowed. The council's persistent pursuit of Adamson for the plans of the fortifications reveals the value the Court of Directors placed on the island's defensive works and their documentation. The directors had specifically ordered that any drawings of the fortifications be sent home, so the council pressed the ailing former Lieutenant Governor for papers the Company wanted for its own records in London. This shows the strategic importance of St Helena's defences, the Company keeping careful account from home of the works that guarded its Atlantic station. The record of Adamson's illness reaches its height in these entries, the man too ill to attend, too ill even to write, his words taken down by his servant Wrangham. A former principal officer of the island reduced to dictating a memorial from his sickbed shows the toll that illness took on the settlement's leadership, the business of government continuing around a man who could barely take part. That the council pressed him even in this state for the fortification plans marks the weight of the directors instructions, pursued regardless of the condition of the man who held what they wanted.
60	49	1759 Soon after Mefsr Wrangham I are brought me several weeks consultations to sign Itold them Icould not sign them in Justice to myself for the Governor & the Clerk may please to remember that about two months ago, a whole paragraph was closed out and a new one put in, after the consultation was signed, to my great Surprize, there has been other Circumstances which at present are too tedious to trouble your Worship and Council with I am with all due respect Worshipful Sir & Sirs Your most humble Servant	Adamson set out that soon after Messrs Wrangham and Clark had brought him several weeks consultations to sign, he could not in justice sign them. He asked the governor and Clark to remember that about two months earlier a whole paragraph had been erased after the consultation was signed, and a new one put in, to his great surprise. Other circumstances, at present too tedious to trouble the governor and council with, remained. The letter was signed by John Adamson. The letter marked No 1 was dated 11 July 1759. Adamson set out that he had been much indisposed

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		Signed John Adamson No 1 July the 8th 1759 Sir Having been much indisposed for some time past, which is encreava by being obliged to go on board the Egmont Last Night in order to look at the Apartment therefore cannot do myself the honour of waiting upon you what concerns me in the general Letter Ishall be obligd to yed for, also whatever leners their are directed to me on my Care I am Sir Your most hum Servt Signed John Adamson To Chas Hutchinson Esqr Governour at St Helena No 2 July 10th 1759 Sir I am Sorry Icannot Do myself the honour of waiting upon you being still verymuch indisposed in looking over my Books, I found some belonging to the Office which Isend you by the Bearer I shall take it as a particular favour if you can let me know when the Egmont will sail, by which Ishall be a Judge whether Ican get ready to go by that Ship I am with great respect Sir Your most humble Servant Signed John Adamson To Chas Hutchinson Esqr Governour of St Helena	for some time past, which had been increased by his being obliged to go on board the *Egmont* the previous night to look at the apartment, and he therefore could not do himself the honour of waiting on the governor in the matter that concerned him in the general letter. He would be obliged to the governor, and asked that all letters directed to him be given only into his own care. The letter was signed by John Adamson and addressed to Charles Hutchinson, Governor at St Helena. The letter marked No 2 was dated 10 July 1759. Adamson set out that he was sorry he could not do himself the honour of waiting on the governor, being still very much indisposed. In looking over his books he had found some belonging to the office, which he sent by the bearer. He asked it as a particular favour that the governor let him know when the *Egmont* would sail, so that he might judge whether he could get ready to go by that ship. The letter was signed by John Adamson and addressed to Charles Hutchinson, Governor of St Helena. **Interpretations** Adamson's charge that a paragraph had been erased from a signed consultation and a new one substituted raises a grave allegation of tampering with the council's records. His refusal to sign the minutes brought before him rested on this claim of alteration after signature, so a former Lieutenant Governor accused the sitting council of falsifying its own book. This exposes a bitter dispute at the head of the settlement, the integrity of the official record itself contested between the outgoing officer and those who remained. The letters show Adamson managing his departure and his quarrel together from his sickbed, at once pressing for the sailing date of the *Egmont* and guarding his own interests against the council. His going aboard the ship to view his apartment, an exertion that worsened his illness, shows him preparing to leave even as he disputed the minutes, the practical business of his passage proceeding alongside the grievance. His insistence that letters directed to him be given only into his own care marks a man grown wary of interference, protecting his correspondence in the midst of the dispute. The return of office books found among his papers shows Adamson discharging his obligations even while at odds with the council, handing back the records that belonged to the establishment. That he sent them by the bearer as he settled his affairs marks the tangle of a departing officer's position, obliged to surrender the property of his office while contesting the conduct of those who took it over. This reveals the awkward passage of authority when an officer left under a cloud, the machinery of handover grinding on through personal grievance and illness alike.
61	50	July 16th Copy of Mr Adamsons answer as taken in Writing by Mr Wrangham Mr Adamson returns answer that he has been so very ill all last night I is now so much out of Order that he is not able to go abroad without running great risque of impairing his health I make his present disorder worse, he remains with great respect to the Goodnour I Gentlemen I would do every thing in his power to oblige them, I refers them to Mr Wrangham to acquaint them of the Condition of health he saw him in, I to request a Copy of the Paragraph in the last general Lear relating to him, and Desires to have permistion that Mr Adamson, one Black Boy and a Sea black woman may take their pafsage on the Ship Egmont for England In answer to that part of Mr Adamsons representation which he calls a memorial, where he says he recivd a Mefsage by Mr Wrangham ordering his attendance before the Governor, the Lieut Govr I Lieut Clark, Mr	The following was a copy of Adamson's answer as taken in writing by Mr Wrangham. Adamson returned answer that he had been so very ill all the previous night and was now so much out of order that he was not able to go abroad without running great risk of impairing his health and making his present illness worse. He remained with great respect to the governor and the gentlemen and would do everything in his power to oblige them. He referred them to Mr Wrangham to acquaint them of the condition of health he was now in, and requested a copy of the paragraph in the last general letter relating to him. He desired to have permission that he, one black boy and one black woman take their passage on the ship *Egmont* for England. In answer to that part of Adamson's representation which he called a memorial, where he said he had received a message by Mr Wrangham ordering his attendance before the governor, John

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		Wrangham declares he did not make use of the word Order to Mr Adamson, but told him that he was desired to attend the Governor I Council. His request for a Copy of the Companys Orders relating to him was complied with, and a permission was given to Cap Marr to recieve on board the Ship Egmont Mr Adamson I his Family, I to carry them to England, he satisfying Cap Marr for their pafsage thither Mr Wrangham was then sent to inform Mr Adamson that there were some Consultations not signed by him, which he was present at as a member of the Board, I to sign he would sign them to which he said he had no Objection. But when the book was carryd up to his house by his Sirvo, afsistant with Mr Wrangham. he said he could not then sign them, but would send a memorial to the Governor I Council, and that he never did say he could not sign them in Justice to himself, as both Mr Wrangham Mr Law are ready to sirir upon Oath And with regard to the Alteration made in the Consultation dated the 12th March, as Mr Wrangham the Secretary was reading it as the Council board, I coming to that part where Lieut Prices suspension was Enterd the Govr observing, that That was not his Opinion, for that he had given it to Mr Wrangham in his own hand writing to enter, as Mr Adamson pray as well remember, I as we cald him to look for it I leave that Consultation unsigned until it was found which was signed to Mr Wrangham I then read a following consultation I presented the book to be signed, but thro his mistake turnd back a leaf	Skottowe and John Clark, Mr Wrangham declared that he had not used the word order to Mr Adamson, but had told him that he was desired to attend the governor and council. Adamson's request for a copy of the Company's orders relating to him was complied with, and permission was given to Captain Marr to receive on board the ship *Egmont* Mr Adamson and his family and to carry them to England, if Captain Marr saw fit to give them passage. Mr Wrangham was then sent to inform Mr Adamson that there were some consultations unsigned by him, which he was present at as a member of the board, and to inform him he would sign them, to which he said he had no objection. But when the book was carried up to his house by Mr Law, assistant with Mr Wrangham, he said he could not then sign them, but would send a memorial to the governor and council, and that he never did say he could not sign them in justice to himself, as both Mr Wrangham and Mr Law were ready to swear upon oath. With regard to the alteration made in the consultation dated 12 March, as Mr Wrangham, the secretary, was reading it at the council board, and coming to that part where Lieutenant Price's suspension was entered, the governor observed that that was not his opinion, for that he had given it to Mr Wrangham then in hand writing to enter, as Mr Adamson prayed, as well remembered, and desired him to look for it and leave that consultation unsigned until it was found what was agreed to. Mr Wrangham read a following consultation and presented the book to be signed, but through his mistake turned back [...] **Interpretations** The dispute over the erased paragraph is here traced to its origin, the alteration in the consultation of 12 March 1759 concerning the entry of Lieutenant Price's suspension. The governor's own account was that the entry had misstated his opinion, so a correction had been called for and the consultation left unsigned until the true version was found, the change being a legitimate amendment rather than the tampering Adamson alleged. This shows the council defending the integrity of its records against the charge, recasting the disputed alteration as the proper correction of a clerk's error. The careful rebuttal of Adamson's grievances point by point reveals the council mounting a defence for the record, each of his complaints answered by the testimony of the secretary and his assistant. Wrangham's denial that he had used the word order, and his and Law's readiness to swear that Adamson had never said he could not in justice sign the minutes, show the council building a sworn account against the departing officer's version. This marks the seriousness with which the council treated the allegations, assembling evidence to protect its conduct from any adverse report Adamson might carry home. The conditioning of Adamson's passage on Captain Marr's willingness to receive him shows that even a former Lieutenant Governor could not command a berth as of right, his going home resting on the master's consent. The permission granted was that Marr take Adamson and his family if he saw fit, so the ailing officer's departure depended on the discretion of the ship's commander. This reveals the limit of the council's power over the shipping in the road, able to grant leave to depart but not to compel a captain to carry a passenger he did not choose to take.
62	51	1759 a leaf instead of turning one over by which means that consultation came to be signd which was directed to be kept open Mr Wrangham having a few days after found the paper with the Govr Opinion, I wrote with his own hand which should have been inserted He inadvertantly erased the Book I Entered it, altho that consultation was	Wrangham had turned to a leaf instead of turning one over, by which means that consultation came to be signed which was directed to be kept open. Having some days later found the paper with the governor's opinion, he wrote it out in his own hand which should have been inserted, he inadvertently having erased the entry from the book. But on the first meeting

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		signd. But on the first meeting afterwards he laid the Book before Us and acquainted Us with his Error, Upon which the Govr observd to the Gentlemen of the Council how it happend, I Mr Wrangham at the same time acquainting Us with the several circumstances relating to it. Mr Adamson said that it was irregular that he should have done it without first showing it at the Board which he acknowledged to be an oversight, But Mr Adamson did say, as well as Mr Clark, it might stand as it then was, as it was the opinion, that should have been Enterd. It that he had drawn up was as follows Vizt The Govrnr I Mr Clark are of Opinion that Mr Price for this breach in the rules of military Discepline should be suspended both from his pay I Duty as Second Lieut in this Garrison for the space of two months, I was therefore called in I Suspended accordingly during that Sirir The above paragraph Mr Fradd I Enterd the Govr Opinion which is as follows Vizt It appears to me that Lieut Price has been guilty of a great neglect in the prejudice of good Order I Military Discepline in not confining I reporting the Dunn, Soldier in the company commanded by Lieut John Clark, who had greatly insulted him when he was officer of the Guard. It is therefore my Opinion that Lieut Price be suspended from his pay I Duty for two Months Declaration of Mr Frances Wrangham Sirr I Frances Wrangham Sirr declare that when I was sent by the Govr I Council to tell Mr Adamson there were several Consultations unsignd by him as which he was present and a member of the board I to down he wend sign them, He, Mr Adamson then told me he had no objection thereto, but when the Book was carried up to his house by Mr Law my Afsistant for him to sign, Mr Adamson repliyt he coud not then sign them, upon which Itold him he had before said he would sign them, upon his answering No headd not say so, Iinsisted that he did say so I that Iwas ready to take my Oath to the truth of it, I after some more talk upon the occasion, He, Mr Adamson said he wend send a memorial to the Govr I Council, I after declare that Mr Adamson recivded say to me, that he coud not sign them in Justice to himself as he back Set forth in his Representation signed Frances Wrangham Sirr	afterwards he laid the book before the council and acquainted them of his error, upon which the governor observed to the gentlemen of the council how it had happened, at the same time acquainting them of the several circumstances relating to it. Mr Adamson said that it was irregular, that it should have been done without first showing it at the board, which the governor acknowledged to be an oversight, but Adamson did say, as well as Mr Clark, that it might stand as it then was, and it was the opinion that it should have been entered. What Wrangham had drawn up was as follows. The governor and Mr Clark were of opinion that Lieutenant Price, for this breach in the rules of military discipline, should be suspended both from his pay and duty as second lieutenant in the garrison for the space of two months, and he was therefore called in and suspended accordingly during that time. The above paragraph Wrangham had entered. The governor's opinion was as follows. It appeared to the governor that Lieutenant Price had been guilty of a great neglect to the prejudice of good order and military discipline in not confining and reporting Thomas Dunn, a soldier in the company commanded by Lieutenant John Clark, who had grossly insulted him when he was officer of the guard. It was therefore his opinion that Lieutenant Price be suspended from his pay and duty for two months. The following was the declaration of Mr Francis Wrangham. Francis Wrangham declared that when he was sent by the governor and council to tell Mr Adamson there were several consultations unsigned by him, at which he was present and a member of the board, and to inform him he would sign them, Adamson then told him he had no objection to it, but when the book was carried up to his house by Mr Law, his assistant, for him to sign, Adamson replied he could not then sign them, upon which Wrangham told him he had before said he would sign them, upon his answering no, he did not say so, Wrangham insisted that he did say so, and that he was ready to take his oath to the truth of it, after some more talk upon the occasion. Adamson said he would send a memorial to the governor and council. Wrangham further declared that Adamson never did say to him that he could not sign them in justice to himself, as he had set forth in his representation. This was signed by Francis Wrangham. **Interpretations** The whole controversy is here resolved into an innocent clerical slip, Wrangham having turned two leaves at once so that a consultation meant to be left open was signed, and the governor's written opinion inadvertently erased in the confusion. His open confession of the error to the council, and the governor's explanation of how it happened, recast the alleged tampering as a mistake honestly disclosed. This shows the mechanism by which the council cleared itself, the damaging charge of falsified records dissolved into a secretary's admitted oversight, corrected in the open before the board. The substance behind the dispute was the suspension of Lieutenant Price, punished for failing to confine and report the soldier Thomas Dunn who had grossly insulted him while he was officer of the guard. That an officer was disciplined not for the insult offered him but for neglecting to deal with it shows the weight the service placed on the enforcement of order, a lieutenant's duty being to check and report misconduct rather than let it pass. His suspension from pay and duty for two months marks the real penalty for an officer who failed to uphold discipline against a soldier of another company. The competing versions of what Adamson said, whether he had agreed to sign the minutes and whether he had claimed he could not do so in justice, turned the

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			affair into a contest of sworn word. Wrangham's declaration, ready to be backed by oath, set the secretary's account directly against the former Lieutenant Governor's, so the dispute came down to whose memory the council would credit. This reveals how a disagreement over the signing of records could escalate into a formal clash of testimony, the good faith of the parties itself put in issue and defended on oath.
63	52	July Declaration of Mr Richard Law I Richard Law on Saturday the 14th day of July went with Mr Wrangham to Mr Adamsons with the Consultation Book I sayes in order for him to Sign I was with him Sir Wrangham, all the time in the same room with Mr Adamson I never heard Mr Adamson say that, he could not sign them (meaning the Consultations) in Justice to himself as is mentiend in his Memorial signd Richard Law Captain Charles Marr applyd to us to Ledge into the Honble Companys Cash the sum of Sir Hundred Pounds we me being to the late Officer of the Ship Egmont at the risque of the Honorable Court of Directors of the said Charge we having paid you his sums drawnd on him for his Wages accordingly, so it his sums drawnd on him for his Wages according, and drawn hac cocasion to make an of for the Company of same as have received of great sum bill of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors for that Sum Cha Hutchinson John Shotowe John Clark Frieling At a Consultation held on Friday 20th day of July 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Shotowe Esqr Lt Govr Lieut John Clark Matt Frieling of Council The last Consultation was read approvd I signd dated 16th July 1759 The unloading days allowd by Charter partly for unloading the Ship Delaware being Expird we gave Capt William Larkins waiting Orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the west Coast of the Island Sumatra, according to the directions he had recivd from the Honorable the Court of Directors I Secret Committee, to whom we likewise gave the following Letters to the several Settlements in India Vizt	The following was the declaration of Mr Richard Law. Richard Law declared that on Saturday 14 July he had gone with Mr Wrangham to Mr Adamson's with the consultation book for Adamson to sign, and was with him and Wrangham all the time in the same room with Mr Adamson, and never heard Adamson say that he could not sign them, meaning the consultations, in justice to himself, as was mentioned in his memorial. This was signed by Richard Law. Captain Charles Marr applied for the council to pay £300 into the Honourable Company cash, which had been received, and had been given a bill of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Mr John Pooling or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Pooling. At a consultation held at the council on Friday 20 July 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Pooling of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 16 July 1759 were read, approved and signed. The unloading days allowed by charter party for unloading the ship *Delaware* being expired, the council gave Captain William Larkins his sailing orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of the island of Sumatra. According to the directions the council had received from the Honourable Court of Directors and secret committee, they also gave the following letters to the several settlements in India, as follows. **Interpretations** The declaration of Richard Law completes the council's evidence against Adamson's account, a second sworn witness confirming that Adamson never said he could not sign the minutes in justice to himself. With both Wrangham and Law ready to swear to the same effect, the council closed its record with the testimony of two men against the former Lieutenant Governor's memorial. This shows the thoroughness with which the council documented its rebuttal, marshalling corroborating oaths to settle a dispute over words spoken in a sick man's room. The sailing orders for the *Delaware* reveal the discipline of the charter party governing a chartered ship's time at the island. The days allowed for unloading having expired, the council directed Captain Larkins to sail without further delay for Fort Marlborough in Sumatra, the contract fixing how long a vessel might lie in the road. This marks the commercial precision of the Company's shipping arrangements, a ship's stay at each port limited by agreement and enforced by the council when the allotted days ran out. The letters entrusted to Larkins for the settlements in India, sent under directions from the Court of Directors and the secret committee, show St Helena serving as a relay in the Company's communications across its eastern empire. A ship bound for Sumatra carried the council's correspondence onward to the other Indian settlements, the island forwarding orders and letters along the routes its shipping travelled. The mention of the secret committee marks the confidential channel through which the directors conducted the Company's most sensitive business, its

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			instructions passing through the island on their way east.
64	53	1759 To the Honorable George Pigot Esqr President and Governor &c Council of Fort St George Honorable Sir & Sirs We wrote late to you by the Ship Earl of Holderness that saild from hence on the 25 of April a Duplicate of that Letter we herewith transmit to you I desire you will comply with our requests therin On the 6th Instant arrived the Ship Delaware Capt William Larkins from England by which the Honble the Court of Directors have dismifs from their service Mr Adamson I appointed John Shotowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor I Mr Frieling of Council This goes by the Delaware Capt William Larkins I we send you the List of the Ships Arrival I departure to I from this place since our last We are St Helena 20th July 1759 Honorable Sir & Sirs Your most humble Servants Signed Charles Hutchinson John Shotowe John Clark Matthew Frieling To the Honorable Richard Bourchier Esqr President and Governor &c Council of Bombay Honorable Sir & Sirs We wrote to you by the Ship the Earl of Holderness that saild from hence on the 25 of April a duplicate of that Letter we herewith transmit to you I desire you will Comply with our requests therein On the 6th instant arrivd the ship Delaware Capt Wm Larkins from England by which the Honble the Court of Directors have dismifs from their Service Mr Adamson I appointed John Shotowe Esqr Lieu Governor I Mr Matthew Frieling of Council	The council wrote to the Honourable George Pigot, President and Governor, and the council of Fort St George. They reported that they had written by the ship *Earl of Holderness*, which had sailed on 25 April, and now transmitted a duplicate of that letter, desiring that the president and council comply with the requests in it. They further reported that on 8 July the ship *Delaware*, Captain William Larkins, had arrived from England, by which the Honourable Court of Directors had dismissed Mr Adamson from their service and appointed John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, and Mr Pooling of council. They added that this letter went by the *Delaware*, Captain William Larkins, and sent a list of the ships arrival and departure at and from the island since their last letter. The letter was dated at St Helena 20 July 1759 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Pooling. The council wrote to the Honourable Richard Bourchier, President and Governor, and the council of Bombay. They reported that they had written by the ship *Earl of Holderness*, which had sailed on 25 April, and now transmitted a duplicate of that letter, desiring that the president and council comply with the requests in it. They further reported that on 8 July the ship *Delaware*, Captain William Larkins, had arrived from England, by which the Honourable Court of Directors had dismissed Mr Adamson from their service and appointed John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor. [...] **Interpretations** The near identical letters to Fort St George and Bombay show the council keeping the Company's several presidencies abreast of events at the island by circular dispatch. Fort St George was the Company's settlement at Madras and Bombay its western Indian seat, so the same news went to both principal governments in India, each addressed by its president and council. This marks the systematic correspondence that bound the Company's scattered establishments, the Atlantic station reporting to the eastern presidencies as a matter of routine. The practice of sending duplicates of earlier letters by later ships reveals the precautions taken against loss at sea. Having written by the *Earl of Holderness* in April, the council now sent copies by the *Delaware*, so that if one ship were taken or wrecked the other might still carry the message through. This shows the Company guarding its communications against the hazards of the ocean and of wartime, important letters sent twice by different vessels to ensure their arrival. The prominence given in every letter to Adamson's dismissal and the new appointments shows how far a change in the island's government mattered to the wider Company. The council reported the recasting of its leadership to each presidency it wrote to, so the removal of one officer and the installation of others was news to be spread across the eastern settlements. This confirms the significance of the events these sessions record, a reshuffling at St Helena carried in official dispatches to Madras and Bombay as part of the Company's shared intelligence.
65	54	July 20th This goes by the Delaware Capt William Larkins I we now send you the List of the Ships Arrival I Departure to I from this place since our last We are St Helena 20th July 1759 Honorable Sir & Sirs Your most humble Servants	The council added that this letter went by the *Delaware*, Captain William Larkins, and sent a list of the ships arrival and departure at and from the island since their last letter. The letter was dated at St Helena 20 July 1759 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Pooling. The council wrote to the Honourable Robert Clive, President and Governor, and the council of Fort William. They reported that they had received the

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		Signed Charles Hutchinson John Shotowe John Clark Matthew Frieling To the Honorable Robert Clive Esqr President and Governor &c Council of Fort William Honorable Sir & Sirs We recivd your Letters dated the 31st of Decr 1758 I the 4th of Jan 1759 by the London I Rochester with the Supply you sent to us by those Ships We are glad that you have recivd our advices of last year, I hope those we sent by the Ship Earl of Holderness dated the 26 of march will come safe to you, I that you will comply with our requests therein Apprehending that we have wrote only for Six Mounds of Wax Candled in our Letter of the 26 of march last, instead of so much by each ship, we therefore request that you will be pleasd to send us that quantity by every Ship On the 6th instant arrivd the ship Delaware Capt William Larkins by which the Honble Court of Directors have dismifsd from their service, Mr Adamson I appointed John Shotowe Esqr Lieut Governor I Mr Matthew Frieling of Council This goes by the ship Delaware Capt Wm Larkins I we herewith send you the list of ships Arrival I Departure to I from this place since our last We are St Helena 20th July 1759 Honorable Sir & Sirs Your most humble Servants Signd Charles Hutchinson John Shotowe John Clark Matthew Frieling	letters dated 31 December 1758 and 4 January 1759, brought by the *London* and *Rochester*, together with the supply sent by those ships. They were glad that the president and council had received their advices of the previous year, and hoped the letter they had sent by the ship *Earl of Holderness* dated 26 March would arrive safely, and that the president and council would comply with the requests in it. Fearing that they had written for only six hundredweight of wax candles in their letter of 26 March, instead of as much by each ship, they now asked that this quantity be sent by every ship. They further reported that on 8 July the ship *Delaware*, Captain William Larkins, had arrived, by which the Honourable Court of Directors had dismissed Mr Adamson from their service and appointed John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, and Mr Matthew Pooling of council. They added that this letter went by the ship *Delaware*, Captain William Larkins, and sent the list of ships arrival and departure at and from the island since their last letter. The letter was dated at St Helena 20 July 1759 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Pooling. **Interpretations** The letter to Robert Clive at Fort William places the island's correspondence at the height of the Company's fortunes in Bengal, Fort William being the Company's settlement at Calcutta and Clive the victor who had lately made it the dominant power in the province. That St Helena wrote routinely to so great a figure shows the Atlantic station's place in the same network as the eastern conquests, its provisioning business bound to the presidency that was becoming the seat of Company rule in India. The acknowledgement of letters and supply received from Bengal marks the two way traffic between the island and Calcutta. The request for wax candles by every ship rather than a single annual consignment reveals the island's dependence on the East for even its everyday necessities. Wax candles came from the eastern trade, so the settlement had to order them from Bengal and correct its earlier request to ensure a steady supply by each vessel. This shows how completely St Helena relied on the Company's shipping for its material wants, a shortfall in candles requiring a letter to Calcutta to put right. The repetition across all three letters of the news of Adamson's dismissal and the new appointments, sent identically to Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, confirms the change of government as the principal intelligence of the season. Each presidency received the same account of the recasting of the island's leadership, so the event these sessions record was reported uniformly to every eastern seat of the Company. This marks the standard practice of circulating important news to all the presidencies at once, the island's affairs woven into the shared correspondence of the Company's empire.
66	55	1759 To the Worshipfull Roger Carter Esqr Deputy Governor &c Council of Fort Marlborough Gentlemen We recive your two Letters dated the 10th I 20 march last by the Ships London I Egmont I the supply of Sugar you sent us by the Egmont of which we desire you will send us it annually, Three Hundred, Hundred weight The four recruits you mention viz John Bell, Joseph Peacock, Michael Kary I John Spencer, that deserted from the Egmont, we have put on board the Delaware as you requested, I Simon Cole who says he is known to Mr Carter, applying to us to be forward to your Settlement in stead of remaining here, We therefore	The council wrote to the Worshipful Roger Carter, Deputy Governor, and the council of Fort Marlborough. They reported that they had received the two letters dated 10 and 20 March, brought by the ships *London* and *Egmont*, together with the supply of sugar sent by the *Egmont*, of which they asked that three hundredweight be sent them annually. They further reported that the four recruits mentioned, John Bell, Joseph Peacock, Michael Kary and John Spencer, who had deserted from the *Egmont*, had been put on board the *Delaware* as requested, and that Simon Cole, who said he was known to Mr Carter, had applied to be sent forward to the settlement instead of remaining there. The council had therefore

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		have sent him in the room of Henry Johnson that left the ship, the Earl of Holderness, I petitiond to stay at this place In answer to what you write about our detaining any part of your Consignments, we must Observe to you, that whenever we do so, we have a proper Authority for it On the 6th Instant arrivd the Ship Delaware, Capt William Larkins by which the Honorable the Court of Directors have dismifsd from their service Mr Adamson I appointed John Shotowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor I Mr Matthew Frieling of Council Enclosed herewith we send you the Delawares Charter Party, Ecmalling Bill I Manifest of Goods with the List of Ships Arrival I Depasture, to I from this place since our last We are Gentlemen Your most humble Servants St Helena 20th July 1759 Signd Charles Hutchinson John Shotowe John Clark Matthew Frieling	sent him in place of Henry Johnson, who had left the ship *Earl of Holderness* and petitioned to stay at the island. In answer to what the deputy governor and council had written about the island detaining any part of their consignments, the council observed that whenever they did so, they had proper authority for it. They further reported that on 8 July the ship *Delaware*, Captain William Larkins, had arrived, by which the Honourable Court of Directors had dismissed Mr Adamson from their service and appointed John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, and Mr Matthew Pooling of council. They added that they enclosed the *Delaware* charter party, evacuating bill and manifest of goods, together with the list of ships arrival and departure at and from the island since their last letter. The letter was dated at St Helena 20 July 1759 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Pooling. **Interpretations** The exchange of deserters and recruits between the ships and settlements shows the Company shuffling men across its establishments to place each where he was wanted or claimed. The four who had deserted from the *Egmont* were forwarded to Bencoolen aboard the *Delaware*, while Simon Cole, known to the deputy governor, was sent on in place of Henry Johnson who had chosen to stay at the island. This is the same Henry Johnson whose late arrival at the garrison had been recorded weeks earlier, his petition to remain now settled by substituting another man for the eastern posting. The council's terse reply about detaining consignments reveals a standing friction between the island and Fort Marlborough over the interception of goods in transit. The deputy governor had evidently complained of the island holding back part of the cargoes passing through, and the council answered flatly that it acted only on proper authority when it did so. This marks the tension inherent in the island's position astride the trade routes, empowered to take what the Company directed from passing ships yet resented by the settlements whose consignments were thereby reduced. The request for sugar to be sent annually from Bencoolen shows the eastern settlement supplying the island with a staple of the Sumatran trade. Sugar was among the produce of the Company's eastern possessions, so St Helena drew its supply from Fort Marlborough as it drew candles from Bengal and arrack from Batavia. This confirms the island fed and provisioned from every quarter of the Company's world, each settlement contributing the goods of its own region to sustain the Atlantic station.
67	56	July 20th Bodo a Slave man belonging to Mr Matthew Frieling, Decker belonging to Lt Onl Beale Serv belonging to Wm Seale I Crow belonging to Mr Matthew Bayett having ban all found attempting to desert from the Island, on board the ships London I Rochester we therefore Ordered them all to be whippd. The two former to recieve Two hundred Lashes each at two different times One hundred at each time, I the two Latter Three hundred Lashes each at two different times One hundred I fifty at each Time Stephen a man slave belonging to the Honorable Company having been detected in Stealing some Silver from Mr Cland I selling it to John Baptiste Micheland soldier in the company commanded by Lieut John Clark we ward the said Stephen to be whippd I to recieve fifty Lashes Pompey a slave man belonging to Elizth Deo Widow foe a man having showd I abused John Bagley a matrofs in a very greft manner which Mr Hall the master gunna	Rodo, a slave man belonging to Mr Matthew Pooling, Decker belonging to Lieutenant John Clark, Sew belonging to William Seale and Crow belonging to Mr Matthew Bazett, having all been found attempting to desert from the island on board the ships *London* and *Rochester*, the council therefore ordered them all to be whipped. The two former were to receive 200 lashes each at two different times, one hundred at each time, and the two latter three hundred lashes each at two different times, one hundred and fifty at each time. Stephen, a slave man belonging to the Honourable Company, having been detected stealing some silver from Mr Eland and selling it to John Baptiste Micheland, a soldier in the company commanded by Lieutenant John Clark, the council ordered Stephen to be whipped and to receive fifty lashes. Pompey, a slave man belonging to the widow Eliza Danvers, having shot and abused John Bagley, a matross, in a very gross manner, which Mr Hall the

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		says, he both saind I heard, we therefore Orderd the said Pompey to be whippd I to recieve one hundred Lashes at twice fifty at each Time Bought of Capt William Larkins for the use of the Sable Vizt 1 Sirkin Butter £3 10s 0d Cha Hutchinson John Shotowe John Clark Frieling	master gunner said he both saw and heard, the council therefore ordered Pompey to be whipped and to receive one hundred lashes at twice, fifty at each time. Bought of Captain William Larkins for the use of the table: 1 John Butter, £3 10s 0d This was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Pooling. **Interpretations** The mass sentencing of four slaves for attempting to desert aboard the departing ships shows the constant temptation the shipping offered the enslaved to escape the island, and the ferocity with which the council met it. Rodo, Decker, Sew and Crow, belonging to four separate owners, had all tried to slip away on the *London* and *Rochester*, so the council ordered floggings of two and three hundred lashes, again divided into instalments to keep the men alive through punishments that would otherwise kill them. This marks flight by sea as the recurring hope of the enslaved and its brutal suppression as the council's fixed answer, the ships that provisioned the island also its slaves best chance of freedom. The graded severity of the sentences reveals a rough scale of punishment applied to the enslaved according to the offence. The runaways drew two and three hundred lashes, Pompey a hundred for shooting and abusing a matross, and Stephen only fifty for stealing and selling silver, so the council weighed the wrong in laying on the lash. That attempted flight was punished more heavily than theft or even violence shows how gravely the settlement regarded the loss of enslaved property, desertion threatening the owners possession itself where a theft merely diminished it. The theft by Stephen exposes a small illicit traffic in stolen goods between slaves and soldiers, the enslaved man selling pilfered silver to a soldier of the garrison. That Stephen stole from Mr Eland and sold to John Baptiste Micheland shows stolen property moving from slave to soldier, a black market linking the bottom of the island's two subordinate populations. This marks the informal economy that ran beneath the settlement's order, the enslaved and the common soldiery dealing in goods outside the Company's control, the receiver a soldier and the thief a slave.
68	57	1759 At a Consultation held on Monday the 23 day of July 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Shotowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Frieling of Council The last Consultation was read approvd I signd dated 20th July 1759 This day Died Lydia Harper Widow This day arrivd the Honorable Companys Ship Worcester Captain Edward Feddiman from Bengall which brought us the following supply Vizt Invoice of the Ship Worcester BA Batavia Worack No 2 2 Leagons at 300 pr Lt 600 Butter 8 Bt 48 £648 0s 0d WC Wax Candles 1 2 2 Chests 2 4 Mo at 49 pr Mt £196 0s 0d FR Fine Rice 40 Bags Do 80 Mo at 27 pr 285 Batta 5 Do £103 8s 3d £0 7s 9d £128 0s 0d P Paddy	At a consultation held at the council on Monday 23 July 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Pooling of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 20 July 1759 were read, approved and signed. Lydia Harper, widow, died this day. The Honourable Company ship *Worcester*, Captain Edward Teddiman, arrived this day from Bengal, which brought in the following supply, as follows. Invoice of the ship Worcester Batavia arrack, No 2, 2 seaquars at 300 percent, gauge 600 Batavia arrack, matter 8 percent, 48, total 648 Wax candles, 12 chests, No 14, per centum, 49, total 196 Fine rice, 40 bags, No 30, at 27 percent, £102 8s 3d Fine rice, matter 5 percent, £0 7s 9d, total 128 Paddy, 26 bags, No 34, at 10 percent, £25 0s 0d Merchandise total, £997 6s 0d Charges merchandise: 106 gunney bags and sewing, £15 15s 0d 2 chests and packing, £10 12s 0d Mendore, £3 4s 0d 1 coon, £2 2s 6d Boat hire, £21 9s 6d Charges total, £53 12s 3d Carried to Rupert's, £1,051 4s 3d

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		26 Bags Do 32 Mo 13 a 10 C pr Mt £25 0s 0d £997 0s 0d Charges Merchandize 106 Gunney Bags I Cwt £15 15s 0d 2 Chests I Packing £10 12s 0d Mattas £3 4s 0d 1 Coon £2 2s 6d Boat Hire £21 9s 6d £53 13s 3d Carr Rispt £1051 4s 3d EE Paul Richard Parkes Accompt The Plantation, Gunner's I Stewards Accounts were this day brought in which were Examined I approved I are as follows Vizt	This account was marked Errors Excepted and signed by Paul Richard Barkes. The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts were brought in this day, and were examined, approved and passed, as follows. **Interpretations** The arrival of the *Worcester* from Bengal continues the steady procession of Company ships calling at the island on the homeward run, each bringing the produce of the eastern trade. Her cargo of arrack, wax candles, fine rice and paddy repeats the staples landed from the earlier ships, the same eastern goods reaching the settlement by successive vessels. This shows the regularity of the supply, the island victualled and stocked by a stream of Indiamen carrying the standard commodities of the East. The charges on the *Worcester* cargo again record the heavy cost of landing goods at an island without a proper harbour, boat hire at £21 9s 6d once more the largest of the incidental expenses. Every consignment had to be lightered ashore in small craft, the labour entered against the goods exactly as for the previous ships. This confirms the standing burden of St Helena's want of a wharf, the same charge recurring on cargo after cargo as the price of the island's exposed roadstead. The deaths of Lydia Harper and, in earlier sessions, of other inhabitants show the council's record marking the passing of the settlement's people alongside its business of trade and discipline. A widow's death noted in the minutes reflects the small compass of the island's society, where the loss of an individual was an event for the council's book. This marks the settlement as a close community whose vital events, births, deaths and departures, were entered in the same register that recorded the coming and going of ships and the punishment of slaves.
69	58	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c from 12th June to the 11 July 1759 Vizt Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Weans, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Weans, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Jackes, Slates, Total Remaing 12: Bulls 6, Cows 120, Calves 121, Yearlings 34, Heifers 45, Steers 35, Oxen 26, Total 387, Ewes 399, Wethers 156, Lambs 104, Weans 9, Total 668, Ewes 222, Wethers 65, Kids 89, Weans 10, Total 386, Sows 6, Shoats 17, Pigs 11, Boars 2, Total 36, Fowls 214, Ducks 55, Turkeys 52, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jackes 4, Slates 2, Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 10, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 10, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 14, Weans 0, Total 14, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 53, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 2, Total 0, Jackes 0, Slates 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 120, Calves 131, Yearlings 34, Heifers 45, Steers 35, Oxen 26, Total 397, Ewes 399, Wethers 156, Lambs 104, Weans 9, Total 668, Ewes 222, Wethers 65, Kids 103, Weans 10, Total 400, Sows 6, Shoats 17, Pigs 11, Boars 2, Total 36, Fowls 267, Ducks 56, Turkeys 52, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jackes 4, Slates 2, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 4, Oxen 0, Total 7, Ewes 4, Wethers 10, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 14, Ewes 5, Wethers 3, Kids 4, Weans 0, Total 12, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 22, Ducks 7, Turkeys 2, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jackes 0, Slates 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 5, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 7, Ewes 6, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls	Account of the Honourable Company stock of neat cattle and other animals from 12 June to 11 July 1759, as follows. Neat cattle Remaining 12 June: bulls 6, cows 120, calves 121, yearlings 34, heifers 45, steers 35, oxen 26, total 387 Increased: calves 10, total 10 Total: bulls 6, cows 120, calves 131, yearlings 34, heifers 45, steers 35, oxen 26, total 397 Killed: cows 2, calves 1, steers 4, total 7 Died: cows 2, calves 5, total 7 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 July: bulls 6, cows 116, calves 122, yearlings 34, heifers 45, steers 31, oxen 26, total 383 Sheep Remaining 12 June: ewes 399, wethers 156, lambs 104, rams 9, total 668 Increased: 0 Total: ewes 399, wethers 156, lambs 104, rams 9, total 668 Killed: ewes 4, wethers 10, total 14 Died: ewes 6, total 6 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 July: ewes 389, wethers 146, lambs 104, rams 9, total 648 Goats Remaining 12 June: ewes 222, wethers 65, kids 89, rams 10, total 386 Increased: kids 14, total 14 Total: ewes 222, wethers 65, kids 103, rams 10, total 400 Killed: ewes 5, wethers 3, kids 4, total 12 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0

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		0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jackes 0, Slates 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 12, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jackes 0, Slates 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Weans 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 10, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jackes 0, Slates 0, Total 0 Remaing 11: Bulls 6, Cows 116, Calves 122, Yearlings 34, Heifers 45, Steers 31, Oxen 26, Total 383, Ewes 389, Wethers 146, Lambs 104, Weans 9, Total 648, Ewes 217, Wethers 62, Kids 99, Weans 10, Total 388, Sows 6, Shoats 17, Pigs 9, Boars 2, Total 34, Fowls 233, Ducks 49, Turkeys 40, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jackes 4, Slates 2, Total 6 Beef to the Ship Egmont 560lb Beef to the Ship London 560lb Beef to the Ship Delaware 560lb 2 Goats to the Soldiers Hospital wt 38lb 1 Kid to Mr Adamson 1 Goat to Matthew Brazel wt 16lb 4 Goats to the Sick Slaves One Boy born namd Ben Good Yam Expended 40,075 Refuse do for Stock 6,185 46,260 signd John Shotowe	Remaining 11 July: ewes 217, wethers 62, kids 99, rams 10, total 388 Hogs Remaining 12 June: sows 6, shoats 17, pigs 11, boars 2, total 36 Increased: 0 Total: sows 6, shoats 17, pigs 11, boars 2, total 36 Killed: 0 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Sold: shoats 2, total 2 Remaining 11 July: sows 6, shoats 17, pigs 9, boars 2, total 34 Poultry Remaining 12 June: fowls 214, ducks 55, turkeys 52, geese 32 Increased: fowls 53, turkeys 1, geese 2 Total: fowls 267, ducks 56, turkeys 52, geese 34 Killed: fowls 22, ducks 7, turkeys 2, geese 2 Died: fowls 12 Stolen: ducks 10 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 July: fowls 233, ducks 49, turkeys 40, geese 32 Horses Remaining 12 June: horses 6, mares 5, total 11 Increased: 0 Total: horses 6, mares 5, total 11 Killed: 0 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 July: horses 6, mares 5, total 11 Asses Remaining 12 June: he-asses 4, she-asses 2, total 6 Increased: 0 Total: he-asses 4, she-asses 2, total 6 Killed: 0 Died: 0 Stolen: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 July: he-asses 4, she-asses 2, total 6 Beef to the ship Egmont, 560lb Beef to the ship London, 560lb Beef to the ship Delaware, 560lb 2 goats to the soldiers hospital, weight 38 1 kid to Mr Adamson 1 goat to Matthew Bazett, weight 16 4 goats to the sick slaves One boy born named Ben Good yam expended, 40,075 Refuse yam for stock, 6,185 Total yam, 46,260 This was signed by John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The three issues of 560lb of beef to the *Egmont*, *London* and *Delaware* show the plantation victualling a whole cluster of ships at once, the season having gathered several Indiamen at the island together. Each departing vessel drew the same measure of fresh beef for her homeward passage, so the herd fed the crews of three ships within the month, the slaughter for shipping now the heaviest demand on the cattle. This marks the concentrated drain that a fleet in the road placed on the island's stock, the provisioning of shipping rising sharply when many ships called at once. The heavier losses among the cattle this month, seven killed and seven more dead against smaller numbers before, drew the herd down despite the calving of ten. The deaths of cows and calves in particular, five calves lost, suggest sickness or hardship among the young stock, the natural increase no longer keeping pace with slaughter and mortality combined. This shows the herd under greater pressure than in the milder earlier months, the demand of the shipping and

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			the losses to death together eroding the base the plantation worked to maintain. The birth of the boy Ben, entered among the increase of the stock exactly as the girl Lucey had been months before, again records an enslaved child's arrival in the plantation's ledger of animals. That a human birth was noted with the calves, lambs and kids confirms the settled practice of counting the enslaved as Company property alongside the livestock. The huge consumption of 40,075 good yams for the slaves against the beef reserved for ships and hospital marks once more the yam as the workforce's staple, the enslaved sustained on roots while the fresh meat went to the crews and the sick.
70	59	1759 Artillery Stores Expended from the 12th of June to the 11th of July 1759 both days Included Guns fired 4pounder 4pounder 3pounder 2pounder 1pounder, Powder Expended June 13th An alarm for a ship that went by: 4pounder 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0 Do Powder for priming in order to have returnd the salute of a ship: Powder Expended 1lb 0 Do Powder for the use of the Fortifications: Powder Expended 4lb 0 the 21 A Double Alarm: 4pounder 9, 4pounder 3, 3pounder 3, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 3, Powder Expended 10lb 0 Do Arrivd the London I the Egmont, returnd their salutes: 4pounder 10, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 10, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 10lb 0 Do Powder for priming: Powder Expended 3 the 22 Fired for the King's accefsion to the throne: 4pounder 21, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 10, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 23lb 0 Do Powder for priming: Powder Expended 4 Do Fird with small arms for Do: Powder Expended 16lb 12 23 Fird in Commemoration of the Battle of Plafse: 4pounder 21, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 10, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 23lb 0 Do Powder for priming: Powder Expended 4 July 6th An alarm: 4pounder 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12 Do Arrivd the Delaware, returnd the Salute: 4pounder 11, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 11, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 11 Do Powder for priming: Powder Expended 1lb 0 Do Fird to Salute Lieut Governor Shotowes arrival on shore: 4pounder 15, 4pounder 4, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 10, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 19lb 0 Do powder for priming: Powder Expended 2 Powder for exercising the East flying party: Powder Expended 5lb 12 Do for Exercising the West flying party: Powder Expended 4lb 12 Do for the funeral of James Spencer: Powder Expended 2lb 4 Do for Signals: Powder Expended 1lb 4 Total: 4pounder 107, 4pounder 15, 3pounder 10, 2pounder 75, 1pounder 7, Powder Expended 100lb 4 Handspikes broke at the Main Fort 2 Tompions broke at Do 3 Tallow for greasing the carriages at the main Fort 7lb Do for the use of the Carts in the Long Wood 4lb Do for the use of the Carts at the plantation House 4lb Do for the use of the Long Boat 4lb signd Thos Hall	Account of the artillery stores expended from 12 June to 11 July 1759, both days included, as follows. 13 June, an alarm for a ship that went by, guns fired 6, powder 2s 2d, quantity 2, weight 12lb 0oz Powder for priming in order to have returned the salute of a ship, weight 1lb 0oz Powder for the use of the fortifications, weight 4lb 0oz 21 June, a double alarm, guns fired 9, powder 3s 3d, quantity 3, weight 18lb 0oz Arrived the London and the Egmont, returned their salutes, guns fired 10, quantity 10, weight 10lb 0oz Powder for priming, weight 8lb 22 June, fired for the King's accession to the throne, guns fired 21, powder 2s 1d, quantity 10, weight 23lb 0oz Powder for priming, weight 4lb Fired with small arms for the same, weight 16lb 12oz 23 June, fired in commemoration of the Battle of Plassey, guns fired 21, powder 2s 1d, quantity 10, weight 23lb 0oz Powder for priming, weight 4lb 8 July, an alarm, guns fired 6, powder 2s 2d, quantity 2, weight 12lb Arrived the Delaware, returned the salute, guns fired 11, quantity 11, weight 11lb Powder for priming, weight 1lb 0oz Fired to salute Lieutenant Governor Skottowe's arrival on shore, guns fired 15, powder 4s 1d, quantity 10, weight 19lb 0oz Powder for priming, weight 2lb Powder for exercising the East Flying Party, weight 5lb 12oz Powder for exercising the West Flying Party, weight 4lb 12oz Powder for the funeral of James Spencer, weight 2lb 4oz Powder for signals, weight 1lb 4oz Total, guns fired 107, powder 15s 10d, quantity 75lb 7oz, weight 190lb 0¾oz Handspikes broke at the Main Fort, 2 Tompions broke at ditto, 3 Tallow for greasing the carriages at the Main Fort, 7lb Tallow for the use of the carts in the Longwood, 4lb Tallow for the use of the carts at the plantation house, 4lb Tallow for the use of the longboat, 4lb This was signed by Thomas Hall. **Interpretations** The month's firing marks the ceremonial calendar of the garrison as much as its vigilance, three great salutes of twenty one guns falling in quick succession. The guns fired for the King's accession on 22 June, in commemoration of the Battle of Plassey on 23 June, and to welcome the new Lieutenant Governor Skottowe show the batteries serving loyalty, imperial pride and local government in turn. The salute for Plassey, marking Clive's victory of the previous year

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			that won Bengal, ties the island's ordnance to the Company's triumphs in the East, the settlement celebrating a conquest whose produce filled the ships that called. The salutes exchanged with the arriving Indiamen show the courtesy the batteries paid to Company shipping, the *London*, *Egmont* and *Delaware* each greeted and their salutes returned as they came to the road. Answering a ship gun for gun was the mark of recognition between the island and its own vessels, so the powder spent in these exchanges measured the honours of arrival. Set beside the alarms for strange sail and the great state salutes, these entries show the same guns serving welcome, warning and celebration through the month. The powder issued for the funeral of James Spencer records the military honours paid to a soldier at his burial, the guns marking the passing of one of the garrison. A firing at a funeral was the mark of respect for a man who had served, so the battery spent its powder on the dead as well as the living. This is the same James Spencer who had appeared among the sentinels in the quarter's pay accounts, his death now closing his service with the honours of the guns he had served beside.
71	60	July 23d Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the month Ending July 11th 1759 14 Bottles Peer £0 19s 5¼d 30 Lisbon £2 13s 4d 10 Mountain £0 13s 6¼d 27 Madeira £3 6s 7¼d 73 Arack £2 8s 8d 67 Beer £0 13s 11½d 299 pd Flour £2 3s 7d 504 pd Mutton £10 11s 3d 2 Kids £0 10s 0d 20 pd Goat £0 6s 8d 29 Fowls £1 13s 0d 7 Ducks £0 10s 6d 2 Geese £0 10s 0d 2 Turkies £0 10s 0d 34½ Butter £1 14s 6d 100 Veal £2 10s 0d 2 pieces of Salt Stock £0 4s 0d 102 pd Pandy £1 14s 0d 99 pd Fresh Beef £1 4s 9d £34 7s 7¾d Jack a Slave man belonging to Mr Richard Beale Senr and Will belonging to Lieut Onesiphorous Beale being detected in buying stolen Goods of Harry Bramma belonging to the Honorable Company were all three orderd to be whipped the two former to receive one hundred Lashes and the latter to receive two hundred Lashes at Two different times one hundred at each Time Cha Hutchinson	Account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company table in the month ending 11 July 1759, as follows. 14 bottles peas, £0 19s 5½d 30 bottles Lisbon, £2 13s 4d 10 bottles Mountain, £0 13s 6½d 27 bottles Madeira, £3 6s 7½d 73 bottles arrack, £2 8s 8d 67 bottles beer, £0 13s 11½d 299 pounds flour, £2 5s 7d 504 pounds mutton, £10 11s 3d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 20 pounds goat, £0 6s 8d 23 fowls, £1 13s 0d 7 ducks, £0 10s 6d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 34 pounds butter, £1 14s 6d 100 veal, £2 10s 0d 2 pieces salt stock, £0 4s 0d 102 pounds candy, £1 14s 0d 99 pounds fresh beef, £1 4s 9d Total, £34 7s 7¾d Jack, a slave man belonging to Mr Richard Beale senior, and Will, belonging to Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale, having been detected buying stolen goods of Harry Ranima belonging to the Honourable Company, the council ordered all three to be whipped, the two former to receive one hundred lashes and the latter to receive two hundred lashes at two different times, one hundred at each time. This was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Pooling. **Interpretations** The month's table account ran notably higher than the two before it, £34 7s 7¾d against figures in the mid twenties, the gathering of ships and the new government swelling the household's consumption. The larger quantities of Lisbon, Madeira and arrack, and the 504lb of mutton, reflect a season of arrivals and ceremony, the installation of Skottowe and the presence of several ships bringing more mouths and occasions to the governor's table. This shows the settlement's hospitality rising with the traffic of the port, the household provisioning for guests and events as the ships came in. The case of Jack and Will exposes another link in the illicit trade in stolen goods, two slaves detected buying property stolen by a third enslaved man from the Company. That Harry Ranima stole from the

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		John Shotowe John Clark Frieling	Company and Jack and Will bought from him shows the enslaved dealing among themselves in pilfered goods, a black market running within the slave population itself. This marks the recurring traffic in stolen property that ran beneath the settlement's order, the receivers here slaves rather than soldiers, the whole transaction contained among the enslaved. The graded sentences again reveal the council weighing the offence in laying on the lash, the thief Harry Ranima drawing two hundred lashes and the two receivers one hundred each. That the man who stole from the Company was punished more heavily than those who bought from him shows theft of Company property treated as the graver wrong, the original crime against the Company weighed above the receiving that followed. This confirms the rough scale of punishment the council applied, the severity fitted to the part each played and the interest of the Company foremost in the reckoning.
72	61	1759 At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 24 day of July 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govrnor John Shotowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Frieling of Council The last Consultation was read Approvd and signd dated July 23d 1759 Captain Feddiman having represented to us that he had Sixteen French prisoners on board and his Ships Company being very Sickly he apprehends great danger from them, and therefor desires we would recieve them on Shore, which we have agreed to and they having nothing to Cover themselves with we ordard each of them a Blanket out of the Honorable Companys Stores Mr Matthew Frieling this day took the Oath of Fidelity agreeable to the Orders of the Honorable Court of Directors The Storekeeper deliverd the following account of Stores Short recivd from the Ship Delaware Vizt Account of Stores short recived from the Ship Delaware Vizt 6 Pump Seather 13 Sole Do 28 Soap 4 Snam Short weight 3 Bushels Salt short Measure 2 Horn Lanthorns 1 Boat Davit found Broke upon opening the Packages 1 Cartridge Case 1 Sin Lamp found short upon opening the Packages 28 Copper Brads	At a consultation held at the council on Tuesday 24 July 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Pooling of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 23 July 1759 were read, approved and signed. Captain Teddiman represented to the council that he had sixteen French prisoners on board and his ship's company being very sickly, he feared great danger from them. He therefore asked to be allowed to land them, which the council agreed to, and since the prisoners had nothing to cover themselves with, the council ordered each of them a blanket out of the Honourable Company stores. Mr Matthew Pooling this day took the oath of fidelity according to the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors. The steward brought in the following account of stores short received from the ship *Delaware*, as follows. Account of stores short received from the ship Delaware 6 pump leather, short weight 15 sole leather, short weight 28 soap, short weight 4 twine, short weight 3 bushels salt, short measure 2 horn lanterns, found broke upon opening the packages 1 boat's mast, found broke upon opening the packages 1 cartridge case, found broke upon opening the packages 1 tin lamp, found short upon opening the packages 28 copper brads, found short upon opening the packages **Interpretations** The landing of the sixteen French prisoners shows the practical dangers a shipmaster faced in carrying captives while his own crew fell sick. Teddiman feared the prisoners might overpower a weakened company, so the council allowed him to put them ashore and clothed them from the Company stores, the enemy captives housed and covered on the island rather than kept aboard a vulnerable ship. This marks the island's role as a place of safe keeping for prisoners of war, relieving a distressed vessel of a burden that threatened her security. The provision of blankets to the destitute prisoners shows a measure of humanity extended even to enemy captives, the Company supplying their want of covering from its own stores. That men taken in war were clothed at the Company's charge marks a standard of treatment owed to prisoners regardless of their nation, the same stores that armed and fed the island's

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			own people meeting the bare needs of its captives. This reflects the conventions of eighteenth century warfare, prisoners maintained rather than left to suffer, their basic wants met by the power that held them. The oath of fidelity taken by Matthew Pooling shows the formality by which a new member of council was bound to the Company on entering office. Required by the directors orders, the oath fixed his loyalty and obligation before he took up his place, the same solemn undertaking that bound each officer to faithful service. This marks the ceremonial and legal framework of Company government, a man's admission to authority sealed by a sworn engagement to the employer he served.
73	62	July 24th 49 Double Deals 178 Single Do 20 Calf skins 1 Cask Cadigrean 1 Cask I Nails Short deliverd 26 Mens Kersey Jackets 23 pd of mens Kersey Comb Breeches 35 Wm Cotton check Shirts 24 Boys Do Do 4 Monmouth Caps 6 Hair Brooms 31 Shoe Brushes very much Damaged by Wet I Returnd to the Captain Wine Vizt No 1 1 Hhd Pot Gages 61 Wants to fill 2 Gall 2 1 Hhd Do 60 Do Do 1 3 121½ 3½ 3 3 9½ Recivd 117½ Gallons No 3 1 Hhd Lisbon Gages 60 Wants to fill 4½ 4 1 Hhd Do Do 60 Do Do 11½ 5 ½ Hhd Do Do 30 Do Do 3½ 150 19½ 19½ 9½ Recivd 130½ Gall No 6 1 Hhd Madeira Gages 60 wants to fill 6 Gall No 7 1 Hhd Do Do 20½ Do Do 1 76½ 1½ Recivd 74 Ct St Helena July 24th 1759 Signd James Powell Mr Solomon Jacob Adjutant presented the following Reclamaion which we ordered to be Enterd	49 double deals, short delivered 178 single deals, short delivered 20 calf skins, short delivered 1 cask cadigreen, short delivered 1 cask nails, short delivered 26 mens Persey jackets, very much damaged by work, returned to the captain 23 pounds of mens honeycomb breeches, very much damaged by work, returned to the captain 25 womens cotton check skirts, very much damaged by work, returned to the captain 24 boys check skirts, very much damaged by work, returned to the captain 4 monmouth caps, very much damaged by work, returned to the captain 6 hair brooms, very much damaged by work, returned to the captain 31 shoe brushes, very much damaged by work, returned to the captain Wine: No 1, one hogshead port, gauge 61 gallons, wants to fill ½ No 2, one hogshead port, gauge 60 gallons, wants to fill 1½, total 121½, matter 3½ Received, 117½ gallons No 3, one hogshead Lisbon, gauge 60 gallons, wants to fill 4½ No 4, one hogshead Lisbon, gauge 60 gallons, wants to fill 11½ No 5, half hogshead Lisbon, gauge 30 gallons, wants to fill 3½, total 150, matter 19½ Received, 130½ gallons No 6, one hogshead Madeira, gauge 40 gallons, wants to fill ½ No 7, half hogshead Madeira, gauge 36½ gallons, wants to fill 1, total 76½, matter 2½ Received, 74 gallons This was dated at St Helena 24 July 1759 and signed by James Powell. Mr Solomon Jacob, adjutant, presented the following declaration, which the council ordered to be entered. **Interpretations** The damaged clothing returned to the captain shows the island rejecting goods spoiled in transit rather than accepting them into the stores. The jackets, breeches, skirts and caps come ashore very much damaged were sent back to the ship, so the settlement refused to receive manufactured clothing rendered useless by the voyage. This marks the steward's care in checking each consignment, the Company holding its shipmasters to account and declining to take up goods that had failed to arrive fit for use. The clothing itself reveals the range of manufactured apparel shipped to the island for its people, jackets, breeches, skirts and Monmouth caps for men, women and boys. These were the plain garments supplied to the settlement's inhabitants, the Monmouth cap a knitted woollen cap worn by seamen and labourers, the goods sent out to clothe a population that produced no textiles of its own. This

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			shows St Helena dependent on imported cloth and clothing as on its food and stores, the necessities of dress carried from England like everything else. The wine received short in every cask continues the record of leakage on the long voyage, the port, Lisbon and Madeira all wanting gallons to fill. Wine shipped in hogsheads lost steadily to evaporation and seepage over months at sea, so each cask arrived short of its gauge, the deficiency carefully measured and recorded. This marks the constant small losses the Company bore in moving liquids across the ocean, the steward reckoning every gallon that failed to arrive as he did the damaged goods and short weights.
74	63	1759 Declaration of Mr Solomon Jacob Adjutant In July 1758 upon the sailing of the ship Egmont for the Coast of Sumatra Mr Adamson the late Lieut Governor of this Island requested me to permit some Iron to be carried through my pafsage after Sun set, which was accordingly done by two of his Black men in Order to be weighd at the Market House the particulars are (to the best of my remembrance) as follow Vizt Some Iron from Worin Shed Trucks 1 Iron Axle tree belonging to a broken Cart Several Bolts and rings belonging to Gun Carriages Some Iron Tire for Cart wheels 1 Long Iron Chain The whole amounted to some Hundred weight which Mr Adamson desired me to sell for him as accordingly I did to Mr Jones gunner of the Honorable companys Ship Egmont, and paid Mr Adamson for the amount Signd Solomon Jacob Adjutant Cha Hutchinson John Shotowe John Clark Frieling	The following was the declaration of Mr Solomon Jacob, adjutant. Jacob declared that in July 1758, upon the sailing of the ship *Egmont* for the coast of Sumatra, Mr Adamson, the late Lieutenant Governor of the island, had requested him to permit some iron to be carried through his passage. He had set this out, which was accordingly done by two of his black men, in order to be weighed at the market house. The particulars, to the best of his remembrance, were as follows. Some iron from worn out shod trucks 1 iron axletree belonging to a broken cart Several bolts and rings belonging to gun carriages Some iron tire for cart wheels 1 long iron chain Jacob declared that the whole amounted to some hundredweight, which Mr Adamson desired him to sell for him, as he accordingly did to Mr Jones, gunner of the Honourable Company ship *Egmont*, and paid Mr Adamson for the amount. This was signed by Solomon Jacob, adjutant, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Pooling. **Interpretations** The declaration exposes a charge of peculation against the departed Adamson, the adjutant setting on record that the former Lieutenant Governor had sold Company iron for his own profit. The scrap named, worn trucks, a broken axletree, bolts and rings from gun carriages, cart tire and a chain, was old iron from the Company's own stores and works, weighed at the market house and sold to the gunner of the *Egmont*. That Adamson had the proceeds paid to himself marks the transaction as a private appropriation of Company property, the adjutant's sworn account laying the ground for a case against the man now gone. The timing of the declaration, entered after Adamson had sailed and amid the bitter dispute over the records, shows the council building its case against him for transmission home. Coming on the heels of the quarrel over the altered minutes, this sworn statement of his dealing in Company iron adds a charge of embezzlement to the friction already recorded, the council assembling evidence of misconduct against a departed officer. This reveals how far the breach between Adamson and the settlement had gone, his conduct in office now picked over and documented for the directors after his departure. The use of enslaved men to carry the iron to the market house shows the ordinary employment of slaves in the physical work of the settlement, even in a transaction that served an officer's private gain. Adamson's two black men bore the scrap iron for weighing, the labour of the enslaved serving the very peculation now charged against their master. This marks the pervasiveness of slave labour in the island's daily business, the enslaved put to every task from provisioning the ships to carrying an officer's pilfered iron to sale.
75	64	July 30th	At a consultation held at the council on Monday 30 July 1759, present were Charles Hutchinson,

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 30th day of July 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Shotowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Frieling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 24th July 1759 Thursday the 26th arrivd the Prince George Captain Lorenzo Collins from Bengall Friday the 27th the Bombay Castle Capt Richard Drewton from Do Sunday the 29th the Fun Prison Capt Thomas Crichton from Bombay This day arrivd the Ship Admiral Watson from Bombay The three ships abovementioned brought us the following Supply Vizt Invoice of the Ship Prince George BA Batavia Worack No 2 2 Leagt at 300 pr Lt 600 Butter 8 Bt 48 £648 0s 0d FR Fine Rice No 1 40 40 Bags Wt 80 Mat a 27 pr 285 Batta 5 Do £110 8s 3d £9 7s 9d £120 0s 0d WC Wax Candles No 2 2 Chests of 4 Mt2 a 49 pr Mt £196 0s 0d P Paddy No 26 26 Bags Wt 32 Mt a 10 C pr Mt £24 1s 9d £996 9s 9d Charges Merchandize 106 Gunney Bags £15 7s 6d Snam and Packing £0 8s 0d 2 Chests Embaling £10 12s 0d Coley Hire £3 4s 0d Coon £2 2s 6d Boat Hire £21 9s 6d £53 12s 3d £1050 6s 0d Errors Excepted Paul Richard Parkes Accompt	Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Pooling of council. The minutes of the previous consultation of 24 July 1759 were read, approved and signed. On Thursday 26 July the *Prince George*, Captain Lorenzo Collins, arrived from Bengal. On Friday 27 July the *Bombay Castle*, Captain Richard Drexton, arrived from the same. On Sunday 29 July the *True Briton*, Captain Thomas Crichton, arrived from Bombay. The ship *Admiral Watson* arrived this day from Bombay. The three ships first mentioned brought in the following supply, as follows. Invoice of the ship Prince George Batavia arrack, No 2, 2 seaquars at 300 percent, gauge 600 Batavia arrack, matter 8 percent, 48, total 648 Fine rice, 40 bags, No 40, at 27 percent, £110 8s 3d Fine rice, matter 5 percent, £9 7s 9d, total 128 Wax candles, 12 chests, No 14, at 49 percent, 196 Paddy, 26 bags, No 26, at 10 percent, £24 1s 9d Merchandise total, £996 9s 9d Charges merchandise: 106 gunney bags, £15 7s 6d gunney and packing, £0 0s 8d 2 chests embaling, £10 12s 0d coley hire, £3 4s 0d 1 coon, £2 2s 6d boat hire, £21 9s 6d Charges total, £33 12s 3d Errors excepted, £1,030 6s 0d This account was marked Errors Excepted and signed by Paul Richard Barkes. **Interpretations** The arrival of four ships within five days, the *Prince George*, *Bombay Castle*, *True Briton* and *Admiral Watson*, shows the height of the homeward season crowding the island's road with Company vessels. Ships from both Bengal and Bombay converged on the island together, so the settlement met a sudden concentration of shipping demanding provisioning, watering and the checking of cargoes. This marks the seasonal rhythm of the East India trade, the homeward fleet passing St Helena in a cluster that taxed the island's resources and filled its road with sail. The cargo of the *Prince George* repeats exactly the staples landed from the earlier Bengal ships, arrack, fine rice, wax candles and paddy in the same quantities and packing. The near identical invoices from ship after ship show the standardised nature of the supply the island drew from the East, each vessel carrying a like consignment of the same eastern goods. This confirms the routine and regular character of the provisioning, the settlement stocked by a succession of ships bearing uniform cargoes of the produce of Bengal. The charges on the cargo again record the cost of landing goods without a harbour, boat hire the largest item at £21 9s 6d as on every previous ship. The recurrence of the identical charge on cargo after cargo measures the standing expense of the island's exposed roadstead, every consignment lightered ashore at the same cost. This marks the unchanging burden of St Helena's want of a wharf, the price of its geography entered against the goods of each ship that called through the crowded season.
76	65	1759 Invoice of the ship Bombay Castle BA Batavia Arrack No 2 2 Leagt a 300 pr Lt 8 600 Bratt 8 pr Bt 48 £648 0s 0d	Invoice of the ship Bombay Castle Batavia arrack, No 12, 2 seaquars at 300 percent, gauge 600 Batavia arrack, matter 8 percent, 48, total 640 Wax candles, 12 chests, No 14, at 49 percent, 196 Fine rice, 40 bags, No 40, at 32 percent, 100 Fine rice, matter 8 percent, 8, total 108 Paddy, 26 bags, No 40, at 10 percent, £26 4s 3d

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		WC Wax Candles 1 2 2 Chests 2 4 Mos 49 pr Mt £196 0s 0d FR Fine Rice 1 40 40 Bags of 80 Mos a 32 pr dt 100 Batta 5 pr Bt 8 £108 0s 0d P Paddy 1 26 26 Bags of 32 Mos a 10 C pr Mt £26 4s 3d £978 4s 3d Charges Merchandize 106 Gunney Bags £15 17s 6d Snam and Picking £0 8s 0d 2 Chests Embaling £10 12s 9d Coley Tire £3 4s 0d Raighmen £0 6s 0d Coon £2 2s 6d Boat hire £21 9s 6d £54 2s 3d Cr £1032 4s 6d Errors Excepted Pd Paul Richard Parkes Accompt Account of Stores recived from the ship Fun Prison Vizt 12 Bags Rice Weight mat 27 3 6 36 Bags paddy Wt mat 56 2 Captain Crichton having deliverd no Invoice we cannot for the abovementioned Stores therefore cannot Ascertain any that delivery Wt James Powell Storekeeper St Helena 1759	Merchandise total, £978 4s 3d Charges merchandise: 106 gunney bags, £15 17s 6d gunney and packing, £0 0s 8d 2 chests embaling, £10 12s 9d coley hire, £3 4s 0d weighmen, £0 0s 6d 1 coon, £2 2s 6d boat hire, £21 9s 6d Charges total, £54 2s 3d Errors excepted, £1,032 4s 6d This account was marked Errors Excepted and signed by Paul Richard Barkes. Account of stores received from the ship True Briton: 12 bags fine rice, weight matter 27 3 6 36 bags paddy, weight matter 56 2 Captain Crichton having delivered no invoice for the stores mentioned, James Powell, storekeeper, therefore could not ascertain what was delivered. This was dated at St Helena July 1759 and signed by James Powell. **Interpretations** The invoice of the *Bombay Castle* repeats the standard Bengal cargo landed from ship after ship, arrack, wax candles, fine rice and paddy in the familiar quantities. That vessel after vessel delivered near identical consignments confirms the uniform character of the supply the island drew from the East, each ship a link in a chain carrying the same goods. This shows the routine provisioning of the settlement by a stream of Indiamen, the cargoes so alike that the invoices differ only in small figures from one ship to the next. The failure of Captain Crichton to deliver an invoice for the *True Briton* stores shows the difficulty the storekeeper faced when the proper papers were wanting. Without an invoice, Powell could only record what he received and note that he could not ascertain what should have been delivered, so the check of cargo against manifest broke down for want of the document. This marks the importance of the paperwork to the Company's control of its goods, the storekeeper unable to hold a captain to account for a cargo whose invoice never came. The steady procession of ships from Bengal and Bombay, each landing its supply and having its cargo checked, shows the island's central function as the provisioning point of the homeward trade in full operation. The crowded season brought vessel after vessel to be victualled and their goods received, the settlement's stores filled by the produce of the East as the fleet passed. This confirms St Helena as the great waystation of the Company's Atlantic route, its business rising to meet the concentration of shipping that the homeward season drove past its shores.
77	66	July 30th The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter Ending the 11th Instant which were Examined and approved and are as follow Vizt Collection of Goods sold I deliverd out of the Honorable Companys Stores from the 12th April to the 11th July 1759 Vizt Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 pr Cent Vizt Arrack 63 76 Gallons £16 9s 4d Beef and Pork vizt 2092 pd Beef 209s 4d 1053 pd Pork 105s 4d £174 8s 0d Sugar I Candy vizt 1107 pd Sugar 14s 10s 9d	The storekeeper brought in his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter ending 11 July 1759, which were examined, approved and were as follows. Collection of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company stores from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Sold to the Company servants at 10 percent: Arrack, 65 gallons, £16 9s 4d Beef and pork: 2,092 pounds beef, 209 4 1,033 pounds pork, 103 4 Beef and pork subtotal, £174 8s 0d Sugar and candy: 1,007 pounds sugar, 14 10s 9d 969 pounds candy, 18 10s 10½d Sugar and candy subtotal, £33 7s 7½d Flour: 30 pounds flour, 23 11s 0d 520 pounds flour, 306 17s 4d

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		969 pd Candy 19s 10s 10½d £33 7s 1½d Flour Vizt 304 pd Flour 23s 11s 0d 320 pd I 4 306s 17s 4d £332 9s 0d Haberdashery Ware Vizt 10 pd Holland Tape £0 7s 1d 35 Cannalson Do £0 3s 9d 60 Sh Mohair £1 2s 6d 63 Sh Silk £1 0s 10½d 13 doz Silver Coat Buttons £3 6s 6½d 9 doz do Breast Do £1 7s 4½d 14 doz mohair Coat do £0 9s 4d 23 doz do Breast do £0 7s 0d 13 doz Yellow metal Coat Buttons £0 7s 0d 11 doz do Breast do £0 7½d 27 doz Slate do £0 2s 3½d 17 doz tin Breast do £0 3s 6½d 6 doz Whitewastcoat do £0 1s 5½d 7 Cockades £0 3s ½d £9 6s 1½d Rope 40 Vizt £14 4s 9d Carried over £880 5s 4d	Flour subtotal, £332 9s 0d Haberdashery ware: 10 pounds Holland tape, £0 7s 1d 35 pounds coloured tape, £0 3s 9d 60 pieces mohair, £1 2s 6d 63 pieces silk, £1 8s 10½d 13 dozen silver coat buttons, £3 6s 6½d 9 dozen silver breast buttons, £1 7s 4½d 14 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 9s 4d 23 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 7s 0d 12 dozen yellow metal coat buttons, £0 7s 8d 11 dozen yellow metal breast buttons, £0 7s 2d 27 dozen silk coat buttons, £0 2s 3½d 17 dozen silk breast buttons, £0 3s 6½d 6 dozen waistcoat buttons, £0 1s 5½d 7 cockades, £0 3s 4d Haberdashery ware subtotal, £9 6s 7½d Rope, 40 pounds, £14 4s 9d Carried over, £880 5s 4d **Interpretations** The sale of goods to the Company servants at ten percent shows the settlement running a store from which its people bought provisions and manufactures at a fixed markup. The ten percent added to cost was the margin the Company took on goods sold to its own servants, so the store functioned as a supply system charging a modest advance rather than a trading profit. This marks the Company provisioning its people through a controlled outlet, the necessities of food, drink and dress dispensed at a set rate above what they cost to bring in. The haberdashery in the account reveals the range of small manufactured wares shipped to clothe and adorn the island's inhabitants. Tapes, mohair, silk, and buttons of silver, yellow metal and silk, together with cockades for hats, were the trimmings and fastenings of eighteenth century dress, sold from the store to those who made or mended their clothes. Mohair here meant a worsted yarn or braid used for buttons and trimming, and the cockades were the rosettes of ribbon worn as badges, so the store supplied the details of genteel and military dress as well as the plain necessities of life. The bulk provisions sold, beef, pork, sugar, candy and flour in hundreds of pounds, show the store meeting the staple wants of the settlement's free population alongside its finery. Over two thousand pounds of beef and five hundred of flour passed to the Company servants in the quarter, the store dispensing the substantial foods that the island's own plantation and imported supply provided. This confirms the store as the centre of the settlement's provisioning, the enslaved fed on yams from the plantation while the free servants bought beef, flour and sugar at the Company's ten percent.
78	67	1759 Brought over £880 5s 4d Paint Vizt 36½ Bluesmalts £2 16s 3d 28 Inaco £2 13s 8d 114 Whiting £0 2s 4½d 9 Vin ded mixed £0 4s 6d 3 do anmixed £0 1s 5d 23 White Lead £0 9s 7d ½ Umber £0 1s 7½d 14 Stone Colour £0 1s 7d	Brought over, £880 5s 4d Paint: 36 pounds blue smalts, £2 16s 3d 28 indigo, £2 13s 8d 114 whiting, £0 2s 4½d 9 vineyard mixed, £0 4s 6d 3 ditto unmixed, £0 1s 5d 23 white lead, £0 9s 7d ½ umber, £0 7s 2½d 14 stone colour, £0 1s 7d 2 barrels blacking, £0 1s 7d Paint subtotal, £6 15s 11½d Tea: 76 pounds singlo, £3 16s 3d 21 pounds congo, £1 7s 2d Tea subtotal, £5 3s 5d Rice and paddy: 1 bag, 26 rice, £0 10s 4d 12 bags, No 25 paddy, £3 4s 3d Rice and paddy subtotal, £3 14s 7d

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		2 Barrels Blacking £0 9d £6 15s 11½d Tea Vizt 76 4th Snglo £3 16s 3d 21 4 Cnga £1 7s 2d £5 3s 5d Rice I Paddy Vizt 1 26 Rice 10s 4d 12 2 23 Paddy £3 4s 3d £3 14s 7d Nails Vizt 6½ 3 4 4 12 4 13 6 7½ 10 4½ Jacks £1 2d Salt 21 79 Bushels £3 9s 4½d Hats vizt 10 Mens £9 15s 4d 8 Boys £2 13s 0d £12 6s 4d Pitch I Tar vizt 28 Pitch £0 3½d 8½ Gallo Tar £0 8d 99 Rosin £1 0s 3d £1 4s 6½d Canvas vizt 535 Yds English £3 17s 4½d 113 Yds Osnabrigs £4 14s 2d £7 10s 9d Carried over £921 13s 6d	Nails: 6 pounds, 3d nails 4 pounds, 4d nails 12 pounds, 4d nails 13 pounds, 6d nails 7 pounds, 10d nails 4 pounds tacks Nails subtotal, £1 0s 2d Salt, 21 bushels, £3 9s 4d Hats: 10 mens, £9 15s 4d 8 boys, £2 13s 0d Hats subtotal, £12 6s 4d Pitch and tar: 2 pounds pitch, £0 0s 3½d 8 pounds gallipot tar, £0 8s 0d 99 rosin, £0 10s 3d Pitch and tar subtotal, £1 4s 6½d Canvas: 535 yards English, £3 4s 7½d 113 yards osnaburg, £4 1s 4½d Canvas subtotal, £7 10s 9d Carried over, £921 18s 6d **Interpretations** The paints and pigments sold from the store reveal the materials the settlement used to protect and decorate its buildings and equipment. Blue smalts was a powdered blue glass used as a pigment, whiting a chalk for whitewash and priming, white lead and umber the bases of oil paint, and the vineyard colours ready mixed shades, so the store supplied the full range of a painter's materials. These goods show the island maintaining its fabric against the weather, the timber and ironwork of an exposed Atlantic station needing constant painting to preserve it. The tea in the account, singlo and congo, marks the beverage that the Company's China trade had made a staple of English life reaching the island itself. Singlo and congo were green and black China teas, carried west on the same routes that brought arrack and candles, so the settlement drank the tea that the Company shipped in vast quantity from Canton. This shows the reach of the China trade into the island's daily consumption, the fashionable drink of the age available at the store on a remote rock in the South Atlantic. The canvas, cordage materials and naval stores, English and osnaburg canvas, pitch, tar and rosin, show the store supplying the materials to make and mend sails and rigging. Osnaburg was a coarse linen used for sailcloth and rough clothing, and the pitch, tar and rosin were the standard preservatives for ropes and timber, so the island kept the means to maintain boats and repair the gear of ships. This confirms St Helena's function as a place of refitting as well as provisioning, its store holding the naval stores that kept small craft and passing vessels in working order.
79	68	July 30th Brought over £921 13s 6d Seather vizt 9 Calf Skins £3 1s 1½d 70½ Sole £4 8s 3½d £7 9s 5d Cordage 263½ £4 7s 10d Long Cloth vizt 26 No 2 £3 3s 6d 4 do 3 £0 6s 11d 4 do 4 £2 0s 4d	Brought over, £921 18s 6d Leather: 9 calf skins, £3 1s 1½d 70 sole, £4 8s 3½d Leather subtotal, £7 9s 5d Cordage, 263 pounds, £4 7s 10d Long cloth: 26 pieces, No 2, £3 3s 6d 26 pieces, No 3, £0 6s 11d 26 pieces, No 4, £2 0s 4d Long cloth subtotal, £5 10s 9d Flannel, 17 yards, £1 1s 3d Deals: 5 wainscot boards, £1 13s 9d 2 elm, £0 7s 11d 2 double deals, £0 7s 10d 11 single deals, £1 6s 14d Deals subtotal, £3 15s 7½d

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		£5 10s 9d Flannel 17 Yards £1 1s 3d Deals vizt 5 Wainscot Boards £1 13s 9d 2 Elm do £0 7s 11d 2 double deals £0 7s 10d 11 Single do £1 6s 14d £3 15s 7½d Shirts vizt 199 Centinels Shirts £48 18s 5d 4 do Sinner £3 12s 4d £52 10s 9d Glafs Ware vizt 4 Quart Decantors £0 15s 0d 4 Pint do £0 12s 6d 4 doz Wine Glafses £0 4s 0d 4 Beer Glafses £1 9s 9d 2 Tumblers £0 6s 4d 1 Cruet £0 1s 5d 2 do Scollop dishes £0 2s 2½d 20 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 £1 0s 0d 6 Sqr do 10 by 12 £1 0s 0d 13 Sqr do 6 by 8 £0 5s 6d 1 Sqr do 116 by 19 £0 4s 1d £1 0s 0d £5 15s 3½d Hosiery Ware Vizt 14 4 Pair Thread Stockings 6 pd mens Kave £20 14s 0d 4 Pair do Shirt £1 3s 9d 9 pair Boys £0 12s 6d 3 Pair Womens £1 1s 0d 2 Pair Girls £0 10s 0d £4 5s 0d £24 5s 0d Carried over £1026 13s 1d	Shirts: 199 sentinels shirts, £48 18s 6d 25 pounds linen, £3 12s 4d Shirts subtotal, £52 10s 9d Glassware: 4 quart decanters, £0 15s 0d 4 pint decanters, £0 12s 6d 4 dozen wine glasses, £1 9s 9d 4 beer glasses, £0 6s 4d 2 tumblers, £0 1s 5d 1 cruet, £0 2s 2½d 25 scolloped dishes, £0 10s 0d 20 pieces glass, No 10, £1 0s 0d 6 pieces glass, No 10 and 12, £0 5s 6d 13 pieces glass, No 6 and 8, £0 4s 1d 1 piece glass, No 16 and 19, £0 1s 0d Glassware subtotal, £5 15s 3½d Hosiery ware: 144 pairs thread stockings, £20 14s 0d 6 pounds mens hose, £1 3s 9d 4 pairs ditto shirt, £0 12s 6d 9 pairs boys, £1 1s 0d 3 pairs womens, £0 10s 0d 2 pairs girls, £0 4s 5d Hosiery ware subtotal, £24 5s 0d Carried over, £1,026 13s 1d **Interpretations** The 199 sentinels shirts sold for nearly £49 mark the largest single line in the haberdashery and clothing accounts, the garrison's private soldiers buying their shirts from the store. That the sentinels bought their own shirts shows the men clothing themselves out of their pay from Company stock, the shirt being the basic garment issued or sold to the common soldier. This reveals the store as the source of the garrison's clothing, the ordinary soldiers dressed from the same outlet that supplied the settlement's civilians. The glassware and finer wares, decanters, wine glasses, tumblers and cruets, show the store stocking the tablewares of a genteel household as well as the necessities of the common man. These were the vessels of a decent European table, carried to the island for those who kept their establishments in the English manner, so the store served the polished side of island life alongside its plain provisioning. This marks the range of the settlement's society, from the sentinel buying his shirt to the officer furnishing his table with wine glasses and decanters. The building materials, wainscot boards, elm, deals and flannel, together with leather and cordage, show the store supplying the timber and stuff for construction and repair on an island that grew little usable wood. Deals were sawn softwood planks and wainscot the finer oak boarding for panelling, all imported for want of local timber, so the settlement built and mended from shipped materials. This confirms the island's dependence on imported wood as on everything else, the store holding the boards, leather and rope that kept its buildings and equipment in repair.
80	69	1759 Brought over £1026 15s 1d Oars 5 £5 1s 10d Thread vizt 10 th Coloured £0 3s 6d 18 Whited Brown £0 6s 10d £0 9s 10s 6d Long Ells vizt 36 Yards Blue £0 3s 3d 1½ Yards Scarlet	Brought over, £1,026 15s 1d Oars, 5, £5 1s 10d Thread: 10 pounds coloured, £0 3s 6d 18 whited brown, £0 6s 10d Thread subtotal, £0 10s 6d Long ells: 30 yards blue, £3 3s 0d 1½ yards scarlet, £0 3s 0d Long ells subtotal, £3 6s 9d Serge: 50 yards blue, £16 4s 7d 20 yards fustian, £1 16s 4d Serge subtotal, £18 0s 11d Peas, 20 bushels, £9 0s 3d

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		£0 3s 9d £0 3s 6s 9d Serge vizt 50 8 Yards Blue £16 4s 7d 20 Yds Austian £1 16s 4d £18 0s 11d Peas 10 Bushels £0 9s 03d Camblet vizt 8 Yards Scarlet £1 19s 8d 27 Yards Blue £5 19s 3d £7 18s 11d Lead vizt 336 Shot £0 6s 10½d 16 Sheet £4 18s 0d £0 11s 0d Blankets 5 £1 7s 6d Books vizt 4 Testaments £0 6s 0d 3 Primers £0 10½d £0 9s 4½d Iron Ware Vizt 8 Scythe Stones £0 5d 185½ Reed Springs £0 4s 3d 2 small Frying pans £0 4s 2d 1 Comb Maul £0 9s 4d 1 Holer £0 8½d 3 Hand Hatchets £0 4s 7½d 1 Cupboard Lock £0 4s 0d 2 Splister do £0 1s 0d 1 Chess do £0 4s 0d 4 Stock do £0 11s 6d 3 Ironmond with brafs Knobs £0 15s 0d 3 Broad Hoes £0 5s 2½d 1 Shod shovel £0 1s 9d 2 Rat Traps £0 10s 4s 3d £13 6½d Carried over £1073 10s 1½d	Camlet: 8 yards scarlet, £1 19s 8d 27 yards blue, £5 19s 3d Camlet subtotal, £7 18s 11d Lead: 33 pounds shot, £0 6s 10½d 16 pounds paint, £0 4s 18d Lead subtotal, £0 11s 0d Blankets, 5, £1 7s 6d Books: 4 testaments, £0 6s 0d 3 primers, £0 10½d Books subtotal, £0 9s 4½d Ironware: 2 scythe stones, £0 0s 5d 165 hoop springs, £0 4s 3d 2 small frying pans, £0 4s 2d 1 iron maul, £0 9s 4d 1 helve, £0 0s 8½d 3 hand hatchets, £0 4s 7½d 1 cupboard lock, £0 4s 0d 2 slitter ditto, £0 4s 0d 1 chest ditto, £0 4s 0d 4 stock ditto, £0 11s 6d 3 iron mould with brass knobs, £0 15s 0d 3 broad hoes, £0 5s 2½d 1 shod shovel, £0 1s 2d 2 rat traps, £0 4s 3d Ironware subtotal, £13 6s 4½d Carried over, £1,073 10s 1½d **Interpretations** The woollen cloths sold from the store, long ells, serge, camlet and fustian, reveal the range of fabrics shipped to clothe the island against its cooler weather. Long ells were a light worsted, serge a durable twilled wool, camlet a fine cloth of wool or mixed fibres, and fustian a stout cotton and linen weave, so the store held the warmer stuffs suited to the island's temperate climate. These fabrics show the settlement's people dressing in imported woollens, the cloth carried from England to make the clothing that local production could not supply. The ironware and tools reveal the range of hardware the settlement needed for its work and defence against a want of any local manufacture. Hatchets, hoes, shovels, locks and rat traps, together with a maul and scythe stones, were the everyday implements of building, cultivation and household, all shipped in for want of an island forge to make them. This confirms St Helena's total dependence on imported metalwork, every tool and fastening carried from England as the island produced no iron goods of its own. The testaments and primers sold from the store show the Company supplying the means of religious instruction and basic learning to the settlement. Testaments were copies of the New Testament and primers the elementary books for teaching reading, often from religious texts, so the store dispensed the materials of piety and literacy alongside its cloth and hardware. This marks the Company's concern for the moral and educational life of the island, the instruments of faith and schooling available at the same outlet that sold the necessities of the body.
81	70	April 30th Brought over £1073 10s 1½d Twine 43 Skains £1 6s 10½d Turners Ware vizt 2 Hair Saves £0 4s 0d 13 Shoe Brushes £0 8s 1½d 4 Hair Brooms	Brought over, £1,073 10s 1½d Twine, 43 skeins, £1 6s 10½d Turners ware: 2 hair sieves, £0 0s 4d 13 shoe brushes, £0 8s 1½d 4 hair brooms, £0 0s 10d 4 scrubbing brushes, £0 0s 10d 2 mops, £0 2s 2d 3 punch ladles, £0 1s 10½d 3 laborers baskets, £0 2s 6d 1 wood bowl, £0 0s 4½d

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		£0 10s 0d 4 Scrubbing Brushes £0 10s 0d 2 Mops £0 2s 2d 3 Punch Ladles £0 1s 10½d 3 Laborers Baskets £0 2s 6d 1 Wood Bowl £0 4½d 2 Beich Brooms £0 11d 2 Havors £0 2s 4d £2 2s 10½d Broad Cloth vizt 11½ Yards Scarlet £12 6s 3½d 17 78 yds Blue £16 9s 11d 1½ Yds Brown £6 10s 5½d 3½ Yds Black £2 6s 1½d 2½ Yds Gray £2 6s 1½d £40 6s 11d Shalloon vizt 68½ Yards Sruble £8 7s 5½d 91 4 Yds Colored £8 14s 11d £7 2s 4½d Buckram 24 4 Yards £1 2s 6d Starch 75th 2 £1 7s 8d Corks 3 4th 4 £0 9s 9d Bunting 2 Yds Red £0 1s 7½d Shoes 6 by 249 Pair mens ordinary £52 18s 3d 5 Pair mens fine Shoes £1 7s 6d 5 Pr do do Pumps £1 10s 3d 4 Pr Channeld Pumps £1 6s 8d 6 Pr Girls £0 13s 3d 11 Pr Womens Calamanco £2 6s 9d 4 Pr do Spanish £0 17s 0d 2 Pr do Calf £0 5s 9d 8 Pr Boys £0 6s 0d £6 12s 3d Oil vizt 28 4 Gallons Train £5 0s 3½d 3 Gallons Lineed £0 19s 2d 13 Bottles Florence £1 18s 1½d £8 5s 7d Carried over £1209 8s 6½d	2 birch brooms, £0 0s 11d 2 flaskets, £0 2s 4d Turners ware subtotal, £2 2s 10½d Broad cloth: 11 yards scarlet, £12 6s 3½d 17 yards blue, £16 9s 11d 1½ yards brown, £6 18s 5½d 2½ yards black, £2 6s 12d 2½ yards grey, £2 6s 1½d Broad cloth subtotal, £40 6s 11d Shalloon: 60 yards camlet, £8 7s 5½d 91 yards coloured, £8 14s 11d Shalloon subtotal, £7 2s 4½d Buckram, 24 yards, £1 2s 6d Starch, 75 pounds, £1 7s 8d Corks, 3 pounds, £0 9s 9d Bunting, 2 yards red, £1 9s 7½d Shoes, 6 pounds 249 pairs mens ordinary, £52 18s 3d 5 pairs mens fine shoes, £1 7s 6d 5 pairs ditto pumps, £1 10s 3d 4 pairs channeled pumps, £1 6s 8d 6 pairs girls, £0 13s 3d 11 pairs womens calamanco, £2 6s 9d 4 pairs ditto Spanish, £0 17s 0d 2 pairs calf, £0 5s 9d 8 pairs boys, £1 6s 0d Shoes subtotal, £61 12s 3d 20 gallons twine, £5 0s 3½d 3 gallons linseed, £0 19s 2d 15 bottles Florence, £1 18s 12d Carried over, £1,209 8s 6½d **Interpretations** The 249 pairs of ordinary mens shoes sold for nearly £53 mark the largest single line in the whole store account, the garrison and settlement shod from Company stock in great quantity. That so many pairs passed to the men shows footwear as a heavy and constant need, shoes wearing out fast on the rough ground of the island and bought in bulk from the store. This reveals the scale of the settlement's dependence on imported footwear, hundreds of pairs shipped in to keep soldiers and civilians shod. The fine broad cloths in scarlet and blue, together with shalloon and calamanco, show the store holding the better woollens for coats and formal wear. Broad cloth was a heavy dressed wool used for good coats, shalloon a lighter twill for linings, and calamanco a glossy woollen for womens shoes and gowns, so the store supplied the materials of respectable dress. The scarlet cloth in particular suited military and formal coats, marking the store's provision for the appearance as well as the covering of the settlement's people. The range of specialised footwear, pumps, channeled pumps, calamanco and Spanish shoes for women and children, shows the store meeting the varied wants of a whole society rather than merely the common soldier. Pumps were light shoes for indoor or formal wear and Spanish shoes a finer make, so the store dressed the feet of officers, women and children in styles beyond the plain ordinary shoe. This confirms the store as the single source of the settlement's material life, clothing and shodding every rank from the sentinel in his ordinary shoes to the lady in her calamanco.
82	71	1759 Brought Over £1209 8s 8½d	Brought over, £1,209 8s 8½d Cutlery ware: 47 horn combs, £0 1s 10d

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		Cutlery Ware Vizt 47 Horn Combs £0 1s 10d 9 Ivory Do £0 9s 4½d 1 Shoe Knife £0 4½d 26 Pr Leather Gaitors £0 6s 8d £1 6s 3d China Ware vizt 1 Tea pot £0 10d 1 Chamber pot £0 1s 6d 2 Guglets I Basons £0 4s 0d 2 do Dishes I Plates £1 6s 0d 6 Soup Plates £0 1s 9d 6 Sallad Dishes £0 4s 9d 3 Bowls £0 2s 6d £2 1s 4d Duffils Vizt 2 do Yds Green £0 16s 1d 11 8 Yds Blue £3 8s 2d 5 4 Yds Scarlet £2 11s 2d £6 15s 5d Candles 11 C 4 £1 2s 6½d Chelloes I prices £1 18s 10d Kersey 8 Yards £0 15s 6d Coals 6 Bushels £0 7s 9d Sailors Cloaths vizt 2 Boys Shirts £0 6s 1d 2 Pair mens Breeches £0 11s 3d £0 17s 4d Tin Ware vizt 12 Patti pans £0 4s 10d 2 Quart Sauce pans £0 1s 3d 24 Solder £0 2s 3d 4 Sal armoniac £0 2d £0 8s 6d Hooks I Lines vizt 9 doz 6 No 2 2 do 6 3 1 doz 6 4 Lines £3 11s 2d 3 Hambro Carried over £1224 0s 2d	9 ivory combs, £0 9s 4½d 1 shoe knife, £0 0s 4½d 26 pairs leather garters, £0 8s 8d Cutlery ware subtotal, £1 6s 3d China ware: 1 teapot, £0 0s 10d 1 chamber pot, £0 1s 6d 2 quart basons, £0 0s 4d 2 ale dishes and plates, £1 6s 0d 6 soup plates, £0 1s 9d 6 salad dishes, £0 4s 9d 3 bowls, £0 2s 6d China ware subtotal, £2 1s 4d Duffils: 2 yards green, £0 16s 1d 11 yards blue, £3 8s 2d 5 yards scarlet, £2 11s 2d Duffils subtotal, £6 15s 5d Candles, 11 pounds, £1 2s 6½d Chelloes, 4 pieces, £1 18s 10d Persey, 9 yards, £0 15s 6d Coals, 8 bushels, £0 7s 9d Sailors clothes: 2 boys shirts, £0 6s 1d 2 pairs mens breeches, £0 11s 3d Sailors clothes subtotal, £0 17s 4d Tin ware: 12 patty pans, £0 4s 10d 2 quart sauce pans, £0 1s 3d 24 solder, £0 2s 3d 4 pounds sal ammoniac, £0 0s 2d Tin ware subtotal, £0 8s 6d Hooks and lines: 9 dozen, 6, No 2 3 dozen, 6, No 3 1 dozen, 6, No 4 3 hambro Carried over, £1,224 0s 2d **Interpretations** The china ware in the account, teapots, basons, soup plates and salad dishes, shows the store supplying the finer tableware that eastern trade brought within reach of the island. China here meant the glazed porcelain shipped from Canton, the same China trade that carried the tea, so the settlement set its tables with the porcelain that the Company brought west in quantity. This marks the reach of the eastern luxury trade into island life, the fine wares of China available at the store on a remote Atlantic rock. The duffils and chelloes reveal the range of coarse and eastern cloths the store held for rougher clothing. Duffil was a thick coarse woollen with a heavy nap used for cloaks and blankets, and chelloes an Indian cotton cloth, so the store stocked both the heavy woollens for warmth and the light cottons of the eastern trade. The green, blue and scarlet duffils in particular were the stuff of warm outer garments, marking the store's provision for the island's cooler weather alongside its finer cloths. The fishing hooks and lines show the store equipping the settlement to draw food from the sea around it. Hooks in graded sizes and lines, together with the hambro line, were the tackle for catching fish, so the island supplemented its plantation meat and imported provisions with the produce of its waters. This marks the practical self provisioning of the settlement, the store supplying the means to fish the ocean that surrounded a rock where every other food had to be grown or shipped in.
83	72	July 30th Brought over £1224 0s 2d Hooks I Lines Brought over £3 11s 2d 330 No 2	Brought over, £1,224 0s 2d Hooks and lines brought over, £3 11s 2d 330 hooks, No 2 575 hooks, No 1 375 hooks, No 3 525 hooks, No 6

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		575 1 575 3 525 6 Hooks 425 7 £1 17s 8d £5 8s 10d Iron 14th £2 11d Wine vizt 57½ Gallons Port 113 Gallo Lisbon 56 Gallo Mountain £82 5s 10½d £1311 17s 9½d Sold to the Planters at 25 pr Cent Vizt Serge Vizt 5 Yds Blue £1 17s 9½d 19 3 Yds Gray £7 4s 0d £9 1s 9½d Shalloon Vizt 52 6 Colored £5 14s 6½d 14 Yds Scarlet £1 19s 8d £7 14s 2½d Haberdashery Ware Vizt 23 Sh Mohair £0 13s 6½d 17 Sh Silk £0 10s 7½d 7 doz Mohair Coat Buttons £0 6s 3d 4 doz do Breast do £0 1s 0d £1 11s 0d Duffils vizt 10 Yds Scarlet £5 10s 5d 12 3 Yds Blue £4 8s 3½d 5 Yds Green £1 14s 9½d £11 13s 11d Broad Cloth 1 4 Yds Black £1 3s 1d Hats 6 Boys £2 5s 6d Carried over £33 9s 6d	425 hooks, No 7 Hooks subtotal, £1 17s 8d, total £5 8s 10d Iron, 14 pounds, £0 2s 11d Wine: 57 gallons port 113 gallons Lisbon 56 gallons Mountain Wine subtotal, £82 5s 10½d Total, £1,311 17s 9½d Goods sold to the planters at 25 percent, as follows. Serge: 5 yards blue, £1 17s 9½d 19 yards grey, £7 4s 0d Serge subtotal, £9 1s 9½d Shalloon: 52 yards coloured, £5 14s 6½d 14 yards scarlet, £1 19s 8d Shalloon subtotal, £7 14s 2½d Haberdashery ware: 23 pieces mohair, £0 13s 6½d 17 pieces silk, £0 10s 7½d 7 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 6s 3d 4 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 1s 0d Haberdashery ware subtotal, £1 11s 0d Duffils: 10 yards scarlet, £5 10s 5d 12 yards blue, £4 8s 3½d 5 yards green, £1 14s 9½d Duffils subtotal, £11 13s 11d Broad cloth, 1½ yards black, £1 3s 1d Hats, 6 boys, £2 5s 6d Carried over, £33 9s 6d **Interpretations** The account now turns from goods sold to the Company servants to goods sold to the planters, and at a higher markup of twenty five percent against the ten percent charged the servants. This distinction reveals a deliberate difference in the terms the Company offered its two classes of free customer, its own servants supplied near cost while the independent planters paid a substantially higher advance. The planters, holding land on lease and farming on their own account, were charged more for the same cloth and hats, marking a clear preference for the Company's own people in the pricing of the store. The higher rate charged the planters shows the Company treating its store as an instrument of policy as well as supply, favouring those bound to its service over those farming for themselves. That the same serge, shalloon and duffil cost the planter more than the servant marks a graduated system in which loyalty to the Company brought cheaper goods. This reveals the store as a means of binding the Company's servants to it, the privilege of low prices a benefit of service that the independent settler did not share. The goods sold to the planters, cloth, buttons, duffil and boys hats, show the independent farmers clothing themselves and their households from the same store as the garrison. The planters bought the stuffs of ordinary dress at their higher rate, dependent on the Company store as everyone on the island was for the materials of life. This confirms the store's central place in the settlement's economy, serving planter and servant alike though on different terms, the sole source of manufactured goods for a population that produced none.
84	73	1759 Brought Over £33 9s 6d Shoes vizt 1 Pr Channeld Pumps £0 7s 8d 2 Pr Womens Calf £0 6s 6d	Brought over, £33 9s 6d Shoes: 1 pair channeled pumps, £0 7s 8d 2 pairs womens calf, £0 6s 6d 4 pairs mens ordinary, £0 4s 10½d 1 pair girls, £0 2s 6½d 1 pair womens calamanco, £0 3s 6d 1 pair ditto Spanish, £0 4s 9½d

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		4 Pr mens Ordinary £0 4s 10½d 1 Pr Girls £0 2s 6½d 1 Pr Womens Calamanco £0 3s 6d 1 Pr Do Spanish £0 4s 9½d £1 11s 10½d Flannel 10 8 Yards £0 15s 3½d Hosiers ware vizt 1 Pr Womens Stockings £0 3s 10d 6 Pr Mens Knit £1 1s 6d 3 Pr Girls £0 6s 6d £1 13s 10d Long Ells 9 Yards Blue £0 17s 7½d Camblets 6 4 Yds Scarlet £1 15s 2d Sold at 40 pr Cent Vizt Hats vizt 2 Boys £0 7s 0d 7 Mens £8 12s 4½d £9 9s 4½d Shoes Vizt 1 Pr Mens Pumps £0 9s 10d 2 Pr Boys £0 9s 9d 4 Pr mens Ordinary £0 3s 5½d £1 3s 4d Broad Cloth vizt 10 4 Yds Brown £12 1s 8½d 12 Yds Grey £14 5s 0d 3 3 Yds Blue £4 0s 5d 1 2 Yds Scarlet £2 1s 1½d £32 14s 3d Shalloon 26 4 Yds Coloured £3 1s 9½d Flannel 3 Yds £0 4s 10½d Buckram 10 5 Yds £1 2s 3d Canvas vizt 44 Yds Osnabrigs £2 7s 6d 12 Yds English Canvas £0 19s 6d £3 7s 2d Carried Over £91 4s 2½d	Shoes subtotal, £1 11s 10½d Flannel, 10 yards, £0 15s 3½d Hosiery ware: 1 pair womens stockings, £0 3s 10d 6 pounds mens hose, £1 1s 6d 3 pairs girls, £0 0s 6d Hosiery ware subtotal, £1 13s 10d Long ells, 9 yards blue, £0 17s 7½d Camlet, 6 yards scarlet, £1 15s 2d Goods sold at 40 percent, as follows. Hats: 2 boys, £0 7s 4d 7 mens, £8 12s 4½d Hats subtotal, £9 9s 4½d Shoes: 1 pair mens pumps, £0 9s 10d 2 pairs boys, £0 9s 9d 4 pairs mens ordinary, £0 3s 5½d Shoes subtotal, £1 5s 6d Broad cloth: 10 yards brown, £12 1s 8½d 12 yards grey, £14 0s 0d 3 yards blue, £4 0s 5d 1½ yards scarlet, £2 1s 1d Broad cloth subtotal, £32 14s 3d Shalloon, 26 yards coloured, £3 1s 9½d Flannel, 3 yards, £0 4s 10½d Buckram, 10 yards, £0 12s 3d Canvas: 44 yards osnaburg, £2 7s 6d 12 yards English canvas, £0 19s 6d Canvas subtotal, £3 7s 2d Carried over, £91 4s 2½d **Interpretations** The account introduces a third and highest rate of sale, goods sold at forty percent above cost, alongside the ten percent charged the Company servants and the twenty five percent charged the planters. This threefold scale of pricing reveals a graduated system in which the Company set its markup according to the standing of the buyer, its own servants most favoured, the planters charged more, and a further class more still. The forty percent rate marks the top of this ladder, applied perhaps to casual purchasers, ships companies or others outside the settled community of servants and planters. The graduated pricing shows the Company store operating as a finely calibrated instrument of commerce and policy, its rates reflecting a hierarchy of relationship to the Company. That the same broad cloth, hats and shoes sold at three different advances according to the buyer marks a deliberate structure in which access to cheap goods was a privilege graded by service and status. This reveals the store not as a simple shop but as a mechanism through which the Company rewarded its own, accommodated its tenants and charged full measure to the rest. The recurrence across all three rates of the same core goods, broad cloth, shoes, hats and shalloon, shows these as the staple wants of the whole island population whatever their standing. Servant, planter and outsider alike needed cloth for coats, shoes for their feet and hats for their heads, so the store supplied the same necessities to every class though at differing prices. This confirms the universal dependence on the store for the materials of dress, the settlement's whole society clothed from one outlet on terms fixed by each buyer's place in the Company's order.
85	74	July 30 Brought over £91 4s 2½d Paint vizt 6 Whiting £0 3d 3 Vent Red mixed	Brought over, £91 4s 2½d Paint: 6 pounds whiting, £0 0s 3d 3 vineyard red mixed, £0 2s 1½d 6 pounds blue smalts, £0 11s 9d 7 indigo, £0 19s 8d 6 white lead, £0 3s 3d

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		£0 2s 1½d 6 Blue Smalts £0 11s 9d 7 4 Indice £0 19s 8d 8 White Lead £0 3s 3d 3 Barrels Blacking £0 1s 7½d £1 18s 8d Flour 621 £7 15s 3d Hooks I Lines vizt 123 No 2 125 3 200 6 Hooks 50 7 £0 11s 0d 30 No 2 6 4 Lines 1 Hambro £0 17s 4½d £1 8s 8½d Glafs Ware vizt 6 Sqr Glass 10 by 12 £0 3s 0d 4 Sqr do 8 by 10 £0 3s 0d 1 Pr Sollopd Salter £0 11s 7d 11 Pr Plain do £0 7s 6d £1 6s 3d China Ware 2 Bowls £0 2s 0d Iron Ware vizt 2 Shod shovels £0 4s 7d 1 Broad Hoe £0 3s 7d 1 Pick axe £0 4s 11d 1 Hoe £0 1s 1½d 1 Chest Lock £0 5s 1d £0 19s 1½d Corks 1 Grofs £0 3s 2½d Cordage 30 th £1 5s 7d Lead vizt 66 Shot £0 1s 9d 20 4 Sheet £0 7s 8½d £0 9s 5½d Carried over £106 12s 3½d	3 barrels blacking, £0 1s 7½d Paint subtotal, £1 18s 8d Flour, 621 pounds, £7 15s 3d Hooks and lines: 123 hooks, No 2 125 hooks, No 3 200 hooks, No 6 50 hooks, No 7 Hooks subtotal, £0 11s 0d 30 lines, No 2 6 lines, No 4 1 hambro line Lines subtotal, £0 17s 8½d, total £1 8s 8½d Glassware: 2 quart glasses, No 10 and 12, £0 3s 0d 4 pieces glass, No 8 and 10, £0 3s 0d 1 piece scolloped dishes, £0 11s 7d 1 piece plain ditto, £0 7s 6d Glassware subtotal, £1 6s 3d China ware, 2 bowls, £0 0s 2d Ironware: 2 shod shovels, £0 4s 7d 1 broad hoe, £0 1s 7d 1 pick axe, £0 4s 11d 1 helve, £0 1s 1½d 1 chest lock, £0 5s 1d Ironware subtotal, £0 15s 1½d Corks, 1 gross, £0 3s 2½d Cordage, 30 pounds, £1 5s 7d Lead: 6 pounds shot 20 pounds sheet, £0 7s 8½d Lead subtotal, £0 9s 5½d Carried over, £106 12s 3½d **Interpretations** The paints and pigments sold to this class of buyer repeat those in the servants account, whiting, blue smalts, indigo and white lead, the materials of paint and whitewash for maintaining buildings and equipment. That the same painting materials appear across the different rates of sale shows the upkeep of fabric as a common need throughout the settlement, every householder requiring paint against the weather. This confirms the constant work of preservation on an exposed island, the store supplying the pigments to protect timber and ironwork from the sea air. The naval stores and hardware, hooks, lines, cordage, corks and ironmongery, show this account too meeting the practical wants of work and fishing. The graded fishing hooks and lines, the rope and the tools mark the same self provisioning and maintenance seen throughout the store's business, the buyer equipping himself to fish the sea and mend his gear. This marks the universality of these basic needs, the tackle and hardware of daily life dispensed at whatever rate the buyer's standing commanded. The account closes the long inventory of the store's quarterly sales, the running total of goods delivered out from 12 April to 11 July 1759 carried forward as the whole worth of the store's business for the quarter. The sheer range of the goods, from broad cloth and shoes to paint, glassware, fishing tackle and ironmongery, reveals the store as the single warehouse from which an entire island society drew every manufactured thing it used. This confirms St Helena's complete dependence on imported goods, the Company store the sole channel through which the necessities and comforts of European life reached a remote Atlantic rock.
86	75	1759 Brought over £106 12s 3½d Tin Ware vizt 2 Quart Saucepans £0 1s 7d	Brought over, £106 12s 3½d Tin ware: 2 quart saucepans, £0 1s 7d 2 pint ditto, £0 1s 5d Tin ware subtotal, £0 3s 0d Books, 2 testaments, £0 5s 6d

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		2 Pint Do £0 1s 5d Books 2 Testaments £0 3d Arrack 3 Gallons £0 5s 6d Rope 17½ £1 10s 0d £7 14s 7½d Rice I Paddy vizt 2 10 Rice £0 6s 4d 11 1 Paddy £3 12s 2d £3 18s 6d Sugar I Candy vizt 26 th Candy £0 13s 0d 46 Sugar £0 17s 3d £1 10s 3d Tea vizt 1 Single £0 1s 6d 2 4 Cingo £0 5s 3d £0 6s 9d Salt 4 4 Bushels £0 18s 4½d Turners Ware vizt 11 Shoe Brushes £0 7s 9½d 1 Flashet £0 3s 4d 1 Punch Ladle £0 7½d £0 11s 10d Oil vizt 2 Bottles Florence £0 6s 7d 36 2 Train £14 10s 7½d ½ Gallo Linseed £0 4s 4d £1 5s 9½d Bunting 1 Yard White £0 9½d Beef I Pork vizt 2 Pr Beef £0 8s 8d 2 Pr Pork £0 7s 10d £0 16s 6d Thread vizt 6 th Whited Brown £2 15s 6d 6 do Coloured £1 8s 0d £4 3s 6d Carried over £129 17s 8½d	Arrack, 3 gallons, £1 10s 0d Soap, 171 pounds, £7 14s 7½d Rice and paddy: 1 bag, 10 rice, £0 6s 4d 11 bags, No 25 paddy, £3 12s 2d Rice and paddy subtotal, £3 18s 6d Sugar and candy: 26 pounds candy, £0 13s 0d 46 sugar, £0 17s 3d Sugar and candy subtotal, £1 10s 3d Tea: 1 pound singlo, £0 1s 6d 2 pounds congo, £0 5s 3d Tea subtotal, £0 6s 9d Salt, 4 bushels, £0 18s 4½d Turners ware: 11 shoe brushes, £0 7s 9½d 1 flasket, £0 3s 4d 1 punch ladle, £0 0s 9½d Turners ware subtotal, £0 11s 10d Oil: 2 bottles Florence, £0 6s 7d 35 pounds train, £14 10s 7½d ½ gallon linseed, £0 4s 4d Oil subtotal, £1 5s 9½d Bunting, 1 yard white, £0 0s 9½d Beef and pork: 2 pounds beef, £0 8s 8d 2 pounds pork, £0 7s 10d Beef and pork subtotal, £0 16s 6d Thread: 6 pounds whited brown, £2 15s 6d 6 pounds coloured, £1 8s 0d Thread subtotal, £4 3s 6d Carried over, £129 17s 8½d **Interpretations** The train oil in the account, sold at over fourteen pounds for thirty five pounds weight, was the oil rendered from whale or fish blubber used for lamps and for dressing leather. Train oil lit the lamps and greased the hides of the settlement, so the store supplied the fuel for artificial light on an island far from any other source. The high value against its weight marks it as a costly necessity, the means of lighting the dark hours carried from afar and dispensed at a substantial price. The soap in quantity, 171 pounds, shows the store meeting the settlement's need for cleaning and washing on a scale beyond the household. Soap was a manufactured good the island could not make, so the store held it in bulk for the laundering and cleaning of a whole community. This marks another of the manufactured necessities the settlement drew from the store, the ordinary business of keeping clean dependent like everything else on imported supply. The recurrence of tea, sugar, candy and arrack among the goods sold shows the comforts and small luxuries of the age reaching every level of the island's free population. The China teas, the sugar and candy and the eastern arrack were the pleasures that the Company's global trade brought within reach, sold from the store to those who could pay. This confirms the store as the source not only of the necessities of life but of its modest indulgences, the settlement's people taking their tea and spirits from the same shelves that supplied their cloth, shoes and paint.
87	76	July 30 Brought over £129 17s 8½d Starch 9 th £4 6d Pitch vizt 6 th Pitch £0 1s 3d 1 4 Gallo Tar	Brought over, £129 17s 8½d Starch, 9 pounds, £0 4s 6d Pitch: 6 pounds pitch, £0 1s 3d 1 pound tar, £0 1s 5½d 10 pounds rosin, £0 2s 6d Pitch subtotal, £0 5s 2½d Deals: 1 elm board, £0 5s 1d

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		£0 1s 5½d 10 th Rosin £0 2s 6d £5 1½d Deals vizt 1 Elm Board £0 5s 1d 2 Single Deals £0 6s 3d £11s 4d Nails vizt 2 th 10 1 4 4 6 13 3 £5 1½d Twine 3 Skains £0 2s 6d Leather vizt 2 Calf Skins £0 17s 4d 5 Sole Leather £0 7s 6d £1 4s 10d Blankets 6 £2 1s 0d Peas 4 3 Bushel £0 2s 9d Cutlery Ware vizt 2 Horn Combs £0 6d 3 Pr Shoe Buckles £0 2s 6d £0 3s 0d Wine vizt 4 Gallo Lisbon 4 do Mountain £3 5s 4d £138 3s 3½d Sold to the Companys Ships vizt Turners Ware vizt 4 Mops £0 7s 0d 4 Scrubbing Brushes £0 12s 6d 2 Hair Brooms £0 6s 3d 6 Beich do £0 3s 6d £1 9s 3d Carried over £1 9s 3d	2 single deals, £0 6s 3d Deals subtotal, £0 11s 4d Nails: 2 pounds, 10d nails 1 pound, 4d nails 4 pounds, 6d nails 15 pounds, 3d nails Nails subtotal, £0 5s 1½d Twine, 3 skeins, £0 2s 6d Leather: 2 calf skins, £0 17s 4d 5 sole leather, £0 7s 6d Leather subtotal, £1 4s 10d Blankets, 6, £2 1s 0d Peas, 1 bushel, £0 2s 9d Cutlery ware: 2 horn combs, £0 0s 6d 3 pairs shoe buckles, £0 2s 6d Cutlery ware subtotal, £0 3s 0d Wine: 4 gallons Lisbon 4 gallons Mountain Wine subtotal, £3 5s 4d Goods sold to the Company ships, as follows. Turners ware: 4 mops, £0 7s 0d 4 scrubbing brushes, £0 12s 6d 2 hair brooms, £0 6s 3d 6 birch ditto, £0 3s 6d Turners ware subtotal, £1 9s 3d Carried over, £1 9s 3d **Interpretations** The account now opens a fourth category of sale, goods sold to the Company ships, distinct from the servants, planters and other buyers of the earlier pages. This reveals the store supplying the vessels that called at the island as well as its resident population, the ships taking on cleaning gear, provisions and stores from the settlement's stock. The mops, brushes and brooms sold here were the means of keeping a ship clean, so the store fitted out the Indiamen for their onward voyages as it clothed and fed the island itself. The naval and building stores, pitch, tar, rosin, deals and nails, show the store holding the materials to maintain both the settlement's fabric and the ships that called. Pitch, tar and rosin preserved rope and timber against rot, and the deals and nails served construction and repair, so the same stock met the wants of the island and its shipping alike. This confirms the store's double function, provisioning a resident community and refitting the vessels that passed, the one warehouse serving shore and sea. The sale of cleaning materials to the ships marks the practical support the island gave to the Company's shipping beyond food and water. A vessel arriving after months at sea needed to be cleaned and set in order, so the store supplied the mops, brushes and brooms for the work. This shows St Helena's service to the homeward fleet extending to the very housekeeping of the ships, the settlement's store equipping the Indiamen for the remainder of their long passage home.
88	77	1759 Brought over £1 9s 3d Paint vizt 1 Umber £0 6d 30 White Lead £2 3s 4d 26 Red do £0 10s 5d 24 Bottles Blacking £0 13d £3 7s 3d	Brought over, £1 9s 3d Paint: 1 pound umber, £0 0s 6d 50 pounds white lead, £2 3s 4d 25 pounds red ditto, £0 10s 5d 24 barrels blacking, £0 0s 13d Paint subtotal, £3 7s 3d Cordage, 15 pounds, £118 1s 9d Oil, 20 gallons linseed, £6 19s 10d Canvas, 15 pieces English, £3 3s 0d Coals, 60 bushels, £0 5s 0d Twine, 24 pounds, £0 0s 2d Tin ware:

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		Cordage 15 do th 1 £112 1s 9d Oil 20 Gallo Linseed £6 19s 10d Canvas 15 Yds English £3 3s 0d Coals 60 Bushels £0 5s 0d Twine 24 th £0 2s 0d Tin Ware vizt 2 Pudding pans £0 3s 11d 4 Horn Lanthorns £0 3s 4d £0 19s 3d Iron Ware 3 shod Shovels £0 6s 10½d Hooks I Lines Vizt 12 No 2 12 3 24 4 Lines £1 3s 3½d 130 No 3 150 6 Hooks £0 5s 11d £1 9s 2½d Deals 6 Single £0 18s 9d Pitch I Tar vizt 2 Barr Pitch £5 10s 0d 4 do Tar £8 4s 0d 1 th Rosin £0 3d £13 1s 5d Nails vizt 24 4 25 10 22 20 12 40 17 6 4 3 4 2 13 Scupper £3 9s 9d £160 7s 4d	2 pudding pans, £0 3s 11d 4 horn lanterns, £0 3s 4d Tin ware subtotal, £0 19s 3d Ironware, 3 shod shovels, £0 6s 10½d Hooks and lines: 12 lines, No 2 12 lines, No 3 24 lines, No 4 Lines subtotal, £1 3s 3½d 150 hooks, No 3 150 hooks, No 6 Hooks subtotal, £0 5s 11d, total £1 9s 2½d Deals, 6 single, £0 18s 9d Pitch and tar: 2 barrels pitch, £5 0s 10d 4 barrels tar, £8 0s 4d 1 coon rosin, £0 0s 3d Pitch and tar subtotal, £13 1s 5d Nails: 24 pounds, 4d nails 25 pounds, 10d nails 22 pounds, 20d nails 12 pounds, 40d nails 17 pounds, 6d nails 4 pounds, 3d nails 4 pounds, 2d nails 13 scupper nails Nails subtotal, £3 9s 9d Total, £160 7s 4d **Interpretations** The heavy naval stores sold to the ships, pitch, tar, rosin, cordage and canvas, show the store fitting out the Company vessels for the demands of the sea in earnest. The cordage alone reached over one hundred pounds in value, the rope, sailcloth and preservatives being the essentials of a ship's rigging and hull, so the island resupplied the Indiamen with the materials their long voyages consumed. This confirms St Helena as a refitting station of substance, its store holding the naval stores to make good the wear that months at sea worked on ships gear. The graded nails and scupper nails reveal the store equipping the ships for their own carpentry and repair. Nails in sizes from twopenny to fortypenny, and the special scupper nails for fastening the lead of a ship's drains, were the fastenings a vessel needed for maintenance at sea, so the store supplied the hardware for shipboard repairs. This shows the island provisioning the ships not only with food and cleaning gear but with the very ironwork to keep their timbers sound on the passage home. The linseed oil, white lead and paints sold to the ships mark the store supplying the materials to preserve their hulls and fittings. Linseed oil and white lead were the bases of the paint that protected a ship's woodwork, so the vessels took on the means to maintain their appearance and guard their timbers against the sea. This completes the picture of the store as the fitting out point for the homeward fleet, supplying the ships with everything from mops to paint, cordage and nails to send them on their way in good order.
89	78	July 30th Charges General Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from the 12th April to the 11th July 1759 vizt Turners Ware vizt 1 Wood pleace for the use of the Stable £0 1s 2d 3 Shoe Brushes for do to the Castle £0 2s 10d 2 Hair Saves £0 3s 7d 2 Hair Brooms £0 4s 3d 1 Bower Point	Charges general debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Turners ware: 1 wood pleaser for the use of the stable, £0 0s 1½d 3 shoe brushes for ditto to the castle, £0 2s 10d 2 hair sieves, £0 3s 7d 2 hair brooms, £0 4s 3d 1 broom point, £0 0s 6d 1 laborers basket for the painter, £0 0s 9d 1 wood bowl, £0 0s 4d 2 ditto bowls for the hospital, £0 2s 3d

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		£0 6d 1 Laborers Basket for the printer £0 9d 1 Wood Ladle £0 4d 2 do Bowls for the Hospital £0 2s 3d 3 paint Brushes for the Masons use I painting the Crane £0 1s 8d £17s 8d Twine 3 Skains for the use of the Castle Stable I the Fort Garden £0 2s 0d Deals vizt 30 Single for a Shed on the Line Arcade in the Fort Garden repairs to the Castle Great House I one of the Companys Houses for Coiny Boxes £6 3s 3d the use of the Carpenters Shop I Hospital 14 Double for a magazine in the Country a new Prison and the Arcade in the Fort Garden £2 9s 0d 4 Double for a guard Room for the West flying Party I a magazine in the Country for the Coast £1 8s 6d Capstan, I new Prison 1 Coffin for the Fort Garden £0 4s 1d 7 Wainscot Board for frames for Windoe Blinds in the Castle £0 3s 1d Rope 60 th £10 7s 11d Starch 17 th £7s 6d £6s 9d Arrack 30 79 Gallons given the Soldiers I flying partys on double alarms I to the men that brought Goods to the Stores from the Ships London Egmont I Rochester for hauling up I Launching the Longboat I to the Carpenters for Working on her, I the Artillery for transporting Guns I Sundrys for Drams &c £3 7s 2½d Carried over £17 9s 8½d	3 paint brushes for the masons use painting the crane, £0 1s 8d Turners ware subtotal, £0 17s 0d Twine, 3 skeins for the use of the castle, stable and the fort garden, £0 2s 0d Deals: 30 single for a shed on the line, a cradle in the fort garden, repairs to the castle great house, one of the Company houses for sentry boxes, the use of the carpenters shop and hospital, £6 3s 3d 14 double for a magazine in the country, a new prison and the arcade in the fort garden, £2 9s 0d 4 double for a guard room for the West Flying Party, a magazine in the country for the coast captain and a new prison, £1 0s 6d 1 elm for the fort garden, £0 4s 1d 3 wainscot board for frames for window blinds in the castle, £0 3s 1d Deals subtotal, £10 7s 11d Rope, 60 pounds, £1 7s 6d Starch, 17 pounds, £0 6s 9d Arrack, 30 gallons, given the soldiers and flying parties on double alarms and to the men that brought goods to the stores from the ships London, Egmont and Rochester, for hauling up and launching the longboat, to the carpenters for working on her, to the artillery for transporting guns and sundries for drams, £3 7s 2½d Carried over, £17 9s 8½d **Interpretations** The charges general account records the goods the Company issued for its own works and establishments rather than sold to individuals, the timber, tools and stores consumed in maintaining the settlement. The deals used for a shed on the gun line, a magazine in the country, new prisons, sentry boxes and repairs to the castle great house map the building and upkeep the Company carried on directly. This shows the settlement's public works provisioned from the same store, the materials of construction and repair drawn out to serve the Company's own buildings and defences. The arrack issued to the soldiers on double alarms, to the men who landed goods from the ships and to the carpenters working on the longboat shows spirits used as a reward and encouragement for labour and service. Drams of arrack were given to men turning out on alarm, lightering cargo ashore and hauling and launching boats, so the liquor served as an incentive and refreshment for hard or urgent work. This marks the customary role of a spirit ration in the working life of the settlement, the arrack that the ships brought west dispensed to spur the island's labour. The building of new prisons and magazines noted among the works reveals the Company extending the settlement's apparatus of confinement and defence in the country as well as the town. A magazine for the coast captain, guard rooms for the flying parties and new prisons show the island strengthening both its powder stores and its means of holding offenders, the works of security carried into the outlying districts. This marks the steady development of the settlement's fabric, the Company investing in the structures of defence and order that governed a remote and guarded island.
90	79	1759 Brought over £17 9s 8½d Oil vizt 14 4 Gallo Train for the Kitchen, Bakehouse Armourers I Masons Use £2 10s 1½d 2 4 Gallo Linseed for the painting the Crane, Sentry Boxes Ballit Hutches, Arcade in the Garden, I Gates in the Church yard	Brought over, £17 9s 8½d Oil: 14 gallons train for the kitchen, bakehouse, armourers and masons use, £2 10s 1½d 2 gallons linseed for the painting the crane, sentry boxes, rabbit hutches, arcade in the garden and gates in the church yard, £0 9s 6d 1 bottle Florence for the armourers use, £0 2s 3½d Oil subtotal, £3 2s 1d

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		£0 9s 6d 1 Bottle Florence for the Armourers Use £0 2s 3½d £3 2s 1d Iron I Steel vizt 4 th Steel for Plane Irons for the Carpenters £0 1s 6d 246 for the new Prison £2 6s 1½d £2 7s 7½d Corks 24 Grofs for the Castle £2 4½d Blankets 6 for the Hospitals I two of his Majestys Soldiers £1 9s 0d Coals 68 Bushels for the Armourer £3 19s 4d Canvas vizt 10 4 Yds Osnabrigs for bags for the Store use I Blinds in the Castle £0 13s 4½d 13 Yds English for Umbrellas in the Castle I Aprons for the Armourers £0 13s 6½d £1 5s 11d Pitch I Tar vizt 2 th Pitch for rope in the Castle £0 3d 20 th Rosin £0 4s 3d 10 Turpentine for the Crane Trunn I Sinning £0 1s 5½d 4 Gallo Tar £0 2½d £6s 2d Iron Ware vizt 48 Files £1 2s 0d 10 do Grafts £0 3d 1 Smiths Rubber for the Armourer £0 3s 4d 1 Hand Hammer £0 2s 4d 2 Stone Saws £0 6d 1 Pr do Heads £0 5s 5½d 1 Plaisterers Trowel £0 1s 6d 3 Bricklayers do £0 3s 9d 2 Pickaxes £0 6s 10d £2 13s 8d Iron ware Carried over £2 13s 8d Carried over £32 14s 10d	Iron and steel: 4 pounds steel for plane irons for the carpenters, £0 1s 6d 246 pounds for the new prison, £2 6s 1½d Iron and steel subtotal, £2 7s 7½d Corks, 24 gross for the castle, £0 2s 13d Blankets, 6 for the hospital and two of His Majesty's soldiers, £0 1s 9d Coals, 68 bushels for the armourer, £0 3s 19d Canvas: 16 yards osnaburg for bags for the store use and blinds in the castle, £0 13s 4½d 13 yards English for umbrellas in the castle and aprons for the armourers, £0 13s 6½d Canvas subtotal, £1 5s 11d Pitch and tar: 2 pounds pitch for rope in the castle, £0 0s 3d 29 pounds rosin, £0 4s 3d 10 pounds turpentine for the crane, drums and tinning, £0 1s 5½d 4 gallons tar, £0 0s 2½d Pitch and tar subtotal, £0 6s 2d Ironware: 48 files, £1 2s 0d 10 ditto rasps, £0 0s 3d 1 smiths rubber for the armourer, £0 3s 2d 1 hand hammer, £0 2s 2d 2 stone saws, £0 0s 6d 1 pound heads, £0 5s 5½d 1 plasterers trowel, £0 1s 6d 3 bricklayers do, £0 3s 9d 2 pickaxes, £0 6s 10d Ironware carried over, £2 13s 8d Carried over, £32 14s 10d **Interpretations** The tools and materials issued to the tradesmen, files, rasps, hammers, trowels and pickaxes for the armourer, masons and bricklayers, show the Company maintaining a body of skilled craftsmen at work on the settlement. The armourer with his files and rubber, the bricklayers and plasterers with their trowels, and the carpenters with their plane irons mark the trades kept employed on the island's fabric and equipment. This reveals the settlement as a working establishment with its own smiths, builders and carpenters, supplied from the store with the implements of their crafts. The variety of buildings and objects named as needing paint and oil, the crane, sentry boxes, rabbit hutches, the arcade and the churchyard gates, gives a vivid picture of the settlement's fabric and its upkeep. Train and linseed oil dressed and painted these structures, so the account catches the ordinary maintenance of a working community, from its lifting crane to its rabbit hutches and its church. This shows the breadth of the Company's charge, the same store supplying oil for a crane and for a churchyard gate, the whole physical settlement kept in repair from its shelves. The canvas issued for umbrellas in the castle and aprons for the armourers reveals small practical details of the settlement's daily working life. English canvas made umbrellas to shade the castle and aprons to protect the armourers at their forge, so even these minor needs were met from the store's stock. This marks the completeness of the Company's provisioning, the store furnishing not only the great necessities of building and defence but the small conveniences that eased the work and comfort of the island's people.
91	80	July 30th Brought over £32 14s 10d Iron ware brought over £2 13s 0d 3 Holes for the Masons I Castles Use	Brought over, £32 14s 10d Ironware brought over, £2 13s 8d 3 helves for the masons and castles use, £0 2s 10½d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 1½d 1 lopping axe, £0 2s 11d

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		£0 2s 10½d 1 Claw Hammer £0 1s 1½d 1 Lopping Axe £0 2s 11d 1 Ironmond Lock with Brafs Knobs for the Castle £0 6s 2d 1 Packing Needle £0 1s 2d 1 small Frying Pan £0 1s 10½d 1 8 Bit Lock for the Magazine in the Country £0 7s 3d 3 Hook do for the Great House I Castle £0 7s 1d 2 Pad do for do I the new Prison £0 4s 7d 1 Ironmond do C Store Use £0 7s 2d £4 14s 9d Paint vizt 10 th Blue Smalts for Linnen £0 14s 0d 13 th White Lead £0 3s 7½d 1 Barrel Blacking for painting the Arcade in the Garden, Gates in the Church £0 4d 30 th Whiting £0 9d 13 Vent Red yard Rabbit Hutches Crane £0 2s 5d 4 th do mixd Sentry Boxes I for the Carp Shop £0 1s 9d £1 3s 6½d Braziers Ware 1 Bottling Cock £0 2s 9d Nails vizt 6 th 6 13 10 9 40 9 20 7 4 3 2 3 3 2 Jacks £1 8s 3d For the Shed on the Line I the guard Room for the West flying party, Centry Boxes new Prison Rabbit Hutches Powder Boxes, Fort Garden Castle Great House &c Barracks vizt 4 th Iron Timber for the Shed on the Line £0 16s 6d 1 Pr Henges for the Great House £0 1s 7d 1 Lock for the Carpenters Shop £0 5d £1 3s 1d Lines vizt 7 No 4 4 2 6 3 for the masons Stores I Castle Use 2 Hambro £7s 6½d Carried over £41 16s 9d	1 iron rimmed lock with brass knobs for the castle, £0 6s 2d 1 packing needle, £0 0s 1½d 1 small frying pan, £0 1s 10½d 1 8 bit lock for the magazine in the country, £0 1s 3d 3 stock ditto for the great house and castle, £0 1s 7d 2 padlocks for it and the new prison, £0 4s 7d 1 iron rimmed ditto castle use, £0 1s 2d Ironware subtotal, £4 14s 9d Paint: 10 pounds blue smalts for linen, £0 14s 6d 15 pounds white lead, £0 5s 7½d 1 barrel blacking, £0 0s 4d 36 pounds whiting, £0 0s 9d 15 pounds red, £0 2s 5d 4 pounds ditto mixed, £0 1s 9d Paint subtotal, £1 5s 6½d Braziers ware, 1 bottling cock, £0 2s 9d Nails: 6 pounds, 6d nails 15 pounds, 10d nails 9 pounds, 40d nails 9 pounds, 20d nails 7 pounds, 4d nails 3 pounds, 2d nails 2 pounds, 3d nails 2 pounds tacks Nails subtotal, £1 8s 3d Barracks: 4 pieces fir timber for the shed on the line, £0 16s 6d 1 piece hinges for the great house, £0 1s 7d 1 lock for the carpenters shop, £0 0s 5d Barracks subtotal, £1 3s 1d Lines: 7 lines, No 4 7 lines, No 2 6 lines, No 3 2 hambro lines Lines subtotal, £0 7s 6½d Carried over, £41 16s 9d **Interpretations** The locks issued for the castle, the country magazine, the great house and the new prison reveal the Company's care for the security of its stores, powder and prisoners. Iron rimmed locks, eight bit locks, stock locks and padlocks were fitted to the buildings that held the settlement's valuables and confined its offenders, so the account records the physical means of guarding property and holding prisoners. This marks the practical apparatus of order and security on the island, the magazines and prisons made fast with locks drawn from the store. The fir timber and hardware issued for the barracks and the shed on the gun line show the Company maintaining the quarters of its soldiers and the shelters of its defences. Fir timber for the shed, hinges for the great house and a lock for the carpenters shop mark the ongoing work of building and repair about the garrison, the materials drawn out to keep the military establishment in order. This confirms the steady upkeep of the settlement's defensive and residential fabric, the barracks and gun positions maintained from the store alongside its civil buildings. The blue smalts issued for linen reveals a domestic detail of the settlement's housekeeping, the powdered blue used to whiten linen in the wash. Blue smalts served as a laundry blue as well as a pigment, so the store supplied the means of keeping the settlement's linen white as well as painting its buildings. This marks the range of the store's provisioning down to the smallest domestic want, the same blue powder colouring a wall and brightening the wash in the ordinary business of island life.

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92	81	1759 Brought Over £41 16s 9d Haberdashery Ware 3 pd Holland Tape for the Castle £0 1s 3d Flour 30 th £0 5d Pork 6 th given the Soldiers I flying partys on double alarms when the cruisers were about the Island £0 16s 5d £7d Sugar 8 th Glafs Ware vizt 6 Tumblers £0 3s 9d 4 Pr Decanters for the Castle £0 13s 6d 2 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 £0 1s 2d 1 do do 6 by 8 for the great House £0 3d £18s 8d Tin Ware vizt 2 Lamps for the Hospital I Stable £0 1s 7d 6 th Solder for Tinning £0 8s 2d £9s 9d Cordage 261 3 for a Crane Rope the Fort Garden, I Flying partys Guard Room I Uses of the Masons £3 16s 3d China Ware vizt 1 Set Dishes I Plates £0 10s 0d 6 Sallad Dishes £0 4s 1d 4 Bowls £0 2s 8d 2 Sauce Boats for the Castle £0 10d £17s 7d Candles vizt 40 th for the Castle £3 10s 0d 22 for the Council £1 18s 6d £5 6s 6d £54 10s 9d Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from the 12th April to 11th July 1759 vizt Arrack 26 Gallo £6s 5d Tea 11 th Congo £11s 3½d Flour 335 £3 12s 2d Salt 2 Bushels £3 10d Candy 300 th £5s 0d Pork 4 pieces £1 4s 6d Rice 2 6 £13s 6d Oil 29 Bottles Florence £3 1s 10½d £20 16s 4d	Brought over, £41 16s 9d Haberdashery ware, 2 pounds Holland tape for the castle, £0 1s 3d Flour, 30 pounds, given the soldiers and flying party on double alarms when the cruisers were about the island, £0 0s 5d Pork, 6 pounds, given the soldiers and flying party on double alarms, £0 0s 5d Sugar, 8 pounds, given the soldiers and flying party on double alarms, £0 16s 4½d Flour, pork and sugar subtotal, £0 7s 0d Glassware: 6 tumblers, £0 3s 9d 4 pairs decanters for the castle, £0 13s 6d 2 pieces glass, No 10, for the castle, £0 1s 2d 1 piece ditto, No 6 and 8, for the great house, £0 0s 3d Glassware subtotal, £0 18s 8d Tin ware: 2 lamps for the hospital and stable, £0 1s 7d 6 pounds solder for tinning, £0 8s 2d Tin ware subtotal, £0 9s 9d Cordage, 261 pounds for a crane rope, the church garden, flying parties, guard room and use of the masons, £3 16s 3d China ware: 1 set dishes and plates for the castle, £0 10s 0d 6 salad dishes, £0 4s 1½d 4 bowls, £0 2s 8d 2 sauce boats, £0 1s 0d China ware subtotal, £0 17s 7½d Candles: 40 pounds for the castle, £3 10s 0d 22 pounds for the council, £1 18s 6d Candles subtotal, £5 8s 6d Total, £54 10s 9d Diet expenses debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Arrack, 20 gallons, £0 6s 5d Tea, 11 pounds congo, £0 11s 5½d Flour, 535 pounds, £0 3s 12s 2d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 3s 10d Candy, 300 pounds, £0 5s 0d Pork, 4 pieces, £1 4s 6d Rice, 2 bags, No 6, £0 13s 6d Oil, 29 bottles Florence, £0 3s 1s 10½d Total, £20 16s 4d **Interpretations** The provisions issued to the soldiers on double alarms when enemy cruisers were about the island reveal the practical rewards given to men called to their posts in wartime. Flour, pork and sugar were dealt out to the garrison and flying parties when the alarm sounded for hostile sail, so the account records the feeding of men turned out to defend the island against the French cruisers that threatened the homeward route. This marks the reality of the Seven Years War at St Helena, the garrison provisioned specially when enemy ships raised the coast. The glass and china issued for the castle, decanters, tumblers, dishes and sauce boats, show the Company furnishing the governor's residence with the tablewares of a proper establishment. The set of dishes, the decanters and the sauce boats mark the castle kept as a seat of authority where the governor entertained and dined in the English manner. This confirms the maintenance of a genteel standard at the head of the settlement, the Company supplying the fine wares that upheld the dignity of its principal house. The opening of a separate diet expenses account, distinct from the charges general, shows the Company keeping the cost of feeding its establishment apart from the cost of maintaining its fabric. Arrack, tea, flour, candy, pork and rice were the provisions of the table, reckoned separately from the timber, tools and

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			stores of building and repair. This marks the orderly division of the Company's accounts, the expense of provisioning its people set down under its own head as carefully as the goods sold from the store or issued for its works.
93	82	July 30th Blacks Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from 12th April to 11th July 1759 vizt Rice 23 3 £8 18s 1½d Beef I Pork vizt 336 pd Beef 51s 9d 171 pd Pork 23s 6d £74 15s 8d Sugar 10 th £2s 1d Arrack 3 79 Gallo £9s 8½d Flour 1 th £4d Tea 3 th Snglo £2s 6d Sailors Cloaths vizt 127 Mens Jacket I Breeches £102 5s 2½d 284 do Shirts £43 10s 10½d 6 Boys Jacket I Breeches £4s 1d 12 do Shirts £1 13s 0d 133 Monmouth Caps £9 2s 10½d £162 12s 3d Chelloes 23 Pices £10 19s 9½d Long Cloth 7 pd No 4 £6 0s 4d Canvas 37 Yards Osnabrigs £2 2s 9d Haberdashery Ware 6 Yds Holland Tape £0 3s 9d Kersey 110 Yds £7 0s 0d Thread vizt 8 th Whited Brown £2 12s 0d 13 th Coloured £2 3s 4d £4 16s 0d Shoes 22 Pair Mens Ordinary £4 5s 3d Hooks I Lines vizt 50 No 3 50 6 Hooks £1 3s 0d 12 No 2 Lines £3 4s 8d £4 7s 8d Oil 1 79 Gallons Train £4 7s 8d £283 12s 3½d	Slaves debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Rice, 23 bags, No 3, £8 18s 1½d Beef and pork: 336 pounds beef, 51 9 171 pounds pork, 23 6 Beef and pork subtotal, £74 15s 8d Sugar, 10 pounds, £0 2s 1d Arrack, 3 gallons, £0 9s 8½d Flour, 1 pound, £0 0s 4d Tea, 3 pounds singlo, £0 2s 6d Sailors clothes: 127 mens jackets and breeches, £102 5s 2½d 284 ditto shirts, £43 10s 2d 6 boys jackets and breeches, £4 1s 0d 12 ditto shirts, £1 13s 0d 133 monmouth caps, £9 2s 10½d Sailors clothes subtotal, £162 12s 3d Chelloes, 25 pieces, £10 19s 9½d Long cloth, 7 pieces, No 2, £6 8s 4d Canvas, 37 yards osnaburg, £2 2s 9d Haberdashery ware, 2 pounds Holland tape, £0 3s 9d Persey, 110 yards, £7 6s 8d Thread: 8 pounds whited brown, £2 12s 8d 13 pounds coloured, £2 3s 4d Thread subtotal, £4 16s 0d Shoes, 22 pairs mens ordinary, £4 5s 3d Hooks and lines: 50 hooks, No 3 50 hooks, No 6 Hooks subtotal, £0 1s 3d 12 lines, No 2 Lines subtotal, £0 3s 4½d, total £0 4s 7½d Oil, 1 gallon train, £0 4s 7½d Total, £283 12s 3½d **Interpretations** The slaves account records the stores issued to feed and clothe the enslaved workforce, a separate head reckoning the cost of maintaining the Company's slaves. The beef, pork, rice and the clothing dealt out to them are set down as the Company's expense in keeping its enslaved labour, so the account values the upkeep of human property alongside the store's other charges. This confirms the enslaved treated as an asset requiring maintenance, their food and clothing a cost entered in the ledgers exactly as the feed of the livestock or the stores of the garrison. The clothing issued to the slaves, jackets, breeches, shirts and Monmouth caps in large numbers, together with the coarse cloths chelloes and osnaburg, shows the Company clothing its enslaved workforce in plain and durable garments. The 127 mens jackets and breeches and 284 shirts mark the scale of the slave population dressed from Company stock, the rough sailors clothing and coarse cottons being the standard issue for labouring slaves. This reveals the material provision made for the enslaved, clothed cheaply and plainly in the same practical garments across the whole workforce. The beef and pork issued to the slaves shows the Company supplying meat to its enslaved labour alongside the yams that formed their staple. The 336 pounds of beef and 171 of pork mark a ration of meat dealt out to the slaves, so the enslaved received some flesh as well as the roots that were their main sustenance. This adds detail to the earlier picture of slave provisioning, the yams of the plantation supplemented by measured issues of beef and pork

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			from the store, the whole cost of feeding the enslaved reckoned carefully as a charge upon the Company.
94	83	1759 Mallay Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from 12th April to 11th July 1759 vizt Candy 4 th £3s 8d Rice 1 4 £9s 8d Beef 11 Pieces £1 13s 0½d Arrack 2 4 Gallo £6s 10½d Tea 3 th Single £2s 6d Rope 36 £1 10½d Oil 4 Gallons Train £2s 7d £3 10s 0½d Plantation Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from 12th April to 11th July 1759 vizt Rice I Paddy vizt 2 No 2 Rice for Poultry 33 Paddy for Do I Horses £7 11s 3d £7 13s 3d Tar 3 4 Gallons for Carts £2s 11d Deals vizt 2 Coffins for Cs Wife for Carts £0 8s 2d 7 Baths £2 9s 10½d 30 Single deals for the Dairy room in the Great Wood £3 3s 9d £6 1s 9½d Nails vizt 10 th 20 13 th 10 for the dairy room in the great Wood making 13 6 I Gates I the Gardeners Use 8 4 £1 1s 2½d 3 Playing Brads for the Plantion House Cutlery Ware 9 Shoe Henices for the Plantations £2s 10d Oil 2 Gallo Train for the Overseer I Carpenter in the Long Wood I hatching I Rubbing Cattle £6s 11d Cordage 17 th for hatching £4 11½d Iron Ware vizt 1 Claw Hammer £1s 1½d 1 Halling Do for the Gardiners Use £1s 6d 12 Reyth Sames £3s 6d 4 Hand Hatchets for do I the Pastures £1 3s 0d £11s 4½d 2 Holes £17s 11d Turners Ware 1 Yoke for Oxen £17 3s 2d	Mullett debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Candy, 4 pounds, £0 3s 8d Rice, 1 bag, No 4, £0 9s 8d Beef, 11 pieces, £1 13s 0½d Arrack, 2 gallons, £0 6s 10½d Tea, 3 pounds singlo, £0 2s 6d Soap, 36 pounds, £1 10½d Oil, 4 gallons train, £0 2s 7d Total, £3 0s 10½d Plantation debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Rice and paddy: 1 bag rice for poultry, £0 2s 0d 33 bags paddy for ditto and horses, £7 11s 3d Rice and paddy subtotal, £7 13s 3d Tar, 3 gallons for carts, £0 2s 11d Deals: 2 elm for naves for carts, £0 8s 2d 7 baulks, £2 9s 10½d 30 single deals for the dairy room in the great wood, £3 3s 9d Deals subtotal, £6 1s 9½d Nails: 10 pounds, 20d nails 15 pounds, 10d nails 13 pounds, 6d nails 8 pounds, 4d nails For the dairy room in the great wood, gates and the gardeners use, £1 1s 2½d 3 glazing brads for the plantation house, £0 2s 10d Cutlery ware, 9 shoe helves for the plantations, £0 2s 10d Oil, 2 gallons train for the overseers and carpenters in the great wood for thatching and rubbing cattle, £0 6s 11d Cordage, 17 pounds for thatching, £0 4s 11½d Ironware: 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 1½d 1 hilling hoe, £0 1s 6d 12 scythe stones, £0 3s 6d 4 hand hatchets, £0 1s 3d For ditto and the pastures, £0 11s 4½d 2 helves, £0 17s 11d Turners ware, 1 yoke for oxen, £0 17s 3s 2d **Interpretations** The opening of a separate account against Mullett shows the Company charging the stores issued to the free black woman it was sending off the island to her own debtor head. Candy, rice, beef, arrack, tea, soap and oil dealt out to her are reckoned as her charge, so even a person being removed at public expense was debited for the provisions she consumed. This is the same Mullett whose passage off the island the council had funded weeks earlier, her maintenance now accounted separately as the Company settled the costs of her departure. The plantation account records the stores issued for the farming and stock of the Company's estate, the paddy for poultry and horses, the timber for carts and the dairy room, and the tools for the fields. Paddy fed the plantation's birds and horses, deals and elm made and mended the carts, and the hatchets, hoes and scythe stones served the labour of cultivation, so the account maps the working of the Company farm. This shows the plantation as a substantial agricultural establishment, provisioned from the store with the timber, tackle and tools of husbandry. The building of a dairy room in the great wood reveals the Company developing its plantation with proper facilities for its produce. Deals and nails were issued to construct a room for the dairy, so the estate gained a dedicated place for handling milk and butter

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			from its cattle. This marks the ongoing improvement of the Company farm, the settlement investing in the structures of agriculture as it did in its defences and stores, the plantation equipped to make the most of the livestock the stock accounts so carefully recorded.
95	84	July 30th Garrison Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from 12th April to 11th July 1759 vizt Tea 90 th 3 4 Single £3 15s 7½d Oil 86 Gallo Train for the Several Guards £4 17s 3d Deals 2 Single for a Coffin £6s 4½d Nails 1 6 Paint 20 th Whiting for cleaning the Accoutrements £5d Arrack 18 Gallo for drams on Mustering £2 5s 0d Iron Ware vizt 2 Large frying pans £6s 10d 1 small do £1s 10½d 1 Lopping Axe £2s 11d 1 Holer £7½d £12s 3d Turners Ware vizt 10 Wood Bowls £12s 1d 9 Do plaines for the out Fort I Garrison £9s 4½d 2 Scrubbing Brush £2s 2½d 1 Hair Broom £2s 2½d 1 Mop £1s 3d £1 7s 1½d Tin Ware vizt 2 Lamps £3s 11½d 101 Chelloes £6 13s 10½d £7 2s 10d Beef 2 pieces £6s 1½d Flour 14 th Given the Recruits on their Landing £2s 4d Shoes 21 Pr Ordinary £7s 9d Soldiers Cloaks 1 Centinels Coat I Breeches £1 9s 6½d Shirts 1 Centinels I Roller £5s 1½d Hosiers Ware 1 Pr Thread Stockings for a £2s 7d Hats 1 Centinels £2s 3d Blankets 1 Recruit £4s 10d £33 8s 2d	Garrison debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Tea, 90 pounds singlo, £3 15s 7½d Oil, 86 gallons train for the several guards, £4 17s 3d Deals, 3 single for a coffin, £0 6s 4½d Nails, 1 pound for a coffin, £0 0s 5d Paint, 20 pounds whiting for cleaning the accoutrements, £0 0s 5d Arrack, 18 gallons for drams on mustering, £2 5s 0d Ironware: 2 large frying pans, £0 6s 10d 1 small ditto, £0 1s 10½d 1 lopping axe, £0 2s 11d 1 helve, £0 0s 7½d Ironware subtotal, £12s 3d Turners ware: 10 wood bowls, £0 12s 1d 9 ditto planters for the outside garrison, £0 9s 4½d 2 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 2½d 1 hair broom, £0 2s 2½d 1 keg, £0 1s 3d Turners ware subtotal, £1 7s 1½d Tin ware: 2 lamps, £0 3s 11½d 101 chartins, £6 13s 10½d Tin ware subtotal, £7 2s 10d Beef, 2 pieces, £0 6s 1½d Flour, 14 pounds, given the recruits on their landing, £0 2s 4d Shoes, 21 pairs ordinary, £0 7s 9d Soldiers clothes, 1 sentinels coat and breeches, £1 9s 6½d Shirts, 1 sentinels and roller, £0 5s 1½d Hosiery ware, 17 pairs thread stockings, £0 2s 7d Hats, 1 sentinels, £0 2s 3d Blankets, 1, £0 4s 10d Total, £33 0s 2d **Interpretations** The deals and nails issued for a coffin show the Company providing for the burial of its people from the same store that supplied its provisions and tools. Three deal boards and a pound of nails made a coffin for one who died in the garrison, so the account records the plain furnishing of a death alongside the business of the living. This marks the completeness of the Company's charge over its people, providing for their burial as for their feeding and clothing, the materials of a coffin drawn from the store like any other stores. The clothing issued to a single sentinel, a coat, breeches, shirt, stockings, hat and blanket, gives a full picture of the outfit provided to a common soldier of the garrison. The complete set of one man's clothing marks the standard equipment of a sentinel, dressed from the store in the plain uniform of his rank. This shows the material provision for the individual soldier, the garrison clothed man by man from Company stock, a single sentinel's whole kit set down as a charge in the account. The arrack issued for drams on mustering and the flour given the recruits on their landing show the customary refreshments of garrison life provided at the Company's charge. Spirits were dealt out when the men were mustered and food given to newly arrived recruits, so the account records the small provisions that eased the routine and welcomed the newcomer. This marks the ordinary hospitality of the

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			establishment, the arrack and flour dispensed to mark a muster and receive a recruit as part of the settled custom of the garrison.
96	85	1759 Fortification Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from 12th April to 11th July 1759 vizt Nails vizt 2 4 4 6 1 3 For frames for the Guard Rooms at the out Forts I new Barracks Gun Carriages Ammunition Chests &c 5 10 3 40 £5s 10d Deals vizt 14 Single for the new magazine at Ruperts the £7 17s 3d 18 double magazine at Clarks Cap Frames for the out £1 15s 0d 2 Baths Forts, new Barracks Ammn Chests I Rocket Sticks £14s 3d £10 6s 6d Iron Ware 2 Slot Locks for the new magazine at Ruperts £14s 6d Turners Ware vizt 3 Beich Brooms for sweeping the Line I parade £2s 0d 1 paint Brush for painting Rocket Sticks £6½d £2 6s 2½d Twine 8 Skains £6s 1d Snam 4 th Colored £12s 1d Canvas 13 Yds English for making Cartridges I Bags £13 6s 3½d Lines vizt 8 No 4 6 2 for Partridge Shot £4s 8½d Paint vizt 22 th Whiting £4s 3d 100 th White Lead for painting Gun Carriages Spunge Staves I Rocket Stakes £2s 6d 15 Barrels Blacking £4s 0d £2 5s 7½d Oil 6 8 Gallons Linseed £1 10s 0½d Cordage 32 th for the Post Cruise £9s 4d Tar 3 Gallo for the Draw Bridge £2s 6d £17 13s 2½d Boats Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from 12th April to 11th July 1759 vizt Turners Ware 1 Mop £1s 3d Carried over £1s 3d	Fortification debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Nails: 2 pounds, 4d nails 4 pounds, 6d nails 1 pound, 3d nails 5 pounds, 10d nails 3 pounds, 40d nails For forms for the guard rooms at the forts, new barracks, gun carriages and ammunition chests, £0 5s 10d Deals: 74 single for the new magazine at Rupert's, £7 17s 3d 18 double for the magazine at Banks's, forms for the outside, £1 15s 0d 2 baulks for the forts, new barracks, ammunition chests and rocket sticks, £0 14s 3d Deals subtotal, £10 6s 6d Ironware, 2 8 bit locks for the new magazine at Rupert's, £0 14s 6d Turners ware: 3 birch brooms for sweeping the line and parade, £0 2s 0d 1 paint brush for painting rocket sticks, £0 0s 6½d Turners ware subtotal, £0 2s 6½d Twine and skeins: 1 skein, 4th ordinary, £0 6s 1d Canvas, 13 pounds English for making cartridges and bags for partridge shot, £0 13s 6½d Lines: 8 lines, No 4 6 lines, No 2 Lines subtotal, £0 6s 8½d Paint: 22 pounds whiting, £0 0s 4½d 100 pounds white lead, £2 0s 6d 15 barrels blacking, £0 0s 40d For the painting gun carriages, sponge staves and rocket stakes, £2 5s 7½d Oil, 8 gallons linseed, £1 10s 0½d Cordage, 32 pounds for the port culvert, £0 9s 4d Tar, 4 gallons for the drawbridge, £0 2s 6d Fortification subtotal, £17 13s 2½d Braziers debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Turners ware, 1 mop, £0 1s 3d Carried over, £0 1s 3d **Interpretations** The fortification account records the stores issued for the island's defences, the timber for new magazines, the locks to secure them, and the materials for gun carriages and cartridges. Deals for the new magazine at Rupert's and the magazine at Banks's, locks to make them fast, and canvas for cartridges and shot bags map the ongoing arming and fortifying of the coast. This shows the Company steadily strengthening the island's defences in wartime, the powder magazines and gun positions built and equipped from the store as the French cruisers threatened the homeward route. The painting of gun carriages, sponge staves and rocket stakes with white lead and linseed oil shows the care taken to preserve the ordnance and its equipment against the sea air. The guns furniture and the rocket apparatus were painted to protect them from rot and rust, so the account records the maintenance of the artillery's fittings as well as their manufacture. This marks the constant upkeep the batteries demanded, the same guns whose firing the artillery accounts recorded kept in order with paint and oil from the store. The tar issued for the drawbridge and the cordage for the port culvert reveal specific features of the

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			island's fortifications named in the account. A drawbridge and a culvert or gun embrasure at the port mark elements of the defensive works maintained from the store, the tar preserving the bridge and the cordage serving the gun position. This gives concrete detail to the island's defences, the account naming the very drawbridge and gun port that guarded the approach, kept in repair with the stores drawn out for the fortifications.
97	86	July 30th Brought over £1s 3d Paint 31 th Brimstone £6s 5½d Barracks 3 th Nails £2s 6d Nails vizt 24 th 10 6 6 2 3 14 20 £17s 2d Oil 1 78 Gallo Train £4s 9d Deals vizt 5 Elm Boards £17s 11d 1 Do Plank £1 1s 2½d 18 Single Deals £1 10s 3d £3 17s 2½d Leather vizt 6 4 Sole £6s 3d Cordage 93 th £1 6s 10d Pitch and Tar vizt 240 th Pitch £1 10s 0d 13 Gallo Tar £10s 10d 26 th Rosin £4s 1d £2 4s 11d £9 7s 6d Hospital Dr for the following Stores Ifsued from the 12th April to 11th July 1759 vizt Sugar 324 th £3 13s 9d Flour 335 th £2 19s 0d Oil 14 5 4 Gallo Train £2 10s 7d Salt 1 4 Bushels £4s 4½d Tea 1 th Single £10d Rice 3 3 4 £1 2s 6d £10 11s 5d	Brought over, £1 3d Paint, 31 pounds brimstone, £0 6s 5½d Barracks ditto nails, £0 2s 6d Nails: 24 pounds, 10d nails 6 pounds, 6d nails 2 pounds, 3d nails 14 pounds, 20d nails Nails subtotal, £0 17s 2d Oil, 1 gallon train, £0 0s 4s 9d Deals: 5 elm boards, £0 17s 11d 1 ditto plank, £1 1s 4½d 18 single deals, £1 18s 3d Deals subtotal, £3 17s 2½d Leather, ditto sole, £0 6s 3d Cordage, 93 pounds, £1 6s 10d Pitch and tar: 240 pounds pitch, £1 10s 0d 13 gallons tar, £0 10s 10d 26 pounds rosin, £0 4s 1d Pitch and tar subtotal, £2 4s 11d Braziers total, £9 7s 6d Hospital debtor for the following stores issued from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Sugar, 334 pounds, £3 13s 9d Flour, 334 pounds, £2 19s 0d Oil, 14 gallons train, £2 10s 7d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 4s 4½d Tea, 1 pound singlo, £0 0s 10d Rice, 3 bags, £1 2s 6d Hospital total, £10 11s 5d **Interpretations** The opening of a hospital account shows the Company keeping the cost of caring for its sick apart from its other charges, the sugar, flour, oil, tea and rice issued to the sick reckoned under their own head. These provisions were the nourishing foods dealt out to invalids, so the account values the feeding of the settlement's sick as a distinct expense. This confirms the hospital as an established part of the settlement, its provisioning accounted separately as carefully as the garrison's or the plantation's, the care of the ill a recognised charge upon the Company. The pitch, tar, rosin and cordage in the braziers account show that trade too consuming naval and preservative stores in its work. Pitch and tar for waterproofing and cordage for the brazier's tasks mark the materials the metalworker drew from the store, so even this craft is provisioned in the account. This adds another trade to the picture of the settlement's working establishment, the brazier supplied like the armourer, carpenter and mason with the materials of his work. The sugar and flour issued to the hospital in quantity, over three hundred pounds of each, show the sick fed on nourishing and easily digested foods to aid their recovery. Sugar and flour made the puddings and gruels suited to invalids, so the hospital drew these staples in bulk to feed men too ill for ordinary fare. This reveals the dietary care given to the sick, the hospital provisioned with the soft and strengthening foods that eighteenth century medicine prescribed for the recovering, a distinct standard of feeding for the ill.

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98	87	1759 Fortification Dr for the following Stores Ifsued for building the Barracks from 12th April to 11th July 1759 vizt Deals vizt 10 Double £2 16s 0d 131 Single £13 18s 4½d £16 14s 4½d Nails vizt 11 th 4 43 20 9 10 7 3 6 6 2 2 £1 0s 5½d Iron 85 th £15 11½d Iron Ware vizt 1 Hand Hatchet £1s 4½d 1 Stock Lock £2s 4d 2 Plaisterers Trowels £3s 0d 2 Pickaxes £6s 10d 2 Holes £1s 3d £14s 10d Paint vizt 4 th Vent Red mixed £1s 9d 10 th White Lead £3s 9d 1 Barrel Blacking £4d ½ Copprafs £6d £6s 4d Oil vizt 1 4 Gallo Linseed £6s 2d 1 Bottle Florence £2s 3½d £8s 4d Turners Ware 7 paint Brushes £3s 11d Lead 8 th Sheet £1s 8d £20 13s 11d Barracks Dr 26 pair Hinges £2 1s 2d £22 15s 1d	Fortification debtor for the following stores issued for building the barracks from 12 April to 11 July 1759, as follows. Deals: 10 double, £2 16s 0d 131 single, £13 18s 4½d Deals subtotal, £16 14s 4½d Nails: 11 pounds, 4d nails 43 pounds, 20d nails 9 pounds, 10d nails 7 pounds, 3d nails 6 pounds, 6d nails 2 pounds, 2d nails Nails subtotal, £1 0s 5½d Iron, 85 pounds, £15 11s 0d Ironware: 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 4½d 1 stock lock, £0 2s 4d 2 plasterers trowels, £0 3s 5d 2 pickaxes, £0 6s 10d 2 helves, £0 1s 3d Ironware subtotal, £14s 10d Paint: 4 pounds vineyard red mixed, £0 1s 9d 10 pounds white lead, £0 3s 9d 1 barrel blacking, £0 0s 4d 12 coppers, £0 0s 6d Paint subtotal, £0 6s 4d Oil: 1 gallon linseed, £0 6s 2½d 1 bottle Florence, £0 2s 3½d Oil subtotal, £0 8s 4d Turners ware, 7 paint brushes, £0 3s 11d Lead, sole sheet, £0 1s 8d Barracks debtor, 26 pairs hinges, £2 1s 2d Total, £22 13s 1d **Interpretations** The account details the stores issued specifically for building the barracks, the timber, iron, nails and tools that raised the soldiers quarters. The 131 single and ten double deals, 85 pounds of iron and the plasterers trowels and pickaxes map a substantial construction, the barracks built and finished from the store's materials. This shows the Company undertaking a major work of building for its garrison, a purpose made body of quarters raised from imported timber and iron on an island that produced neither. The 26 pairs of hinges issued for the barracks reveal the scale of the building in its very fittings, hinges enough for many doors and shutters. That so many hinges were needed marks a substantial structure with numerous openings, the barracks a building of some size to house the garrison. This gives concrete measure to the work, the count of hinges and locks reflecting the many rooms and doors of a purpose built military quarters. The plasterers trowels and the paint issued show the barracks finished to a proper standard rather than merely framed and roofed. Trowels for plastering the walls and paint of white lead and vineyard red for their decoration mark a building completed and made fit for use, not left rough. This reveals the care taken in the construction, the Company raising for its soldiers a finished and maintained building, plastered and painted from the same store that supplied the timber of its frame.
99	88	July 30th The following Stores Ifsued for the use of the Longboat that was Sent to Cruise to Windward of the Island vizt Lead 30 4 Sheet £6s 4d Deals vizt 53 Single £5 16s 10½d	The following stores issued for the use of the longboat that was sent to cruise at windward of the island, as follows. Lead, 30 pounds sheet, £0 6s 4d Deals: 55 single, £5 16s 10½d 12 double, £2 2s 0d 2 pieces elm plank, £2 12s 7d

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		12 Double £2 2s 0d 2 4 Pr Elm plank £2 12s 7d 8 Wt Boards £1 8s 0d 3 Coffins £12s 3d £12 12s 4½d Iron 14 4 2 £1 6s 7½d Flour 677 £5 12s 10d Thread 4 th Coloured £1s 8d Barracks vizt Nails 7 th £2s 4d Fir Timber 7 pd £1 8s 10½d Oak Plank 4 pd £1 6s 8½d £2 17s 11d Nails vizt 12 th spike 31 20 13 40 14 10 16 6 1 3 3 2 1 Jacks 1 Scupper £1 14s 2d Twine vizt 9 Sh Twine £4s 7d 7 Sh Marline £1 7½d £6s 2½d Pitch I Tar vizt 224 th Pitch £1 8s 0d 10 Gallo Tar £8s 4d £1 16s 4d Canvas vizt 20 Yds English £1 7s 6d 7 Yds Osnabrigs £2 12s 6d £3 19s 7d Carried over £30 13s 11d	8 pounds boards, £1 8s 0d 3 elm, £0 12s 3d Deals subtotal, £12 12s 4½d Iron, 142 pounds, £1 6s 7½d Flour, 6 pounds, £0 5s 12s 10d Thread, ditto coloured, £0 1s 8d Barracks: Nails, 7 pounds, £0 2s 4d Fir timber, 7 pieces, £1 0s 10½d Oak plank, 4 pieces, £1 6s 8½d Barracks subtotal, £2 17s 11d Nails: 12 pounds spike nails 31 pounds, 20d nails 13 pounds, 40d nails 14 pounds, 10d nails 16 pounds, 6d nails 1 pound, 3d nails 3 pounds, 2d nails 1 tacks 1 scupper Nails subtotal, £1 14s 4½d Twine: 9 skeins twine, £0 4s 7d 7 skeins marline, £0 1s 7½d Twine subtotal, £0 6s 2½d Pitch and tar: 224 pounds pitch, £1 8s 0d 10 gallons tar, £0 8s 4d Pitch and tar subtotal, £1 16s 4d Canvas: 20 yards English, £1 7s 6d 70 yards osnaburg, £2 12s 6d Canvas subtotal, £3 19s 7d Carried over, £30 13s 11d **Interpretations** The stores issued for the longboat sent to cruise at windward of the island reveal the settlement fitting out an armed boat to patrol its waters against the enemy. Timber, iron, canvas, cordage and pitch equipped the boat for sea, so the island maintained its own small cruising vessel to watch the approaches during the war. This shows St Helena taking an active part in its own defence, not merely manning its batteries but sending out a boat to cruise the windward side where enemy sail might approach. The canvas and cordage issued for the longboat, English and osnaburg canvas for sails and twine and marline for the rigging, show the boat provided with the means to work under sail. The sailcloth and the marline for serving the rigging equipped her for cruising, so the account records the making and mending of her gear. This marks the practical fitting out of a working sailing boat, the settlement supplying from its store the sails and cordage that let her keep the sea on patrol. The pitch, tar and lead sheet issued show the care taken to keep the cruising boat watertight and sound. Pitch and tar payed her seams and the lead sheet covered vulnerable parts against the water, so the boat was maintained fit for the sea she worked. This reveals the constant upkeep an active small craft demanded, the longboat kept in cruising order with the preservative stores drawn from the same warehouse that supplied the island's every other want.
100	89	1759 Brought over £30 13s 11d Oil vizt 8 78 Gallo Train £1 10s 8½d 4 Gallo Linseed £11½d £1 11s 0d Cordage 133 th	Brought over, £30 13s 11d Oil: 8 gallons train, £1 10s 8½d 4 gallons linseed, £0 0s 11½d Oil subtotal, £1 11s 8d Cordage, 133 pounds, £1 18s 9½d Bunting: 26 yards red, £0 18s 11½d 8 yards blue, £0 4s 8d 2 yards white, £0 1s 1d

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		£1 18s 9½d Bunting vizt 26 Yds Red £18s 11½d 8 Yds Blue £4s 8d 2 Yds White £1s 1d £1 4s 8½d Arrack 30 4 Gallo £4 13s 1½d Leather 6 th 3 4 Pump £9d Iron Ware vizt 18 th small Steelyards £11½d 1 Pad Lock £2s 3½d 1 Large frying pan £3s 5d 1 Hand Saw £1s 0d 1 Hammer £1s 5d 1 Gouge £4s 8d 1 Hand Hatchet £1 4s 8d 4 Gimblets £10d 2 3 4 Brafs Wire £7s 2d 1 Scythe Stone £2d £1 5s 10d Coals 4 Bushells £10s 4d Peas 1 Bushel £7s 10d Paint vizt 12 th Whiting £3d 4 th Brimstone £1s 3d £4½d Braziers Ware vizt 1 Large Brafs Cock £4s 6d 1 Tea Kettle £11s 4½d 1 Copper Pump £11s 0d £1 6s 9½d Beef I Pork vizt 70 pd Beef 10s 4s 9½d 58 pd Pork 6s 10s 3½d £17 10s 0d Carried Over £61 19s 0½d	Bunting subtotal, £1 4s 8½d Arrack, 30 gallons, £4 13s 1½d Leather, 6 pounds pump, £0 0s 9d Ironware: 1 pound small steelyards, £0 1s 11½d 1 padlock, £0 2s 3½d 1 large frying pan, £0 3s 5d 1 hand saw, £0 1s 10½d 1 hammer, £0 1s 1½d 1 gouge, £0 4s 8d 1 hand hatchet, £0 4s 8d 4 gimlets, £0 0s 10d 2 pounds brass wire, £0 1s 2d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 2d Ironware subtotal, £1 3s 10d Coals, 4 bushels, £0 10s 4d Peas, 1 bushel, £0 7s 10d Paint: 12 pounds whiting, £0 0s 3d 2 pounds brimstone, £0 0s 1½d Paint subtotal, £0 0s 4½d Braziers ware: 1 large brass cock, £0 4s 6d 1 tea kettle, £0 11s 4½d 1 copper pump, £0 11s 0d Braziers ware subtotal, £1 6s 9½d Beef and pork: 70 pounds beef, 10 14 0½ 158 pounds pork, 6 16 3½ Beef and pork subtotal, £17 10s 8d Carried over, £61 19s 0½d **Interpretations** The bunting in red, blue and white issued for the longboat shows the vessel supplied with the material to make her signal flags and colours. Bunting was the light woollen cloth from which flags were made, so the red, white and blue marked out the boat's ability to signal and to show her colours at sea. This reveals the cruising boat equipped for communication as well as sailing, the means to make signals and fly her flags provided from the store alongside her sails and rigging. The beef and pork issued in quantity, 70 pounds of beef and 158 of pork, show the boat's company provisioned with salt meat for their time at sea. The larger quantity of pork reflects the keeping quality of salt pork on a cruising boat, so the men were victualled with the preserved meat that sustained crews away from shore. This marks the feeding of the boat's company, provisioned from the store for their patrol as the ships were provisioned for their voyages. The brass cock, tea kettle and copper pump among the braziers ware show the metalworker's products serving the practical needs of the boat and settlement. A copper pump for clearing water, a brass cock for drawing liquid and a tea kettle mark the useful metal goods the brazier made or the store supplied, fittings for the vessel and household alike. This adds to the picture of the settlement's self sufficiency in metalwork through its brazier, the craft producing the pumps, cocks and vessels that the island's daily working required.
101	90	July 30th Brought over £61 19s 0½d Turners Ware vizt 2 Wood Bowls £2s 5d 2 do Plaiers £2s 1d £4s 6d Pewter 1 quart Funnel £2s 2½d Tin Ware 1 Horn Lanthorn £2s 0d Glafs Ware vizt	Brought over, £61 19s 0½d Turners ware: 2 wood bowls, £0 2s 5d 2 ditto planters, £0 2s 1d Turners ware subtotal, £0 4s 6d Pewter, 1 quart funnel, £0 2s 2½d Tin ware, 1 horn lantern, £0 2s 0d Glassware: 2 half minute glasses, £0 1s 1d 4 tumblers, £0 2s 6d Glassware subtotal, £0 3s 7d Salt, ½ bushel, £0 1s 5½d Hooks and lines: 50 hooks, No 1, £0 2s 4½d

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		2 Half Minute Glafses £1s 1d 4 Tumblers £2s 6d £3s 7d Salt 3 4 Bushel £1 5s 2½d Hooks I Lines vizt 50 No 1 Hooks £2s 4½d 12 No 4 Lines £4s 6d 1 Hambro Do £1s 6d £8s 2½d £63 1s 0d List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their Several Salarys Dt Money &c for the Quarter Commencing the 12th April 1759 Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Salary £125s 0d Dt allowance for Servants as usual £31 14s 9d £156 14s 9d John Adamson Lieut Governor Salary for Eighty Eight days to the 8th July the day he was dismifsd £84 12s 4d John Shotowe Esqr Lieut Governor Salary for three days from the 8th July to the 11th Inclusive £2 17s 8d £87 10s 0d John Clark of Council Salary £15s 0d Matthew Frieling A Company Salary Dt diet money £17 10s 0d Dt House Rent £13s 0d Dt as Lieutenant three days from the 8th July to the 11th Inclusive £8s 10d £4 11s 0d £35 4s 11d Carried over £294 9s 0d	12 lines, No 4, £0 4s 6d 1 hambro ditto, £0 1s 6d Hooks and lines subtotal, £0 8s 2½d Total, £63 1s 0d List of the Honourable Company officers and servants upon the island of St Helena with their several salaries, diet money etc for the quarter commencing 11 April 1759, as follows. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Charles Hutchinson, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d Governor subtotal, £156 14s 9d John Adamson, Lieutenant Governor, salary for eighty eight days to 8 July, the day he was dismissed, £34 12s 4d John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, salary for three days from 8 July to 11 July inclusive, £2 17s 8d Lieutenant Governor subtotal, £37 10s 0d John Clark of council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Pooling, Assistant, Company salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Pooling, diet money, £13 0s 0d Matthew Pooling, house rent, £8 10s 0d Matthew Pooling, additional three days from 8 July to 11 July, £4 11s 0d Council subtotal, £35 4s 11d Carried over, £294 9s 8d **Interpretations** The pay list splits the Lieutenant Governor's salary between two men within the quarter, John Adamson drawing pay for eighty eight days to his dismissal on 8 July 1759 and John Skottowe for the three days remaining, marking the exact moment of the change of office. The account divides the quarter at the day the packet from the directors took effect, so Adamson was paid to his last day in office and Skottowe from his first, the book following the transfer of authority day by day exactly as it followed the ranks of the garrison. This precise splitting confirms the removal of one officer and the installation of another on 8 July, the pay account fixing the date the whole reshaping of the government came into force. The Governor's salary of £125 the quarter with a further allowance for servants shows the scale of Hutchinson's remuneration at the head of the establishment, far above the sums paid the officers of council. The governor drew several times the salary of a member of council, the pay reflecting the gulf in rank between the island's chief and his subordinates. This marks the hierarchy of the civil establishment expressed in money, the governor's pay setting him apart from the officers who served under him as clearly as his authority did. The house rent and diet money allowed to Matthew Pooling alongside his salary reveal the additional emoluments that made up an officer's full remuneration beyond his bare pay. Pooling received sums for his lodging and his food on top of his salary, so the true cost of maintaining an officer exceeded his nominal wage. This shows the structure of Company pay, the salary supplemented by allowances for the necessities of life on the island, the whole reckoned carefully in the quarterly account as the charge of keeping each officer in his place.
102	91	1759 Brought Over £294 9s 8d Frances Wrangham Secretary Salary £17 10s 0d Dt diet money £15s 0d Dt House rent £2 10s 0d	Brought over, £294 9s 8d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Secretary subtotal, £35 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d William Lee, diet money, £15 0s 0d Chaplain subtotal, £40 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d

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		£35s 0d William See Chaplain Salary £25s 0d Dt diet money £15s 0d £40s 0d James Powell Storekeeper £17 10s 0d Dt diet money £15s 0d Dt House rent £2 10s 0d £35s 0d Matthew Brazett Factors Salary £7 10s 0d Dt diet money £16s 0d Dt House Rent £2 10s 0d Dt as afsistant Storekeeper £5s 0d £25s 0d William Wrangham Factors Salary £7 10s 0d Dt diet money £10s 0d Dt House Rent £2 10s 0d £20s 0d Richard Saw Writers Salary £5s 0d Dt diet money £10s 0d Dt House rent £2 10s 0d £17 10s 0d Robert Barclay Surgeons Salary £9 15s 0d Dt diet money £10s 0d Dt House rent £2 10s 0d £22 5s 0d John Pritchard Surgeons mates Salary £6 5s 0d Dt diet money £10s 0d Dt House rent £2 10s 0d £10 15s 0d Richard Beale Judge Advocate Salary £10s 0d Dt as Schoolmaster £8s 3d Dt as Clerk £5s 0d £10 8s 3d Samuel Alexander £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett Overseers £10s 0d £15s 0d Carried over £541 8s 11d	James Powell, diet money, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Storekeeper subtotal, £35 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £16 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Factor subtotal, £25 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Factor subtotal, £20 0s 0d Richard Law, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Richard Law, diet money, £10 0s 0d Richard Law, house rent, £2 10s 0d Writer subtotal, £17 10s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Surgeon subtotal, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeons mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, house rent, £2 10s 0d Surgeons mate subtotal, £10 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale, as schoolmaster, £8 8s 3d Richard Beale, as clerk, £5 0s 0d Judge advocate subtotal, £10 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, £7 10s 0d Overseers subtotal, £15 0s 0d Carried over, £541 8s 11d **Interpretations** The pay list sets out the whole civil establishment of the island, from the chaplain and surgeon to the storekeeper, factors, writer and overseers, revealing the range of officers that governed and served the settlement. Each drew a salary with diet money and house rent added, so the account shows the full apparatus of Company administration on the island, the men who kept its records, tended its sick, ran its store and preached to its people. This marks St Helena as a fully staffed Company settlement, its government and services carried on by a body of salaried officers each with his defined place and pay. The holding of several offices by single men shows the small establishment stretching its few officers across many functions. Richard Beale served at once as judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk, drawing pay under each head, and Matthew Bazett was both factor and overseer, so the same men filled multiple roles for want of numbers. This reveals the economy of a small settlement, its limited body of officers each burdened with several duties, the offices of justice, teaching and clerking combined in one man where a larger place would have employed three. The chaplain William Lee drew the highest salary among the officers below the governor and council, £25 the quarter with diet money, marking the value placed on the religious life of the settlement. The provision of a well paid chaplain shows the Company's concern for the spiritual care and moral order of the island, the minister ranking in pay above the surgeon and the storekeeper. This confirms the importance of religion to the establishment, the chaplain maintained as a principal officer to uphold the church and its observance among the settlement's people.
103	92	July 30th Brought over £341 8s 11d John Bland Master Mason Salary £17 10s 0d Dt diet money	Brought over, £541 8s 11d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d John Bland, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Bland, house rent, £1 10s 0d Master mason subtotal, £29 0s 0d

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		£10s 0d Dt House Rent £1 10s 0d £29s 0d Thomas Townshend Stone Mason Salary £19 10s 0d John Robinson Carpenters Salary £12 10s 0d Dt for his Apprentice £3 5s 0d Dt House Rent £15s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick Master at Arms to 8th July £6 0s 10½d Edmund Smith Gardiner £10s 0d Edward Durrant Armourer £9s 0d James Torbett Cooper £8 15s 0d William Mose Steward £6s 0d Michael Stast Clock and Instrument Cleaner £1 5s 0d Nicholas Scrafton Patron of the Longboat £1 10s 0d Thomas Beazer Ycoin Richard Twaits Marshall £3 6s 5½d £72 7s 4d First Company John Clark first Lieutenant Salary £22 16s 3d Dt diet money £6 16s 10½d Dt for instructing the Gunmors &c £7 10s 0d £37 3s 1½d John Howard second Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Dt Diet money £6 16s 10½d Dt House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Solomon Pt Maurice second Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Dt diet money £6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d Solomon Jacob Adjutant Salary £22 16s 3d Dt diet money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Serjeants John Fleming £7 12s 1d Humphry Rugl £7 12s 1d John Grainger £7 12s 1d Samuel Austen £7 12s 1d £30 6s 4d Carried Over £812 4s 7d	Thomas Townshend, stone mason, salary, £19 10s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d John Robinson, for his apprentice, £3 5s 0d John Robinson, house rent, £15 0s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, master at arms to 8 July, £6 0s 10½d Edmund Smith, gardiner, £10 0s 0d Edward Durrant, armourer, £9 0s 0d James Jerbett, cooper, £8 15s 0d William Mosse, farrier, £6 0s 0d Michael Frast, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Nicholas Snafton, patron of the longboat, £7 10s 0d Thomas Beazer, tycoon, £2 0s 0d Richard Swaits, marshall, £5 6s 5½d Tradesmen subtotal, £72 7s 4d First Company John Clark, first lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d John Clark, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Clark, for instructing the gunners etc, £7 10s 0d First lieutenant subtotal, £37 3s 1½d John Howard, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Howard, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Howard, house rent, £2 10s 0d Second lieutenant subtotal, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Maurice, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon Maurice, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Second lieutenant subtotal, £25 1s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacob, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Adjutant subtotal, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants John Fleming, £7 12s 1d Humphry Regl, £7 12s 1d John Grainger, £7 12s 1d Samuel Austin, £7 12s 1d Sergeants subtotal, £30 6s 4d Carried over, £812 4s 7d **Interpretations** The list of tradesmen on salary, the masons, carpenter, armourer, cooper, farrier and gardener, reveals the skilled workforce the Company maintained to build and service the settlement. Each craft essential to the island's fabric and equipment was kept on regular pay, so the settlement supported its own body of specialists rather than depending wholly on passing ships. This confirms St Helena as a self maintaining establishment, its buildings raised by its masons, its ironwork made by its armourer and its casks by its cooper, the crafts of a working community all retained by the Company. The pay to John Robinson for his apprentice shows the Company supporting the training of skilled labour on the island, the carpenter maintained not only for his own work but to teach his craft. Providing for an apprentice ensured a supply of trained craftsmen for the future, so the account records the Company investing in the continuation of the skills the settlement needed. This is the same John Robinson whom the orphan Simon Whaley had chosen as his master weeks earlier, the carpenter's apprentice now provided for in the pay list. The First Company account opens the military establishment with its lieutenants, adjutant and sergeants, John Clark drawing an additional sum for instructing the gunners. The pay for teaching the gunners their art shows the Company maintaining the skill of its artillery, an officer rewarded for training the men who served the guns. This marks the professional side of the garrison, the batteries kept effective not only by the firing the artillery accounts

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			recorded but by the instruction that taught the gunners their trade, the whole military establishment carried in the same careful pay list as the civil.
104	93	1759 Brought over £812 4s 7d Corporals Thomas Ferris £5 6s 5½d Thomas Williams £5 6s 5½d James Austen £5 6s 5½d William Weatherby £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers John Bebow £5 6s 5½d George Wills £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Daniel Bremin £3 16s 7½d George Bennet £3 16s 7½d Peter Biller £3 16s 7½d John Blacknell £3 16s 7½d Gabriel Bong £3 16s 7½d John Bufsill £3 16s 7½d William Boddington £3 16s 7½d Joseph Blacknell £3 16s 7½d George Capeling £3 16s 7½d William Cooksey £3 16s 7½d Duncan Cameron £3 16s 7½d James Collett £3 16s 7½d William Clesby £3 16s 7½d Joseph Coles £3 16s 7½d Jonathan Chandler £3 16s 7½d James Cartewright £3 16s 7½d Richard Cowley Entertaind 8th July £3 4s 0d Edward Durrant £3 16s 7½d Thomas Dunn £3 16s 7½d James Edwardes £3 16s 7½d George Finn £3 16s 7½d George Green £3 16s 7½d Richard Goulding £3 16s 7½d John Gilmore £3 16s 7½d Christian Grunwald £3 4s 0d Alexander Greenbridge entertaind 8th July Thomas Hailes	Brought over, £812 4s 7d Corporals Thomas Ferris, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Williams, £5 6s 5½d James Austin, £5 6s 5½d William Weatherby, £5 6s 5½d Corporals subtotal, £21 5s 10d Drummers John Bebow, £5 6s 5½d George Mills, £5 6s 5½d Drummers subtotal, £10 12s 11d Sentinels Daniel Bremin, £3 16s 7½d George Bennet, £3 16s 7½d Peter Biller, £3 16s 7½d John Blacknell, £3 16s 7½d Gabriel Bong, £3 16s 7½d John Bufill, £3 16s 7½d William Boddington, £3 16s 7½d Joseph Blacknell, £3 16s 7½d George Capeling, £3 16s 7½d William Cooksey, £3 16s 7½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 7½d James Collett, £3 16s 7½d William Clesby, £3 16s 7½d Joseph Oats, £3 16s 7½d Jonathan Chandler, £3 16s 7½d James Cartwright, £3 16s 7½d Richard Cowley, entertained 8 July, £3 4s 0d Edward Durrant, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Dunn, £3 16s 7½d James Edwards, £3 16s 7½d George Fenn, £3 16s 7½d George Green, £3 16s 7½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 7½d John Gilmore, £3 16s 7½d Christian Grunwald, entertained 8 July, £3 4s 0d Alexander Groombridge, entertained 8 July, £3 4s 0d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Hollowell, £3 16s 7½d Sentinels carried over, £99 3s 9d Carried over, £844 3s 4d **Interpretations** The three men entered as entertained on 8 July 1759, each drawing a reduced sum, mark recruits taken onto the establishment on the very day the new government came into force. Richard Cowley, Christian Grunwald and Alexander Groombridge were enlisted as the packet from the directors took effect, so their part quarter pay reflects the days from enrolment to the accounting date. This ties the intake of new sentinels to the same 8 July that split the Lieutenant Governor's pay, the change of government and the enlistment of fresh men falling together in the record. The appearance of Thomas Dunn among the sentinels connects the pay list to the disciplinary business of the earlier sessions, this being the soldier whose insult to Lieutenant Price had brought about the officer's suspension. That the man whose misconduct caused an officer's punishment stands here drawing his ordinary pay shows the account recording each soldier by name regardless of his part in the quarter's disputes. The pay list and the consultations together trace the same men through their service and their offences, the sentinel Dunn appearing in both. The steady £3 16s 7½d drawn by the great body of sentinels who served the full quarter marks the uniform rate of the private soldier, unbroken across line after line. The reduced sums stand out only

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		£3 16s 7½d Thomas Hollowell £3 16s 7½d Centinels Carried over £99 3s 9d Carried over £944 3s 4d	where a man joined part way through, so the account distinguishes the full quarter's men from the newcomers by their pay alone. This confirms the fixed wage of the common soldier and the book's careful reckoning of each man's service, the whole garrison mustered name by name at its established rate through the quarterly account.
105	94	July 30th Brought over £944 3s 4d Centinels Brought over £99 3s 9d Daniel Hull £3 16s 7½d Henry Havenberg £3 16s 7½d Henry Harper £3 16s 7½d Thomas Hilliard £3 16s 7½d George Howard £3 16s 7½d John Hobbs £3 16s 7½d Robert Holt £3 16s 7½d Christian Hornicle £3 16s 7½d Henry Johnson Entertained the 26th April £3 4s 2d George Ice £3 16s 7½d William Irwis £3 16s 7½d Stephen John £3 16s 7½d Henry Jenkins £3 16s 7½d Edward Kirk £3 16s 7½d Michael Kray £3 16s 7½d William Lamborn £3 16s 7½d Thomas Litchford £3 16s 7½d John Marsh £3 16s 7½d David Miles £3 16s 7½d Richard Moston £3 16s 7½d Simon Mason £3 16s 7½d Murdock McCloud £3 16s 7½d John Baptiste Micheland £3 16s 7½d Henry Frewood Entertaind 8th July £3 4s 0d Thomas Pilkinton £3 16s 7½d John Pugh £3 16s 7½d Alexander Puller £3 16s 7½d Lindsan Rose £3 16s 7½d Robert Petit £3 16s 7½d William Perry £3 16s 7½d James Richardson £3 16s 7½d Abraham Ratcliff	Sentinels brought over, £99 3s 9d Daniel Hall, £3 16s 7½d Henry Havenburg, £3 16s 7½d Henry Harper, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 7½d George Howard, £3 16s 7½d John Hobbs, £3 16s 7½d Robert Holt, £3 16s 7½d Christian Hornicke, £3 16s 7½d Henry Johnson, entertained 26 April, £3 4s 2d George Ice, £3 16s 7½d William Innes, £3 16s 7½d Stephen John, £3 16s 7½d Henry Jenkins, £3 16s 7½d Edward Kirk, £3 16s 7½d Michael Kray, £3 16s 7½d William Lambourn, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Litchford, £3 16s 7½d John Marsh, £3 16s 7½d David Miles, £3 16s 7½d Richard Moster, £3 16s 7½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 7½d Murdock McCloud, £3 16s 7½d John Baptiste Micheland, £3 16s 7½d Henry Firewood, entertained 8 July, £3 4s 0d Thomas Pilkinton, £3 16s 7½d John Pugh, £3 16s 7½d Alexander Puller, £3 16s 7½d Lindson Ross, £3 16s 7½d Robert Petitt, £3 16s 7½d William Perry, £3 16s 7½d James Richardson, £3 16s 7½d Abraham Ratcliffe, £3 16s 7½d Richard Roberts, £3 16s 7½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 7½d John Shaw, £3 16s 7½d William Scotman, £3 16s 7½d Samuel Springall, £3 16s 7½d William Stanley, £3 16s 7½d Sentinels carried over, £239 8s 9d Carried over, £844 3s 4d **Interpretations** The appearance of Henry Johnson, entertained on 26 April 1759, ties the pay list to the recruit whose late arrival the earlier sessions had recorded, the man left behind when the Earl of Holderness sailed and received into the garrison on that day. His part quarter pay from 26 April matches the date of his reception, so the account confirms the story told in the consultations, the stray recruit enlisted and now drawing his soldier's wage. This shows the pay list and the minutes tracing the same man, his admission to the garrison entered in both as a fixed point in the quarter. The presence of John Baptiste Micheland among the sentinels connects the pay list once more to the disciplinary record, this being the soldier who had bought stolen silver from the slave Stephen. That the receiver of stolen goods stands here at his ordinary pay shows the account setting down each man by name whatever his conduct, the pay list indifferent to the offences the consultations recorded. The soldier who dealt in a slave's pilfered silver drew his wage like any other, his misconduct noted elsewhere while his pay ran on. The men entered as entertained on 8 July 1759 continue the intake of recruits on the day the new government took effect, Henry Firewood joining

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		£3 16s 7½d Richard Roberts £3 16s 7½d John Setcher £3 16s 7½d John Shaw £3 16s 7½d William Scotman £3 16s 7½d Samuel Springall £3 16s 7½d William Stanley £3 16s 7½d Centinels carried over £239 8s 9d Carried over £944 3s 4d	those enlisted as the packet from the directors came into force. The reduced sums of these newcomers mark them out from the full quarter's men, their pay running only from the day of the change. This confirms the concentration of enlistments on 8 July, the settlement taking on fresh sentinels as its government was recast, the pay list fixing the intake to the same date that divided the officers salaries.
106	95	1759 Brought Over £944 3s 4d Centinels Brought Over £239 8s 9d Josiah Turner £3 16s 7½d John Vaughan £3 16s 7½d Edward Webber £3 16s 7½d Jeremiah Worrall £3 16s 7½d John Wibly £3 16s 7½d Henry Walthap drownd 3d May £18s 4d £239 7s 3½d Second Company Thomas Kirkpatrick first Lieutenant for 88 days to the 8th July £31 1s 11d Richard Beale Second Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Dt diet Money £6 16s 10½d Dt House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Thomas Bazett Second Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Dt diet money £6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d Serjeants William Bunton £7 12s 1d Samuel Desfountains £7 12s 1d John Langridge £7 12s 1d William Keeling £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals John Alliston £5 6s 5½d William Smith £5 6s 5½d Edward Preston £5 6s 5½d William Dyson £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers George Brown £5 6s 5½d Job Chamberlain discharged the 9th July	Sentinels brought over, £239 8s 9d Josiah Turner, £3 16s 7½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 7½d Edward Webber, £3 16s 7½d Jeremiah Worrell, £3 16s 7½d John Wibly, £3 16s 7½d Henry Walthap, drowned 3 May, £0 18s 4d Sentinels subtotal, £239 7s 3½d Second Company Thomas Kirkpatrick, first lieutenant, for 88 days to 8 July, £31 1s 11d Richard Beale, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Richard Beale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Richard Beale, house rent, £2 10s 0d Second lieutenant subtotal, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Bazett, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Second lieutenant subtotal, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants William Buxton, £7 12s 1d Samuel Desfountains, £7 12s 1d John Langhege, £7 12s 1d William Keeling, £7 12s 1d Sergeants subtotal, £30 8s 4d Corporals John Alliston, £5 6s 5½d William Smith, £5 6s 5½d Edward Buxton, £5 6s 5½d William Dyson, £5 6s 5½d Corporals subtotal, £21 3s 10d Drummers George Brown, £5 6s 5½d Job Chamberlain, discharged 9 July, £5 3s 10d Drummers subtotal, £10 10s 3½d Sentinels John Ellis, £3 16s 7½d Edward Ellis, £3 16s 7½d John Aetterstall, £3 16s 7½d Sentinels carried over, £11 8s 1½d Carried over, £1,249 9s 9d **Interpretations** The entry for Henry Walthap, drowned on 3 May 1759 and drawing only 18s 4d, closes a soldier's account at his death by drowning part way through the quarter. This is the same Henry Bailey the earlier consultation had recorded as missing and supposed drowned since 27 April, his death now confirmed in the pay list and his wage cut off at the day he was lost. The account closes a drowned man's pay at his last day of life exactly as it did a discharge, the sea taking a sentinel whose loss the minutes had first noted as a mere disappearance. The splitting of Thomas Kirkpatrick's pay for eighty eight days to 8 July 1759 mirrors the division applied to the Lieutenant Governor's salary, marking the same change of establishment falling on the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£5 3s 10d £10 10s 3½d Centinels John Allis £3 16s 7½d Edward Allis £3 16s 7½d John Actarstall £3 16s 7½d Centinels Carried over £11 8s 1½d Carried over £1249 9s 9d	military officers. Kirkpatrick, who had also appeared as master at arms in the earlier list drawing pay to 8 July, was paid to the day the new government took effect, so the reshaping of the establishment reached the company officers as well as the council. This confirms 8 July as the pivot of the whole quarter, the pay of officers civil and military alike divided at the day the packet from the directors came into force. The discharge of the drummer Job Chamberlain on 9 July 1759, drawing a reduced sum, records another part quarter departure closing a man's pay at the day he left the service. Chamberlain's pay ran to his discharge and then stopped, so the account tracked his going exactly as it tracked deaths, enlistments and promotions. This shows the book's constant reckoning of each man's service to the precise day, the drummer's departure entered with the same care as every other change in the establishment across the quarter.
107	96	July 30 Brought Over £1249 9s 9d Centinels Brought Over £11 8s 1½d Edward Ashling £3 16s 7½d William Allen discharged the 3d July £3 14s 2d Hans Ulrich Allgaier £1 8d John Anger Entertained the 10th July £3 16s 7½d Thomas Beaver £3 16s 7½d Isaac Bucky £3 16s 7½d John Baratt £3 16s 7½d Edward Breame £3 16s 7½d James Buckley £3 16s 7½d William Bannister £3 16s 7½d Thomas Byrne £3 16s 7½d John Bremham £3 16s 7½d John William Blanke £3 16s 7½d Edward Cockin £3 16s 7½d William Cobb £3 16s 7½d Thomas Cobb £3 16s 7½d Edward Coram £3 16s 7½d Isaac Day £3 16s 7½d Henry Dudley £3 16s 7½d John Davis £3 16s 7½d Hopkin Davis £3 16s 7½d Samuel Eales £3 16s 7½d Jacob Efsly £3 16s 7½d James Foe £3 16s 7½d Jonathan Gibby £3 16s 7½d William Godwin	Sentinels brought over, £11 8s 1½d Edward Ashling, £3 16s 7½d William Allen, discharged 3 July, £3 14s 2d Hans Ulrich Illgaier, £3 16s 7½d John Anger, entertained 10 July, £1 8s 0d Thomas Braver, £3 16s 7½d Isaac Buck, £3 16s 7½d John Baratt, £3 16s 7½d Edward Broome, £3 16s 7½d James Buckley, £3 16s 7½d William Bannister, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Byrne, £3 16s 7½d John Brenham, £3 16s 7½d John William Blanke, £3 16s 7½d Edward Cockin, £3 16s 7½d William Cobb, £3 16s 7½d Thomas Cobb, £3 16s 7½d Edward Coram, £3 16s 7½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 7½d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 7½d John Davis, £3 16s 7½d Hopkin Davis, £3 16s 7½d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 7½d Jacob Ebley, £3 16s 7½d James Fox, £3 16s 7½d Jonathan Gibby, £3 16s 7½d William Godman, £3 16s 7½d John Grunall, £3 16s 7½d William Gibby, £3 16s 7½d James Hall, £3 16s 7½d John Hailey, £3 16s 7½d William Hays, £3 16s 7½d Philip Heckman, £3 16s 7½d George Hill, £3 16s 7½d William Housonan, £3 16s 7½d James Hendry, £3 16s 7½d William Helvis, £3 16s 7½d John Hackswood, £3 16s 7½d Alexander Hurt, £3 16s 7½d Sentinels carried over, £152 1s 5½d Carried over, £1,249 9s 9d **Interpretations** The entry for William Allen, discharged on 3 July 1759, records in the pay list the release of the seaman whose long petition for freedom had run through the earlier consultations. Allen drew his pay to the day of his discharge, so the account confirms his liberation from the service that had held him against his will, secured by finding Silvanus Rolph to take his place. This ties the pay list to the resolution of his case, the man who claimed his right as a subject to go home now discharged and paid to his last day in the garrison. The recruit John Anger, entertained on 10 July 1759 and drawing only 28s, marks a man enlisted two days after the change of government took effect, later

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£3 16s 7½d John Grunas £3 16s 7½d William Gibby £3 16s 7½d James Hill £3 16s 7½d John Haily £3 16s 7½d William Hays £3 16s 7½d Philip Hickman £3 16s 7½d George Hill £3 16s 7½d William Housman £3 16s 7½d James Hendry £3 16s 7½d William Helms £3 16s 7½d John Hackwood £3 16s 7½d Alexander Herl £3 16s 7½d Centinels Carried over £152 1s 5½d Carried over £1249 9s 9d	than the batch received on 8 July. His small part quarter sum reflects the few days from his enrolment to the accounting date, so the account catches an intake continuing past the pivot of the quarter. This shows the settlement taking on men through the early days of July, the pay list recording each recruit at the exact date of his enlistment however few days he served. The great uniform block of sentinels at £3 16s 7½d, broken only by the discharge and the two part quarter men, confirms the settled body of the Second Company serving the full quarter at the private soldier's rate. The names run on line after line at the identical sum, the account distinguishing the full quarter's men from the newcomers and the departed by their pay alone. This marks the stability of the garrison's main body, the great majority serving the whole period at the fixed rate while the account tracked the few whose service began or ended within it.
108	97	1750 Brought over £1249 9s 9d Centinels Brought Over £132 1s 8d Richard Horton £3 16s ½d George Hibbes £3 16s ½d Richard Knight £3 16s ½d William Kellafer £3 16s ½d Lewis King £3 16s ½d Peter Lindsay £3 16s ½d William Lake £3 16s ½d Jonathan Lake £3 16s ½d Duncan McClarin £3 16s ½d William Mumford £3 16s ½d Martin Newman £3 16s ½d Charles Purfoy £3 16s ½d John Pool £3 16s ½d John Pickering £3 16s ½d Joseph Peacock £3 16s ½d Lewis Rose £3 16s ½d Edward Richards £3 16s ½d Michael Read £3 16s 0d Sylvanus Rock Entertained 10th July £1 8s 0d Arnold Sabory £3 16s ½d Henry Simmons £3 16s ½d John Steward £3 16s ½d James Spencer drowned 19th June £2 17s 6d William Smith Junior £3 16s ½d William Swabey £3 16s ½d John Slade £3 16s ½d Edward Terry £3 16s ½d Benjamin Williams £3 16s ½d Samuel Wright £3 16s ½d John Whittindale £3 16s ½d George Young £3 16s ½d Richard Ewens £3 16s ½d £269 1s 10½d Third Company Onesiphrous Beale first Lieutenant Salary £22 16s 3d D° diet money £6 16s 10½d d° House Rent £2 10s 0d £32 3s 1½d Carried over £1550 14s 9d	Brought over, £1,249 9s 9d Sentinels brought over, £122 1s 8d Richard Horton, £3 16s 0½d George Hibbit, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d William Kellafer, £3 16s 0½d Lewis King, £3 16s 0½d Peter Lindsay, £3 16s 0½d William Lake, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Lake, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClaren, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, £3 16s 0½d Charles Purfey, £3 16s 0½d John Peel, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Peacock, £3 16s 0½d Lewis Ross, £3 16s 0½d Edward Richards, £3 16s 0½d Michael Read, £3 16s 0d Sylvanus Rock entertained 10 July, £0 1s 8d Arnold Sapory, £3 16s 0½d Henry Simmons, £3 16s 0½d John Steward, £3 16s 0½d James Spencer drowned 19 June, £2 17s 6d William Smith junior, £3 16s 0½d William Swabey, £3 16s 0½d John Slade, £3 16s 0½d Edward Terry, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Wright, £3 16s 0½d John Whittindale, £3 16s 0½d George Young, £3 16s 0½d Richard Eyrow, £3 16s 0d Total sentinels, £269 1s 10½d Third Company Onesipherous Beale first lieutenant salary, £22 16s 3d Onesipherous Beale diet money, £6 16s 10½d Onesipherous Beale house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d Carried over, £1,550 14s 9d **Interpretations** The heading sentinels covered the private soldiers of the garrison, the lowest rank in the island's military establishment and the men who stood the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			ordinary guard and watch duties. Each drew the standard half-yearly pay of £3 16s 0½d, and the near-uniform figure across the roll shows a fixed daily rate applied to every man for the full period, with the odd halfpenny arising from the daily reckoning. Three lines break from that standard rate, and each records a mid-period change of status. Sylvanus Rock, entered only on 10 July, drew a fraction of the half-year at £0 1s 8d, so his engagement fell very near the close of the accounting period. James Spencer, marked drowned on 19 June, and the small differences against one or two other men reflect pay stopped at death or on some other break in service rather than any variation in the underlying rate. The Third Company account opens with its first lieutenant, Onesipherous Beale, drawing three separate allowances: his salary, his diet money and his house rent. The division shows that an officer's remuneration on the island was built from distinct heads rather than a single wage, with subsistence and lodging paid on top of rank pay, a structure that let the Company reward and provision its officers without inflating the nominal salary figure.
109	98	July 30th Brought Over £1550 14s 9d Henry Bazier second Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d D° diet money £6 16s 10½d D° House rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Michael Frost second Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d D° diet money £6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d Sergeants Robert Mason discharged 2d July £6 16s 8d Thomas Leech £7 12s 1d Jeremiah Wharill £7 12s 1d John Bazett £7 12s 1d £29 12s 11d Corporals William Heaman Corporal to the 2d July £4 13s 8d D° a Sergeant from the 2d July to the 11th £0 15s 0d William Beale £5 6s 5½d Henry Delarose £5 6s 5½d Robert Browne £5 6s 5½d £21 10s ¾d Drummers John Coffin £5 6s 5½d John Bell £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Matthew Abbo £3 16s ½d Samuel Agnes £3 16s ½d Samuel Alston £3 16s ½d William Bocket £3 16s ½d William Burch £3 16s ½d John Burke £3 16s ½d John Bruer £3 16s ½d William Brookes £3 16s ½d John Brown £3 16s ½d Peter Brown £3 16s ½d Centinels Carried over £30 1s 5d Carried Over £1665 4s 4½d	30 July Brought over, £1,550 14s 9d Henry Brazier second lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Henry Brazier diet money, £6 16s 10½d Henry Brazier house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Michael Frost second lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants Robert Mason discharged 2 July, £6 16s 8d Thomas Leech, £7 12s 1d Jeremiah Thorrill, £7 12s 1d John Bazett, £7 12s 1d Total, £29 12s 11d Corporals William Heerman corporal to the 2 July, £4 13s 0d William Heerman sergeant from the 2 July to the 11, £0 15s 0d William Beale, £5 6s 5½d Henry Delason, £5 6s 5½d Robert Browne, £5 6s 5½d Total, £21 10s 0¾d Drummers John Claffin, £5 6s 5½d John Bell, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels Matthew Abbs, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Agnes, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Alston, £3 16s 0½d William Beckett, £3 16s 0½d William Burch, £3 16s 0½d John Burke, £3 16s 0½d John Bower, £3 16s 0½d William Brookes, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d Peter Brown, £3 16s 0½d Total sentinels carried over, £30 1s 5d Carried over, £1,665 4s 4½d **Interpretations** The Third Company's officer pay again separated into distinct heads, with the two second lieutenants, Henry Brazier and Michael Frost, each drawing salary, diet money and house rent as three separate lines rather than one combined wage. Frost lacked the house rent allowance that Brazier received, which shows that lodging was provided in kind or paid only to those officers not already quartered, so the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			allowance tracked an officer's actual housing need rather than attaching automatically to the rank. Two entries record men whose rank or service changed inside the accounting period. William Heerman drew four pounds odd as a corporal up to 2 July and a further fifteen shillings as a sergeant from that date to the eleventh, so his promotion mid-period was paid as two consecutive stretches at the two rates rather than reckoned as a single sum. Robert Mason, marked discharged on 2 July, drew a part-period sergeant's payment of £6 16s 8d, the reduced figure reflecting pay stopped on his discharge. The rate structure set each rank apart by a fixed daily reckoning: sergeants at £7 12s 1d for the full period, corporals and drummers at £5 6s 5½d, and sentinels at £3 16s 0½d. The graded scale shows the garrison's pay built strictly by rank, with the halfpennies and odd pence arising from a daily rate carried across the whole half-year.
110	99	1750 Brought Over £1665 4s 4½d Centinels Brought over £38 0s 5d Nicholas Bushel Entertained 8th July £0 3s 4d Benjamin Burton £3 16s ½d Joseph Banks Entertained 8th July £0 3s 4d John Box as Centinel to the 2d July £3 0s 4d D° as Corporal from the 2d July £0 10s 6d Daniel Fairne £3 16s ½d Thomas Clark £3 16s ½d John Ossley £3 16s ½d Edward Suzens £3 16s ½d William Conquest £3 16s ½d John Deer £3 16s ½d Jacob du Vall £3 16s ½d Peter Egglestone £3 16s ½d Thomas Elwart £3 16s ½d Thomas Eastwood Entertained 8th July £0 3s 4d Peter Fenall £3 16s ½d George French £3 16s ½d Henry Fulbright £3 16s ½d John Godsall £3 16s ½d Thomas Green £3 16s ½d William Harris £3 16s ½d John Hugs £3 16s ½d William Hays £3 16s ½d Thomas Harding £3 16s ½d Abraham Harding £3 16s ½d Charles Hoegwald £3 16s ½d Phillip Hilliard £3 16s ½d Arnold Henson £3 16s ½d James Heirs £3 16s ½d George Hollenson £3 16s ½d William Holbrook £3 16s ½d John Heawning £3 16s ½d John Holloway £3 16s ½d James Huddson £3 16s ½d Samuel Instom £3 16s ½d Richard Jones £3 16s ½d Samuel Kittson £3 16s ½d Centinels Carried Over £165 2s 7d Carried Over £1665 4s 4½d	Brought over, £1,665 4s 4½d Sentinels brought over, £38 0s 5d Nicholas Bushel entertained 8 July, £0 3s 4d Benjamin Barton, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks entertained 8 July, £0 3s 4d John Box as sentinel to the 2 July, £3 0s 4d John Box as corporal from the 2 July, £0 10s 6d Daniel Fairne, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Clark, £3 16s 0½d John Orpley, £3 16s 0½d Edward Suzens, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, £3 16s 0½d John Deer, £3 16s 0½d Jacob du Vall, £3 16s 0½d Peter Egglstone, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Elwart, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Eastwood entertained 8 July, £0 3s 4d Peter Fenall, £3 16s 0½d George French, £3 16s 0½d Henry Fulbright, £3 16s 0½d John Godsall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Green, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d John Hugs, £3 16s 0½d William Hays, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d Charles Hoegwald, £3 16s 0½d Phillip Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Henson, £3 16s 0½d James Heins, £3 16s 0½d George Hollinson, £3 16s 0½d William Holbrook, £3 16s 0½d John Heawning, £3 16s 0½d John Holloway, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Insten, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kittson, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £165 2s 7d Carried over, £1,665 4s 4½d **Interpretations** Four men entered the roll only on 8 July and drew £0 3s 4d apiece, a token part-period payment covering the handful of days between their engagement and the close of the accounting period. The recurrence of the identical small figure for Nicholas Bushel, Joseph Banks, Thomas Eastwood and one other shows a common enlistment date, so the garrison took on several recruits together at that point rather than singly across the half-year. John Box appears on two consecutive lines, paid £3 0s 4d as a sentinel to 2 July and a further £0 10s 6d as a corporal from that date. His promotion mid-period was reckoned as two separate stretches at the

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			two rates, the same method the Company used elsewhere for men whose rank shifted inside the accounting term, which kept each rate cleanly matched to the days actually served under it.
111	100	July 30th Brought Over £1665 4s 4½d Centinels Brought over £165 2s 7d Evan Knowles £3 16s ½d John Lloyd £3 16s ½d William Lyon £3 16s ½d William E Morton £3 16s ½d Michael Meeks £3 16s ½d Stephen Orr £3 16s ½d William Penny £3 16s ½d William Paulton £3 16s ½d Archibald Peage £3 16s ½d Roger Philips £3 16s ½d Thomas Rutherford £3 16s ½d John Simmonds £3 16s ½d James Sherlocks £3 16s ½d Joseph Smith £3 16s ½d William Smith £3 16s ½d William Sedman £3 16s ½d Thomas Stowers £3 16s ½d John Christian Strife £3 16s ½d William Taylor £3 16s ½d Jacob Ware £3 16s ½d Thomas Hansell £3 16s ½d William Ward £3 16s ½d Stephen Willoughby £3 16s ½d Thomas Wessington £3 16s ½d Gustavus Wreden £3 16s ½d Richard Wildman Entertained 8th July £0 3s 4d £259 5s 11½d Fourth Company William Kennedy first Lieutenant Salary £22 16s 3d D° diet money £6 16s 10½d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d £32 3s 1½d Samuel Rice Second Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d D° diet money £6 16s 10½d D° House rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Carried over £1984 6s 4d	30 July Brought over, £1,665 4s 4½d Sentinels brought over, £165 2s 7d Evan Randall, £3 16s 0½d John Lloyd, £3 16s 0½d William Lyon, £3 16s 0½d William Morton, £3 16s 0½d Michael Meeks, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 0½d William Penny, £3 16s 0½d William Paulton, £3 16s 0½d Archibald Peage, £3 16s 0½d Roger Philips, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Simmonds, £3 16s 0½d James Sherlock, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d William Sedman, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Sowers, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Strife, £3 16s 0½d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Ware, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Thirwill, £3 16s 0½d William Ward, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wessington, £3 16s 0½d Gustavus Wroden, £3 16s 0½d Richard Willman entertained 8 July, £0 3s 4d Total, £259 5s 11½d Fourth Company William Kennedy first lieutenant salary, £22 16s 3d William Kennedy diet money, £6 16s 10½d William Kennedy house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d Samuel Rice second lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Rice diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Rice house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Carried over, £1,984 6s 4d **Interpretations** Richard Willman closed the Third Company's sentinel roll on the same terms as the four recruits taken on earlier at 8 July, drawing the token £0 3s 4d for a few days' service before the accounting period ended. His late entry confirms that the garrison continued to add men individually through July rather than closing recruitment once the main intake had been enrolled. The Fourth Company opened its account with the same three-part officer pay used throughout the establishment, its first lieutenant William Kennedy drawing salary, diet money and house rent as separate heads. His second lieutenant Samuel Rice received all three allowances including house rent, unlike Michael Frost in the Third Company, whose entry carried no rent. The difference shows that the rent allowance followed each officer's actual lodging arrangements rather than attaching to the rank, so an officer already quartered drew nothing under that head while one who housed himself was reimbursed.
112	101	1750 Brought Over £1984 6s 4d Charles Gissing Second Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d D° diet money £6 16s 10½d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Sergeants	Brought over, £1,984 6s 4d Charles Gissing second lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Charles Gissing diet money, £6 16s 10½d Charles Gissing house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants Richard Croughan, £7 12s 1d

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		Richard Vaughan £7 12s 1d John Bridgewater £7 12s 1d Thomas Pearce £7 12s 1d Henry Schaamhurst £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals John Robinson £5 6s 5½d David Scot £5 6s 5½d Roger Wildman £5 6s 5½d Christian Brinks as Corporal from 24th April £4 11s 0d £20 10s 4½d Drummers John Buckham £5 6s 5½d Henry Howell £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels William Anderson £3 16s ½d Richard Ashford £3 16s ½d Onesiphorus Bagley £3 16s ½d Jacob Brill £3 16s ½d Christian Brinks as Centinel to 28th April Ent £0 10s 10d George Henry Bassett £3 16s ½d Mark Balls £3 16s ½d Robert Bliss £3 16s ½d William Brown £3 16s ½d Henry Brown £3 16s ½d Richard Butler £3 16s ½d William Blackman £3 16s ½d James Carmichael £3 16s ½d Centinels carried over £46 3s 4d Carried over £2073 9s 10d	John Bridgwater, £7 12s 1d Thomas Pearce, £7 12s 1d Henry Schaarnhurst, £7 12s 1d Total, £30 8s 4d Corporals John Robinson, £5 6s 5½d David Scot, £5 6s 5½d Roger Wilman, £5 6s 5½d Christian Brinks as corporal from 24 April, £4 11s 0d Total, £20 10s 4½d Drummers John Buckam, £5 6s 5½d Henry Howell, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels William Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d Onesipherous Bagley, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brill, £3 16s 0½d Christian Brinks as sentinel to 28 April last, £0 10s 10d George Henry Bavolt, £3 16s 0½d Mark Balls, £3 16s 0½d Robert Bliss, £3 16s 0½d William Brown, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bindor, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, £3 16s 0½d James Carmichael, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £46 3s 4d Carried over, £2,073 9s 10d **Interpretations** Charles Gissing, the Fourth Company's second lieutenant, drew all three officer allowances of salary, diet money and house rent, matching Samuel Rice in the same company and setting both apart from the Third Company's Michael Frost, whose entry carried no rent. The pattern reinforces that the rent allowance answered to an officer's own lodging position rather than to his rank, paid to those who housed themselves and withheld from those already quartered. Christian Brinks appears on two lines across different rank sections, paid £0 10s 10d as a sentinel up to 28 April and £4 11s 0d as a corporal from 24 April. His promotion split his half-year between the two rates, though the two dates overlap rather than meet cleanly, which suggests the corporal's pay began a few days before his sentinel's pay was formally stopped. The overlap points to the promotion taking effect on appointment while the lower rate ran on to a fixed reckoning date, so the Company paid by two separate date-bounded stretches even where those bounds did not align exactly.
113	102	July 30th Brought Over £2073 9s 10d Centinels Brought Over £46 3s 4d Joseph Chamberlain £3 16s ½d Gilbert Clough £3 16s ½d John Clough £3 16s ½d John Cook £3 16s ½d John Criggs £3 16s ½d Baron Delonße £3 16s ½d James Dry £3 16s ½d Peter Fleetwood £3 16s ½d Thomas Fuller £3 16s ½d Fisher Gamble £3 16s ½d John Goubs £3 16s ½d Edward Grant £3 16s ½d Thomas Graystock £3 16s ½d Robinson Green £3 16s ½d William Hill £3 16s ½d Thomas Hinde £3 16s ½d	30 July Brought over, £2,073 9s 10d Sentinels brought over, £46 3s 4d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d Gilbert Clough, £3 16s 0½d John Clough, £3 16s 0½d John Cook, £3 16s 0½d John Criggs, £3 16s 0½d Baron Deloafe, £3 16s 0½d James Dry, £3 16s 0½d Peter Flitwood, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Fuller, £3 16s 0½d Fisher Gamble, £3 16s 0½d John Goubs, £3 16s 0½d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Graystock, £3 16s 0½d Robinson Green, £3 16s 0½d William Hill, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hinde, £3 16s 0½d John Hide, £3 16s 0½d

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		John Hide £3 16s ½d William Jenkins £3 16s ½d Robert Tinhurst £3 16s ½d Thomas Kendrick £3 16s ½d Alexander Kitchen £3 16s ½d Edward Law £3 16s ½d James Lee £3 16s ½d Lodowick Leiefridst £3 16s ½d John Lemon Corporal to 28th April £0 13s 2d D° as Centinel to 11th July £3 3s 0d William Livingstone £3 16s ½d Thomas Lindsey £3 16s ½d Richard Sursey £3 16s ½d Joseph Long £3 16s ½d John Long £3 16s ½d Abraham Major £3 16s ½d William Mason £3 16s ½d Philip Jacob Notterus £3 16s ½d Centinels Carried over £169 6s 0d Carried over £2073 9s 10d	William Jenkins, £3 16s 0½d Robert Thirwurst, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hendrick, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Kitchin, £3 16s 0½d Edward Law, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, £3 16s 0½d Lodowick Seinfridd, £3 16s 0½d John Lemon corporal to 25 April, £0 13s 2d John Lemon as sentinel to 11 July, £3 5s 0d William Livingstone, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lindsey, £3 16s 0½d Richard Pusey, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Long, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d William Mason, £3 16s 0½d Philip Jacob Notterus, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £169 6s 0d Carried over, £2,073 9s 10d **Interpretations** John Lemon appears on two consecutive lines, paid £0 13s 2d as a corporal to 25 April and £3 5s 0d as a sentinel to 11 July. The order reverses the pattern seen elsewhere in the roll, where men rose from sentinel to corporal, so this entry records a demotion rather than a promotion. The Company reckoned his half-year as two date-bounded stretches at the two rates, the higher corporal's pay running to late April and the lower sentinel's pay taking over from that point, which shows the same date-bounded method applied whether a man moved up or down the ranks.
114	103	1750 Brought Over £2073 9s 10d Centinels brought Over £169 6s 8d Edward Mansell £3 16s ½d Thomas Morris £3 16s ½d William Meers £3 16s ½d Charles Mountagu £3 16s ½d Richard Moyce £3 16s ½d Thomas Nimble £3 16s ½d John Passwater £3 16s ½d Thomas Perry £3 16s ½d Joseph Phillips £3 16s ½d William Rippon £3 16s ½d William Robinson £3 16s ½d Herbrick Rouger £3 16s ½d Nicholas Ninson £3 16s ½d Adam Scot £3 16s ½d Hendrick Schryver £3 16s ½d George Simms £3 16s ½d John Spencer £3 16s ½d Richard Spencer £3 16s ½d James Shelloard £3 16s ½d Robert Stack £3 16s ½d Thomas Stanmore £3 16s ½d Edward Thomas £3 16s ½d Thomas Thomson £3 16s ½d Richard Sink £3 16s ½d Christian Syder £3 16s ½d Joseph Siffin £3 16s ½d John Wyburd £3 16s ½d £274 9s 11½d Artillery Company John Hall Master Gunner Salary £22 16s 3d D° diet money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Carried over £2377 12s 11d	Brought over, £2,073 9s 10d Sentinels brought over, £169 6s 8d Edward Mansell, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0½d William Meers, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountagu, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Nimble, £3 16s 0½d John Passwater, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Phillips, £3 16s 0½d William Rippon, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Herbrick Rouger, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Neafson, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scot, £3 16s 0½d Hendrick Schryver, £3 16s 0½d George Simms, £3 16s 0½d John Spencer, £3 16s 0½d Richard Spencer, £3 16s 0½d James Shelloard, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stanmore, £3 16s 0½d Edward Thomas, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Thomson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tonk, £3 16s 0½d Christian Syder, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Tiffin, £3 16s 0½d John Wyburd, £3 16s 0½d Total, £274 9s 11½d Artillery Company John Hall master gunner salary, £22 16s 3d John Hall diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £29 13s 1½d Carried over, £2,377 12s 11d **Interpretations** The Artillery Company opened with its master gunner John Hall drawing salary and diet money but no house rent, the two heads alone matching a lieutenant's salary rate of £22 16s 3d rather than the lower £18 5s 0d paid to second lieutenants. The master gunner therefore stood level with a first lieutenant in pay while heading a specialist unit, which marks the gunners as a distinct technical arm valued

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			on a par with the senior line officers rather than folded into the ordinary company structure.
115	104	July 30th Brought Over £2377 12s 11d Gunners Mates Nathan Semple Chief Mate £11 8s 1½d John Whitchurch £9 2s 6d Charles Mc Nely £9 2s 6d Henry Carter discharged 25th June £7 10s 0d Rowland Davis £9 2s 6d John Hollings £9 2s 6d Adam Watson £9 2s 6d Thomas Williams £9 2s 6d £73 13s 1½d Quarter Gunners James Long a Quarter Gunner to 20th June £5 12s 6d D° as Gunners mate from d° £1 12s 0d Thomas Mason £6 16s 10d Andrew Barton £6 16s 10d John Jacks £6 16s 10d John Cleavy £6 16s 10d Thomas Naylor £6 16s 10d John Woods £6 16s 10d John Thomson £6 16s 10d £55 2s 4d Matrosses Richard Billington £4 11s 3d William Benson £4 11s 3d Matthew Brickland £4 11s 3d John Adam Butcher £4 11s 3d John Bagley £4 11s 3d John Baker £4 11s 3d Darby Coyles £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham £4 11s 3d Thomas Davis £4 11s 3d Anthony Day £4 11s 3d Christian Dyatt £4 11s 3d Ulrick Dyall £4 11s 3d John Frederick Emerling £4 11s 3d William Fletcher £4 11s 3d Matrosses Carried over £63 17s 6d Carried over £2508 8s 4½d	30 July Brought over, £2,377 12s 11d Gunners mates Nathan Sample chief mate, £11 8s 1½d John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Henry Carter discharged 25 June, £7 10s 0d Rowland Davis, £9 2s 6d John Hollings, £9 2s 6d Adam Nelson, £9 2s 6d Thomas Williams, £9 2s 6d Total, £73 13s 1½d Quarter Gunners James Long a quarter gunner to 20 June, £5 12s 6d James Long as gunners mate from 20 June, £1 12s 0d Thomas Mason, £6 16s 10d Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10d John Jacks, £6 16s 10d John Cleary, £6 16s 10d Thomas Taylor, £6 16s 10d John Woods, £6 16s 10d John Thomson, £6 16s 10d Total, £55 2s 4d Matrosses Richard Billington, £4 11s 3d William Benson, £4 11s 3d Matthew Brickland, £4 11s 3d John Adam Butcher, £4 11s 3d John Bagley, £4 11s 3d John Baker, £4 11s 3d Darby Coyles, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 3d Thomas Davis, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d Christian Dyatt, £4 11s 3d Ulrick Dyall, £4 11s 3d John Frederick Emerling, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried over, £63 17s 6d Carried over, £2,506 8s 4½d **Interpretations** The Artillery Company's pay ran on a scale wholly separate from the line companies, its gunners' mates at £9 2s 6d, quarter gunners at £6 16s 10d and matrosses at £4 11s 3d for the half-year. Each specialist rate sat above the sentinel's £3 16s 0½d, so even the lowest artillery grade of matross, the gun-crew labourer who fetched and carried powder and shot, drew more than an ordinary foot soldier, which reflects the technical skill and hazard attached to serving the ordnance. James Long moved down rather than up, paid £5 12s 6d as a quarter gunner to 20 June and £1 12s 0d as a gunner's mate from that date, though the rates place the mate's grade above the quarter gunner's on the pay scale. His half-year split at 20 June into two date-bounded stretches, the change recorded whichever way it ran, which confirms that the artillery reckoned altered service by the same dated-portion method the line companies used. Henry Carter, marked discharged on 25 June, drew a reduced £7 10s 0d against the full mate's rate of £9 2s 6d, his pay stopped short at the point he left the service. The part-period figure shows discharge handled by simple truncation of the half-yearly sum at the leaving date, without any separate settlement or forfeiture.
116	105	1750 Brought Over £2508 8s 4½d	Brought over, £2,506 8s 4½d Matrosses brought over, £63 17s 6d James Garnet, £4 11s 3d

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		Matrosses brought Over £63 17s 6d James Garnet £4 11s 3d John Gotthard £4 11s 3d Giles German £4 11s 3d Thomas Haycock £4 11s 3d John Hemp £4 11s 3d William Lister £4 11s 3d William Mason £4 11s 3d Peter Mitchel £4 11s 3d George Nelson £4 11s 3d Thomas Batchett £4 11s 3d James Percy £4 11s 3d William Payton £4 11s 3d John Robinson £4 11s 3d James Robinson £4 11s 3d Joshua Ratcliff £4 11s 3d John Shelly as Matross to the 25th June £3 15s 0d D° as Quarter Gunner from d° £1 2s 0d John Slater £4 11s 3d Frederick Simmerman £4 11s 3d John Snow £4 11s 3d John Turner £4 11s 3d William Stevenson £4 11s 3d Samuel Tongue £4 11s 3d Isaac Vernon £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts £4 11s 3d Richard Weirehouse £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt £4 11s 3d William Warden £4 11s 3d John Mitchel Wageling £4 11s 3d John Hendrick Walters £4 11s 3d James Yorke £4 11s 3d Henry Chapman Entertained 18th June £1 3s 0d £202 6s 9d Total £2700 13s 1½d	John Godthard, £4 11s 3d Giles German, £4 11s 3d Thomas Haycock, £4 11s 3d John Hemp, £4 11s 3d William Later, £4 11s 3d William Mason, £4 11s 3d Peter Mitchel, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Batchett, £4 11s 3d James Peircy, £4 11s 3d William Pidgeon, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d James Robinson, £4 11s 3d Joshua Ratcliff, £4 11s 3d John Shirley as matross to the 25 June, £3 15s 0d John Shirley as quarter gunner from 25 June, £1 2s 0d John Slater, £4 11s 3d Frederick Zimmerman, £4 11s 3d John Row, £4 11s 3d John Turner, £4 11s 3d William Stevenson, £4 11s 3d Samuel Tongue, £4 11s 3d Luke Vernon, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d Richard Wairehouse, £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt, £4 11s 3d William Warden, £4 11s 3d John Mitchel Haigeling, £4 11s 3d John Hendrick Wallens, £4 11s 3d James Yorke, £4 11s 3d Henry Chapman entertained 18 June, £1 3s 0d Total, £202 6s 9d Total, £2,700 13s 1½d **Interpretations** John Shirley rose from matross to quarter gunner at 25 June, paid £3 15s 0d in the lower grade to that date and £1 2s 0d in the higher from it, his half-year split into two dated stretches at the two rates. The upward move reverses James Long's demotion on the previous leaf, yet the record handles both by the same method, which confirms that the artillery reckoned every change of grade by dividing the half-yearly pay at the date of change regardless of direction. Henry Chapman closed the matross roll on the token terms used for late entrants elsewhere in the accounts, drawing £1 3s 0d for the weeks between his engagement on 18 June and the close of the period. His larger part-payment than the £0 3s 4d given to the July recruits reflects the earlier date, so the token figure tracked the actual span of service rather than a flat joining sum. The grand total of £2,700 13s 1½d closed the whole half-year's military establishment, drawing together the four line companies and the Artillery Company under a single reckoning. The consolidation of every rank from first lieutenant to matross into one running account shows the garrison paid as a unified charge on the island's revenue rather than by separate company funds.
117	106	July 30th John Clark Paymaster Dr 1750 July 11th To Cash received £2974 10s 11d Carried over £2974 10s 11d	30 July John Clark paymaster debtor 11 July, to cash received, £2,974 10s 11d Carried over, £2,974 10s 11d **Interpretations** This page opened a personal account charging John Clark as paymaster with £2,974 10s 11d received in cash on 11 July, the debtor side recording the sum for which he stood answerable. Casting the paymaster as a named debtor placed the whole garrison fund on his own account, so the money was tracked as a personal liability he would have to discharge through the wage payments set out on the facing pages rather than as an impersonal

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			disbursement, which fixed responsibility for every shilling on one accountable officer.
118	107	1750 Per Contra Cr 1750 April 24th By Cash paid George Wilkeson on the Honorable Companys Account for Coopers Work £0 3s 0d By Cash paid Charles Franklyn for 7 days Work in the Smiths Shop £0 10s 6d By Cash paid Nathan Semple for 16 Load of Bamboes & for 200 Apples for the use of the Honorable Company £2 16s 0d By Cash paid George Hibbes for Working in the Smiths Shop £0 3s 0d By Cash paid William Moore for Sundrys for the use of the Carpenter's Shop Viz 1 Doz: of double Wormd Gimblets a 6d £0 6s 0d 1 Doz° of single d° 3¾d £0 3s 9d 3 Large hammers 1s 6d ea £0 4s 6d £0 14s 3d By Cash paid John White for Sundrys for the use of the Honorable Company's Table Viz£ 1123 apples 4s 10d 18 Turkies 4s 10d£ £0 9s 0d By Cash paid Godfrey Jonas for four pounds of Spice for the use of the Honorable Company's Table this Quarter £2 0s 0d By Cash paid Soloman Jacob Adjutant for diet, Lodging &c on account of Mr Richard Bindy who commanded the Honble Companys Longboat sent out £7 3s 6d By Cash paid Samuel Alexander for 500 apples for the use of the Honorable Company's Table £0 2s 0d By Cash paid William Moore for the rent of Two houses for the use of the sick and inferm Soldiers this Quarter £0 4s 0d By Cash paid sundry Garrison Men for rowing in the Honble Companys primar this Quarter £0 3s 0d July 11th By Cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for Carpenters Work done for the Honorable Company the Quarter past ending this day £0 5s 0d By Cash paid Robert Tuchier &c for taking care of the Honble Companys Stock in the Longwood the Quarter ending this day £2 10s 0d By Cash paid John Deer for Carpenters Work done this Quarter £0 5s 11d By Cash paid John Simmons &c for Ditto £0 5s 11d By Cash paid Isaac Dry for Ditto £0 8s 0d By Cash paid Robert Barclay Surgeon for the trouble in getting fresh provisions for the Hospital the year ending this Day Carried Over £64 1s 3d	Per Contra creditor 24 April, cash paid George Willesen on the Honourable Company's account for coopers work, £0 3s 0d Cash paid Charles Franklyn for 7 days work in the smiths shop, £0 10s 6d Cash paid Nathan Sample for 16 load of bamboos and for 200 apples for the use of the Honourable Company, £2 16s 0d Cash paid George Hibbot for work in the smiths shop, £0 3s 0d Cash paid William Moore for sundries for the use of the carpenters shop: 1 dozen of double wormed gimblets at 6d, £0 0s 6d 1 dozen of single gimblets at 3¾d, £0 3s 9d 3 large hammers at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d Total, £0 14s 3d Cash paid John White for sundries for the use of the Honourable Company's table: 1,125 apples, £0 4s 10d 18 turkies, £0 4s 10d Total, £0 9s 0d Cash paid Godfrey Jonas for four pounds of spice for the use of the Honourable Company's table this quarter, £2 0s 0d Cash paid Solomon Jacob adjutant for diet lodging etc on account of Richard Bindy who commanded the Honourable Company's longboat sent out, £7 3s 6d Cash paid Samuel Alexander for 500 apples for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £2 0s 0d Cash paid William Moore for the rent of two houses for the use of the sick and infirm soldiers this quarter, £4 0s 0d Cash paid sundry garrison men for rowing in the Honourable Company's pinnace this quarter, £3 0s 0d 11 July, cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for carpenters work done for the Honourable Company the quarter past ending this day, £5 0s 0d Cash paid Robert Thewiat for taking care of the Honourable Company's stock in the Longwood the quarter ending this day, £2 10s 0d Cash paid John Deer for carpenters work done this quarter, £5 11s 0d Cash paid John Simmons after ditto, £5 11s 0d Cash paid Isaac Dry for carpenters work done this quarter, £5 11s 0d Cash paid Robert Barclay surgeon for the trouble in getting fresh provisions for the hospital the year ending this day, £0 8s 0d Carried over, £64 1s 3d **Interpretations** The credit side set out the paymaster's actual disbursements against the cash he held, running from small workshop wages to bulk purchases of fresh food for the Company's table. The heavy spending on apples, turkeys and spice, including a single lot of 1,125 apples, shows the garrison buying local produce in quantity to supply the officers' mess, so the island's own orchards and poultry fed the establishment rather than relying wholly on imported stores. Solomon Jacob the adjutant drew £7 3s 6d for the diet and lodging of Richard Bindy while Bindy commanded the Company's longboat on a voyage out. The Company met a commander's keep as a charge on the garrison account even while he was detached on boat service, which shows sea and shore duties funded from the same pooled establishment rather than by separate maritime provision. Two houses were rented at £4 0s 0d for the quarter to lodge sick and infirm soldiers, a standing

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			charge for a sick quarters kept apart from the ordinary barracks. The provision of a dedicated space for the unwell, alongside the surgeon Robert Barclay's separate allowance for procuring fresh provisions for the hospital, shows the garrison maintaining a rudimentary medical establishment funded as a regular quarterly cost. **Speculations** The Company paid a run of separate men, Joseph Chamberlain, John Deer, John Simmons and Isaac Dry, individually for carpenters work done across the quarter rather than retaining a single works contractor or standing carpenter on wages. The scatter of one-off payments at £5 odd apiece suggests the garrison drew on whichever skilled hands were available job by job, the obvious course of a fixed carpentry post passed over in favour of piecework, perhaps because the small settlement could not keep a full-time tradesman busy and preferred to pay only for work actually done.
119	108	July 30 John Clark Paymaster Dr 1750 July 11th To Cash brought over £2974 10s 11d Carried over £2974 10s 11d	30 July John Clark paymaster debtor 11 July, to cash brought over, £2,974 10s 11d Carried over, £2,974 10s 11d
120	109	1750 Per Contra Cr 1750 July 11 By Cash brought Over £64 1s 3d By Cash paid Dr for Necessarys found the Sick in the Hospital from July 12th 1758 to July 12th 1750 more than the Soldiers 7d p Day amounts to £43 8s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Green and John Houshworck for baking 117 Batches of Bread for the Use of the Garrison this Quarter at 1s 8d p° Batch £9 13s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Mason for Painters Work done for the Honorable Company this Quarter at 1s 6d p Day £3 4s 6d By Cash paid William Dufton for Digging five Graves for deceased Soldiers since the 11th January last £0 12s 6d By Cash paid sundry persons for Working in the Honorable Companys Longboat this Quarter £1 7s 0d By Cash paid Stephen Young for five days thatching a house in the Longwood Belonging to the Honorable Company at 3s 6d p° day £0 17s 6d By Cash paid Richard Bagly for 2000 Lemons and 12 Turkies for the use of the Honrable Companys Table £0 5s 0d By Cash paid Nequdah Porkolum his allowance from the Honorable Company the Quarter ending this day £1 12s 6d By Cash paid Lt Charles Gissing for House rent for Dr the Quarter Ending this day £1 0s 0d By Cash paid sundry discharges followsviz Edward Robinson for 43 days £1 1s 6d William Langhorne 43 days £1 1s 6d John Burke 82 days £2 1s 0d William Montgomery 86 days £2 3s 0d James Cooper 86 days £2 3s 0d Stephen Cleverly 87 days £2 3s 6d John Hughes 91 days £2 5s 6d William Richards 91 days £2 5s 6d £15 4s 6d Carried over £140 2s 9d	Per Contra creditor Cash brought over, £64 1s 3d Cash paid the doctor for necessaries found the sick in the hospital from 12 July 1758 to 12 July 1759 more than the soldiers 9d per day amounts to, £43 0s 0d Cash paid Thomas Green and John Houshworth for baking 117 batches of bread for the use of the garrison this quarter at 1s 8d per batch, £9 13s 0d Cash paid Thomas Mason for painters work done for the Honourable Company this quarter at 1s 6d per day, £3 4s 6d Cash paid William Dufer for digging five graves for deceased soldiers since the 11 January last, £0 12s 6d Cash paid sundry persons for rowing in the Honourable Company's longboat this quarter, £1 7s 0d Cash paid Stephen Young for five days thatching a house in the Longwood belonging to the Honourable Company at 3s 6d per day, £0 17s 6d Cash paid Richard Bagby for 2,000 lemons and 12 turkies for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £5 0s 0d Cash paid Nequdah Porkolum his allowance from the Honourable Company the quarter ending this day, £1 12s 6d Cash paid Charles Gissing for house rent for the quarter ending this day, £2 0s 0d Cash paid sundry discharges: Edward Robinson for 43 days, £1 1s 6d William Langhorne 43 days, £1 1s 6d John Burke 82 days, £2 1s 0d William Montgomery 86 days, £2 3s 0d James Cooper 86 days, £2 3s 0d Stephen Cleverly 87 days, £2 3s 6d John Hughes 91 days, £2 5s 6d William Richards 91 days, £2 5s 6d Total, £15 4s 6d Carried over, £140 2s 9d **Interpretations** The largest single credit, £43 0s 0d, covered a full year's supply of extra necessaries found for the sick in the hospital above the ordinary soldier's ration of 9d a day. The Company met the additional cost of feeding and treating the ill over and above their standing allowance, which shows a settled acceptance that garrison sickness carried a recurring charge the

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			establishment had to bear beyond the flat daily rate paid for every man. The digging of five graves for soldiers who died since 11 January, paid to William Dufer, sets a plain measure of the garrison's mortality across roughly half a year. The routine listing of burial costs alongside baking, thatching and painting shows death treated as an ordinary running expense of keeping the establishment, the loss of men recorded in the same ledger and the same matter-of-fact terms as any other maintenance charge. Nequdah Porkolum drew a quarterly allowance from the Company, the name and title marking an Indian boatman or lascar serving the garrison. Nequdah rendered a serang or head boatman in the country trade, so his separate allowance shows the island drawing on South Asian maritime labour brought in through the Company's Indian shipping to man its boats, a small trace of the wider Indian Ocean network feeding St Helena's workforce. **Speculations** The Company paid Stephen Young 3s 6d a day to thatch a Longwood house yet paid other tradesmen far less for skilled work, Thomas Mason drawing only 1s 6d a day for painting in the same account. The high thatching rate over the cheaper painter's wage suggests thatching drew a scarcity premium, perhaps because few men on the island held the skill or because suitable thatching material was hard to gather, so the Company paid well above its usual craft rate to get the roof covered.
121	110	July 30th John Clark Paymaster Dr 1750 July 11th To Cash brought Over £2974 10s 11d £2974 10s 11d	30 July John Clark paymaster debtor 11 July, to cash brought over, £2,974 10s 11d Carried over, £2,974 10s 11d
122	111	1750 Per Contra Cr By Cash brought Over £148 2s 9d By Cash paid Joachim Jose the Portuguese £3 16s ½d By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for 1311½ days Work at several of the Honorable Companys Fortifications & building new Magazines a 1s p° Day £64 11s 6d By Cash paid Ditto for 133½ days work in grubling Grass in the Honorable Companys Pastures at 1s p° day £6 13s 6d By Cash paid D° for 277½ days work at the new Bomorahs £13 17s 6d By Cash paid d° for 139 days Work in building a dairy House in the Longwood at 1s p° diem £9 19s 0d By Cash paid D° for 95½ days work in the Honorable Companys Stores and Carrying their Goods from the Crane at 1s per day £4 15s 6d By Cash paid Ditto for 132 days work in repairing a Bomorah for a prison at 1s p° day £6 12s 0d By Cash paid Ditto for 23 days Work for repairing the Walks in the Garden a 1s per day £1 3s 0d By Cash paid Ditto for 6 days work in repairing the Side path at 1s p° day £0 6s 0d By Cash paid ditto for 24 days work in carrying Stone down Ladder Hill for a new oven at 1s p° day £1 4s 0d By Cash paid Sundry d° for carrying Expresss with account of ships to Windward £3 15s 0d £265 15s 9½d	Per Contra creditor Cash brought over, £140 2s 9d Cash paid Joachim Jose the Portuguese, £3 16s 0½d Cash paid sundry soldiers for 1,311½ days work at securing the Honourable Company's fortifications and building new magazines at 1s per day, £64 11s 6d Cash paid sundry soldiers for 133½ days work in grubbing furze in the Honourable Company's pastures at 1s per day, £6 13s 6d Cash paid sundry soldiers for 277½ days work at the new bronacks at 1s per day, £13 17s 6d Cash paid sundry soldiers for 199 days work in building a dairy house in the Longwood at 1s per day, £9 19s 0d Cash paid sundry soldiers for 95½ days work in the Honourable Company's stores and carrying their goods from the crane at 1s per day, £4 15s 6d Cash paid sundry soldiers for 132 days work in repairing a barracks for a prison at 1s per day, £6 12s 0d Cash paid sundry soldiers for 23 days work for repairing the walks in the garden at 1s per day, £1 3s 0d Cash paid sundry soldiers for 6 days work in repairing the side path at 1s per day, £0 6s 0d Cash paid sundry soldiers for 24 days work in carrying stone down Ladder Hill for a new oven at 1s per day, £1 4s 0d Cash paid sundry soldiers for carrying express with account of ships to windward, £3 15s 0d Total, £265 15s 9½d Cash paid the Honourable Company's officers and soldiers their several salaries diet money etc for the quarter commencing the 12 April 1759 and ending 11 July 1759, £2,700 15s 1½d Total, £2,974 10s 11d

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		By Cash paid the Honorable Companys officers and Servants their several Salarys diet money &c for the Quarter Commencing the 12th April 1750 and Ending 11th July 1750 £2700 15s 1½d Total £2974 10s 11d St Helena 11th July 1750 Errors Excepted John Clark Paymaster Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the month Ending the 11th instant which is as follows Vizt Cash	The whole account was declared at St Helena on 11 July 1759, errors excepted, by John Clark paymaster. Counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending the 11 instant which is as follows: Cash **Interpretations** The great bulk of the quarter's non-wage spending went on soldiers' day labour paid at a flat 1s per day, the men set to fortification work, grubbing furze, carrying stores and building a dairy house among many tasks. Using the garrison itself as a construction and maintenance workforce at a fixed daily wage shows the establishment doubling as a labour pool, so the same men paid to stand guard were hired back at a day rate for public works, which spread the island's building and upkeep across the troops rather than a separate body of labourers. The single largest labour charge, £64 11s 6d for 1,311½ days spent securing the fortifications and building new magazines, points to a major defensive effort concentrated in this quarter. The scale of effort thrown at the walls and powder stores suggests a deliberate strengthening of the island's defences, perhaps prompted by the wider war then being fought between Britain and France, which made a remote Company outpost on the sea route to India worth fortifying against attack. The £3 15s 0d paid for carrying express with account of ships to windward records a lookout and dispatch system watching the sea approaches. Runners were paid to bring word of vessels sighted up-wind of the island, which shows St Helena operating an early-warning arrangement to gain notice of approaching ships, whether friendly Indiamen to be victualled or hostile sail to be guarded against. **Speculations** An old barracks was converted into a prison at a cost of 132 days work rather than a purpose-built gaol being raised from new. The choice to repair and repurpose existing accommodation for confinement, set against the fresh construction of magazines and a dairy house in the same account, suggests the garrison weighed a standing need for secure holding as not worth new building, meeting it instead by adapting a structure already to hand, perhaps because prisoners were few enough that a made-over barracks would serve.
123	112	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1750 June 12th To Balance remaining £5712 3s 4½d 25 To Fines received from Samuel Doveton £0 0s 5d July 9th To Exchange for five sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to the following persons. One set payable to Captain Charles Foulis for 525 One d° to Captain John Purling 360 One d° to Mr John Searle 817.12 One d° to Peter Paris 110 One d° to Thomas James Merchant 1200 £3012 12s 0d 10th To Ship Ilchester the Balance of her Account £147 12s 0d To ship London D° £59 0s 2d To ship Egmont D° £34 16s 6d 11th To James Powell received from him for Stores sold in the Quarter Ending this day £1450 1s 1d To Licences for 10 Publick Houses £15 0s 0d To Plantation for provisions Sold £12 2s 11d £10444 1s 8½d	Cash debtor. 12 June, to balance remaining, £5,712 3s 4½d 25 June, to fines received from Samuel Doveton, £0 5s 0d 9 July, to exchange for five sets of bills drawn upon the Honourable the Court of Directors payable to the following persons: one set payable to Captain Charles Foulis for £525 one set payable to Captain John Purling for £360 one set payable to John Searle for £817 12s 0d one set payable to Peter Paris for £110 one set payable to Thomas James merchant for £1,200 Total, £3,012 12s 0d 10 July, to ship *Ilchester* the balance of her account, £147 12s 0d. To ship *London* the balance of her account, £59 0s 2d. To ship *Egmont* the balance of her account, £34 16s 6d. 11 July, to James Powell received from him for stores sold in the quarter ending this day, £1,450 1s 1d To licences for 10 public houses, £15 0s 0d To plantation for provisions sold, £12 2s 11d

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		1750 July 2d By Account Current London, advanced Edward Biggs in part of a Bill of Exchange drawn by the President & Council of Fort St George upon the Honble the Court of Directors £10 0s 0d 11 By Sundry Accounts advanced the paymaster to pay Salarys &c for the Quarter ending this day £2974 10s 11d £2984 10s 11d By Balance remaining in the following Species Viz 4456 Pagodas 8/ £1782 8s 0d 1600 Venetians 10/ £840 0s 0d £2622 8s 0d 12465 Dollars 5/ £3116 5s 0d 441 French p° 2d £3 13s 6d 10466 Rupees 2/3 £1177 8s 6d Odd Money £0 0s 9½d Silver amounting to £4297 7s 9½d Cash notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d £7459 10s 9½d £10444 1s 8½d Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling	Total, £10,444 1s 8½d Cash creditor. 2 July, by account current London advanced Edward Biggs in part of a bill of exchange drawn by the President and Council of Fort St George upon the Honourable the Court of Directors, £10 0s 0d 11 July, by sundry accounts advanced the paymaster to pay salaries etc for the quarter ending this day, £2,974 10s 11d Total, £2,984 10s 11d By balance remaining in the following species: 4,456 pagodas at 8s, £1,782 8s 0d 1,600 venetians at 10s, £840 0s 0d Total, £2,622 8s 0d 12,465 dollars at 5s, £3,116 5s 0d 441 French at 1s 2d, £3 13s 6d 10,466 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,177 8s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 9½d Silver amounting to, £4,297 7s 9½d Cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £7,459 10s 9½d Total, £10,444 1s 8½d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The island's cash sat in a jumble of foreign coin rather than sterling, its balance made up of Indian pagodas and rupees, Spanish dollars, Venetian sequins and French pieces, each entered at a fixed sterling conversion. The pagoda was a gold coin of southern India, the venetian a Venetian gold ducat or sequin long current in eastern trade, and the dollar the Spanish piece of eight that served as the common silver currency across the oceans. The mix shows St Helena drawing its money from the whole span of Company commerce between Europe, the Atlantic and India, holding no national coinage of its own but whatever specie passing ships and trade left behind. The five sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to ships' captains and a merchant for sums up to £1,200, record the mechanism by which the island settled large debts without moving coin. A bill drawn on the Company's London headquarters let the payee collect in England while St Helena discharged its obligation on paper, so the remote outpost could pay captains and traders through the credit of the parent Company rather than shipping bullion, which kept scarce specie on the island. The entry of £539 15s 0d in cash notes of no use records paper money the island could not spend or redeem, held on the books as a dead asset. Setting worthless notes down separately from the good silver shows the accountants keeping an honest reckoning of what the cash balance actually contained, distinguishing spendable coin from paper that had lost its value, perhaps notes drawn on a failed party or a distant account beyond reach. **Speculations** The island took £1,450 1s 1d from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter, choosing to sell off Company provisions for cash rather than hold them against future need. The decision to turn a large quantity of stores into money, set against the same account's heavy spending to import apples, lemons and turkeys for the table, suggests the goods sold were surplus or unsuited to the island's use, so the establishment released what it could not consume to raise working cash while buying in the fresh food it actually wanted.
124	113	1750 At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th August 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor	A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 6 August 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Skottow Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 30th July 1750 Thomas Roberts having deserted from the Ship Delaware we this day enlisted him to Serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five years and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant We this day delivered to Captain William Cooke the Honorable Companys Orders for forwarding the Pacquets We also put on board the admiral Watson two Water Engines Which were unserviceable and desired their Honors would be pleased to have them repaired and returned to us by the first Oportunity Mr Samuel Doveton presented the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &cr Council of the Island St Helena The Humble petition of Samuel Doveton Sheweth That your petitioner having good reason to think it will be much to his advantage to Leave this Island Humbly Begs that you will be pleased to grant him Liberty to Sell	The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 30 July 1759. Thomas Roberts, having deserted from the ship *Delaware*, was this day enlisted to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years, and the adjutant read the articles of war to him. The Council delivered to Captain William Cooke the Honourable Company's orders for forwarding the packets. The Council also put on board the *Admiral Watson* the water engines, which were unserviceable, and desired that the Directors would be pleased to have them repaired and returned by the first opportunity. Samuel Doveton presented a petition. He set out that, having good reason to think it much to his advantage to leave the island, he asked the Council to grant him liberty to sell [...]. **Interpretations** The enlistment of Thomas Roberts, a deserter from the *Delaware*, straight into the Company's service for five years shows the garrison filling its ranks from men who had abandoned the ships calling at the island. Turning a runaway sailor into a soldier under the articles of war, rather than returning or punishing him, shows how a remote and undermanned outpost recruited from whatever men circumstance washed ashore, treating desertion from a passing vessel as an opportunity to man the garrison. The water engines sent home on the *Admiral Watson* for repair were fire engines, the hand-pumped apparatus used to fight fires in the fort and stores. Shipping the broken machines four months back to England rather than mending them locally shows the island's dependence on the parent Company for anything beyond simple craft work, so a piece of specialist equipment beyond the smiths' skill had to make the long voyage home and back before the garrison regained its fire protection. **Speculations** The Council chose to send the unserviceable water engines all the way to England for repair rather than attempt a fix on the island. The decision to accept months without working fire engines, set against the evident risk to a fort full of powder and timber stores, suggests the damage lay beyond the reach of the island's smiths and carpenters, so the Council judged a long wait for a proper repair the safer course over a botched local mend that might fail when a fire actually came.
125	114	August 6th and assign his right in ten acres of Lease Land and leave to proceed for England in the Ship Bombay Castle And your Petitioner will ever pray signed Samuel Doveton St Helena 6th August 1750 Granted Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th of August 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottow Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and Signed dated the 6th August 1750	Samuel Doveton asked leave to assign his right in ten acres of lease land and to proceed for England in the ship *Bombay Castle*. His petition, signed and dated at St Helena on 6 August 1759, was granted by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 13 August 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 6 August 1759. The storekeeper delivered an account of stores short received from the ships *Prince George*, *Worcester* and *Bombay Castle* [...]. **Interpretations** Samuel Doveton's surrender of his right in ten acres of lease land as a condition of leaving for England shows how the Company tied its tenants to the island. Land on St Helena was held on lease from the Company rather than owned outright, so a departing settler could not simply carry his holding away but had to assign his interest back before

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		The Storekeeper delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ships Prince George, Worcester and Bombay Castle	sailing, which kept the scarce cultivable ground under Company control and available for the next tenant. The account of stores short received from three incoming ships records the routine checking of cargo against manifest on arrival. The storekeeper's formal report of shortfalls from the *Prince George*, *Worcester* and *Bombay Castle* shows the island guarding against loss, pilferage and short shipment on the long voyage out, so goods were counted in and any deficiency documented for the Company to pursue against the ships or the London warehouses.
126	115	1750 Account of Stores short Received from the following Ships Vizt Prince George vizt C Bags lb 1: 2: 23 Rice 2: 2: 10 Paddy 0: 0: 3 Candles Short Weight No 1 1 Leaguer Arrack gages 142½ Wants to fill Galls 7 2 1 D° d° d° 145 d° d° 10½ 287 17½ Recd 270 Gallons Worcester vizt 3: 0: 9 Paddy 0: 0: 3 Candles Short Weight No 1 1 Leaguer Arrack gages 133 Wants to fill 25 2 1 Leaguer d° d° 140 d° d° 16 273 41 Recd 234 Gallons Bombay Castle vizt C Bags lb 1: 0: 27 Rice 4: 2: 27 Paddy 0: 0: 3 Candles Short Weight No 1 1 Leaguer Arrack Gags 130 wants to fill Galls 6½ 2 1 Leaguer d° d° 142½ d° d° 12 272½ 18½ Recd 253 Gallons St Helena August the 13th 1750 signed James Powell Storekeeper	The storekeeper's account of stores short received from the following ships was as follows. From the *Prince George*, short weight: 1 bag 2 quarters 23 lb rice 2 bags 2 quarters 10 lb paddy 3 lb candles The arrack was gauged as follows: No 1, 1 leaguer arrack gauged 142½ gallons, wants to fill 7½ gallons No 2, 1 leaguer arrack gauged 145 gallons, wants to fill 10½ gallons Total gauged, 287½ gallons Total wanting, 17½ gallons Received, 270 gallons From the *Worcester*, short weight: 3 quarters 9 lb paddy 3 lb candles The arrack was gauged as follows: No 1, 1 leaguer arrack gauged 133 gallons, wants to fill 25 gallons No 2, 1 leaguer arrack gauged 140 gallons, wants to fill 16 gallons Total gauged, 275 gallons Total wanting, 41 gallons Received, 234 gallons From the *Bombay Castle*, short weight: 27 lb rice 4 bags 2 quarters 27 lb paddy 3 lb candles The arrack was gauged as follows: No 1, 1 leaguer arrack gauged 130 gallons, wants to fill 6½ gallons No 2, 1 leaguer arrack gauged 142¾ gallons, wants to fill 12 gallons Total gauged, 272¾ gallons Total wanting, 18½ gallons Received, 254¼ gallons The account was signed at St Helena on 13 August 1759 by James Powell storekeeper. **Interpretations** The arrack came in leaguers, the large cask of the eastern trade holding some 150 gallons when full, and each was gauged on landing to measure how far it fell short of its proper fill. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East Indies, commonly from palm sap, molasses or rice, and shipped in bulk to supply garrisons and settlements. The careful gauging of every cask, recording the ullage or shortfall to a fraction of a gallon, shows the island checking spirit deliveries closely against loss through leakage, evaporation or tapping on the long passage from India. The three ships all delivered short on paddy, rice and candles as well as on spirit, a consistent pattern of shortfall across every cargo checked. Paddy was rice still in the husk, distinguished here from the cleaned rice, both staple provisions shipped from India to feed the island. The recurrence of shortages on the same commodities from vessel after vessel shows shrinkage on the long voyage as a routine and expected loss, whether from spillage, damp, vermin or pilfering, which the storekeeper documented cask by cask and bag by bag for the Company to weigh against the shippers.

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127	116	Augt 13th The Governor read the following Letter which he received from Captain Fiddiman and Directed it to be Entered It is as follows Vizt Sr Having a french prisoner on board my Ship who talks English a very disorderly fellow & misrepresents every thing that is Said to him to the rest of the prisoners which makes them behave in a manner they otherwise would not do, as it may very possibly be attended with ill consequences or corrupting the rest of the people & making an uneasiness in my Ship, Humbly beg the favour of you to remove him on board some other Ship as being only one man, twill tend greatly to our Safety and Quietness I am Sr Your most Obedient Hble Servant 13th Augt Edward Fiddiman 1750 Upon considering the Circumstances of the above Letter we have thought Proper to order the man Captain Fiddiman mentioned, to be removed on board the True Briton The french prisoners that came in the several ships here having applyed to us for two Rupees Each man which sum we are informed they were allowed by the President and Council of Bengall in order to pay for washing tiny Tobacco and other Necessary's and they applying to us for the same We Judge we thought proper to comply with their request and have accordingly given them four shillings and sixpence Each Man which amounts to Nine Pounds nine Shillings We make no doubt of its being repaid their Honors by Mr Rouge the French Companys Agent in London as has been regularly done for the like Occasions by Mont de Leyrit Governor of pondicherry while they were prisoners in India John Bagley matross presented the following petition Vizt	Governor Hutchinson read a letter received from Captain Fiddiman and ordered it to be entered. Fiddiman reported that he had a French prisoner on board his ship who spoke English and was a very disorderly fellow. The man misrepresented everything that was said, stirring the other prisoners to the point where they behaved in a way they otherwise would not, which might very possibly bring ill consequences by corrupting the rest of the people and making his ship uneasy. He asked the Council to remove the man to some other ship. Being only one man, this would greatly help the safety and quiet of his vessel. The letter was signed by Edward Fiddiman and dated 13 August 1759. Having considered the circumstances of the letter, the Council ordered the man to be removed on board the *True Briton*. The French prisoners who came in the several ships had applied for two rupees each man, which the Council was informed they had been allowed by the President and Council of Bengal to pay for washing, tobacco and other necessaries. Wishing to relieve the men, the Council thought it proper to comply with their request and gave them four shillings and sixpence each, amounting to £9 9s 0d. The Council had no doubt of being repaid by Monsieur Rouge the French Company's agent in London, as had regularly been done on the like occasions by Monsieur de Leyrit governor of Pondicherry while British men were prisoners in India. John Bagley matross presented a petition [...]. **Interpretations** The Council paid the French prisoners a subsistence allowance of 4s 6d each, converting a Bengal grant of two rupees a man into sterling for washing, tobacco and small necessaries. The care taken to fund captured enemies from public money, on the expectation of reimbursement through the rival French Company's London agent, shows a settled system of reciprocal prisoner maintenance operating between the two trading companies even in wartime, so each side kept the other's captives at its own charge and squared the account afterward through their European head offices. The explicit reliance on Monsieur de Leyrit, governor of Pondicherry, having done the same for British prisoners in India reveals an understood convention of parity between the two Companies' overseas governments. The mutual keeping of prisoners at each side's expense, later settled between the London and Paris houses, shows the Anglo-French commercial war conducted with a shared code of conduct toward captives, the fighting in the Indian Ocean framed by gentlemanly reciprocity between the two great chartered rivals. **Speculations** The Council moved the troublesome French prisoner to another ship, the *True Briton*, rather than confining or otherwise punishing him for stirring up the others. The choice to disperse the difficulty by transfer, set against Fiddiman's complaint that the man corrupted the rest and made his ship uneasy, suggests the Council judged separation the surest remedy over any harsher measure, perhaps because a disorderly prisoner was better neutralised by isolation among strangers than made a martyr by punishment that might inflame the very unrest it aimed to quell.
128	117	1750 To the Worshipfull Charles Hutcherson Esq Governor &cr Council The humble Petition of John Bagley a Matross Sheweth That your petitioner having served the Honorable	John Bagley, a matross, petitioned the Council. He set out that, having served out his contracted time with the Honourable Company, he now asked for his discharge from the garrison and likewise from the island, being determined to proceed for England in the ship *Worcester* under Captain Fiddiman. His petition, dated 13 August 1759, was granted.

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		Company his Contracted time now humbly requests his Discharge from the Garrison and Likewise from the Island he being determined to proceed for England in the Ship Worcester Captain Fiddiman and your Petitioner as in Duty Bound Shall for your Honours Ever pray 13th August 1750 Granted Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ships Prince George Worcester Bombay Castle and true Briton to enquire for deserters but found none their muster Rolls are as follow Viz Muster Roll of the ship Prince George Lorenzo Collins Comand John Sherncraft 2d master Ferdinand Collins Cap Serv Anthony Egliston Chf mate Norman Mc Cloud d° Sabastian Icloud 1st d° Peter Hortwicke 2d d° James Walton Steward & payment Charles Bee giss chf mate or ser Edward Dampier 3d d° John Hurble carpenters 1st mate James Ward 2 m° d° Robert Schyely 4th d° James Shepherd Cooper William Wooler Boatswn d° George Robinson Boatswn Abel Williams d° mate Thomas Watson Surgeons d° Thomas Hunt Gunner Isaac Robinson Armourer Thomas Rebow Gunners d° Boen Reynolds Carpenter Francis Robinson gunners mate James Colgar Carpent d° William Mc Cordoe Surgeon d Mathew Captains Cook George Dickens Seaman William Hamer middston C S Brown Ships d° William Soft Nathaniel Whary d° James Roger Boatswns mate Eeander W Fox John Gibbs d° Willt Kittleron Sailmaker Richard Ivans William Holland Quartrmt John Kesp Butcher George Mc Henry	Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ships *Prince George*, *Worcester*, *Bombay Castle* and *True Briton* to enquire for deserters, but found none. The muster rolls were as follows. Muster roll of the ship *Prince George*: Lorenzo Collins, commander Anthony Egleston, chief mate Peter Hardwicke, second mate Edward Dampier, third mate Robert Sedgely, fourth mate George Robinson, boatswain Thomas Hunt, gunner Benjamin Reynolds, carpenter William McClardin, surgeon William Hanmer, midshipman Nathaniel Whary, midshipman John Gobb, midshipman William Holland, quartermaster John Thomecraft, second mate Norman McCloud, second mate James Walton, third carpenter's mate John Humble, carpenter's first mate James Shepherd, cooper Abel Williams, cooper's mate Isaac Robinson, armourer Francis Robinson, gunner's mate Matthews, captain's cook H J Brown, ship's cook James Rogers, boatswain's mate Matthew Killeston, sailmaker John Keep, butcher Ferdinand Collins, captain's servant Sebastian Island, servant Charles Brygiss, chief mate's servant James Weir, second mate's servant William Wooler, boatswain's servant Thomas Walson, surgeon's servant Thomas Adcox, gunner's servant James Bilyar, carpenter's servant George Dickens, seaman William Loft, seaman Leander W Fox, seaman Richard Weens, seaman George McKenzy, seaman **Interpretations** An East Indiaman like the *Prince George* carried a large and sharply graded crew, running from the commander down through four mates, specialist tradesmen and a body of servants attached to individual officers. The muster roll shows each senior man allotted a personal servant, the captain, mates, boatswain, surgeon, gunner and carpenter each having one, which reflects the ship's ordering along the same rank hierarchy as the garrison ashore, where standing brought both pay and personal attendance. Lieutenant Clark's boarding of every ship in the road to search for deserters, and his taking of full muster rolls, shows the Company policing the movement of men between ship and shore. The check guarded against sailors slipping away to hide on the island and against the garrison losing its own men to homeward vessels, so the muster was a tool of control over a mobile workforce that might otherwise melt between the passing ships and the settlement.
129	118	August 13th John Haswell Seaman Eager Taylor Evan Lewis Thomas Goff William Daw John Farrel Erasmus Buck William Crail Gabriel Holmes	The muster roll of the *Prince George* continued as follows. John Haswell, seaman Isaac Taylor Evan Lewis Thomas Goff William Dias John Farrel Erasmus Buck William Erail Gabriel Holmes

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		John Mc Adam Richard Denham Paul Rose William Forrester Benjamin Diamond Bostord Howard Thomas Cannon Robert Hindersuch Thomas Peacock Crispin Philips Thomas Kendrick Anthony Perreira William Edwards George Jacobs Michael Corbett Neal Bain John Brown 1st John Brown 2d Joseph Winter Hugh Mooney William Lee Frederick Egerl Henry Firebrass Jacob Appleby Andrew Holm James Ivory Nicholas de Conto Leander Roodriguez John de Cruise Philip Willis Johannis Rarier Joseph di Rosa John a Cato Joseph Perreira Charles Illiot Anthony Rosario John Andrews Francisco de Roza Pinchoco de Rosario Philip di Lopez Sabor Sacta Channoo Lascar Saffair Maggowin Mahomet Rajah Ramjanoy Boriamblia Norah Wiahomet Borker Mekall John Christian Seaman Betoo Philip Passengers David Rannie Esq Mrs Elizabeth Rannie Miss Rannie Miss Jenny Rannie } Children Captain Robert Campbell Mr William Stewin George Mary } Black Servants Anne	John McAdam Richard Denham Paul Rosa William Forrester Benjamin Diamond Richard Howard Thomas Cannon Robert Kirdersuch Thomas Peacock Crispin Philips Thomas Hendrick Anthony Pereira William Edwards George Jacobs Michael Corbett Neal Bain John Brown first John Brown second Joseph Winter Hugh Mooney William Love Frederick Egall Henry Firebrass Jacob Appleby Andrew Holm James Ivory Nicholas de Costa Leander Rodriguez John de Cruise Philip Mills Johannis Rarder Joseph de Rosa John Cato Joseph Pereira Charles Eliot Anthony Rozario John Andrews Francisco de Rosa Pinchoco de Rozario Philip di Lopez Sabur Sacta Channoo Lascar Suffair Maggovan Mahomet Rajah Ramsarry Boriamba Norah Wiahomet Barker Mekull John Christian, seaman Betoo Philip Passengers: David Rannie Esq Elizabeth Rannie Miss Rannie, child Miss Jenny Rannie, child Captain Robert Campbell William Stewin Black servants: George Mary Anne **Interpretations** The lower deck of the *Prince George* drew its hands from across the whole span of the Company's trading world, English and Scots names standing alongside Portuguese, Indian and other seamen such as Francisco de Rosa, Anthony Rozario, Mahomet Rajah and men entered simply as lascar. The lascar was an Indian or Asian sailor engaged for the eastern voyage, and the mix of origins shows the crew of an Indiaman assembled from every port of call, a floating cross-section of the maritime labour the Company gathered between Europe and India.

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			The passenger list distinguished the fare-paying gentry, the Rannie family and two other gentlemen, from the black servants George, Mary and Anne entered without surnames below them. The separate and nameless listing of the servants marks their unfree status plainly, carried as the property or dependents of the cabin passengers rather than as persons in their own right, a small record of slaves moving through St Helena on the homeward run of a Company ship.
130	119	1750 Muster Roll of the Ship Worcester Edward Fiddiman Command George Husea Chief mate James Hodges 2d d° John Richmond 3d d° John Colenut 4th d° George Barnes 5 d° d° Robert Morgan William Cott Surgeon Alexander Dunlope Gunt John Roberts Boatswain Francis Knight Ships Steward Thomas Reiley 2d mate & payman Peter Barbarison d° William Wicks d° Robert Cook 2d master Michael Sharp d° Simon Bulow d° Robert Miller d° Mordecai Sist Coulther William Robins Carpenter Christopher Winter d° mate Samuel Clough Sailmaker James Nash Butcher William Prall Armourer John Woolfoll cook mate Killian Roorie Capt Cook Emanuel Norris Thomas Taylor Boatsw mate John Jackson Seaman Henry Humburgh Seaman Laurence Sonleigh Henry Freeman Henry Hott Samuel Markesby Lewis Fiste John Martin Berger Richard Whiteman James Dunnsey James Hauckham George Cottie Charles Williams Robert Marshall John Sewell John Cainsby William Mead William Winters Edward Coillet gunn mate James Brady Seaman John Mulphies John Silvester Ignas Francisco John Brooking Nicholas Carney Patrick Fitzgunnors Christopher Fox John Francis Norris Salvian Paul Thomas Mathew Mayer Henry Clark Paul Sombrer Acacia Johnson	Muster roll of the ship *Worcester*: Edward Fiddiman, commander George Hufsee, chief mate James Hodges, second mate John Richmond, third mate John Calenat, fourth mate George Barnes, fifth mate Robert Morgan William Cott, surgeon Alexander Dunlope, gunner John Roberts, boatswain Francis Knight, chief mate's servant Thomas Bailey, second mate's servant Peter Barbason, second mate William Weeks, second mate Robert Cook, second mate Michael Sharp, second mate Simon Bulow, second mate Robert Miller, second mate Mordecai Ives, caulker William Robins, carpenter Christopher Winter, carpenter's mate Samuel Clough, sailmaker James Nash, butcher William Prall, armourer John Hoafield, cook's mate Killian Rowrie, captain's cook Emanuel Norris Thomas Taylor, boatswain's mate John Jackson, seaman Henry Humburgh, seaman Lawrence Fenleigh Henry Freeman Henry Hitt Samuel Marksby Lewis Rute John Martin Berger Richard Whiteman James Dunsey James Hawkshaw George Cottre Charles Williams Robert Marshall John Sewell John Cainsby William Mead William Winter Edward Cottle, gunner's mate James Brady, seaman John Mulphes John Silvester Ignus Francisco John Brooking Nicholas Carney Patrick Fitzgunners Christopher Fox John Francis Norris Salman Paul Thomas Matthew Mayer Henry Clark Paul Sombree Andereo Johnson Ass Sennet Peter Green

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		Cass Sennit Peter Green Cornelius Scriver Anthony Pemento Anthony Barzoly John Bagley Peter Sobey James Christian Isaac Allen Capt Serv James Robinson 1st Mark Francisco ch mate d° John Baw 2 mate d° William Barr sergeant d° Richard George Gunners d° Thomas Warren Boatswn d° Stephen Bumps Hugh Moran Stephen Johnson Thomas Mair Peter Crosbeck Joseph Ayong John North John Lemon John Francis Gren Young Passengers Mrs Crook Mr Crook Mark Barnaby Servt Apian Servant black woman Segards d° black woman Frances black woman Ent Toby 6th Black boy John archer Slave passeng	Cornelius Scriver Anthony Pemento Anthony Barnley John Bagley Peter Sobey James Christian James Allen, captain's servant James Robinson, servant Mark Francisco, chief mate's servant John Buse, second mate's servant William Powe, sergeant's servant Richard George, gunner's servant Thomas Warren, boatswain's servant Stephen Bumps Hugh Moran Stephen Johnson Thomas Mair Peter Crobeck Joseph Ayong John North John Lemon John Francis Grim Young Passengers: Brook Brook Mark Barnaby, servant Aran, servant, black woman Sagardo, black woman Frances, black woman and child Toby, black boy John Archer, slave, Frenchman **Interpretations** The *Worcester* carried a crew as mixed in origin as the *Prince George*, its European hands set among Portuguese, Indian and other seamen such as Ignus Francisco, Mark Francisco, Anthony Pemento and Joseph Ayong. The pattern across both ships confirms that the Company routinely manned its Indiamen from every quarter of its trading sphere, the homeward crews a standing mixture of nationalities gathered along the route from India to Europe. The passenger list recorded five slaves among the two Brook family passengers, the women Aran, Sagardo and Frances with a child, the boy Toby, and John Archer entered as a French slave. Listing these people by single names below the fare-paying passengers marks their status as chattels carried in the family's train, and the note of a Frenchman among them shows a captive taken in the Anglo-French war being moved through the island as owned property, a further trace of the traffic in slaves passing through St Helena on the Company's ships.
131	120	August 13th Muster Roll of the ship Bombay Castle Richard Drewer Comand James Rupel Chf mate Bonwas Hall Pearce 2d D° Benjamin Randall 3d D° Charles Constyple 4th D° John Hasholt 5th D° Philip Palsh Purser John Hambleton Surgeon William Ross Gunner George Rider Carpenter Adam Sherif Boatswain William Clayton Ships Stwd John Mc Cloud Cap D° John Suite Cooper John Duffell Coulther Thomas Brown Armourer William Robinson Sailmakr Robert Randall Ships Junior James Sherringood D°	Muster roll of the ship *Bombay Castle*: Richard Douglas, commander James Ruffel, chief mate Thomas Hall Pearce, second mate Benjamin Reynolds, third mate Charles Constable, fourth mate John Haslock, fifth mate Philip Patch, purser John Hamblidon, surgeon William Ross, gunner George Rider, carpenter Adam Sheriff, boatswain William Clayton, ship's steward John McCloud, captain's servant John Suite, cooper John Duffell, caulker Thomas Brown, armourer William Robinson, sailmaker Robert Kirdersuch junior James Sherringood, second mate John Pavrach, second mate Joseph Merienz, second mate

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		John Payach D°	John Allin, second mate
		Joseph Morrienz D°	Thomas Sampson, second mate
		John Allin D°	William Walton, captain's cook
		Thomas Sampson D°	Matthew Welch, ship's cook
		William Walton Cap Cook	Michael Ristock, gunner's mate
		Bramton Winch Ships D°	John Hubbard, carpenter's second mate
		Michael Ristock Gun mate	John Ivens, carpenter
		John Hubbard Carpenters d°	George Balance, boatswain's second mate
		John Innes d°	William Rowe, second mate
		Geo Balance Boatswns mate	Thomas Rifsden, poulterer
		William Howe D°	John Smith, butcher
		Thomas Rosseter Boatswn	Barnabas Walton, quartermaster
		John Smith Butcher	John Bovey, quartermaster
		Barnabas Walke D° masta	Daniel McAllister, quartermaster
		John Beavy D°	John Starke, second mate
		Daniel Mc Allister D°	John Lamb, second mate
		John Meeke 2d master	James Ruffel, second mate
		John Sant D°	James Delany, crokemate
		James Rupel D°	Thomas Linton Esq, second mate
		James Delany Crokemate	John Fryer, mate's servant
		Thomas Simton Cap Serv	William Kitchenman
		John Iryer mate d°	Edward Muckford
		William Kitchener d°	Joseph Gibson
		Edward Muchford	Thomas Cassany
		Joseph Gibson	Peter McCarie
		Thomas Cassany	Robert Cooper
		Peter Mc Curie	John Hendrick
		Robert Cooper	Robert Grace
		John Hendrick	John Scarborough
		Robert Grace	Thomas Luke
		John Scarborough	John Westerman
		Thomas Luke	John Godine
		John Westerman	Joseph Davis
		John Godine	Robert Kenyon
		Joseph Davis	Con Wallis
		Robert Kenyon	Thomas Higgins
		Cain Wallis	Alexander Johnstone
		Thomas Higgins	William Fitzgerald
		Alexander Johnstone	Nicholas Nightingale
		William Fitzgerald	Christopher Fike
		Nicholas Nightingale	Matthias Merrelin
		Christopher Sike	William Cautewaugh
		Matthias Merrilin	Christopher Holenb
		William Cautenaugh	Andrew Fenly
		Christopher Holenb	Richard Williams
		Andrew Sealy	William Bishop
		Richard Williams	William Ivey
		William Bishop	John Reid
		William Ivey	Edward Crossman
		John Ked	Peter Gowing
		Edward Crossman	William Williams
		Peter Goring	William Oliver
		William Williams	Thomas Erith
		Thomas Erith	Lascars:
		Lascars	Chubra
		Chubra	Goodyar
		Goodyar	Gunnion
		Gunnum	Guma
		Guma	Sherran
		Sevram	Manu
		Manu	Gosee
		Gosee	Herru
		Horu	Ruinjonne
		Ruinjonne	Deina
		Deina	Deena
		Deena	Francisca
		Francisca	Jezeca
		Jozica	Anthony
		Anthony	Mundnu
		Muntna	Puckeru
		Puckeru	Andree
		Andree	Olees
		Olee	Potu
		Potu	Antick
		Antick	Pedro
		Pedro	Suck

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		Suck Sacadee Yarru Cumeu Cacalth	Sacurdee Yuru Cumeu Carcalla **Interpretations** The *Bombay Castle* carried its Indian sailors grouped separately at the foot of the muster under the heading lascars, entered by single given names apart from the European crew listed above with full names and rated positions. The lascar was an Asian seaman shipped for the eastern voyage, commonly on separate articles and lower pay than European hands, and the physical separation of the two groups on the roll reflects the divided structure of an Indiaman's crew, where the Asian complement was mustered, paid and recorded as a distinct body under their own serang rather than integrated among the rated ranks. The specialist trades filling the middle of the roll, a poulterer, butcher, caulker, armourer, sailmaker and several carpenters and coopers, show an Indiaman crewed as a self-sufficient floating community for a voyage of many months. The ship carried its own craftsmen to keep hull, rigging, guns and provisions in order and to slaughter and prepare fresh food at sea, so the vessel could sustain and repair itself across the long passage between India and England without recourse to shore beyond victualling stops like St Helena.
132	121	1750 Passengers Captain Rumbald Mrs Rumbald Capt° Muskell Lieut° Gowin Mrs Cock Perre D° Servant Rupee D° D° Thomas D° D° John Cock William Cock Christiana Servant maid Roqua D° Bastian D° French Prisoners Rosinilla La Goata Verrier St Jean Canoze La Valle Dripier Gautier La Rejong Gilonitte St Paul Vincennes Kar Oman Lamazie Muster Roll of the Ship True Briton Thomas Crichton comand Francis Horlocue Chf mate William Wills 2d D° William Kirkwide 3d d° Hugh Peakie 4th d° John Geddis 5th d° John Isaacs Corp d° Carpent Thomas Preston Boatswain John Johnson Gunner Richard Fardoe Ships Stwd Robert Broadley Surgeon Andrew Dyie Purser William Short Middhipm George Baird D° John Broadly midshipman	The passengers aboard the *Bombay Castle* were as follows. Captain Rumbald Rumbald Captain Muskhell Lieutenant Gowin Cock Frera, servant Rupee, servant Thomas, servant John Cock William Cock Christiana, servant maid Rosea, servant Bastian, servant The French prisoners were as follows. Rosinilla La Goate Ferrier St Jean Canoze La Valle Dripier Gautier La Rejouy Gilonitre St Paul Vincennes Kar Oman Lamazu Muster roll of the ship *True Briton*: Thomas Crichton, commander Francis Verlascie, chief mate William Webb, second mate William Kirkwide, third mate Hugh Peake, fourth mate John Geddis, fifth mate John Ivens, carpenter Thomas Preston, boatswain John Johnson, gunner Richard Fardoe, ship's steward Robert Broadley, surgeon Andrew Dyie, purser William Short, midshipman George Barns, midshipman John Broadley, midshipman Joseph Alden, quarter master's mate

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		Joseph Alden Quarter mate John Mc Goffet Daniel Murray William Willen John Marque George Wooster Serjeant Samuel Gordon Corp d° Thomas Foam Boats d° Samuel Mc Candie Gun d° George Werster Boatsw Daniel Muchford Ships Cook Alexander Straiton Arm William Waterman Butch One Sanderson Sailmaker Thomas Heaggie Coulther George Duncan Seaman Thomas Hosburn Thomas Harrison William Peck John Brian George Murray John Castleman Thomas Page Isaach Peaker Matthew Bacchus Richard Stone George Mathison	John McGuffet Daniel Murray William Wilton John Mangue George Kempster, boatswain's servant Samuel Gordon, carpenter's servant Thomas Feim, boatswain's servant Samuel McCandie, gunner's servant George Vanslade, gunner Daniel Muckford, ship's cook Alexander Stratton, armourer William Waterman, butcher Orre Sanderson, sailmaker Thomas Heaggie, caulker George Duncan, seaman Thomas Hosburn Thomas Harrison William Peck John Brien George Murray John Castleman Thomas Page Isaach Peaher Matthew Bacchus Richard Stone George Mathison **Interpretations** The *Bombay Castle* carried military passengers home, Captain Rumbald, Captain Muskhell and Lieutenant Gowin travelling with their families and a train of servants entered by single names such as Frera, Rupee, Rosea and Bastian. The nameless listing of the attendants beneath the officers marks them as slaves or bound servants moving in the officers' households, so returning Company officers brought their personal establishments with them through St Helena, carrying unfree servants across the ocean as part of their domestic retinue. The presence of fourteen named French prisoners aboard the ships in the road shows St Helena serving as a waypoint in the movement of enemy captives during the Anglo-French war. The prisoners taken in the Indian Ocean fighting were distributed among the homeward Indiamen, the *True Briton* among them receiving the troublesome man moved from Fiddiman's ship, so the island functioned as a transfer point where captives could be redistributed between vessels bound for Europe.
133	122	August 13th William Sageing James Gilts George Coombs Robert Doxer Samuel Gilts Peter Mc Coy Jantharson alias John George Alleedworm John Suchen Thomas Gore James Smith Boatsw Clows Gash Malshut Dunlan William Thomas Benjamin Cortis William Cole Thomas Baxter John Blackleys Boatsw Boys George Bond Carpenters D° John Williams Gunners d° D° Charles Chambers chf mate d° Thomas Richman Doctors d° Edward Robinson Coke Gibbons Isaac Fisherson Carp d° D°	The muster roll of the *True Briton* continued as follows. William Ingeing James Gibbs George Coombe Robert Doxer Samuel Gibbs Peter McCoy John Thorpe alias John George Alexander John Sucken Thomas Gore James Smith, brewer Clows Gash Nathan Dunlar William Thomas Benjamin Curtis William Cole Thomas Baxter John Blackley, boatswain's mate George Bond, carpenter's second mate John Williams, gunner's second mate Charles Chambers, chief mate's servant Thomas Richman, doctor's servant Edward Robinson Luke Gibbins Isaach Ferrehen, carpenter's servant

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		Thomas Mastason Boatsw d° John Cathcart Cap Serv d° William Anderson John de Seza William Coombie Capt Stwd Sirus Jonnemans Iven de Netwaig Christian Guster Thomas Gist Richard Gribble Midshipm John Brassion John Rasford Suber Neuman Stephen Rickwards Passengers Captain Manning Lieut Reeves Lieut Collier Captain Gardener Mrs & Miss Hogg Daphni Maid Servant Bought of Captain Edward Fiddiman Eleven hundred and Twenty Six pounds of Rice for which we paid Eight Shillings per neat Hundred William Prall Armourer of the ship Worcester being in a bad state of health petitioned us for Leave to Continue on the Island as his own Expence Granted Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling	Thomas Mostason, boatswain's second mate John Earheart, captain's servant William Anderson John de Seza William Crombie, captain's steward Arent Jonnemans Jan de Netivoy Christian Guster Thomas Gist Richard Gribble, midshipman John Brassow John Rasford Suber Neuman Stephen Bickwards Passengers: Captain Manning Lieutenant Reeves Lieutenant Collier Captain Gardener Hoag Miss Hoag Daphne, maidservant The Council bought from Captain Edward Fiddiman 1,126 lb of rice, for which the Council paid 8s per hundredweight. William Prall, armourer of the ship *Worcester*, being in bad health, petitioned the Council for leave to remain on the island at his own expense. His petition was granted by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The Council bought over half a ton of rice from Captain Fiddiman of the *Worcester* at 8s the hundredweight, purchasing a bulk staple direct from a homeward ship to supply the garrison. Buying provisions from passing vessels shows the island topping up its stores opportunistically from the cargoes in the road, so a shortfall in one commodity could be met from whatever an Indiaman carried, the ships serving as a floating market as well as a means of transport. The armourer William Prall was allowed to stay on the island at his own expense while in bad health, leaving his ship the *Worcester* to recover ashore. Permitting a sick sailor to break his voyage and remain at his own charge shows St Helena serving as a place of convalescence for men worn down by the sea passage, the temperate island offering a chance to recover that a crowded ship could not, though the Company shifted the cost of his keep onto the man himself. **Speculations** Prall was granted leave to remain only at his own expense rather than being maintained by the Company while he recovered. The insistence that he bear his own keep, set against the Company's readiness elsewhere in these accounts to fund hospital necessaries and sick quarters for its own garrison, suggests the Council drew a firm line between its own servants and a passing ship's crew, declining to take a sailor from another payroll onto its charge, so a man off a Company ship was granted the island's shelter but not its purse.
134	123	1750 At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 21st day of August 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottow Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Purling } of Councilo The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 13th day	A consultation was held at the Castle on Tuesday 21 August 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 13 August 1759. The day before, the Honourable Company's ships *Worcester*, *Prince George*, *Bombay Castle* and *True Briton* sailed homeward bound.

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		of August 1750 Yesterday Sailed the Honorable Companys Ships Worcester, Prince George, Bombay Castle and True Briton Homeward bound Released Peter Fenall to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five years at ten pounds twenty money Edward Rickards this day petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison he having servd the Honorable Company his full Contracted time Granted The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts were this day brought in which were Examined and Approved and are as follow Viz	Peter Fenall re-entered the Honourable Company's service as a soldier for five years at £10 bounty money. Edward Richards this day petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served out his full contracted time with the Honourable Company. His petition was granted. The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts were this day brought in, examined and approved, and were as follows. **Interpretations** Peter Fenall re-engaged as a soldier for five years in return for £10 bounty money, a lump sum paid on enlistment to secure his service. The bounty shows the Company buying men into the garrison with cash inducement, the same recruit who had entered only in July now bound for a further five-year term, which reveals how a remote outpost held its scarce manpower by paying to renew engagements rather than trusting to a steady supply of fresh recruits. The departure of all four Indiamen together, homeward bound in company, shows the Company sailing its ships in convoy for mutual protection on the long return voyage. Grouping the *Worcester*, *Prince George*, *Bombay Castle* and *True Briton* into a single homeward sailing, rather than letting them straggle singly, reflects the danger of the Anglo-French war at sea, where richly laden Indiamen made prize targets and safety lay in numbers on the passage back to England.
135	124	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c° from the 12th July to 11th August 1750 Bulls, Cows, Calves, yearling, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Brawns, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkies, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Jacks, Jennies, Total Remaind 12th: Bulls 6, Cows 116, Calves 125, yearling 34, Heifers 45, Steers 31, Oxen 26, Total 383, Ewes 389, Weathers 146, Lambs 104, rams 9, Total 648, Ewes 217, Weathers 62, Kids 99, rams 10, Total 388, Sows 6, Shoats 17, Pigs 9, Brawns 2, Total 34, Fowls 233, Ducks 49, Turkies 40, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jacks 4, Jennies 2, Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 27, yearling 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 27, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 73, rams 0, Total 73, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 6, rams 0, Total 6, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 4, Brawns 0, Total 4, Fowls 0, Ducks 7, Turkies 0, Geese 6, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 116, Calves 152, yearling 34, Heifers 45, Steers 31, Oxen 26, Total 410, Ewes 389, Weathers 146, Lambs 177, rams 9, Total 721, Ewes 217, Weathers 62, Kids 105, rams 10, Total 394, Sows 6, Shoats 17, Pigs 13, Brawns 2, Total 38, Fowls 233, Ducks 56, Turkies 40, Geese 38, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jacks 4, Jennies 2, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 0, yearling 0, Heifers 2, Steers 9, Oxen 0, Total 13, Ewes 3, Weathers 10, Lambs 0, rams 0, Total 13, Ewes 2, Weathers 6, Kids 3, rams 0, Total 11, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Pigs 0, Brawns 0, Total 1, Fowls 31, Ducks 10, Turkies 6, Geese 4, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Calves 8, yearling 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 13, Ewes 2, Weathers 2, Lambs 0, rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Fowls 23, Ducks 0, Turkies 2, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Stolen: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, yearling 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0,	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 July to 11 August 1759. Neat cattle remaining 12 July: 6 bulls, 116 cows, 125 calves, 34 yearlings, 45 heifers, 31 steers, 26 oxen, total 383 Sheep remaining 12 July: 389 ewes, 146 wethers, 104 lambs, 9 rams, total 648 Goats remaining 12 July: 217 ewes, 62 wethers, 99 kids, 10 rams, total 388 Hogs remaining 12 July: 6 sows, 17 shoats, 9 pigs, 2 brawn, total 34 Poultry remaining 12 July: 233 fowls, 49 ducks, 40 turkies, 32 geese Horses remaining 12 July: 6 mares, 5 horses, total 11 Asses remaining 12 July: 4 she asses, 2 he asses, total 6 Neat cattle increased: 27 calves, total 27 Sheep increased: 73 lambs, total 73 Goats increased: 6 kids, total 6 Hogs increased: 4 pigs, total 4 Poultry increased: 7 fowls, 6 geese Neat cattle total: 6 bulls, 116 cows, 152 calves, 34 yearlings, 45 heifers, 31 steers, 26 oxen, total 410 Sheep total: 389 ewes, 146 wethers, 177 lambs, 9 rams, total 721 Goats total: 217 ewes, 62 wethers, 105 kids, 10 rams, total 394 Hogs total: 6 sows, 17 shoats, 13 pigs, 2 brawn, total 38 Poultry total: 233 fowls, 56 ducks, 40 turkies, 38 geese Horses total: 6 mares, 5 horses, total 11 Asses total: 4 she asses, 2 he asses, total 6 Neat cattle killed: 2 cows, 2 yearlings, 9 heifers, total 13 Sheep killed: 3 ewes, 10 wethers, total 13 Goats killed: 2 ewes, 6 wethers, 3 kids, total 11 Hogs killed: 1 shoat, total 1 Poultry killed: 31 fowls, 10 ducks, 6 turkies, 4 geese Neat cattle died: 3 cows, 8 calves, 1 steer, 1 ox, total 13 Sheep died: 2 ewes, 2 wethers, total 4

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		Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, yearling 0, Heifers 1, Steers 8, Oxen 0, Total 10, Ewes 0, Weathers 12, Lambs 0, rams 0, Total 12, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Kids 2, rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Killed by Accident: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, yearling 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 1, Brawns 0, Total 1, Fowls 0, Ducks 1, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Remaind 11th: Bulls 6, Cows 110, Calves 144, yearling 34, Heifers 41, Steers 14, Oxen 25, Total 374, Ewes 382, Weathers 122, Lambs 177, rams 9, Total 690, Ewes 213, Weathers 56, Kids 100, rams 10, Total 379, Sows 6, Shoats 15, Pigs 13, Brawns 2, Total 36, Fowls 179, Ducks 46, Turkies 32, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jacks 4, Jennies 2, Total 6 4 Weather Goats for the Hospital 2 Ewes for the Sick Slaves Good Yam Expended for the Slaves 28,500 Refused d° for Stock 8,090 36,590 Signed John Skottowe	Poultry died: 23 fowls, 2 turkies Neat cattle stolen: 0 Sheep stolen: 0 Goats stolen: 0 Neat cattle sold: 1 cow, 1 heifer, 8 steers, total 10 Sheep sold: 12 wethers, total 12 Goats sold: 2 ewes, 2 kids, total 4 Hogs killed by accident: 1 pig Poultry killed by accident: 1 duck Neat cattle remaining 11 August: 6 bulls, 110 cows, 144 calves, 34 yearlings, 41 heifers, 14 steers, 25 oxen, total 374 Sheep remaining 11 August: 382 ewes, 122 wethers, 177 lambs, 9 rams, total 690 Goats remaining 11 August: 213 ewes, 56 wethers, 100 kids, 10 rams, total 379 Hogs remaining 11 August: 6 sows, 15 shoats, 13 pigs, 2 brawn, total 36 Poultry remaining 11 August: 179 fowls, 46 ducks, 32 turkies, 34 geese Horses remaining 11 August: 6 mares, 5 horses, total 11 Asses remaining 11 August: 4 she asses, 2 he asses, total 6 4 wether goats for the hospital 2 ewes for the sick slaves Good yam expended for the slaves, 28,500 Refuse yam for stock, 8,090 Total, 36,590 The account was signed by John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The stock account tracked the Company's herds and flocks across the month by a full set of headings, opening numbers, natural increase, then losses to killing, death, theft, sale and accident, closing with the surviving total. Neat cattle meant horned cattle of the ox kind, wethers were castrated rams or he-goats, shoats were young weaned pigs and brawn were fattened boars, the vocabulary of a working farm run to feed the settlement. The method shows the plantation managed as a careful going concern, every beast accounted for by how it entered or left the stock, so the Company could see at a glance how its living larder stood from month to month. Yams formed the staple feeding of both the slaves and the livestock, 28,500 measures of good yam expended for the slaves and a further 8,090 of refuse yam given to the stock over the month. The yam was a large starchy root grown in quantity on the island as its principal food crop, and its division into good roots for the workforce and refuse for the animals shows a settled hierarchy of provisioning, the sound produce feeding the labouring slaves while the culls went to the beasts, the whole plantation sustained on what the island's own ground could grow. The separate setting aside of four wether goats for the hospital and two ewes for the sick slaves shows a deliberate allocation of better meat to the unwell. The earmarking of specific animals for the sick, both free patients in the hospital and ailing slaves, reveals a working system of extra nourishment for the ill, so the plantation's stock was drawn on to feed those needing recovery rather than issued on a flat ration alone. **Speculations** The plantation sold off eight of its steers in the month, the heaviest single disposal in the whole account, while breeding cows and calves were kept and only culled in ones and twos. The choice to part with the steers in quantity, set against the retention of the breeding stock, shows the farm managed for herd growth over immediate return, the castrated males raised for beef or draught being the class most readily spared for sale while the cows that renewed the herd

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			were held back, a deliberate preference for building the stock over cashing it in.
136	125	1750 Artillery Stores Expended from the 12th of July to the 11th of August 1750 both days included Viz Guns fired 9lb, 4lb, 3lb, 2lb, 1lb, Powder Expended July 16 Fired to Salute Governor Watts going on Board: 9lb 19, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 1, 1lb 18, Powder Expended 19lb 8oz D° Powder for Priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 3oz 18th Departed the London Ilchester and Egmont returned the Salute: 9lb 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 13lb d° Powder for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 2oz 23d an Allarm: 9lb 6, 4lb 0, 3lb 2, 2lb 2, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 12lb D° an Allarm at Bombra for this same Ship: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 9oz D° arrived the Worcester Returned the Salute: 9lb 9, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 9, Powder Expended 9lb D° Powder for Priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz 28th Powder for priming at prosperous Bay from April 11th: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 3oz d° an Allarm: 9lb 6, 4lb 0, 3lb 2, 2lb 2, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 12lb d° arrived the Prince George returned the Salute: 9lb 9, 4lb 4, 3lb 1, 2lb 4, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 13lb 8oz d° Powder for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz d° an Allarm arrived the Bombay Castle returned the Salute: 9lb 6, 4lb 0, 3lb 2, 2lb 2, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 12lb d° Powder for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz 29 an Allarm: 9lb 6, 4lb 0, 3lb 2, 2lb 2, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 12lb d° arrived the True Briton returned the Salute: 9lb 9, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 9, Powder Expended 9lb d° Powder for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz d° Fired to Salute Capt Mannings Arrival on shore: 9lb 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 13, Powder Expended 13lb d° Powder for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 2oz 30th an Allarm: 9lb 6, 4lb 0, 3lb 2, 2lb 2, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 12lb d° arrived the admiral Watson returned the Salute: 9lb 9, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 9, Powder Expended 9lb d° Powder for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 31st Fired for Capt Latham arrived on Shore: 9lb 13, 4lb 4, 3lb 1, 2lb 0, 1lb 8, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz d° Powder for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 2oz d° Fired for Captain Stantons arrived on Shore: 9lb 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 13, Powder Expended 13lb d° Powder for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz d° Powder for priming in order to have returned the salute officer: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz Augt 8th Powder for d° d° in order to have returned the salute of the said Officer: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz d° Fired to Salute Capt Latham to Capt Stanton going on board: 9lb 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 13, Powder Expended 13lb d° Powder for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 2oz	Account of artillery stores expended from 12 July to 11 August 1759, both days included. The columns record guns fired, powder in pounds, ounces and drams by cartridge size, and total powder expended in pounds, ounces and drams. 16 July, fired to salute Governor Watts going on board, 19 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz cartridges, total 19 lb 8 oz 0 dr 16 July, powder for priming, total 0 lb 3 oz 0 dr 18 July, departed the London Ilchester and Egmont and returned the salute, 13 guns fired, 13 lb cartridges, total 13 lb 0 oz 0 dr 18 July, powder for priming, total 0 lb 2 oz 0 dr 23 July, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 lb, 2 oz, 2 dr cartridges, total 2 lb 12 oz 0 dr 23 July, an alarm at powder for this same ship, 0 guns fired, total 0 lb 9 oz 0 dr 23 July, arrived the Worcester returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 lb cartridges, total 9 lb 0 oz 0 dr 23 July, powder for priming, total 0 lb 1 oz 0 dr 25 July, powder for priming at prosperous bay from 1 April, total 0 lb 3 oz 0 dr 25 July, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 lb, 2 oz, 2 dr cartridges, total 2 lb 12 oz 0 dr 25 July, arrived the Prince George returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 4 lb, 1 oz, 4 dr cartridges, total 13 lb 8 oz 0 dr 25 July, powder for priming, total 0 lb 1 oz 0 dr 26 July, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 lb, 2 oz cartridges, total 2 lb 12 oz 0 dr 26 July, arrived the Bombay Castle returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 lb cartridges, total 9 lb 0 oz 0 dr 26 July, powder for priming, total 0 lb 1 oz 0 dr 29 July, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 lb, 2 oz cartridges, total 2 lb 12 oz 0 dr 29 July, arrived the True Briton returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 lb cartridges, total 9 lb 0 oz 0 dr 29 July, powder for priming, total 0 lb 1 oz 0 dr 29 July, fired to salute Captain Mannings arrival on shore, 13 guns fired, 13 lb cartridges, total 13 lb 0 oz 0 dr 29 July, powder for priming, total 0 lb 2 oz 0 dr 30 July, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 lb, 2 oz cartridges, total 2 lb 12 oz 0 dr 30 July, an unusual arrival Watson returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 lb cartridges, total 9 lb 0 oz 0 dr 30 July, powder for priming, total 0 lb 1 oz 0 dr 31 July, fired for Captain Latham arrived on shore, 13 guns fired, 4 lb, 1 oz, 8 dr cartridges, total 17 lb 0 oz 0 dr 31 July, powder for priming, total 0 lb 1 oz 0 dr 31 July, fired for Captain Stantons arrived on shore, 13 guns fired, 13 lb cartridges, total 13 lb 0 oz 0 dr 31 July, powder for priming, total 0 lb 2 oz 0 dr 31 July, powder for priming in order to have returned the salute officers, total 0 lb 1 oz 0 dr 1 August, powder for guns in order to have returned the salute of the said Watson, total 0 lb 1 oz 0 dr 1 August, fired to salute Captain Latham and Captain Baxton going on board, 13 guns fired, 13 lb cartridges, total 13 lb 0 oz 0 dr 1 August, powder for priming, total 0 lb 2 oz 0 dr Powder for exercising the East flying party, total 0 lb 6 oz 4 dr Powder for the funeral of John Lloyd, total 0 lb 2 oz 4 dr Powder for signals, total 0 lb 2 oz 0 dr Total, 161 guns fired, 2 lb, 18 oz, 13 lb, 118 lb, 10 oz cartridges, total 244 lb 5 oz 0 dr Tallow for the use of the carts, 6 lb

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		d° Powder for Exercising the East flying party: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 6lb 4oz D° for the funeral of John Lloyd: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz D° for Signals: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 2lb Total: 9lb 161, 4lb 2, 3lb 18, 2lb 13, 1lb 118, Powder Expended 244lb 10oz Tallow for the Use of the Guns 6lb Match Burnt at the main Fort 6lb signed Thos Hall	Match burnt at the main fort, 6 lb The account was signed by Thomas Hall. **Interpretations** The powder book set every discharge against its purpose, so the whole month's expenditure of gunpowder could be traced gun by gun to salutes, alarms and a handful of other uses. A salute of a fixed number of guns marked the coming and going of governors, ship captains and arriving vessels, the honour graded by the count fired, while an alarm was a defensive stand-to in which the guns were readied and fired to signal or to test the response. The careful accounting shows powder treated as a precious and closely controlled store on a remote island, every ounce booked against a named occasion so none could go unexplained. The salutes fired for the arrival of the four homeward Indiamen, and again as they departed, show the ceremonial exchange of gun-fire that governed the meeting of ship and shore. Each ship returned the island's salute with her own guns, a formal courtesy binding the Company's sea and land establishments, so the coming of a convoy was marked by a costly expenditure of powder on both sides that affirmed rank and recognition even at a small ocean outpost. A small charge of powder was expended for the funeral of John Lloyd, the same soldier whose burial appeared among the paymaster's grave-digging costs, marking a military funeral with a powder discharge. The firing of powder over a soldier's grave shows the garrison according its dead the customary martial honours even on a distant island, the ceremony of a service funeral maintained as a mark of respect that a working outpost still thought worth its scarce powder. **Speculations** The gunners repeatedly drew and prepared powder to return the salute of the ship *Admiral Watson* yet the charges were booked as expended in order to have returned the salute, the firing evidently not completed as intended. The recurring entries for powder readied but held, set against the clean salutes fired for other vessels, suggest some failure or countermand in the exchange with the *Admiral Watson*, so the gunners charged their pieces expecting to answer her guns but were left standing, the powder measured out and accounted even though the ceremonial reply misfired or was called off.
137	126	August 21st Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month Ending August 11th 1750 15 Bottles Port £1 0s 15¾d 34 d° Lisbon £2 7s 5½d 12 d° Mountain £0 16s 3d 20 d° Madeira £2 9s 4½d 73 d° Arrack £2 8s 0d 50 d° Beer £0 10s 5d 312lb Flour £2 5s 6d 605lb Fresh Beef £7 11s 0d 346lb Mutton £7 4s 0d 3 Hoás £0 15s 0d 34lb Goats £0 11s 4d 31 Fowls £2 6s 6d 10 Ducks £0 13s 0d 4 Geese £1 0s 0d 5 Turkeys £1 5s 0d 16lb Butter £0 16s 9d 11 pieces Salt pork £1 2s 0d 2 d° Beef £0 5s 4d 20lb Candy £1 12s 0d 34lb fresh pork £0 17s 0d £38 17s 2¼d Thomas Page a deserter from the ship True Briton	Sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 August 1759. 15 bottles of port, £1 0s 11¼d 34 bottles of Lisbon, £2 7s 5½d 12 bottles of mountain, £0 16s 3d 20 bottles of Madeira, £2 9s 4½d 73 bottles of arrack, £2 8s 0d 50 bottles of beer, £0 10s 5d 312 lb flour, £2 5s 6d 605 lb fresh beef, £7 11s 0d 346 lb mutton, £7 4s 0d 3 kids, £0 15s 0d 34 lb goats, £0 11s 4d 31 fowls, £2 6s 6d 15 ducks, £0 13s 0d 4 geese, £0 1s 0d 5 turkies, £0 5s 0d 16¾ lb butter, £0 16s 9d 11 pieces salt pork, £0 2s 0d 2 lb beef, £0 5s 0d 98 lb candy, £0 5s 4d 34 lb Seach pork, £1 12s 0d Total, £38 17s 2¼d Thomas Page, a deserter from the ship *True Briton*, having nothing to support himself, was

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		having nothing to support himself we enlisted him to serve the Honorable Company five years as a Soldier at three pounds Bounty money and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant Ipsex a Slave man belonging to the Honorable Company having been missing ever since the above four ships sailed we have reason to think that he deserted from hence on the Ship Bombay Castle as we have heard he had some acquaintance on board her Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling	enlisted to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years at £3 bounty money, and the adjutant read the articles of war to him. Ispex, a slave belonging to the Honourable Company, had been missing ever since the four ships sailed. The Council had reason to think he had deserted on the ship *Bombay Castle*, having heard he had some acquaintance on board her. The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The table account shows the officers' mess supplied with a striking quantity and range of drink, port, Lisbon, mountain, Madeira, arrack and beer together making up a large share of the month's spending. Mountain was a sweet Malaga wine from the hills of southern Spain, Lisbon and Madeira were Portuguese and island wines carried on the trade routes, and their presence alongside Indian arrack shows the table stocked from the full sweep of the Company's commerce, the officers of a remote outpost drinking wines drawn from Europe, the Atlantic islands and the East alike. The enlistment of Thomas Page, a second deserter from the *True Briton* taken into the garrison for want of any means of support, confirms the pattern of manning the island from runaway sailors. A man with nothing to live on was bound for five years under the articles of war in exchange for bounty money, which shows the garrison and the beach working as a kind of trap, a sailor who jumped ship and found himself destitute ashore being swept up into Company service as the only livelihood open to him. The flight of the Company slave Ispex aboard the *Bombay Castle* records a slave seizing the departure of the ships to escape the island. His use of an acquaintance on board to get away shows enslaved people watching the shipping for a chance of freedom and drawing on their own connections among the crews, so the same vessels that carried slaves as cargo also offered the bolder among them a route off the island, a quiet act of resistance set down flatly in the Council's record. **Speculations** The Council enlisted Thomas Page at £3 bounty money, far below the £10 paid to re-engage Peter Fenall at the same sitting recorded a few days earlier on 21 August 1759. The steep difference in bounty, set against Page's want of any means of support, suggests the Council paid by the strength of its bargaining position rather than a fixed rate, a destitute deserter with no other prospect taken cheaply while an experienced soldier free to refuse had to be tempted with a sum more than three times as large.
138	127	1750 At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th day of August 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottow Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 21st August 1750 Saturday the 25th died James Shorley an Infant Sunday the 26th arrived the Honorable Companys ship Eastcourt Captn Arthur Evans from Bombay which brought us the following supply Vizt Invoice of the ship Eastcourt Rice 13 Bags cont° 100 M lb d° 1s 1d p° 100lb 125	A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 27 August 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 21 August 1759. On Saturday 25 August James Shorley, an infant, died. On Sunday 26 August the Honourable Company's ship *Eastcourt* under Captain Arthur Evans arrived from Bombay, bringing the following supply. The invoice of the *Eastcourt* was as follows. Rice, 13 bags containing 100 maunds at 1 rupee 1 fanam per 100, 125 maunds Paddy, 44 bags containing 5 maunds 2 seers at 3 fanams per maund, 172 maunds 2 seers Charges: Paddy bags for rice, 13 bags, 11 fanams 1 [...]

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		Paddy 44 d° cont° 5.2 net p° a 3s 4d p° 100lb 172 2s 88d Charges Vizt Paddy Bags for Rice 13 11s 1d Gunney d° for d° & Paddy 59 20s 2s 6d Twine sewing the Bags 3s 12d Hawilage & Boat hire 4s 1s 8d 39 1s 22d Rupees 337 0s 10d Errors Excepted p° J Byfeld Accompt Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the month Ending the 11th Instant which is as follows viz	Gunny bags for paddy, 59 bags, 20 fanams 2 [...] Twine for sewing the bags, 3 fanams 12 [...] Wharfage and boat hire, 4 fanams 1 [...] Total charges, 39 fanams 1 [...] Total, 337 rupees 0 fanams 10 [...] The account was declared errors excepted by J Byfield accountant. **Interpretations** The *Eastcourt* brought a cargo of rice and paddy from Bombay priced and charged wholly in Indian money, rupees and fanams, the currency of the Company's western Indian trade. The fanam was a small South Indian coin, many to the rupee, and the reckoning of the whole invoice in these units shows the shipment handled as an internal Company transaction between its Indian presidencies and the island, St Helena drawing its grain from Bombay on Indian accounts rather than through any sterling purchase. The invoice broke out the ancillary charges separately from the grain itself, the cost of gunny bags, twine to sew them, wharfage and boat hire all itemised alongside the rice and paddy. Gunny was the coarse jute sacking of India used to bag grain for shipment, and the careful listing of packing and handling as distinct charges shows the Company accounting for the full landed cost of provisioning the island, so the price of feeding St Helena included every step of bagging and lading at the Indian end. The maund and seer in which the grain was measured were the standard weights of Company India, the maund a large unit of some tens of pounds divided into seers. Their use throughout the invoice confirms the shipment as a piece of Indian Ocean commerce conducted entirely on Indian terms of weight, money and materials, the island victualled as an outpost of the Company's eastern trading system rather than as a European settlement supplied from home.
139	128	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1750 July 12 To Balance remaining £7459 10s 9½d 13th To Exchange for three sets of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable as follow vizt One set to Mr John Adamson £500 One d° to Mr John Hale 200 One d° to William Wood 50 750 27th To ship Delawar the Balance of her Account £7 5s 0d £8216 15s 9½d 1750 Augt 11 By Balance remaind in the following Species 4456 Pagodas 8/ £1782 8s 0d 1600 Venetians 10/ £840 0s 0d Gold amounting to £2622 8s 0d 15494 Dollars 5/ £3873 10s 0d 441 french p° 2d £3 13s 6d 10466 Rupees 2/3 £1177 8s 6d Odd Money £0 0s 9½d Silver amounting to £5054 12s 9½d Cash notes of no Use £539 15s 0d £8216 15s 9½d	Cash debtor. 12 July, to balance remaining, £7,459 10s 9½d 13 July, to exchange for three sets of bills drawn upon the Honourable the Court of Directors payable as follows: one set to John Adamson, £500 one set to John Hale, £200 one set to William Wood, £50 Total, £750 0s 0d 27 July, to ship *Delaware* the balance of her account, £7 5s 0d. Total, £8,216 15s 9½d Cash creditor. 11 August, by balance remaining in the following species: 4,456 pagodas at 8s, £1,782 8s 0d 1,600 venetians at 10s, £840 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,622 8s 0d 15,494 dollars at 5s, £3,873 10s 0d 441 French at 1s 2d, £3 13s 6d 10,466 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,177 8s 6d Odd money, £0 0s 9½d Silver amounting to, £5,054 12s 9½d Cash notes of no use, £539 15s 0d Total, £8,216 15s 9½d **Interpretations** The cash balance again stood almost wholly in foreign specie, the island holding no sterling coin but pagodas and venetians in gold and dollars, French pieces and rupees in silver, each entered at its fixed conversion. The gold amounted to £2,622 8s 0d and the silver to over £5,000, the two together making up the working treasure of the settlement. The composition confirms St Helena's dependence on the coin of the wider trading world, its money drawn from India, Spain, Venice and France as those

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			currencies passed through on Company ships rather than from any supply of British money. The stock of dollars had risen sharply from the count taken on 30 July, standing now at 15,494 against the 12,465 recorded then, an increase of some three thousand pieces. The growth reflects fresh silver taken in during August, whether from stores sold to shipping, provisions traded or coin landed from arriving vessels such as the *Eastcourt*, so the island's silver holding swelled as the busy season of calls brought money in. Set against this the gold in pagodas and venetians held exactly steady, which shows the settlement accumulating its incoming payments in the common silver dollar while the scarcer gold coin lay untouched as a fixed reserve. The dead weight of £539 15s 0d in cash notes of no use carried forward unchanged from the previous account, the worthless paper still held on the books at the same figure. Its persistence from one month to the next shows the island unable to redeem or dispose of the notes, the loss frozen on the balance while the good coin around it moved, a standing reminder that some part of the nominal cash could not be turned to any account.
140	129	1750 Mr Thomas Greentree maketh Complaint, that Samuel Bowers a free Black Man, has Cut, and much damaged a Window Curtain of his, which was part of a Sett, that furnished a Room that has three windows to it, which took up a whole piece of Damask, and that at least Four Pounds ten Shillings sters for proof thereof produced Shatt a Slave man belonging to Mr John Prichard, who declared he saw the said Samuel Bowers Cut a Window Curtain belonging to the said Mr Greentree on the 22d Instant between the hours of ten and twelve at Night Samuel Bowers was therefore called before us and accused with having been guilty of committing the above piece of Mischief and having no more to Say than to deny the fact, and it appearing by other Circumstances which he alledged in his favour to be Untruths We therefore Ordered the said Samuel Bowers to pay to Mr Thomas Greentree the Sum of Four pounds ten shillings, and to take those Curtains he had Damaged George Alexander maketh Complaint that Thomas Harper has shot his Mare, Which died with the wound she received, and was the only Beast of that kind he had to Carry him Thomas Harper in his defence, said that he did not intend to kill but only to frighten her from trespassing on his Land, which she and many others of his Cattle had frequently done, although he had acquainted Mr Alexander with it, who took no notice thereof, Thomas Harper was told that he should first have Complained and before he took such measures Acknowledged he ought to have done So Upon considering the above affair, we agreed to Orar the said Thomas Harper, to pay George Alexander the value of the mare he killed, and Thomas Harper to be satisfied for all damages he may have sustained from George Alexanders Cattle of any Sort trespassing upon	Thomas Greentree complained that Samuel Bowers, a free black man, had cut and badly damaged a window curtain of his. The curtain was part of a set that furnished a room with three windows, the whole taking up a full piece of damask worth at least £4 10s 0d, as he proved by the receipt he produced. A slave belonging to John Prichard declared that he saw Bowers cut the window curtain belonging to Greentree on 22 August between ten and twelve at night. Bowers, called before the Council and accused of the offence, had no more to say than to deny the act, and other circumstances gave the lie to his denial. The Council therefore ordered Bowers to pay Greentree £4 10s 0d for the curtains he had damaged. George Alexander complained that Thomas Harper had shot his mare. The animal died of the wound she received, and was the only beast of that kind he had to carry him. Harper said in his defence that he meant no harm to the mare but only to frighten her from trespassing on his land, which she and many other of his cattle had frequently done, though he had let Alexander know of it. Alexander took no notice of the warning, so Harper was told to shoot the mare, having first complained of the trespass before he took such a measure, which he admitted he ought to have done. Having considered the affair, the Council ordered Harper to pay Alexander the value of the mare killed, and Alexander to satisfy Harper for all damage he might have suffered from Alexander's cattle trespassing on his land, both sums to be estimated by persons indifferently chosen by themselves. John Worrall complained that Matthew Bazett struck and charged him on 26 August with having killed a house dog belonging to him, which he greatly valued. Matthew Bazett declared that, having heard John Worrall had killed a dog of his which he kept to guard his house, and which he valued so much that he would rather have lost a cow than it, he called at Worrall's home to ask his reasons for doing so. Bazett wished he had done it sooner, and said that upon some more provoking language the said Worrall made use of in front of his house, at which time Worrall struck him, and to disengage himself kept up his heels and then struck him [...]. **Interpretations** The complaint over the damask curtain shows the Council acting as a small claims court, weighing the value of damaged household goods and ordering compensation to the exact sum proved by receipt.

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		his Land, which are to be Estimated by persons indifferently Chosen by themselves John Worrall maketh Complaint that Mr Matthew Bazett did on the 20th Instant, strike him, and Charged him with having killed a House Dog belonging to him, which he greatly Valued Mr Matthew Bazett being sent for declares that he having heard that John Worrall had killed a Dog of his which he kept to Guard his house, and which he valued so much that he would rather have lost a Cow than it, he therefore called at the said Worralls house to ask him his reasons for doing so, upon which the said Worrall began to use bad Language that the said Worrall made use of in front of his House, at which time Worrall Sees it him, and to to disengage himself kept up his heels and then Struck him	Damask was a rich figured cloth of silk or linen, costly and imported, so a full set of curtains representing an entire piece of it was a substantial possession worth the £4 10s 0d awarded. The case reveals the Council policing petty disputes among the island's ordinary inhabitants, its authority reaching into quarrels over torn furnishings as readily as into matters of government. The presence of a free black man as plaintiff-defendant and a slave as the key witness shows the layered status of the island's population brought together in a single hearing. Samuel Bowers stood as a free man answerable before the Council, while a slave belonging to John Prichard gave the eyewitness evidence that convicted him, so the court drew testimony from an enslaved person against a free black defendant, a glimpse of how the settlement's mixed society of white, free black and enslaved people met within one legal forum. The mare shot for trespass, valued because it was the only beast Alexander had to carry him, exposes the friction between stock-keeping and cultivation on a small island of open ground and scarce fencing. Harper's remedy of first complaining and only then shooting, which the Council endorsed by ordering cross-compensation, reveals a rough local law of trespass under which a landowner might destroy straying beasts but owed their value if he had not given due warning, each party answering for his own wrong. **Speculations** The Council settled the mare dispute not by a plain penalty on one man but by ordering each to compensate the other, Harper for the beast and Alexander for the crop damage, the sums fixed by valuers the parties chose themselves. The choice of mutual restitution assessed by indifferent arbitrators, set against the simpler course of punishing the man who fired the shot, shows the Council seeking to balance two genuine wrongs rather than brand one party the offender, perhaps judging that even-handed valuation would keep the peace between neighbours better than a one-sided verdict that left the trespass unanswered.
141	130	August 27th John Worrall being asked why he took upon him to Cause Mr Bazetts Dog to be worryed and Killed, says that he did it as he thought no dogs ought to be Suffered to ramble from Home, he said Worral likewise confessed that the Dog he set on upon Mr Bazetts Dog, were Dogs belonging to Elizabeth Deffountain Widow at whose house he then was, and acknowledged at the same time that the Dog that was killed never did him the least damage, nor any other person whatever, to his knowledge Mr Bazett observed that Persons Body was pe believed knew something of the above matter, desired he might be sent for who appearing and being duly sworn, deposeth that he saw John Worrall set on some Dogs belonging to Elizabeth Deffountain Widow, and Worry a Dog belonging to Mr Mathew Bazett but says he did not see any kind of Weapon made use of in order to destroy him Upon Considering the above behaviour of John Worrall we agreed to fine him in the Sum of Twenty Shillings, to the Honorable Companys Cash, for worrying and destroying Mr Bazetts	John Worrall, being asked why he took it upon himself to cause Bazett's dog to be worried and killed, said that he did not, as he thought a few days before he suffered it to ramble from home. Worrall likewise confessed that the dogs he set upon Bazett's dog were dogs belonging to Elizabeth Duffountain, a widow, at whose house he then was, and acknowledged at the same time that the dog that was killed never did him the least damage, nor any other person whatever, to his knowledge. Bazett moved that Thomas Bowdy, a person who believed he knew something of the matter, might be sent for. Bowdy, appearing and being duly sworn, deposed that he saw John Worrall set some dogs belonging to Elizabeth Duffountain, a widow, to worry a dog belonging to Matthew Bazett, but said he did not see any kind of weapon made use of in order to destroy him. Having considered Worrall's behaviour, the Council ordered him to pay a fine of £1 0s 0d to the Honourable Company's cash for worrying and destroying Bazett's dog upon an unjust and frivolous pretence. Simon, a slave belonging to Francis Wrangham junior, having been proved guilty of buying stolen goods from a slave of the Honourable Company named Weden, the Council ordered him to be whipped and to receive one hundred lashes. The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations**

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		Dog upon an unjust and frivolous pretence Simon a Slave man belonging to Francis Meangham Senior having been proved Guilty of buying stolen goods from a Slave of the Honorable Companys named Weden, We ordered the said Simon to be whipped and to receive one Hundred Lashes Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling	The two judgments set side by side lay bare the gulf in punishment between free and enslaved before the same Council on the same day. Worrall, a free man who set dogs to kill a neighbour's valued animal on a pretext the Council called unjust and frivolous, was fined a single pound, while Simon, a slave convicted of buying stolen goods, was sentenced to a hundred lashes. The contrast shows the settlement's justice calibrated to status, property offences by the free answered in money and by the enslaved in flesh, the whip reserved for those the law treated as chattels themselves. The prosecution of Simon for buying goods stolen by another Company slave named Weden reveals the Council policing an underground economy among the enslaved. The existence of theft and trafficking in stolen goods between slaves, brought before the Council and punished with severity, shows enslaved people conducting their own clandestine dealings beyond the owners' control, and the harshness of the sentence measures how far the authorities feared such traffic as a threat to the property order the whole settlement rested on. The sworn deposition of Thomas Bowdy, sent for at Bazett's request and examined on oath, shows the Council following a settled procedure of witness testimony even in a trivial dispute over a dog. The care to summon and swear a bystander, and to record precisely what he did and did not see, reveals a court applying recognisable forms of evidence and proof to the smallest quarrels, the machinery of law worked in full over the killing of a single animal.
142	131	1750 At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d day of September 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottow Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 27th August 1750 Friday the 31st August passd by a ship at a great distance her Colours not discoved The Storekeeper delivered the following account of Stores short received from the ship Eastcourt viz Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Eastcourt viz C Bags lb 0: 2: 24 Rice 7: 1: 0 Paddy Short Weight St Helena September 3d 1750 Signed James Powell Mr Jonathan Doveton petitiones for leave to assign his right in five acres of Lease land unto Mr Thomas Greentree Granted Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the ship Eastcourt to inquire for Deserters but found none his muster Roll as follows viz	A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 3 September 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 27 August 1759. On Friday 31 August a ship passed by at a great distance, her colours not made out. The storekeeper delivered an account of stores short received from the ship *Eastcourt*. The account of stores short received from the *Eastcourt* was as follows, all short weight. 2 quarters 8 lb rice 7 bags 1 quarter 24 lb paddy The account was signed at St Helena on 3 September 1759 by James Powell. Jonathan Doveton petitioned for leave to assign his right in five acres of lease land to Thomas Greentree. His petition was granted. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ship *Eastcourt* to enquire for deserters, but found none. The muster roll was as follows. **Interpretations** The transfer of Jonathan Doveton's right in five acres of lease land to Thomas Greentree shows the island's small holdings changing hands by assignment under the Council's licence rather than free sale. Because the ground was held on lease from the Company, a tenant leaving or giving up his plot could only pass his interest to another with the Council's leave, which kept every parcel of the scarce cultivable land under the Company's ultimate control and its occupiers a matter of official record. The ship passing at a great distance with her colours not made out shows the constant watchfulness of a remote island in wartime, where every unidentified sail raised the question of friend or foe. The bare noting of the sighting reflects the garrison's alertness to the sea approaches during the Anglo-French conflict, an unknown vessel keeping her distance being reason enough to record her passage against the chance she meant harm.

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143	132	September 3d Muster Roll of the ship Eastcourt Arthur Evans Commander Richard Hall Chief Mate Abraham Decker 2d D° Thomas Boles Pearce 3d D° Samuel Hutchinson 4th D° Jott Bosinworth 5th d° John Briggs Purser James Williams Surgeon Thomas Dandy Carpenter Robert Cranking Boatsw Jeremiah Ernd Gunner Josiah Hardy Coulther John Mason Cooper William Bowyer Ships Steward Charles Gibbs Capt D° William Haw Corp 1 mate Samuel Cockbill Surgeons mate William Barrat Cooper D° Lewis Campbell Boats D° Joseph Lilly Gunners D° Robert Reddshaw Armourer John Sheppard Quarter mast John Samuel D° John Armsburg D° Hibberd Gursthorpe D° Evan Williams Midshipm Charles Gardner d° Boatsw Offley Smith D° William James D° John Williams D° Edmund Adams D° George Heimphrys D° William Cox D° John Meashall D° William Anthony Seaman Robert Wistrow Exel Gillingham Aaron Gilbey Hans Walte William Edwards John Hitt Albert Searland Richard Pauly Peter Galespy John Wilson Thomas Isley William Thomson George Bolly Heaman Johnson William Dyer Butcher William Parker Seaman Hendrick Brooke Thomas Ivees John Hosque Peter Gonseloo Roland Vaughan Francis Carr Abraham Lundin Albert Bishope Ole Sorronson Philip Reffen John Disborne Samuel Leigh John Sturny John Rossy James English David Clark James Igoe John Daros John Hanks John Anglo Andrew Dillau	Muster roll of the ship *Eastcourt*: Arthur Evans, commander Richard Hall, chief mate Abraham Decker, second mate Thomas Boise Pearce, third mate Samuel Hutchinson, fourth mate Jott Bosanworth, fifth mate John Briggs, purser James Williams, surgeon Thomas Dandy, carpenter Robert Ranking, boatswain Jeremiah Ezard, gunner Josiah Hardy, caulker John Mason, cooper William Bowyer, fifth steward Charles Gibbs, captain's servant William Haw, corporal, first mate Samuel Cockbill, surgeon's mate William Barrat, cooper's second mate Lewis Campbell, boatswain's second mate Joseph Lilly, gunner's second mate Robert Redshaw, armourer John Sheppard, quartermaster John Samuel, servant John Armsburg, servant Hibberd Gunthorpe, servant Evan Williams, midshipman Charles Gardner, cook's servant Offley Smith, servant William James, servant John Williams, servant Edmund Adams, servant George Humphrys, servant William Cox, servant John Marshall, servant William Anthony, seaman Robert Wistrow Excel Gillingham Aaron Gilroy Hans Valdo William Edwards John Hill Albert Scanland Richard Pauly Peter Galespy John Wilson Thomas Isly William Thomson George Billy Herman Johnson William Dyer, butcher William Parker, seaman Hendrick Brooks Thomas Ives John Hosque Peter Gonsaloes Roland Vaughan Francis Carr Abraham Landin Albert Bishope Ole Sorrenson Philip Riffen John Disborne Samuel Leigh John Sterny John Ross James English David Clark James Lee John Davis John Hanks John Anglo Andreo Dillau Matthew Leggate John Dowdch

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		Matthew Leggate John Dowdich Adrian Parrisbury Peter Harborneett John Bornes B Cathbert John Johnson Francis Horw Valentine Rex Jack Mahomet Mars	Adrian Panisbury Peter Harbernett John Bornes B Cathbert John Johnson Francis How Valentine Rea Jack Mahemet Mars **Interpretations** The *Eastcourt*, arriving from Bombay, carried the same graded crew as the earlier Indiamen, its European officers and tradesmen entered above a lower deck holding Portuguese, Scandinavian, Indian and other hands such as Peter Gonsaloes, Ole Sorrenson, Andreo Dillau and men named simply Jack, Mahemet and Mars. The single-name entries at the foot of the roll mark the ship's Asian and servant complement, so this vessel too was manned from across the Company's trading world, the pattern of a mixed crew holding good on every ship that touched at the island. Lieutenant Clark's boarding of the *Eastcourt* to search for deserters and take her muster, as he had done with the four ships that sailed in August, shows the check applied to every arrival without exception. The routine mustering of each incoming Indiaman reflects the standing concern to account for men moving between ship and shore, the island watching its own manpower and the ships' alike, so no vessel came or went without its crew being counted against the risk of desertion in either direction.
144	133	1750 Cupid Sife Caesar Stepney Crarbrook William Ells Capt Serv Philip Paterson D° Nicholas Boulton chf mate d° Joseph Fellows 2d mate d° Henry Scot Boatswains d° Thomas Osterley Carpent d° Passengers Captains Palmer Scotney Munk Slaction Castains Lieutenant Epeoves Mrs English Mr Skyrm Mr Spears Mr Couchman Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th day of September 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottow Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated September the 3d 1750 We this day ordered the following Advertisement to be published Vizt Island St Helena 10th September 1750	The muster roll of the *Eastcourt* concluded with the following. Cupid Sife Caesar Stepney Crabrooke William Ellis, captain's servant Philip Paterson, servant Nicholas Boulton, chief mate's servant Joseph Fellows, second mate's servant Henry Scot, boatswain's servant Thomas Osterley, carpenter's servant Passengers: Captain Palmer Captain Scotney Captain Munk Flaction Castains Lieutenant Epeers English Skyrm Spears Couchman The muster was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 10 September 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 3 September 1759. The Council this day ordered the following advertisement to be published. At the island of St Helena on 10 September 1759, notice was given to all the inhabitants of the island that they were required to send an exact and signed account of their families, lands and cattle into the secretary's office on or before 1 October next, and to attend at the Castle on [...]. **Interpretations**

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		This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants of the said Island, that they are hereby required to send unto the Secretary's Office, on, or before the First day of October next ensuing, an exact, Signed Account of their Family's, Lands and Cattle, and to attend at the Castle	The advertisement requiring every inhabitant to render a signed account of family, land and cattle shows the Council conducting a full census and property survey of the island. Compelling each household to declare its people, holdings and stock by a fixed date reveals the machinery by which a small colony was governed and taxed, the Council needing an exact register of who lived where, held what ground and owned what beasts in order to control tenancy, levy dues and know its own population. The publication of the requirement as a formal advertisement, ordered and entered in the record, shows how the Council promulgated its commands to a scattered rural population. Issuing a public notice with a deadline and a penalty of attendance at the Castle reveals the settlement's method of governing by proclamation, the will of the Council carried to the inhabitants through posted or read advertisements that carried the force of law. The four single-named men at the head of the concluding muster, Cupid, Caesar, Stepney and the like, mark enslaved or servant hands carried aboard the *Eastcourt* among her crew. Such classical and place-name labels were commonly imposed on slaves, so their appearance on the ship's roll among the servants confirms once more the movement of unfree people on the Company's vessels calling at the island.
145	134	September 10th On Thursday the Eleventh day of October aforesaid, to pay their Rents and Revenues due to the Honorable Company for the year Past Notice is hereby further given, that the Honorable Companys Stores will be Shut, on Saturday the fifteenth Instant until Friday the 12th of October in order to take an Inventory of the Same Thomas Lewing late Carpenter to the Honorable Company this day applied to us for Liberty to take his passage for England on the Ship Eastcourt Granted Mrs Mary Burnham presented the following petition Vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &cr Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Mary Burnham Sheweth That your Petitioner having a Bill of Sale of a House with some Land in this Valley from John Legg. Humbly begs it may be Registered And your petitioner will ever pray signed her Mary X Burnham mark Granted Bought of Captain Arthur Evans for the use of this Island 37 C qr lb for which we paid 12s 6d p° Hundred wright Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling	The inhabitants were also required to attend at the Castle on Thursday 11 October to pay their rents and revenues due to the Honourable Company for the year past. Notice was further given that the Honourable Company's stores would be shut on Saturday 15 September until Friday 12 October, in order to take an inventory of the same. Thomas Loving, late carpenter to the Honourable Company, this day applied for leave to take his passage for England on the ship *Eastcourt*. His petition was granted. Mary Burnham petitioned the Council. She set out that, having a bill of sale of a house with some land in the valley from John Legg, she asked that it might be registered. Her petition, signed with her mark, was granted. The Council bought from Captain Arthur Evans, for the use of the island, 37 [...] of rice, for which the Council paid 12s 6d per hundredweight. The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The registration of Mary Burnham's bill of sale for a house and land shows the Council maintaining a formal register of property transfers among the inhabitants. A private sale of land between two settlers took legal effect only when entered on the Council's record, which reveals the settlement's system of secure title, the parties bringing their conveyance to be registered so that ownership rested on an official entry the Council held rather than on private agreement alone. The closing of the Company's stores for nearly a month to take an inventory shows the periodic stocktaking by which the settlement audited its held goods. Suspending all issue of stores for the count reveals the importance placed on an accurate reckoning of the Company's provisions and materials, the whole supply system halted so that what remained could be measured and set against the books. The purchase of rice from the *Eastcourt* at 12s 6d the hundredweight, well above the 8s paid for rice bought from the *Worcester* in August, shows the price the island paid for grain rising sharply within a few

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			weeks. The higher rate may reflect the *Eastcourt* holding out for a better bargain, a scarcer supply as the season advanced, or a dearer cargo shipped from Bombay, so the cost of feeding the settlement from passing ships was no fixed thing but moved with the vessel and the moment. **Speculations** The Council registered Mary Burnham's title on her own petition, a woman signing only with her mark taking property in her own name rather than through a husband or male trustee. The recognition of a woman as a landholder in her own right, set against the general subordination of married women's property at the time, suggests the island's small society made room for female ownership where circumstance required, perhaps because a widow or single woman managing her own affairs was a practical necessity in a settlement short of people, the Council registering her claim as readily as any man's.
146	135	1750 At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th day of September 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 10th September 1750 Tuesday the 11th died Henry Chapman Mattross Wednesday the 12th sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Eastcourt homeward Bound The Executor of the last Will and Testament of Henry Chapman Soldier, thereby presented the said Will desiring it might be proved which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the Witness, the Executor Daniel Snookes promising to discharge all Just debts due from the Effects of the said Henry Chapman The Will is as follows Vizt In the Name of God Amen I Henry Chapman of the Island St Helena Matross being mindful of my Mortality and desirous to settle my Worldly affairs in the best manner I can, do give devise and bequeath unto my good Esteemd friend Daniel Snookes of the said Island Planter, all and Singular that I am possessed of at the time of my decease, whither it be real or Personal, and in what part of the World soever that I may have Effects, and be it of what nature or kind soever I desire the same be delivered to the said Daniel Snookes to hold to him, his Heirs and Assigns for Ever, he paying my Just debts and Demands, And I nominate and appoint the said Daniel Snookes my Sole and whole Executor of this my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal this 22d day of July 1750 his Henry Chapman mark Signed Sealed and Delivered in the presence of Us being no Stamps to be had upon this Island Samuel Alston Wm Biddington	A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 17 September 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 10 September 1759. On Tuesday 11 September Henry Chapman, a matross, died. On Wednesday 12 September the Honourable Company's ship *Eastcourt* sailed homeward bound. The executor of the last will and testament of Henry Chapman, a soldier, presented the will and desired that it might be proved, which was done upon the oaths of the witnesses. The executor, Daniel Suckias, promised to discharge all debts due from the estate of Chapman. The will was as follows. Henry Chapman, a matross of the island of St Helena, being mindful of his mortality, made his will on 22 July 1759 to settle his worldly affairs. He gave, devised and bequeathed to his friend Daniel Suckias of the island, a planter, all and singular the effects he was possessed of at the time of his death, whether real or personal, and in whatever part of the world they might lie, to be held by Suckias for ever, on his paying all the debts and demands owed. He named and appointed Suckias sole and whole executor of his will. The will was signed with Chapman's mark and sealed and delivered in the presence of the witnesses Daniel Alston and William Biddington. **Interpretations** The proving of a soldier's will before the Council on the sworn oaths of its witnesses shows the settlement acting as a probate court, the Council taking on the authority elsewhere held by ecclesiastical or civil courts to establish a dead man's testament. Requiring the witnesses to swear to the will before the executor could act reveals how a remote island supplied its own machinery for the orderly passage of property at death, the Council's approval standing in for the formal probate a settler would have sought at home. Henry Chapman, a matross of modest means, left his whole estate to a friend who was a planter, the bequest conditioned on the executor discharging all the dead man's debts. The linking of the inheritance to the payment of debts shows the estate passing as a net residue, the beneficiary taking what remained only after satisfying the creditors, a practical arrangement by which a man with little could ensure his obligations were met and his effects kept from seizure by settling both on one trusted person. The witnessing of the will by named inhabitants and its bequest between a soldier and a planter of different means show the web of personal ties binding the island's small population across ranks and

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			callings. That an artillery private and a landholder stood as friend and heir reveals a settlement where garrison and planter society mingled closely, the bonds of trust that carried a man's whole estate reaching across the lines of occupation that ordered the community.
147	136	September 17th It being proved that Jent Butcher one of the Honorable Companys Slaves a friend to Jacob Heer, an Infirm Soldier, and pushed him twice down the side of a Hill, and once upon a Test by which he was hurt as he was Endeavouring to take off the said black Man's Dogs from Worrying the Governors Dog, which he kept for a Guard for the Plantation House, We ordered the said Black to be whipped and to receive Six hundred Lashes at three different times, two hundred at each time Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th day of September 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated 17th September 1750 Thursday the 20th died Mary the Daughter of Richard and Susanna Twoits The Plantation, Gunnoirs and Stewords Accounts for the month ending the 11th Instant were this day brought in, which were Examined and approved and are as follow Vizt	It was proved that a slave belonging to one of the Honourable Company's slaves assaulted Jacob Weer, an infirm soldier, and pushed him down the side of a hill. Weer was hurt as he tried to take off the slave's dogs from worrying the Governor's dog, which was kept as a guard for the Plantation House. The Council ordered the slave to be whipped and to receive six hundred lashes at three different times, two hundred at each time. The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 24 September 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 17 September 1759. On Thursday 20 September Mary, the daughter of Richard and Susanna Twaits, died. The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending 11 September were this day brought in, examined and approved, and were as follows. **Interpretations** The sentence of six hundred lashes divided into three separate floggings of two hundred reveals both the extreme severity and the calculated method of punishment inflicted on the enslaved. Spreading the blows across three occasions was not mercy but design, allowing the victim to survive and recover enough between beatings to endure the whole, so the full weight of the sentence could be exacted without killing the man outright. The savagery of the penalty for an assault on a soldier measures the merciless discipline by which the settlement held its enslaved population in subjection. The occasion of the offence, a slave's dogs worrying the Governor's guard dog and an infirm soldier hurt in trying to part them, shows how a trivial animal quarrel escalated into a capital-scale flogging once it touched the Governor's property and person of a soldier. The grotesque disproportion between the cause and the punishment exposes the logic of a slave society, where any act of violence by an enslaved person against the free, however it arose, was answered with a ferocity meant to terrify the whole enslaved community into submission. The keeping of a guard dog for the Plantation House, the Governor's own residence, shows the concern for security at the heart of the settlement's government. That the great house was watched by a dog kept for the purpose reveals an anxiety about theft or intrusion even at the seat of authority, the Governor's household guarded against the very population the Council ruled.
148	137	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c° from 12th August to the 11th September 1750 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkies, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Jacks, Jennies, Total Remaind 12th: Bulls 6, Cows 110, Calves 144, yearlings 34, Heifers 41, Steers 14, Oxen 25, Total 374, Ewes 382, Weathers 122, Lambs 177, rams 9, Total 690, Ewes 213, Weathers 56, Kids 100, rams 10, Total 379,	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 August to 11 September 1759. Neat cattle remaining 12 August: 6 bulls, 110 cows, 144 calves, 34 yearlings, 41 heifers, 14 steers, 25 oxen, total 374 Sheep remaining 12 August: 382 ewes, 122 wethers, 177 lambs, 9 rams, total 690 Goats remaining 12 August: 213 ewes, 56 wethers, 100 kids, 10 rams, total 379 Hogs remaining 12 August: 6 sows, 15 shoats, 13 pigs, 2 brawn, total 36

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		Sows 6, Shoats 15, Pigs 13, Boars 2, Total 36, Fowls 179, Ducks 46, Turkies 32, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jacks 4, Jennies 2, Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 11, yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 11, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 52, rams 0, Total 52, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 7, rams 0, Total 7, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 6, Boars 0, Total 6, Fowls 19, Ducks 2, Turkies 3, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 110, Calves 155, yearlings 34, Heifers 41, Steers 14, Oxen 25, Total 385, Ewes 382, Weathers 122, Lambs 229, rams 9, Total 742, Ewes 213, Weathers 56, Kids 107, rams 10, Total 386, Sows 6, Shoats 15, Pigs 19, Boars 2, Total 42, Fowls 198, Ducks 48, Turkies 35, Geese 35, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jacks 4, Jennies 2, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, yearlings 0, Heifers 1, Steers 1, Oxen 0, Total 3, Ewes 13, Weathers 9, Lambs 5, rams 0, Total 27, Ewes 1, Weathers 12, Kids 0, rams 0, Total 13, Sows 0, Shoats 3, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 3, Fowls 23, Ducks 4, Turkies 3, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Calves 2, yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 3, Oxen 0, Total 8, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, rams 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 6, Ducks 0, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Killed by Cats: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 4, Ducks 0, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Remaind 11th: Bulls 6, Cows 107, Calves 152, yearlings 34, Heifers 40, Steers 13, Oxen 22, Total 374, Ewes 367, Weathers 113, Lambs 224, rams 9, Total 713, Ewes 212, Weathers 44, Kids 107, rams 10, Total 373, Sows 6, Shoats 15, Pigs 16, Boars 2, Total 39, Fowls 171, Ducks 44, Turkies 26, Geese 33, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jacks 4, Jennies 2, Total 6 Bail to the Ship Eastcourt 560lb 7 Weather Goats killed for the Soldiers Hospital 1 Ewe D° for the Sick Slaves 1 Man died named Pompey 1 Man deserted named Essex 1 Girl born named Mary Good Yam Expended for the Slaves 27,360 Refused d° for Stock 9,820 37,180 Signd John Skottowe	Poultry remaining 12 August: 179 fowls, 46 ducks, 32 turkies, 34 geese Horses remaining 12 August: 6 mares, 5 horses, total 11 Asses remaining 12 August: 4 she asses, 2 he asses, total 6 Neat cattle increased: 11 calves, total 11 Sheep increased: 52 lambs, total 52 Goats increased: 7 kids, total 7 Hogs increased: 6 pigs, total 6 Poultry increased: 19 fowls, 2 ducks, 3 turkies, 1 goose Neat cattle total: 6 bulls, 110 cows, 155 calves, 34 yearlings, 41 heifers, 14 steers, 25 oxen, total 385 Sheep total: 382 ewes, 122 wethers, 229 lambs, 9 rams, total 742 Goats total: 213 ewes, 56 wethers, 107 kids, 10 rams, total 386 Hogs total: 6 sows, 15 shoats, 19 pigs, 2 brawn, total 42 Poultry total: 198 fowls, 48 ducks, 35 turkies, 35 geese Horses total: 6 mares, 5 horses, total 11 Asses total: 4 she asses, 2 he asses, total 6 Neat cattle killed: 1 cow, 1 steer, 1 ox, total 3 Sheep killed: 3 ewes, 13 wethers, 9 lambs, 5 rams, total 27 [rams struck through, corrected below] Goats killed: 1 ewe, 12 wethers, total 13 Poultry killed: 3 ducks, 3 turkies, 23 fowls, 4 geese The killed line for sheep carries a correction in the ram column, entered as follows. Start of crossed out section Sheep killed: 3 ewes, 13 wethers, 9 lambs, 5 rams, total 27 End of crossed out section Neat cattle died: 3 cows, 2 calves, total 5 Sheep died: 3 wethers, 8 lambs, 2 rams, total 13 [as entered] Goats died: 2 wethers, total 2 Poultry died: 6 fowls Neat cattle stolen: 0 Sheep stolen: 0 Goats stolen: 0 Neat cattle sold: 0 Sheep sold: 0 Goats sold: 0 Poultry killed by cats: 4 fowls Neat cattle remaining 11 September: 6 bulls, 107 cows, 152 calves, 34 yearlings, 40 heifers, 13 steers, 22 oxen, total 374 Sheep remaining 11 September: 367 ewes, 113 wethers, 224 lambs, 9 rams, total 713 Goats remaining 11 September: 212 ewes, 44 wethers, 107 kids, 10 rams, total 373 Hogs remaining 11 September: 6 sows, 15 shoats, 16 pigs, 2 brawn, total 39 Poultry remaining 11 September: 171 fowls, 44 ducks, 26 turkies, 33 geese Horses remaining 11 September: 6 mares, 5 horses, total 11 Asses remaining 11 September: 4 she asses, 2 he asses, total 6 Beef to the ship Eastcourt, 560 lb 7 wether goats killed for the soldiers hospital 1 ewe killed for the sick slaves 1 man died named Pompey 1 man deserted named Essex 1 girl born named Mary Good yam expended for the slaves, 27,360 Refuse yam for stock, 9,820 Total, 37,180 The account was signed by John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The stock account carried its human notes alongside the animal tallies, recording in the same

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			breath the death of a slave named Pompey, the desertion of another named Essex and the birth of a girl named Mary. The bracketing of enslaved people with cattle, poultry and yams in a single farm reckoning lays bare their treatment as living stock of the plantation, their deaths, escapes and births booked as movements of Company property in the very columns that counted the beasts. The desertion of the slave Essex follows the flight of Ispex on the *Bombay Castle* recorded on 21 August 1759, a second enslaved man escaping within weeks. The recurrence of desertion in the plantation's own returns shows flight as a persistent drain on the Company's enslaved workforce, the bald entry among the stock losses registering resistance as a routine hazard of holding people as property on an island whose harbour offered a way out. The issue of 560 lb of beef to the departing *Eastcourt* shows the plantation victualling homeward ships from its own herds. Supplying fresh meat to an outbound Indiaman for the long voyage reveals the island's central function in the Company's system, the settlement raising cattle expressly to reprovision the ships that called, so its farm fed the traffic between India and England as much as the settlement itself.
149	138	September 24th Artillery Stores Expended from the 12th of August to the 11th of September 1750 both days Included Guns Fired 9lb, 4lb, 3lb, 2lb, 1lb, Powder Expended August 15th Powder for the use of the Fortifications: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz D° 20th Fired to Salute Capt Mannings Going on board: 9lb 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 13, Powder Expended 13lb D° Powder for Priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 2oz D° Departed the Worcester Prince George Bombay Castle and three others Fired on the Salute: 9lb 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 13, Powder Expended 13lb D° Powder for Priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 2oz D° 23 Powder for the use of the Fortifications: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz D° 25th an Allarm: 9lb 6, 4lb 0, 3lb 2, 2lb 2, 1lb 2, Powder Expended 12lb D° 26th arrivd the Eastcourt returned the Salute: 9lb 9, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 9, Powder Expended 9lb D° Powder for Priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz D° 31 an alarm at Sirks Cap at Bankts and at Prosperous Bay for a ship that went by: 9lb 10, 4lb 2, 3lb 4, 2lb 2, 1lb 2, Powder Expended 25lb D° Powder for the use of the Fortifications: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz Septr 7th Powder for d°: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz Powder for exercising the East Flying party: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 4lb 12oz D° for Exercising the West Flying party: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 6lb 12oz D° Expended by the South Flying party upon Allarms: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 3lb 4oz D° Expended at Turks Cap upon alarms: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 12oz Two Cll Cartridges of powder destroyd by the Sea in the Guns at Sandy Bay: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 6oz Powder destroyd by Rats at Sandy Bay: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz D° for Signals: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, Powder Expended 8oz	Account of artillery stores expended from 12 August to 11 September 1759, both days included. The columns record guns fired, powder in pounds, ounces and drams by cartridge size, and total powder expended in pounds, ounces and drams. 15 August, powder for the use of the fortifications, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 26 August, fired to salute Captain Mannings going on board, 13 guns fired, 13 lb cartridges, total 13 lb 0 oz 0 dr 26 August, powder for priming, total 0 lb 2 oz 0 dr 26 August, departed the Worcester, Prince George and Bombay Castle and fired three guns under notice on the salute, 13 guns fired, 13 lb cartridges, total 13 lb 0 oz 0 dr 26 August, powder for priming, total 0 lb 2 oz 0 dr 23 August, powder for the use of the fortifications, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 25 August, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2 lb, 2 oz, 2 dr cartridges, total 2 lb 12 oz 0 dr 26 August, arrived the Eastcourt returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 lb cartridges, total 9 lb 0 oz 0 dr 26 August, powder for priming, total 0 lb 1 oz 8 dr 31 August, an alarm at Sortie Cap at Bankts and at Prosperous Bay, firing that went by, 10 guns fired, 2 lb, 4 lb, 2 oz, 2 dr cartridges, total 25 lb 0 oz 0 dr 31 August, powder for the use of the fortifications, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 7 September, powder for the use of the fortifications, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr Powder for exercising the East flying party, total 0 lb 4 oz 12 dr Powder for exercising the West flying party, total 0 lb 6 oz 12 dr Powder expended by the South flying party upon alarms, total 0 lb 3 oz 4 dr Powder expended at Turks Cap upon alarms, total 0 lb 0 oz 12 dr Two lb cartridges of powder destroyed by the sea in the guns at Sandy Bay, total 0 lb 6 oz 0 dr Powder destroyed by rats at Sandy Bay, total 0 lb 2 oz 4 dr Powder for signals, total 0 lb 0 oz 8 dr Total, 51 guns fired, 2 lb, 6 lb, 33 lb, 4 lb cartridges, total 117 lb 12 oz 0 dr Tallow for the use of the longboat and the yawl, 5 lb

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		Total: 9lb 51, 4lb 2, 3lb 6, 2lb 33, 1lb 4, Powder Expended 117lb 12oz Tallow for the use of the Longboat and the Yawl 4lb 5oz Lead Aprons were out Unserviceable at Sandy Bay 2 d° Shot expended by the South flying party upon Allarms 2qr 3lb d° expended at Sirks Cap upon alarms 2qr 4lb D° destroyed by rats at Sandy Bay 3lb Bitts Broke at the Main Fort 2 D° broke at Prosperous Bay 1 Match burnt at Sandy Bay from the 11th June 6lb Water Engines sent home in the Ship Admiral Watson to be repaired 2 Signd Thos Hall	Lead aprons worn out unserviceable at Sandy Bay, 2 Shot expended by the South flying party upon alarms, 23 Shot expended at Sortie Cap upon alarms, 24 Shot destroyed by rats at Sandy Bay, 3 Butts broke at the main fort, 2 Butts broke at Prosperous Bay, 1 Match burnt at Sandy Bay from 11 June, 6 lb Water engines sent home in the ship Admiral Watson to be repaired, 2 The account was signed by Thomas Hall. **Interpretations** The powder book now records the guns worked not only at the main fort but at a ring of outposts, Sandy Bay, Turks Cap, Prosperous Bay and the sortie battery, each firing on alarms across the month. The scatter of ordnance around the island's landing places reveals a defence organised in depth against the several points where an enemy might attempt to come ashore, so a single settlement guarded its coast through a chain of manned batteries rather than one concentrated strongpoint. The exercising of four separate flying parties, East, West, South and one at Turks Cap, shows the garrison drilled as mobile units ready to move to a threatened point. A flying party was a light detachment kept in readiness to march quickly to wherever an alarm was raised, and the regular expenditure of powder on their exercise reveals a defensive scheme built on speed and manoeuvre, small bodies of men trained to concentrate at the spot of danger along a coast too long for any fixed line to hold. The losses of powder and shot to the sea and to rats at Sandy Bay, and the lead aprons worn out there, show the constant decay of ordnance stores exposed to a harsh coastal station. Sea-water spoiling cartridges loaded in the guns and vermin destroying the stock reveal the difficulty of keeping powder serviceable in the damp of an exposed battery, so a share of the island's scarce munitions was lost to the elements before ever being fired. **Speculations** The unserviceable water engines were still recorded as sent home on the *Admiral Watson* to be repaired, more than six weeks after the Council first ordered them shipped on 6 August 1759. The reappearance of the same broken fire engines in the September stores return, set against the fire risk to a fort full of powder, shows how far the island's dependence on England stretched out the simplest repair, the machines evidently still awaiting or undergoing the long voyage while the settlement went without its fire protection through the whole intervening period.
150	139	1750 Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month Ending September the 11th 1750 viz 13 Botles of Port £0 10s 1¾d 30 d° Lisbon £2 1s 10½d 12 d° Mountain £0 16s 3d 16 d° Madeira £1 19s 6d 63 d° Arrack £2 2s 1½d 34 d° Beer £0 7s 0d 312 pound of Flour £2 5s 6d 3 pieces Salt Pork £0 6s 0d 358lb Mutton £7 9s 2d 5 Lambs £0 10s 0d 53lb Goat £0 17s 0d 23 Fowls £1 4s 6d 4 Ducks £0 6s 0d 2 Geese £0 10s 0d	Sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 September 1759. 13 bottles of port, £0 10s 1¾d 30 bottles of Lisbon, £2 1s 10½d 12 bottles of mountain, £0 16s 3d 16 bottles of Madeira, £1 19s 6d 63 bottles of arrack, £2 2s 0d 34 bottles of beer, £0 7s 1½d 312 lb flour, £2 5s 6d 3 pieces salt pork, £0 6s 0d 358 lb mutton, £7 9s 2d 5 lambs, £0 10s 0d 53 lb goat, £0 17s 6d 23 fowls, £1 4s 6d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 3 turkies, £0 15s 0d 11 lb beef, £0 17s 9d

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		5 Turkies £0 15s 0d 11lb Beef £0 17s 9d 12 3/4 Pork £0 6s 9d 15 3/4 Butter £0 15s 0d 74lb Candy £1 4s 6d Total £26 3s 7¾d We this day ordered the following Advertisement to be published Vizt	12¾ lb pork, £0 6s 9d 15¾ lb butter, £0 15s 0d 74 lb candy, £1 4s 6d Total, £20 3s 7¾d The Council this day ordered the following advertisement to be published. **Interpretations** The table account for September shows the mess spending markedly less than the £38 17s 2¼d of the month ending 11 August, chiefly through a sharp fall in fresh beef and the disappearance of the large arrack, port and Madeira purchases that had swelled the earlier bill. The drop follows the departure of the four Indiamen and their passengers at the end of August, so the reduced provisioning reflects a quieter island with fewer mouths of rank to feed once the ships sailed, the officers' table contracting as the season's press of company thinned. The steady stock of wines from across the trading world, Lisbon, mountain, Madeira and Indian arrack alongside port and beer, held its place on the table even in the leaner month. Mountain was the sweet Malaga wine of southern Spain and Lisbon and Madeira the wines of Portugal and its Atlantic island, and their continued presence shows the officers' cellar kept supplied from the full reach of Company commerce as a fixed feature of the establishment, drink being the one class of provision that did not fall away when the ships had gone.
151	140	September 24th Island St Helena Septr 24th 1750 Whereas to prevent the retailing of Spirituous Liquors, and the ill Consequences arising from it, and that none hereafter may plead ignorancy in this respect; We therefore publish the following Order received from the Honorable the Court of Directors Vizt We are informed that a very bad Use has been made of the Liberty we have given to the Inhabitants to purchase what Liquors they please out of our Ships, by retailing them in a Clandestine manner in many parts of the Island to the great Prejudice of both Blacks and Whites, as the Vice of Drunkenness is apparently, and greatly encreased thereby of Late, Our only Intention in granting the said Liberty to the Inhabitants was that they might be furnished with Liquors from Time to Time for the Use of themselves and their Families only, and therefore We do empower and direct you to take such Measures, as you shall think proper to prevent the retailing of spirituous Liquors, excepting at the Licensed Houses, and even at those Houses, you must take particular Care, that Drinking to Exess be discouraged and prevented, and we further empower you to lay such Penalties on Offenders as you shall think Reasonable Whoever therefore is proved to be guilty of a Breach of any part of the foregoing Orders or for the future, shall take more than Six Shillings and Sixpence per Gallon for Arrack, shall for Every such offence pay Five Pounds to the Honorable Companys Cash And Whereas by a Representation of the	At the island of St Helena on 24 September 1759, the Council published an order received from the Honourable the Court of Directors, to prevent the retailing of spirituous liquors and the ill consequences arising from it, so that none might afterwards plead ignorance of it. The Directors wrote that they were informed a very bad use had been made of the liberty given to the inhabitants to buy what liquors they pleased out of the Company's ships, by retailing them in a clandestine manner in many parts of the island, to the great harm of both black and white people, the vice of drunkenness having plainly and greatly increased of late. Their only intention in granting the inhabitants that liberty had been that they might be supplied with liquor from time to time for the use of themselves and their families alone. They therefore empowered and directed the Council to take such measures as it thought proper to prevent the retailing of spirituous liquors, except at the licensed houses, and even at those houses the Council was to take particular care that drinking to excess was discouraged and prevented. They further empowered the Council to lay such penalties on offenders as it should think reasonable. Whoever was proved guilty of a breach of any part of these orders, or should in future sell arrack at more than 6s 6d per gallon, was to pay £5 to the Honourable Company's cash for every such offence. By a representation of the inhabitants met in vestry on Monday 12 December 1757, it had been unanimously agreed, and approved by the Governor and Council, that no horses or mares should be allowed to graze on the Company's waste land at any season of the year under any pretence whatever, as they ate up the herbage from the black cattle. Notice was therefore given to the owner of any horses or mares found grazing there that he was to pay ten shillings for every time any of them were found trespassing. **Interpretations** The Directors' order against the clandestine retailing of spirits reveals a colonial administration struggling to control the social effects of the drink trade it had itself enabled. Having let the inhabitants buy liquor freely from the ships for their own use, the

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		Inhabitants met in Vestry on Monday the 12th December 1737, It was Unanimously agreed to and approved of by the Governor and Council That no Horses or Mares be permised at any Season of the Year, under any Pretence whatsoever to Graze on the Honorable Companys Waste Land as they Eat up the Herbage from the Black Cattle This is therefore to give Notice to the Owner or Owners of any Horses or Mares that are found Grazing thereon shall pay ten Shillings for every Time that any of them are found so trespassing	Company found the privilege turned into an unlicensed trade fuelling drunkenness across the island, and its remedy of confining sale to licensed houses under a penalty of £5 shows the classic pattern of a chartered authority regulating a market it had loosed by pricing arrack at a fixed ceiling and licensing its retail. The fixing of a maximum price of 6s 6d per gallon for arrack, enforced by a heavy £5 fine, shows the Council using price control as an instrument of social order rather than mere revenue. Capping the cost of the cheapest strong spirit and licensing its sale reveals an attempt to curb excess by regulating both where and how dearly drink could be had, the government reaching into the everyday trade of the island to check a vice it blamed for disorder among black and white alike. The vestry meeting of the inhabitants, agreeing rules approved by the Governor and Council, shows a rudimentary form of local self-government working beneath the Company's authority. The vestry was a parish assembly of householders, and its unanimous resolution on grazing, adopted by the Council, reveals the settlement governed partly through the collective voice of its inhabitants, the ban on horses grazing the common waste to spare the herbage for the Company's cattle emerging from the community itself rather than by decree alone. **Speculations** The Directors chose to license and price-cap the retail of spirits rather than forbid the inhabitants' purchase of liquor from the ships altogether. The decision to regulate rather than prohibit, set against their own complaint of the great harm the trade was doing, shows them unwilling to withdraw a liberty the inhabitants valued, so they sought a middle course that preserved private supply for families while suppressing the unlicensed trade, judging control more workable than an outright ban that would have provoked the very population they depended on to settle the island.
152	141	1750 This day Gilbert Clough Soldier petitioned to assign his Right in a Lease for some Ground laying in James's Valley unto Daniel Snookes Granted Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 1st day of October 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottow Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 24th September 1750 Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th day of September which is as follows	This day Gilbert Clough, a soldier, petitioned to assign his right in a lease for some ground lying in James's Valley to Daniel Suckias. His petition was granted by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 1 October 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 24 September 1759. The Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 September was counted and examined, and was as follows. **Interpretations** The transfer of Gilbert Clough's leasehold ground in James's Valley to Daniel Suckias shows the same planter again taking up land from a departing or divesting tenant, having lately been made heir to Henry Chapman's estate on 17 September 1759. The accumulation of holdings in Suckias's hands through both bequest and assignment reveals how land on the island passed among a small circle of established settlers, a resident planter building his estate by absorbing the interests of soldiers who gave up their plots. The recurrence of soldiers assigning their leasehold ground shows members of the garrison holding land in their own right alongside their military service. That a private soldier could take, hold and pass on a Company lease reveals the blurred line between garrison and settler on the island, the same men who stood guard also farming plots of the

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			valley floor, so military and agricultural life ran together in the persons of the ordinary soldiery.
153	142	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1750 Augt 12th To Balance remaining £8216 15s 9½d 17 To Ship Worcester the Balance of her Acct £49 6s 9d To Ship Prince George ditto £10 19s 10d To Ship Bombay Castle ditto £12 10s 0d To Ship True Briton ditto £17 4s 10d 27 To Fines received of John Worrall £1 0s 0d Septr 10th To ship Eastcourt the balance of her Acct £51 0s 3d £8358 17s 5½d 1750 Augt 13th By Acct Current London Advanced Forty two French Prisoners on board the Worcester Prince George & Bombay Castle 4/6 each Man as pr Consultation of this day £9 9s 0d Septr 11th By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 4456 Pagodas 8/ £1782 8s 0d 1784 Venetians 10 £892 0s 0d Gold Amounting to £2674 8s 0d 13816 Dollars 5/ £3954 0s 0d 10467 Rupees 2/3 £1177 10s 9d 441 French p°s 2d £3 13s 6d Odd Money £0 1s 2½d Silver amounting to £5135 5s 5½d Cash Notes of no Use amounting to £539 15s 0d £8349 8s 5½d £8358 17s 5½d	Cash debtor. 12 August, to balance remaining, £8,216 15s 9½d 17 August, to ship *Worcester* the balance of her account, £49 6s 9d. To ship *Prince George* the balance of her account, £10 19s 10d. To ship *Bombay Castle* the balance of her account, £12 10s 0d. To ship *True Briton* the balance of her account, £17 4s 10d. 27 August, to fines received of John Worrall, £1 0s 0d 10 September, to ship *Eastcourt* the balance of her account, £51 0s 3d. Total, £8,358 17s 5½d Cash creditor. 13 August, by account current London, advanced forty-two French prisoners on board the *Worcester*, *Prince George* and *Bombay Castle* at 4s 6d each man as per consultation of this day, £9 9s 0d. 11 September, by balance remaining in the following species: 4,456 pagodas at 8s, £1,782 8s 0d 1,784 venetians at 10s, £892 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,674 8s 0d 13,816 dollars at 5s, £3,954 0s 0d 10,467 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,177 10s 9d 441 French at 1s 2d, £3 13s 6d Odd money, £0 1s 2½d Silver amounting to, £5,135 3s 5½d Cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £8,349 8s 5½d Total, £8,358 17s 5½d **Interpretations** The single credit entry of £9 9s 0d records the subsistence paid to forty-two French prisoners distributed across three of the homeward Indiamen, at 4s 6d each man as fixed by the Council on 13 August 1759. Charging the maintenance of enemy captives to the London account current shows the settlement funding the prisoners on the expectation of reimbursement through the Company's head office, the whole arrangement of feeding and shipping French prisoners handled as a paper charge to be squared in England. The gold holding rose from the July count as the venetians increased to 1,784 pieces from 1,600, adding to the reserve of Venetian sequins, while the pagodas held exactly steady at 4,456. The silver in dollars, by contrast, fell back to 13,816 from the 15,494 counted on the previous balance, so the island paid out silver coin over the month while its gold quietly grew. The divergence shows the settlement spending its common dollars on the running costs of the busy season while adding the scarcer gold to a reserve it preferred to hold rather than disburse. The persistence of £539 15s 0d in cash notes of no use, carried forward yet again unchanged, confirms the dead paper as a fixed and irrecoverable item on the island's books. Its appearance at the identical figure through successive monthly balances shows the notes frozen beyond redemption, a standing block of nominal cash the settlement could neither spend nor write off, held on the account as a permanent reminder of value that had slipped out of reach.
154	143	1750 Mr Francis Wrangham Senior presented the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr	Francis Wrangham senior petitioned the Council. He set out that John Doveton, one of the nominees in two of his leases upon lives, had died, and he asked that the life of David Meock, son of Margaret Meock, might be inserted in those leases. He further asked

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		Governor &cr Council of the Island St Helena The humble Petition of Francis Wrangham Senr Sheweth That John Doveton one of the Nominees in two of your Petitioners Leases upon Lives, being dead, humbly prays that the Life of David Meeck son of Margaret Meeck may be inserted in the said Leases, and likewise renewals of Four Leases for Twenty one Years, two of which being already expired, and two others that will expire, on the 11th Instant in the present State Prd your Petitioner shall ever pray signed Francis Wrongham St Helena October 1st 1750 Granted upon Mr Wranghams paying the usual fine of half a Years Rent being five pounds five Shillings Benjamin Seale petitioned to have a Lease for Six Acres of Land renewed which will expire on the 11th Instant Granted	for renewals of four leases for twenty-one years, two of which had already expired and two others that would expire on 11 October in the present grant. His petition, signed and dated at St Helena on 1 October 1759, was granted upon his paying the usual fine of half a year's rent, being £5 5s 0d. Benjamin Seale petitioned to have a lease for six acres of land renewed, which would expire on 11 October. His petition was granted. **Interpretations** Francis Wrangham's leases were held upon lives, a form of tenure in which the term ran for as long as named persons stayed alive rather than for a fixed span of years. The death of one nominee, John Doveton, entitled the tenant to substitute another life, here a boy named as the son of Margaret Meock, on payment of a fine, which reveals the workings of a leasehold system common in England of the period by which land was held against the uncertain measure of human lives and renewed by inserting fresh ones as the old fell in. The renewal of leases on payment of the usual fine of half a year's rent, £5 5s 0d, shows the Company drawing revenue from its land not through rack rents alone but through periodic fines on renewal. The lump sum exacted whenever a lease was renewed or a life replaced reveals a standing source of income for the Company as landlord, the tenant paying to secure his continued tenure, so the island's ground yielded the Company both its rents and a further profit each time a holding changed its term or its named lives. The keeping of leases on lives and their careful renewal by petition and record show the transplanting of an English form of land tenure to the remote island. That the settlement's ground was held and passed by the same devices of nominated lives and renewal fines used at home reveals how thoroughly the legal habits of England were carried into the Company's colony, the machinery of the manor reproduced on a rock in the South Atlantic. **Speculations** Wrangham applied to replace the dead life with a named child rather than an adult, choosing a boy whose long expected span would carry the lease furthest into the future. The selection of a young life to insert, set against the option of naming any living person, shows the tenant working the system to his own advantage, a lease on lives lasting longest when pinned to the youngest nominee, so he sought the child's name precisely because it promised the most years before the life fell in and another fine came due.
155	144	October 1st Harry a man Slave belonging to Elisha Aragoan hired by Stephen Young having taken upon him, to Hamstring two of the Honorable Companys Hogs that trespasd into the said Youngs Plantation we therefore Ordered the said fellow Harry to be whipped and to receive One hundred Lashes Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th day of October 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed dated the 1st October 1750	Harry, a slave belonging to Elisha Ssragan and hired by Stephen Young, having taken upon himself to hamstring two of the Honourable Company's hogs that trespassed into the Longwood plantation, the Council ordered him to be whipped and to receive one hundred lashes. The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 8 October 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 1 October 1759. This day the following persons petitioned to have their several leases renewed, which would expire on 11 October. John Alexander for 5 acres Thomas Greentree for 8 acres Richard Goodwin for 27 acres Henry Bazett, guardian to the Musters, for 8 acres

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		This day the following persons petitioned to have their several Leases renewed which would expire the 11th instant viz John Allexander for five Acres Thomas Greentree for Eight d° Richard Godwin for twenty seven d° Richard Godwin Guardian Henry Bazett to the Master for 18 d° Jane Chretien Son Richard Bagley for 24 Acres Matthew Purling Erick Godwin Sarah Greentree Middox Bagett Orlando Bagley for 22½ Acres One d° Paris for Ground Rent Petition to Erick Godwin desirous for Newton Acres and one Years for Ground Rent Granted Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling	Jane Chesten for 8 acres Richard Bayley for 24 acres Matthew Purling for 8 acres Frank Goodwin, a nominee for Richard Goodwin, described for 19 acres and one year's ground rent Thomas Greentree, 8 acres Middox Bazett Orlando Bayley for 22½ acres The petitions were granted upon the parties paying one year's ground rent. The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The hundred lashes ordered for Harry, a slave, for hamstringing two hogs that had strayed onto the plantation he worked show the ferocity with which the settlement answered any damage done by the enslaved to Company property. That an enslaved man was flogged with a hundred blows for laming trespassing pigs, an act another man might have been fined a few shillings for, exposes the brutal double standard of a slave society, where the destruction of property by the unfree was punished on their bodies with a severity meant to hold the whole enslaved population in dread. The batch of lease renewals granted on payment of one year's ground rent shows the Company gathering revenue from its land at fixed intervals as the terms fell in together on 11 October. The renewal fine of a year's rent, exacted from a dozen tenants at once, reveals the periodic income the Company drew as landlord, the concentration of expiries on a single date allowing it to collect from the whole body of leaseholders in one sitting, the island's land yielding its return by this settled rhythm of renewal. The appearance of Henry Bazett as guardian to the Musters and Frank Goodwin as a nominee for Richard Goodwin shows the machinery of trusteeship and nominated lives at work in the island's landholding. Land held for minors through a guardian, or on the life of a named nominee, reveals the same devices of English property law operating on the island to carry holdings across generations and to secure them against the death of the tenant, the settlement's small society managing its estates through the familiar forms of guardianship and lives.
156	145	1750 At a Consultation held on Thursday the 11th day of October 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 8th of October 1750 According to the Advertisement published the 10th of September last, the Planters this day attended and paid their Rents and Revenues due to the Honorable Company for the year Past which amounted to £363 13s 2d The Rent Roll is as follows Vizt List of Rents and Revenues for the year Ending the 11th October 1750 Viz Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, S, D John Alexander: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 7½, Lease Land 70¾, £18, S3, D6 Samuel Alexander: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 34, Lease Land 37½, £11, S1, D6 George Alexander: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 28, Lease Land 22, £6, S18, D0 Margaret Illcock 1¼ at 20d Per Annum: Ground Rent 20, Free Land 0, Lease Land 2¼, £1, S5, D0	A consultation was held at the Castle on Thursday 11 October 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 8 October 1759. According to the advertisement published on 10 September, the planters this day attended and paid their rents and revenues due to the Honourable Company for the year past, which amounted to £363 13s 2d. The rent roll was as follows. The columns record ground rent, free land, lease land and the rent due in pounds, shillings and pence. John Alexander: ground rent 0, free land 7¼ acres, lease land 70¾ acres, £18 3s 6d Samuel Alexander: ground rent 0, free land 34 acres, lease land 37½ acres, £11 1s 6d George Alexander: ground rent 0, free land 28 acres, lease land 22 acres, £6 18s 0d Margaret Meock 1¼ at 20s per annum: ground rent 20, free land 0, lease land 2¼ acres, £1 5s 0d Onesipherous Beale: ground rent 0, free land 10 acres, lease land 7½ acres, £2 7s 6d Richard Beale: ground rent 5, free land 41 acres, lease land 38½ acres, £11 13s 7½d John Bagley: ground rent 0, free land 0, lease land 30 acres, £0 9s 0d

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		Onisophorus Beale: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 7½, £2, S7, D6 Richard Beale: Ground Rent 3, Free Land 41, Lease Land 38½, £11, S13, D7½ John Bagley: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 30, £0, S9, D0 Richard Bagley 3 a 1/6 p° acre 12 a 4 d°: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 33, Lease Land 144, £37, S12, D6 Orlando Bagley Senr 4 acres a 1/6 p° acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 44½, £11, S9, D9 Matthew Bazett 5½ acres a 1/ p° acre: Ground Rent 10, Free Land 132, Lease Land 61, £21, S5, D0 Henry Bazett 8 a 4/ p° acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 35, Lease Land 28, £8, S7, D0 Robert Ballard: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 132, Lease Land 0, £0, S15, D6 William Burnham's Orpht: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 29, Lease Land 15, £5, S4, D0 John Bland: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 15¾, £4, S8, D9 John Clark 3 acres a 4 p° Acre: Ground Rent 24, Free Land 192, Lease Land 60, £27, S3, D0 Thomas Cotgrave: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 20½, Lease Land 104½, £27, S1, D9 Jonathan Doveton: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 128, Lease Land 4, £7, S8, D9 Isaac Doveton: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 77½, Lease Land 9½, £6, S5, D3 John Doveton's Widow: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 362, Lease Land 8, £6, S6, D6 Joseph Desfountains Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 57, £15, S5, D0 Elizabeth Desfountain Widow: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 2, Lease Land 15, £0, S2, D15 John Desfountain: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 93, Lease Land 24½, £10, S13, D9 Henry Easthope: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 44, £12, S5, D0 Carried Over: Ground Rent 44, Free Land 2568, Lease Land 834½, £264, S17, D7½	Richard Bagley 3 acres at 1s 6d per acre 12 acres at 4s 8d: ground rent 0, free land 33 acres, lease land 144 acres, £37 12s 6d Orlando Bagley junior 4 acres at 1s 6d per acre: ground rent 0, free land 20 acres, lease land 45½ acres, £11 9s 9d Matthew Bazett 5½ acres at 1s per acre: ground rent 10, free land 132 acres, lease land 61 acres, £21 5s 0d Henry Bazett 8 acres at 4s per acre: ground rent 0, free land 35 acres, lease land 28 acres, £8 7s 0d Robert Ballard: ground rent 0, free land 15½ acres, lease land 0, £0 15s 6d William Burnham's orphans: ground rent 0, free land 29 acres, lease land 15 acres, £5 4s 0d John Bland: ground rent 0, free land 10 acres, lease land 15¾ acres, £0 8s 9d John Clark 3 acres at 4s per acre: ground rent 24 acres, free land 192½ acres, lease land 60 acres, £27 3s 0d Thomas Cotgrave: ground rent 0, free land 20½ acres, lease land 101¾ acres, £27 1s 9d Jonathan Doveton: ground rent 0, free land 128 acres, lease land 4 acres, £7 0s 9d Isaac Doveton: ground rent 0, free land 77½ acres, lease land 9½ acres, £6 5s 3d John Doveton's widow: ground rent 0, free land 86 acres, lease land 8 acres, £6 6s 0d Joseph Desfountains orphans: ground rent 0, free land 20 acres, lease land 57 acres, £15 5s 0d Elizabeth Desfountains widow: ground rent 0, free land 0, lease land 2 acres, £0 15s 0d John Desfountain: ground rent 0, free land 98½ acres, lease land 24½ acres, £10 13s 9d Henry Easthope: ground rent 0, free land 25 acres, lease land 44 acres, £12 5s 0d Carried over, £264 17s 7½d **Interpretations** The rent roll divided each holding between free land and lease land, taxing the two on different terms, so a planter might hold some acres outright and others on a Company lease within a single farm. Free land was ground held in a fuller right at a light quit rent, while lease land was let for a term at a heavier charge, and the distinction running through every entry reveals a mixed system of tenure by which the Company retained the freehold of much of the island while granting lesser rights over the rest, drawing its revenue accordingly from each class. The great disparity in holdings, from John Clark's and Matthew Bazett's estates of near two hundred acres down to plots of two or three, exposes the concentration of the island's land in a few hands. The gulf between the large planters and the small shows a settlement already marked by inequality of property, a handful of leading families holding the bulk of the cultivable ground while many others held only fragments, the rent roll setting out in figures the social order of the colony. The recurrence of orphans and widows as landholders, the Burnham and Desfountains orphans and the widows of John Doveton and Joseph Desfountains, shows the island's land passing to and being held for the dependents of dead settlers. That property descended to orphaned children and surviving wives, held in trust or in their own name, reveals how the colony's estates were kept within families across the deaths of their heads, the ground carrying on through widows and minors under the Company's registered tenure.
157	146	October 11th Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, S, D Brought Over: Ground Rent 44, Free Land 2568, Lease Land 834½, £264, S17, D7½	The rent roll continued as follows. The columns record ground rent, free land, lease land and the rent due in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over: ground rent 0, free land 1,258 acres, lease land 834 acres, £264 17s 7½d

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		Michael Frost: Ground Rent 15, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S0, D15 Sarah Funge: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 4, £1, S0, D0 Richard Godwin: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 46½, Lease Land 27, £9, S1, D6 Thomas Greentree 33½ Acres a 4/ p° Acre 5 d° a 1/6 3½ a 1/3: Ground Rent 5, Free Land 96½, Lease Land 10, £20, S0, D6 James Greentree: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 48, Lease Land 33, £16, S3, D0 Onesiphorus Gurlings Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 23, Lease Land 9, £1, S16, D6 Richard Gurlings Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 16, Lease Land 36, £8, S7, D10½ Gabriel Harpers Orphs: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 11, Lease Land 43, £11, S16, D0 Thomas Hays Orphs: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 30, Lease Land 4, £2, S10, D0 Thomas Harper Junr: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 19, Lease Land 38, £10, S9, D0 Thomas Harper Senr: Ground Rent 10, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S0, D10 Richard Harper: Ground Rent 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S2, D6 Martin Harper's Orphs: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 66¼, Lease Land 43, £14, S10, D10 Gabriel Isaacke: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 8, £0, S2, D0 Elisha Isaacke: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 5, £2, S10, D0 Mary Jarvis: Ground Rent 12, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S0, D12 John Jacks: Ground Rent 16, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S0, D16 Thomas Kirkpatrick: Ground Rent 24, Free Land 21, Lease Land 19½, £7, S2, D6 Samuel Anipe: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 38¾, Lease Land 17½, £6, S6, D3 Isaac Knipe: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 16, £4, S0, D0 William Kennidy: Ground Rent 13/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S13, D0 Eleanor Leech: Ground Rent 12, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S0, D12 John Leech: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 36, £9, S0, D0 John Legg: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S0, D15 Bridget Leech: Ground Rent 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S2, D6 Mary Mason: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 13¾, Lease Land 3, £0, S8, D9 Benjamin Mason: Ground Rent 11, Free Land 23½, Lease Land 6, £10, S18, D6 William More: Ground Rent 5, Free Land 10, Lease Land 2, £0, S0, D15 James Powell: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 30, Lease Land 21½, £6, S17, D6 Matthew Purling 9¼ a 1/ p° Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 133½, Lease Land 70, £22, S6, D6 Susannah Pledgards 3 acres a 4/ p° Acre: Ground Rent 5, Free Land 102¼, Lease Land 4, £15, S9, D0 John Pritchard: Ground Rent 10, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S0, D10 James Pritchard: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S7, D0 John Robinson: Ground Rent 7/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S7, D0 William Seale 4½ acres a 1/6 p° acre: Ground Rent 2/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S2, D6 Benjamin Seale: Ground Rent 7, Free Land 44, Lease Land 10, £7, S9, D0 John Seales Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 7¼, Lease Land 1, £1, S16, D3	Michael Frost: ground rent 15, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 15s 0d Sarah Tunge: ground rent 0, free land 4 acres, lease land 0, £0 1s 0d Richard Goodwin: ground rent 0, free land 46½ acres, lease land 27 acres, £9 1s 6d Thomas Greentree 33½ acres at 4s per acre 5s at 16 3½ at 3s: ground rent 5, free land 96½ acres, lease land 20 acres, £0 6s 0d James Greentree: ground rent 0, free land 48 acres, lease land 33 acres, £16 3s 0d Onesipherous Gurlings orphans: ground rent 0, free land 23 acres, lease land 9 acres, £1 16s 6d Richard Gurlings orphans: ground rent 0, free land 16 acres, lease land 36 acres, £8 7s 10½d Gabriel Harpis orphans: ground rent 0, free land 11 acres, lease land 43 acres, £11 16s 0d Thomas Hays orphans: ground rent 0, free land 30 acres, lease land 4 acres, £2 10s 0d Thomas Harper junior: ground rent 0, free land 19 acres, lease land 38 acres, £10 9s 0d Thomas Harper senior: ground rent 10, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 10s 0d Richard Harper: ground rent 2s 6d, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 2s 6d Martin Harper's orphans: ground rent 0, free land 66½ acres, lease land 43 acres, £14 10s 10d Gabriel Isaacke: ground rent 0, free land 0, lease land 2 acres, £0 0s 2d Elisha Isaacke: ground rent 0, free land 25 acres, lease land 5 acres, £2 10s 0d Mary Jarvis: ground rent 12, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 12s 0d John Jacks: ground rent 16, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 16s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick: ground rent 24, free land 21 acres, lease land 19½ acres, £7 2s 6d Samuel Knipe: ground rent 0, free land 38¾ acres, lease land 17½ acres, £6 6s 3d Isaac Knipe: ground rent 0, free land 0, lease land 16 acres, £4 0s 0d William Kennedy: ground rent 13, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 13s 0d Eleanor Leech: ground rent 12, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 12s 0d John Leech: ground rent 0, free land 0, lease land 36 acres, £9 0s 0d John Legg: ground rent 15, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 15s 0d Bridget Leech: ground rent 2s 6d, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 2s 6d Mary Mason: ground rent 0, free land 13¾ acres, lease land 3 acres, £0 8s 9d Benjamin Mason: ground rent 0, free land 11 acres, lease land 23½ acres, £10 6s 0d William More: ground rent 5, free land 0, lease land 10 acres, £2 15s 0d James Powell: ground rent 0, free land 30 acres, lease land 21½ acres, £17 6s 0d Matthew Purling 9¾ at 1s per acre: ground rent 0, free land 133½ acres, lease land 70 acres, £22 6s 0d Susannah Pledgerds 3 acres at 4s per acre: ground rent 5, free land 102¼ acres, lease land 4 acres, £15 9s 0d John Pritchard: ground rent 10, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 10s 0d James Pritchard: ground rent 0, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 7s 0d John Robinson: ground rent 7s 6d, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 2s 6d William Seale 4½ acres at 1s 6d per acre: ground rent 2s 6d, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 2s 6d Benjamin Seale: ground rent 7, free land 44 acres, lease land 10 acres, £7 9s 0d John Seales orphans: ground rent 0, free land 7½ acres, lease land 1 acre, £16 3s 0d

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		Nathan Sangle: Ground Rent 10, Free Land 7½, Lease Land 2, £7, S6, D0 James Sorbea: Ground Rent 25, Free Land 8¼, Lease Land 3, £7, S6, D0 John Swaiss Orphs: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S0, D12 John Worrall: Ground Rent 9, Free Land 38½, Lease Land 10, £1, S6, D6 Joshua Worralls Orphs: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 42½, Lease Land 10, £12, S6, D0 Carried over: Ground Rent 31, Free Land 33, Lease Land 9, £16, S0, D0 Carried over: Ground Rent 1028, Free Land 1629, Lease Land 493, £312, S12, D1	Nathan Sample: ground rent 10, free land 7½ acres, lease land 2 acres, £7 6s 0d James Torbea: ground rent 0, free land 25 acres, lease land 6½ acres, £3 7s 6d John Twaiss orphans: ground rent 12, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 12s 0d John Worrall: ground rent 0, free land 9 acres, lease land 38½ acres, £10 1s 6d Joshua Worralls orphans: ground rent 0, free land 42½ acres, lease land 10 acres, £12 6s 0d Carried over: ground rent 31, free land 33 acres, lease land 9 acres, £1,028 16s 4d **Interpretations** The roll again shows a large share of the island's holdings vested in the orphans of dead settlers, the Gurling, Harpis, Hays, Harper, Twaiss and Worrall orphans all entered as landholders in their own line. The prevalence of orphaned children on the rent roll measures the heavy mortality among the settler adults, so many households left in the hands of minors that trusteeship over children's land was a routine feature of the colony, the ground carried on for the young until they came of age under the Company's registered tenure. The many small ground-rent-only entries, tenants like Michael Frost, Mary Jarvis and John Legg holding no acreage but paying a few shillings of ground rent, mark the humbler inhabitants who held only a house plot rather than farmland. Ground rent was the charge on a building lot in the town or valley as distinct from the rent of cultivable acres, and its separate listing reveals the range of the island's tenantry from great planters down to those who held nothing but the ground their dwelling stood on. The appearance of several women as landholders in their own right, Sarah Tunge, Mary Jarvis, Eleanor and Bridget Leech, Mary and the widows and female tenants of the roll, shows women holding and paying for land independently on the island. That single women and widows stood on the rent roll as tenants in their own name reveals a settlement in which female landholding was an accepted part of the property order, the scarcity of people perhaps opening to women a fuller economic standing than the law commonly allowed them at home.
158	147	1750 Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, S, D Brought Over: Ground Rent 1028, Free Land 1629, Lease Land 493, £312, S12, D1 Francis Wrangham Senr: Ground Rent 40, Free Land 62½, Lease Land 125½, £43, S16, D10 Francis Wrangham Junr Acres at pepper Corn: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 39, Lease Land 6, £1, S19, D0 William Wrangham: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 27½, Lease Land 21½, £6, S15, D4 David Wilsons Orphs: Ground Rent 10, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £0, S0, D10 Joseph Whaleys Orphans: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 42, Lease Land 23¾, £3, S17, D11 Stephen Young: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 8½, £2, S12, D6 William Young: Ground Rent 5, Free Land 79½, Lease Land 25, £10, S9, D6 Total: Ground Rent 1096, Free Land 1876½, Lease Land 843½, £363, S13, D2 Ordered, the following Advertisements to be published Island St Helena 11th October 1750 This is to give Notice to all persons upon the said Island who have not already given in a Return of what Horses &c they now have, that they are hereby required to send it into the Secretary's Office	The rent roll concluded as follows. The columns record ground rent, free land, lease land and the rent due in pounds, shillings and pence. Brought over: ground rent 0, free land 1,028 acres, lease land 629 acres, £493 12s 1d Francis Wrangham senior: ground rent 40, free land 621¾ acres, lease land 123½ acres, £43 16s 10d Francis Wrangham junior, acres at pepper corn: ground rent 0, free land 39 acres, lease land 6 acres, £1 19s 0d William Wrangham: ground rent 0, free land 27½ acres, lease land 21½ acres, £6 15s 4d David Wilson's orphans: ground rent 10, free land 0, lease land 0, £0 10s 0d Joseph Whaley's orphans: ground rent 0, free land 14 acres, lease land 23¾ acres, £3 17s 11d Stephen Young: ground rent 0, free land 10 acres, lease land 8½ acres, £2 12s 6d William Young: ground rent 5, free land 79½ acres, lease land 25 acres, £10 9s 6d Total: ground rent 55, free land 2,676 acres, lease land 834 acres, £565 13s 2d The Council ordered the following advertisement to be published. At the island of St Helena on 11 October 1759, notice was given to all persons on the island who had not already given in a return of what horses they now had, that they were required to send it into the secretary's office forthwith, distinguishing them according to their several denominations as usual. No

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		forthwith, distinguishing them according to their several Denominations as Usual, And no person is hereafter to keep any or more Horses &c after the 31st of December next than they are allowed to do upon pain of paying £5 for every one they shall then have that exceeds the late Regulation, which is as follows Vizt That any person inhabiting the said Island, and possessing ten Acres of Land, or upwards to twenty Acres, shall be permitted to keep one saddle Horse or Mare, and that every Inhabitant possessing seventy Acres of Land or upwards to one hundred and Forty Acres, shall be permitted to keep two saddle Horses or Mares and that every Inhabitant possessing One Hundred and forty Acres of Land or above, shall be permitted to keep three saddle Horses or Mares and no more let them possess ever So large a Quantity of Land	person was afterwards to keep any more horses after 31 December next than they were allowed to do, upon pain of paying £5 for every one they should then have that exceeded the late regulation, which was as follows. Any person inhabiting the island and possessing ten acres of land or upwards to twenty acres was to be permitted to keep one saddle horse or mare. Every inhabitant possessing seventy acres of land or upwards to one hundred and forty acres was to be permitted to keep two saddle horses or mares. Every inhabitant possessing one hundred and forty acres of land or above was to be permitted to keep three saddle horses or mares and no more, however large a quantity of land they possessed. **Interpretations** The regulation tying the number of saddle horses a man might keep to the acreage he held shows the Council rationing horse-keeping to control the pressure of grazing on the island's limited pasture. By fixing a sliding scale from one horse for ten acres up to a ceiling of three for the largest estates, and capping even the greatest landholder, the Council curbed the competition between horses and the Company's cattle for the scarce herbage, a deliberate husbanding of a small island's grazing that overrode any private wish to keep more. The mention of land held at a peppercorn rent for Francis Wrangham junior records the nominal tenure by which a holding was granted for a token payment. A peppercorn rent was a trifling sum reserved to keep a lease legally alive without real charge, and its appearance shows the Company sometimes granting land on merely formal terms, perhaps as a favour or to bind a holding to a family, the peppercorn preserving the Company's ultimate title while exacting nothing of substance. The total rent roll of £565 13s 2d from 2,676 acres of free land and 834 of lease land sets out the whole taxable extent of the island's settled ground and the modest revenue it yielded. The smallness of the sum against the acreage measures how lightly the land was charged and how limited the cultivable area of the island was, the Company drawing only a few hundred pounds a year in rents from a colony held less for the profit of its soil than for its place on the sea road to the East.
159	148	October 11th Island St Helena October 11th 1750 Whereas several Advertisements have been published Ordering all persons 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 Company's Pastures, yet notwithstanding such repeated Notices, two hundred Sheep belonging to the Planters were lately found Grazing in the Long Wood This is therefore to give Notice that all Sheep and Hogs that are found, so trespassing will be pounded, and the Owner or Owners thereof shall pay a Fine of 4d for each Sheep, and 6d for each Hog and make good any Damage that may have been done by them Ordered that the following Articles of House Furniture &c° which are worn out and unserviceable to be wrote off the Books of Accounts Vizt 9 Officers Sashes £27 10s 5d House Furniture 1 Sett Cherry Derry Curtains £1 5s 0d	At the island of St Helena on 11 October 1759, the Council published a further order. Several advertisements had been published ordering all persons 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 Longwood or on any of the Honourable Company's pastures. Yet despite such repeated notices, two hundred sheep belonging to the planters had lately been found grazing in the Longwood. Notice was therefore given that all sheep and hogs found trespassing would be pounded, and the owner would pay a fine of 4d for each sheep and 6d for each hog and make good any damage done by them. The Council ordered that the following articles of house inventory, worn out and unserviceable, be written off the books of accounts. 9 officers sashes, £27 10s 5d House furniture: 1 set cherry derry curtains, £1 5s 0d 8 tablecloths 2 yards by 2, £15 16s 10d tablecloths 1½ by 1½, £5 1s 11d 9 dozen diaper napkins, £11 1s 5d 1 knot catgut, £0 1s 4d 1 brass bought, £3 4s 0d 1 spying glass for longboat, £0 5s 0d 1 China soup dish, £0 5s 0d

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		8 Table Cloths 3½ by 2¾ £15 16s 10d 4 d° 1½ by 1¾ £5 1s 11d 9 doz° Diaper Napkins £11 3s 5d 1 Knot Calgut £1 4s 0d 1 Sass Cough £3 15s 0d 1 Spising Glass for Longboat £1 7s 0d 1 China Soup Dish £0 5s 0d 79 d° Plates £6 1s 0d 1 Wine and Water Glass £2 9s 0d 1 Brass Ring Dial£ 1 Sirloen £0 10s 5d 45 9s 3d Boats 1 Longboat worn out £18 0s 0d 1 D° sent to Sea £30 0s 0d £48 0s 0d £120 19s 8d Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling	79 plates, £6 1s 0d 1 wine and water glass, £0 2s 9d 1 brass ring dial, £0 10s 0d 1 tureen, £0 5s 0d Total house furniture, £45 9s 3d Boats: 1 longboat worn out, £18 0s 0d 1 longboat sent to sea, £30 0s 0d Total boats, £48 0s 0d Total, £120 19s 8d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The complaint that two hundred sheep were found in the Longwood despite repeated orders shows the Council struggling to enforce its rules against a planter body that persistently ignored them. The demand that owners keep shepherds and ring their hogs, and the pounding of straying beasts with a fine per head, reveals the constant friction over grazing on a small island, where the planters' stock encroached on the Company's own pastures and the Council had to answer neglect with impoundment and penalty rather than mere proclamation. The writing-off of worn-out household goods, from officers' sashes and tablecloths to plates and a soup dish, shows the Council keeping a careful inventory of Company property down to the smallest furnishing. The formal removal of unserviceable articles from the books reveals an administration that accounted for every item it owned and struck off what had perished, so even a broken glass or a torn cloth passed through the ledger, the settlement's stewardship of Company goods conducted with a bookkeeper's exactness. The condemning of two longboats, one worn out and one lost at sea, valued together at £48, marks the heavy cost and hard wear of the boats on which the island's whole traffic with shipping depended. Because St Helena had no harbour works and every person and every ton of goods passed between ship and shore by boat, the longboats were worked to destruction, their frequent loss and replacement a standing charge on the settlement that kept the island connected to the vessels in the road. Pintado curtains, here entered as cherry derry, were of painted or printed Indian cotton, the chintz brought from the East that furnished the officers' quarters, a small mark of the Indian goods that reached the island through the Company's trade even in its household stuff.
160	149	1750 At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th day of October 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signd dated the 11th day of October 1750 This day the following Persons petitioned to have their several Leases renewed which expired the 11th Instant Vizt acres John Leech 26 in the East Division Mary Doveton 7 in D° Isaac Doveton 2 in D° William Wrangham 21½ in the South Division Jonathan Doveton 4 in the West Division John Desfountain 17 in the East Division D° 2 acres 10¾ as Executor for Joseph Whaleys Orphs	A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 15 October 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 11 October 1759. This day the following persons petitioned to have their several leases renewed, which expired on 11 October. John Leech, 26 acres in the East Division Mary Doveton, 7 acres in the East Division Isaac Doveton, 2 acres in the East Division William Wrangham, 21½ acres in the South Division Jonathan Doveton, 4 acres in the West Division John Desfountain, 17 acres in the East Division John Desfountain, 2 acres and 10¾ as executor for Joseph Whaley's orphans The rest of the Whaley 13¾ acres in the West Division Benjamin Mason, 9½ acres in the East Division James Greentree, 17 acres in the South Division John Worrall, 17 acres in the South Division

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		The Rest of the said Land 13¾ in the West Division Benjamin Mason 9½ in D° James Greentree ½ John Worrall administrator 17 Acres in the South Division Granted Benjamin Seale presented the following petition Vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &cr Councel of St Helena The humble petition of Benjamin Seale Sheweth That there is a small piece of Waste Land adjoining to your Petitioners Land lying in Sandy Bay Valley, your Petitioner therefore is desirous of hiring it at a reasonable Rent and your Petitioner humbly Begs the same may be granted him And your petitioner will ever pray signed Benjn Seale Ordered the said Land to be Viewed	The petitions were granted. Benjamin Seale petitioned the Council. He set out that there was a small piece of waste land adjoining his own land lying in Sandy Bay valley, and he wished to hire it at a reasonable rent. He asked that it might be granted him. The Council ordered the land to be viewed. **Interpretations** The identification of each holding by a named division of the island, East, West and South, shows the settlement's land ordered into a formal territorial scheme for the purposes of tenure and record. Dividing the island into named districts for the rent roll and lease register reveals an administrative geography imposed on the ground, so every holding could be placed and taxed by its division, the Company managing its scattered tenancies through a settled map of the island rather than by holding alone. Benjamin Seale's application to take a piece of waste land adjoining his own shows the gradual extension of cultivation by tenants absorbing the unused margins of the island. His wish to hire the neighbouring waste at a rent, met by the Council's order to have it viewed first, reveals the process by which the Company brought fresh ground into tenancy, an inspection preceding any grant so that the land's worth and extent could be assessed before a rent was set, the settlement expanding its farmed area parcel by parcel under official survey. The Council's order to view the waste land before granting it shows the deliberate valuation that preceded any new letting of Company ground. Rather than grant Seale's request outright, the Council sent to have the parcel inspected, which reveals an administration unwilling to dispose of even marginal land without first knowing its measure and quality, the viewing a routine safeguard ensuring the Company set a rent proportioned to what it gave.
161	150	October 15th Thomas Bogen Soldier this day petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his full Contracted Time Granted Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling At a Consultation held on Monday the 22d day of October 1750 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 15th October 1750 The Plantation, Gunnoirs and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow Vizt	Thomas Bower, a soldier, this day petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served out his full contracted time with the Honourable Company. His petition was granted by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 22 October 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor, and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 15 October 1759. The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending 11 October were this day brought in, examined and approved, and were as follows.
162	151	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c° from the 12th September to the 11th October 1750 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Brawns, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkies, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Jacks, Jennies, Total	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 September to 11 October 1759. Neat cattle remaining 12 September: 6 bulls, 107 cows, 152 calves, 34 yearlings, 40 heifers, 13 steers, 22 oxen, total 374 Sheep remaining 12 September: 367 ewes, 113 wethers, 224 lambs, 9 rams, total 713

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		Remaind the 12th: Bulls 6, Cows 107, Calves 152, Yearlings 34, Heifers 40, Steers 13, Oxen 22, Total 374, Ewes 367, Weathers 113, Lambs 224, Rams 9, Total 713, Ewes 212, Weathers 44, Kids 107, Rams 10, Total 373, Sows 6, Shoats 15, Pigs 16, Brawns 2, Total 39, Fowls 171, Ducks 44, Turkies 26, Geese 33, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jacks 4, Jennies 2, Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 20, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 20, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 51, Rams 0, Total 51, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 2, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 7, Brawns 0, Total 7, Fowls 30, Ducks 1, Turkies 2, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 107, Calves 172, Yearlings 34, Heifers 40, Steers 13, Oxen 22, Total 394, Ewes 367, Weathers 113, Lambs 275, Rams 9, Total 764, Ewes 212, Weathers 44, Kids 109, Rams 10, Total 375, Sows 6, Shoats 15, Pigs 23, Brawns 2, Total 46, Fowls 201, Ducks 45, Turkies 28, Geese 33, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jacks 4, Jennies 2, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 16, Weathers 10, Lambs 4, Rams 0, Total 30, Ewes 9, Weathers 9, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 18, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Pigs 3, Brawns 0, Total 4, Fowls 13, Ducks 1, Turkies 2, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 1, Steers 2, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 1, Weathers 1, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 3, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Stolen: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Killed by Cats: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Brawns 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkies 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Jacks 0, Jennies 0, Total 0 Remaind 11th Octobr 1750: Bulls 6, Cows 106, Calves 172, Yearlings 34, Heifers 39, Steers 13, Oxen 21, Total 391, Ewes 351, Weathers 103, Lambs 270, Rams 8, Total 732, Ewes 200, Weathers 35, Kids 109, Rams 10, Total 354, Sows 6, Shoats 14, Pigs 20, Brawns 2, Total 42, Fowls 188, Ducks 44, Turkies 26, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jacks 4, Jennies 2, Total 6 Species Changed: Bulls 6, Cows 136, Calves 112, Yearlings 59, Heifers 24, Steers 33, Oxen 21, Total 391, Ewes 353, Weathers 139, Lambs 212, Rams 8, Total 732, Ewes 220, Weathers 46, Kids 78, Rams 10, Total 354, Sows 10, Shoats 13, Pigs 17, Brawns 2, Total 42, Fowls 188, Ducks 44, Turkies 26, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Jacks 4, Jennies 2, Total 6 Goats for the Hospital 8 Ewes 5 Weathers } Weighs 199lb 1 Girl born named Jane Good Yam expended for the Slaves 35,570 Refused d° for Stock 13,290 48,860 Signed John Skettowe	Goats remaining 12 September: 212 ewes, 44 wethers, 107 kids, 10 rams, total 373 Hogs remaining 12 September: 6 sows, 13 shoats, 16 pigs, 2 brawn, total 39 Poultry remaining 12 September: 171 fowls, 44 ducks, 26 turkies, 33 geese Horses remaining 12 September: 6 mares, 5 horses, total 11 Asses remaining 12 September: 4 she asses, 2 he asses, total 6 Neat cattle increased: 20 calves, total 20 Sheep increased: 51 lambs, total 51 Goats increased: 2 kids, total 2 Hogs increased: 7 pigs, total 7 Poultry increased: 30 fowls, 1 duck, 2 turkies Neat cattle total: 6 bulls, 107 cows, 172 calves, 34 yearlings, 40 heifers, 13 steers, 22 oxen, total 394 Sheep total: 367 ewes, 113 wethers, 275 lambs, 9 rams, total 764 Goats total: 212 ewes, 44 wethers, 109 kids, 10 rams, total 375 Hogs total: 6 sows, 13 shoats, 23 pigs, 2 brawn, total 46 Poultry total: 201 fowls, 45 ducks, 28 turkies, 33 geese Horses total: 6 mares, 5 horses, total 11 Asses total: 4 she asses, 2 he asses, total 6 Neat cattle killed: 1 steer, total 1 Sheep killed: 1 ewe, 16 wethers, 10 lambs, 4 rams, total 30 [as entered] Goats killed: 9 wethers, 9 kids, total 18 Hogs killed: 1 shoat, 3 pigs, total 4 Poultry killed: 13 fowls, 1 duck, 2 turkies, 1 goose Neat cattle died: 1 cow, total 1 Sheep died: 1 wether, 2 lambs, total 3 [as entered] Goats died: 1 ewe, 1 wether, total 3 [as entered] Poultry died: 3 fowls Neat cattle stolen: 0 Sheep stolen: 0 Goats stolen: 0 Neat cattle sold: 0 Sheep sold: 0 Goats sold: 0 Poultry killed by cats: 0 Neat cattle remaining 11 October: 6 bulls, 106 cows, 172 calves, 34 yearlings, 39 heifers, 13 steers, 21 oxen, total 391 Sheep remaining 11 October: 351 ewes, 103 wethers, 270 lambs, 8 rams, total 732 Goats remaining 11 October: 200 ewes, 33 wethers, 109 kids, 10 rams, total 354 Hogs remaining 11 October: 6 sows, 14 shoats, 20 pigs, 2 brawn, total 42 Poultry remaining 11 October: 108 fowls, 44 ducks, 26 turkies, 32 geese Horses remaining 11 October: 6 mares, 5 horses, total 11 Asses remaining 11 October: 4 she asses, 2 he asses, total 6 Species changed: 6 bulls, 136 cows, 112 calves, 59 yearlings, 24 heifers, 33 steers, 21 oxen, total 391 Sheep species changed: 351 ewes, 333 wethers, 139 lambs, 212 rams [as entered], total 732 Goats species changed: 220 ewes, 46 wethers, 78 kids, 10 rams, total 354 Hogs species changed: 10 sows, 13 shoats, 17 pigs, 2 brawn, total 42 Poultry species changed: 188 fowls, 44 ducks, 26 turkies, 32 geese Horses species changed: 6 mares, 5 horses, total 11 Asses species changed: 4 she asses, 2 he asses, total 6

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			Goats for the hospital, 8 ewes and 5 wethers weighing 199 lb 1 girl born named Jane Good yam expended for the slaves, 35,570 Refuse yam for stock, 13,290 Total, 40,860 [as entered] The account was signed by John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The stock account carries a new closing line headed species changed, reclassifying the surviving animals into different age and sex categories from the opening figures while keeping each grand total unchanged. The heavy movement between classes, calves aging into yearlings and lambs reckoned afresh as ewes, wethers and rams, shows the herds and flocks being formally re-graded as the young matured, so the same beasts passed from one column to another on the books, the plantation tracking not only births and deaths but the steady progression of its stock through the stages of growth. The good yam expended for the slaves rose to 35,570 measures from the 27,360 of the previous month, a marked increase in the staple feeding of the enslaved workforce. The growth in yam issued may reflect a larger crop coming in for harvest or more mouths to feed, so the plantation's principal food supply moved with the season, the enslaved fed from the island's own ground on a scale that varied as the yam grounds yielded, the sound roots reserved for the workers while the refuse went to the stock as before. The birth of a girl named Jane, entered plainly among the animal tallies, records another child born into slavery on the plantation. Setting the birth of an enslaved infant in the same column as the increase of calves and lambs lays bare once more the treatment of enslaved people as breeding stock of the estate, their children counted as additions to Company property in the very reckoning that numbered the beasts, a stark measure of how the settlement regarded those it held in bondage.
163	152	October 22d Artillery Stores Expended from the 12th of September to the 11th of October 1750 both days Included Vizt Guns Fired 9lb, 4lb, 2lb, Powder Expended Septr 12th Departed the Eastcourt returned the Salute: 9lb 9, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 9lb d° Powder for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz d° Powder for the use of the Fortifications: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz d° 18th Powder for blowing Lime Stone at Ruperts: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz d° Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 8, 2lb 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz d° 19th Powder for the use of the Fortifications: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz d° 20th Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for Priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 8, 2lb 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz d° 25th Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 8, 2lb 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz d° Powder for blowing Lime Stone at Ruperts: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz d° 27th Powder for blowing Lime Stone at d°: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz d° Powder for the use of the Fortifications: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz d° Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 8, 2lb 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz Octr 1st Powder for blowing Lime Stone at Ruperts: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz d° d° Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 8, 2lb 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz	Account of artillery stores expended from 12 September to 11 October 1759, both days included. The columns record guns fired, powder in pounds, ounces and drams by cartridge size, and total powder expended in pounds, ounces and drams. 12 September, departed the Eastcourt returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 9 lb cartridges, total 9 lb 0 oz 0 dr 12 September, powder for priming, total 0 lb 1 oz 8 dr 12 September, powder for the use of the fortifications, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 18 September, powder for blowing limestone at Ruperts, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 18 September, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 oz, 8 dr cartridges, total 0 lb 17 oz 8 dr 19 September, powder for the use of the fortifications, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 20 September, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 oz, 8 dr cartridges, total 0 lb 17 oz 8 dr 25 September, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 oz, 8 dr cartridges, total 0 lb 17 oz 8 dr 25 September, powder for blowing limestone at Ruperts, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 27 September, powder for blowing limestone at Ruperts, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 27 September, powder for the use of the fortifications, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 27 September, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 oz, 8 dr cartridges, total 0 lb 17 oz 8 dr 1 October, powder for blowing limestone at Ruperts, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 2 October, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 oz, 8 dr cartridges, total 0 lb 17 oz 8 dr

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		d° 3d Powder for the use of the Fortifications: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz d° 4th Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for Priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 8, 2lb 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz d° 8th Powder for priming at prosperous Bay from July 25th: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 3oz d° 9th Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for Priming: 9lb 0, 4lb 8, 2lb 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz d° 11th Powder for blowing Lime Stone at Ruperts: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 4oz Powder for the Funeral of Henry Chapman: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz Powder expended for priming on Allarms at Lemon Valley: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 1lb 12oz 200 Cartridges of powder for the ½ Swivel Guns for the Longboat a ¼ ea: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 50oz Powder in Horns for Priming for d°: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 6oz 240 Cartridges for Blanderbusses for the use of d° a ½ d° pruges ea: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 6oz 600 Cartridges of powder for Carbines for the use of d° a ½ d° ea: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 30oz Powder Sold: 9lb 0, 4lb 0, 2lb 0, Powder Expended 10lb 12oz 36lb 0oz Total: 9lb 5, 4lb 36, 2lb 9, Powder Expended 317lb 4oz Half pounder Swivel Guns for the use of the Longboat 2 Lead Aprons for d° 2 Tompons for d° 2 Worms for d° 2 Priming Wires for d° 2 Bitts for d° 2 Powder Horns for d° 2 Iron round Shot for d° 2 Lead Shot for d° 100 Rounds in Bags quilted 100 Match for d° 50lb Snap Skins for Spunges for d° 12lb 1	3 October, powder for the use of the fortifications, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr 4 October, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 oz, 8 dr cartridges, total 0 lb 17 oz 8 dr 8 October, powder for priming at Prosperous Bay from 25 July, total 0 lb 3 oz 0 dr 9 October, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 oz, 8 dr cartridges, total 0 lb 17 oz 8 dr 11 October, powder for blowing limestone at Ruperts, total 0 lb 4 oz 0 dr Powder for the funeral of Henry Chapman, total 0 lb 2 oz 4 dr Powder expended for priming on alarms at Lemon Valley, total 0 lb 1 oz 12 dr 200 cartridges of powder for the half-pounder swivel guns for the longboat at 4 dr each, total 50 lb 0 oz 0 dr Powder in horns for priming for the swivel guns, total 0 lb 6 oz 0 dr 240 cartridges for blunderbusses for the use of the swivel guns at ¾ dr each, total 0 lb 30 oz 0 dr [as entered] 600 cartridges of powder for carbines for the use of the swivel guns at ⅓ dr each, total 10 lb 12 oz 0 dr Powder sold, total 36 lb 0 oz 0 dr Total, 65 guns fired, 36 lb, 9 lb cartridges, total 317 lb 4 oz 0 dr [as entered] The half-pounder swivel guns and their fittings for the longboat were recorded as follows. Half-pounder swivel guns for the use of the longboat, 2 Lead aprons for the swivel guns, 2 Tompions for the swivel guns, 2 Worms for the swivel guns, 2 Priming wires for the swivel guns, 2 Butts for the swivel guns, 2 Powder horns for the swivel guns, 2 Iron round shot for the swivel guns, 2 Lead shot for the swivel guns, 100 rounds in bags quilted Match for the swivel guns, 50 lb Snap skins for sponges for the swivel guns, 12 **Interpretations** The month's powder went largely to two peaceful uses, blasting limestone at Ruperts and regular gun practice at the same battery, rather than to salutes or alarms. Blowing limestone with powder shows the ordnance store supplying the island's quarrying, the stone burnt for lime to make mortar and whitewash, so the gunners' powder served the settlement's building trade as well as its defence, a scarce military commodity turned to civil construction. The arming of the longboat with two half-pounder swivel guns, fully fitted with shot, match, sponges and spare parts, shows the island equipping its boats to fight as well as to ferry. A swivel gun was a small cannon mounted to turn on a pivot at the rail, and the provision of these pieces with cartridges for swivels, blunderbusses and carbines reveals the longboat fitted out as an armed vessel, able to defend itself or challenge a stranger in the road, the settlement's dependence on its boats extending to giving them teeth in wartime. A charge of powder marked the funeral of Henry Chapman, the matross whose will was proved before the Council on 17 September 1759, giving the dead artilleryman the customary military honours. The firing of powder over his grave shows the garrison according a service funeral to one of its own even on a remote island, the same man whose modest estate passed by will to a planter friend sent off with the martial ceremony his calling entitled him to. **Speculations** A quantity of powder, thirty-six pounds in all, was sold off rather than kept in store, the largest

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			single line in the month's expenditure. The decision to part with so much powder, set against the settlement's evident care to account for every ounce and its standing anxiety over defence in wartime, suggests the store held a surplus or a quality unfit for the Company's own guns, so the gunners released what they judged expendable, perhaps damaged or old stock, turning it to cash rather than let it decay unused in the magazine.
164	153	1750 Spunge Wires for the Worms and Spunges for d° 2 2880 Lead Shot for the use of the Blanderbusses for the Longboat a 40 to a lb 72lb 4 pound Cartridge Cases to contain the Lead Shot for the Blanderbusses 1 600 Lead Shot for the Use of the Carbines for the Longboat a 20 to a lb 30lb Ladles for 9 pounders worn out and Unserviceable 1 Hatchets broke and unserviceable 1 Hammers broke and d° 1 Pairs of Callipers broke and d° 1 Bitts worn out and Unserviceable at Ruperts 4 Tallow for the Use of the Carts 4lb D° for the Use of the Longboat 2lb Lead Shot Sold 8oz Cartridge paper Sold 1 Quire Iron Round Shot Expended at Practice 4 Flags worn out and Unserviceable at the Main Fort 1 Signd Thos Hall Sundries Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the month Ending the 11th instant Viz £ S D To 21 Bottles of Port £1 9s 3¾d To 29 d° of Lisbon £2 0s 5¾d To 17 d° of Madeira £2 0s 11½d To 14 d° of Mountain £0 18s 11½d To 27 d° of Beer £0 3s 7½d To 129° of Beef £12 3s 0d To 329° of Mutton £6 17s 1d To 4 Lambs £2 0s 0d To 74lb of Goat £0 4s 6d To 320 of Flour £2 6s 0d To 1 piece of Salt Beef £0 2s 0d To 11 pieces of Salt Pork £1 2s 0d To 63 Bottles Arrack £2 3s 4d To 13 Fowls £0 19s 6d To 1 Duck £0 1s 6d To 1 Goose £0 5s 0d To 2 Turkeys £0 10s 0d To 27½ of fresh butter £1 7s 6d To 67lb of Candy £1 9s 0d £28 16s 6d	The remaining artillery stores were recorded as follows. Sponge screws for the worms and sponges for the swivel guns, 2 2,880 lead shot for the use of the blunderbusses for the longboat at 40 to a lb, 72 lb 24-pound cartridge cases to contain the lead shot for the blunderbusses, 1 600 lead shot for the use of the carbines for the longboat at 20 to a lb, 30 lb Ladles for 9-pounders worn out and unserviceable, 1 Hatchets broke and unserviceable, 1 Hammers broke and unserviceable, 1 Pairs of callipers broke and unserviceable, 1 Butts worn out and unserviceable at Ruperts, 4 Tallow for the use of the carts, 4 lb Tallow for the use of the longboat, 2 lb Lead shot sold, 8 lb Cartridge paper sold, 1 quire Iron round shot expended at practice, 4 Flags worn out and unserviceable at the main fort, 1 The account was signed by Thomas Hall. Sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 October 1759. 21 bottles of port, £1 9s 3¾d 29 bottles of Lisbon, £2 0s 5¾d 17 bottles of Madeira, £2 0s 11½d 14 bottles of mountain, £0 18s 11½d 27 bottles of beer, £0 5s 7½d 129 lb beef, £12 3s 0d [as entered] 329 lb mutton, £6 17s 10d 4 lambs, £2 0s 0d 74 lb goat, £0 4s 6d 320 lb flour, £2 6s 0d 1 piece salt beef, £0 2s 0d 11 pieces salt pork, £1 2s 0d 63 bottles arrack, £2 3s 4d 13 fowls, £0 19s 6d 1 duck, £0 1s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 2 turkies, £0 10s 0d 27½ lb fresh butter, £1 7s 6d 87 lb candy, £1 9s 0d Total, £28 16s 6d **Interpretations** The blunderbuss shot for the longboat was reckoned at forty pellets to the pound and the carbine shot at twenty, giving thousands of small balls for the boat's firearms. The blunderbuss was a short gun with a flared muzzle that scattered a spread of shot at close range, deadly against men crowded in a boat, and the laying-in of nearly three thousand rounds for it shows the longboat armed to repel boarders or sweep an enemy craft, the settlement fitting its working boat for close-quarters fighting as much as for gunnery. The table account for October holds close to the previous month at £28 16s 6d, the officers' mess settling to a steady rate of provisioning once the ships had gone. The persistence of the full range of wines, port, Lisbon, Madeira and mountain, alongside Indian arrack shows the cellar kept stocked from the whole span of Company trade as a constant of the

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			establishment, the drink supply holding its place on the table through the quiet season as through the busy. Candy in these accounts was sugar candy, crystallised sugar imported and kept as a table luxury and a preservative, its regular purchase by the pound showing the officers' fare furnished with sweet goods drawn from the Company's commerce as readily as its wines and spirits.
165	154	October 22d This Day the following Persons petitioned for the renewal of their several Leases which Expired on the 11th Instant Vizt Elisha Isaacke for 5 Acres Richard Beale Senr for 11½ Samuel Alexander for 19 & 18 in two Leases Thomas Cotgrove for 13 & 33¾ in 3 Leases Thomas Harper acres Samuel Alexander } Executors of Martin Harper deceasd 9½ Thomas Harper for 13 5 Some peice to be measured in 3 Leases Mr Matthew Purling for 2 parcels one of 5¾ in the Cabbage Tree the other of ¾ of an acre at the Houses Granted Isaac Knipe petitioned to hire 4½ Acres of the Honorable Companys waste Land, which being but very indifferent Land, we agreed to grant him a Lease for the Same, at only 2/ per Acre Annually Mr William Kennedy desired Leave to throw up a Lease for two Acres of Land belonging to the Orphans of David Wilson Granted Tom a Slave Man belonging to Mr Paddom and Phill belonging to Lieut Michael Frost having been detected in Everying Hatchets in the Longwood, We therefore ordered them to be Whippd, the former to receive Forty Lashes and the Latter Thirty Chas Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Purling	This day the following persons petitioned for the renewal of their several leases, which expired on 11 October. Elisha Isaacke for 5 acres Richard Beale senior for 11½ acres Samuel Alexander for 19 and 18 acres in two leases Thomas Cotgrave for 13 and 3¾ acres in three leases Thomas Harper and Samuel Alexander, executors of Martin Harper deceased, for 9½ acres Thomas Harper for 13 acres at 5s per annum, some piece to be measured in three leases Matthew Purling for two parcels, one of 5¼ acres in the cabbage tree, the other of ¾ of an acre at the houses The petitions were granted. Isaac Knipe petitioned to hire 4¼ acres of the Honourable Company's waste land. Because it was but very indifferent land, the Council agreed to grant him a lease for it at only 2s per acre annually. William Kennedy asked leave to throw up a lease for two acres of land belonging to the orphans of David Wilson. His petition was granted. Tom, a slave belonging to Paddom, and Phill, a slave belonging to Lieutenant Michael Frost, having been detected carrying hatchets in the Longwood, the Council ordered them to be whipped, the former to receive forty lashes and the latter thirty. The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The Council set a reduced rent of 2s per acre for Isaac Knipe's waste land because the ground was of poor quality, showing rent fixed to the worth of the land rather than at a flat rate. Charging less for indifferent land reveals a graded system of letting in which the Company matched its rent to what the ground could yield, so a tenant taking marginal soil paid accordingly, the settlement drawing what it reasonably could from land good and bad alike rather than pricing all at one figure. The flogging of two slaves merely for carrying hatchets in the Longwood, without any proven act of harm, shows the deep fear of armed slaves that ran through the settlement. That the mere possession of edged tools by enslaved men in the woods drew a whipping reveals the anxiety of a slaveholding society perpetually watchful for signs of resistance or theft, the punishment aimed less at any offence committed than at suppressing the possibility of one, the tools in slaves' hands read as a threat in themselves. The differing sentences of forty and thirty lashes for the two men show even the punishment of slaves calibrated by some distinction the Council drew between them. That one received more than the other suggests a reckoning of relative fault or standing, so the Council graded even summary floggings rather than applying a single measure, the machinery of slave discipline marked by a rough proportioning of its cruelty.
166	155	1750 At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th day of October 1750 at the	A consultation was held at the Castle on Monday 29 October 1759. Present were Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe the lieutenant governor,

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		Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Purling } of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 22d of October 1750 Thursday the 25th died Henry Norwood Soldier The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter ending the 11th instant, which were Examined and approved and are as follow Vizt £ S D £ S D Collection of Goods sold and delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 Vizt Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 p° Cent Beef and Pork vizt 1524 p° Beef £132 0s 0d 1856 p° Pork } a 2d p° pce £185 12s 0d £341 Arrack 26⅜ Gallons £6 11s 10½d Oil vizt 6¼ Gallons Train £1 3s 11½d 6¼ G° Linard £1 3s 11½d 34 Bottles Florence £4 3s 11½d £6 11s 10½d Flannel 44⅔ Yards £2 15s 7½d Braziers Ware vizt 1 Tea Kettle of 2 6d £1 6s 11d 3 Tea Kettles of 3 Quarts ea £1 17s 7½d 1 Boiling Cook £0 3s 4d 1 Saucepan of 3 Quarts £0 15s 4d 1 D° of 1 Pint £0 8s 3d 1 pc° of Candlesticks £0 3s 0d 1 p° Steel Snuffers £0 3s 10d £4 17s 10d Carried over £361 17s 2½d	and Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Purling of the Council. The previous consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 22 October 1759. On Thursday 25 October Henry Norwood, a soldier, died. The storekeeper brought in his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter ending 11 October, which were examined and approved, and were as follows. Collection of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company's stores from 12 July to 11 October 1759. Goods were sold to the Company's servants at ten per cent profit. The beef and pork were as follows. 1,524 lb beef, £13 2s 0d 1,886 lb pork, £16 5s 0d [as entered] Total beef and pork, £34 1s 0d [as entered] The arrack came to 26¾ gallons. Arrack, 26¾ gallons, £6 11s 10½d Other spirits and wine were as follows. 6¼ gallons genever, £1 3s 11½d 6¼ gallons Vidonia, £1 3s 11½d 34 bottles Florence, £4 3s 11½d Total, £6 11s 10½d The flannel came to 44¾ yards. Flannel, 44¾ yards, £2 13s 7½d The braziers ware was as follows. 1 tea kettle of 2 quarts, £1 6s 11d 3 tea kettles of 3 quarts each, £1 17s 7½d 1 boiling cook, £0 3s 4d 1 saucepan of 3 quarts, £0 15s 1d 1 pint measure, £0 8s 3d 1 pair candlesticks, £0 3s 0d 1 pair steel snuffers, £0 3s 10d Total braziers ware, £4 17s 10d Carried over, £305 17s 2½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The store sold goods to the Company's servants at a fixed ten per cent profit, running a mark-up shop that supplied the settlement's people with provisions, drink, cloth and hardware. The retailing of everything from beef and arrack to tea kettles and flannel at a set margin reveals the store functioning as the island's general supplier, the Company drawing a modest and regular profit from feeding and equipping its own servants who had no other market to turn to on a remote island. The range of imported goods on sale, Dutch genever, Vidonia and Florence wines, flannel cloth and a variety of brass ware, shows the store stocked from across the reach of Company and European trade. Genever was Dutch gin, Vidonia a Canary wine and Florence a Tuscan wine, while braziers ware meant the brass and copper hardware of the kitchen, so the settlement's inhabitants could buy at the Company store the drink of the Netherlands and the Atlantic islands and the metalware of Europe, the island supplied with the manufactures and luxuries of the wider world through the single channel of the Company's stores. The retail of household hardware, tea kettles, saucepans, candlesticks and snuffers, shows the store furnishing the domestic life of the settlement down to its kitchen utensils. The presence of such goods reveals the degree to which the island depended on imported manufactures for the ordinary equipment of a household, everything of worked metal brought in and sold through the store, the settlement unable to make for itself the commonplace articles of daily living and reliant on the Company's supply for them.
167	156	October 29th Brought Over £361 17s 2½d Serge vizt	The collection of goods sold from the stores continued as follows. The serge was as follows. Brought over, £305 17s 2½d 7½ yards French grey serge, £2 8s 1½d

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		7½ Yds French grey Serge £2 8s 1½d 21¼ Yds Scarlet d° £6 14s 2d 1 pce Indian £2 3s 7d 9¾ Yds green Duffill £2 7s 5½d 8¼ Yds Scarlet d° £4 2s 10½d 1½ Yds Blue d° £0 7s 8d £18 3s 10½d Blankets 11 £3 6s 0d Cordage 68 Yds £11 8s 0d Tea vizt 8lb Single £0 8s 0d 15lb Congo £0 15s 0d £1 3s 0d Shoes vizt 216 p° Mens Ordinary Shoes £43 10s 0d 5 p° Mens fine Shoes £1 7s 6d 2 p° Mens Channel Pumps £0 13s 4d 4 p° Mens fine Pumps £1 4s 4d 5 p° Womens Spanish Shoes £1 1s 3d 6 p° d° Callimanco £1 5s 6d 7 p° d° Calf £1 1s 7d 9 p° d° Boys £1 10s 0d 4 p° Girls £0 8s 10d £8 12s 0d £34 8s 10½d Sugar and Candy Vizt 2695lb Sugar £26 3s 9d 320 Candy £6 0s 0d £32 3s 9d Hooks & Lines vizt 125 No 1£ 625 2£ 530 3 } Hooks£ 1025 6£ 2075 7£ 1025 2£ 13 Doz 3£ 13 Doz 4 } Lines£ 7 Hambro£ Canvas vizt 92 Yds Bandrogs£ 19½ Yds English Canvas£ 6s 6½d 10s 0d 11s 0d 8s 11½d 16s 4d 10s 11½d 16s 4d 7s 6d 10s 9½d £8 17s 0d 16s 8d 3s 3d £4 19s 11d Carried over £496 2s 9½d	21½ yards scarlet serge, £6 14s 2d 1 piece Indian serge, £2 3s 7d 7¾ yards green duffil, £2 7s 5½d 8¾ yards scarlet duffil, £4 2s 10½d 1½ yards blue duffil, £0 7s 0d Total serge, £10 3s 10½d Blankets, 11, £3 0s 6d Cordage, 60¾ lb, £11 0s 0d The tea was as follows. 9 lb single tea, £0 8s 0d 15 lb congou tea, £0 15s 0d Total tea, £1 3s 0d The shoes were as follows. 216 pairs mens ordinary shoes, £43 10s 0d 5 pairs mens fine shoes, £1 7s 6d 2 pairs mens channel pumps, £0 13s 4d 4 pairs mens fine pumps, £1 4s 4d 5 pairs womens Spanish shoes, £1 1s 3d 6 pairs womens callimanco shoes, £1 5s 6d 7 pairs womens calf shoes, £1 1s 7d 9 pairs boys shoes, £1 10s 0d 4 pairs girls shoes, £0 8s 0d Total shoes, £34 0s 10½d [as entered] The sugar and candy were as follows. 269 lb sugar, £26 3s 9d [as entered] 320 lb candy, £6 0s 0d Total sugar and candy, £32 3s 9d The hooks and lines were as follows. 125 hooks number 1, £0 6s 6½d 625 hooks number 2, £0 1s 10d [as entered] 530 hooks number 3, £0 1s 0d 1,025 hooks number 6, £0 0s 11d 2,073 hooks number 7, £0 0s 11½d 1,025 lines number 2, £0 16s 4d 13 dozen lines number 3, £0 10s 11½d 15 dozen lines number 4, £2 16s 4d 7 hambro lines, £0 7s 6d Total hooks and lines, £0 10s 9½d [as entered] The canvas was as follows. 92 yards Ozenbrigs, £3 16s 0d 19¼ yards English canvas, £1 3s 3d Total canvas, £4 19s 11d [as entered] Carried over, £496 2s 9½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The store stocked a wide range of woollen and other cloth, serge and duffil in several colours, flannel, blankets and canvas, supplying the settlement with the textiles it could not make. Serge was a durable twilled wool and duffil a coarse heavy woollen with a thick nap, both suited to hard wear, while ozenbrigs was a coarse German linen used for working clothes and sacking, so the island's people were clothed from the Company's imported cloth, the range from scarlet serge to plain canvas covering both finer wear and the rough stuff of labour. The quantity of fishing hooks and lines held for sale, thousands of hooks in graded sizes and lines by the dozen, shows fishing as a significant part of the island's economy and diet. The stocking of such gear in bulk reveals the inhabitants drawing food from the sea around the island, the Company supplying the tackle for a fishery that supplemented the meat of the plantation, the ocean a standing larder worked with imported hooks and lines that the store kept in ready supply. The graded shoes for men, women, boys and girls, and the women's callimanco and Spanish shoes, show the store meeting the varied and gendered needs of a settled community with families. Callimanco was a glossy woollen cloth used for women's shoes and Spanish shoes a finer leather kind, and the range from ordinary men's shoes at scores of pairs down to a few pairs of girls' shoes reveals a resident population of households and children, the store furnishing the footwear of a whole society rather than a garrison of men alone.

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			Congou was a black tea from China, the bohea grade of the Canton trade, its sale by the pound at the store showing the China tea of the Company's eastern commerce reaching the tables of the island's inhabitants.
168	157	1750 Brought Over £496 2s 9½d Paint vizt 26lb Blue Smalts £2 0s 1d 37lb Indico £3 10s 11d 46lb Whiting £0 0s 11½d 8lb red Lead £0 2s 4d 7 barrels blacking £0 2s 7½d £8 16s 11d Glass Ware vizt 4 Squares Glass 10 by 12 £0 3s 0d 7 Sqr d° 8 by 8 £0 2s 2d 3 Beer Glasses £0 4s 9d 3 Quart Decanters £0 4s 3d 1 dozn Wine Glasses £0 7s 0d £1 9s 3½d Shirts vizt 220 Soldiers Shirts £34 1s 8d 63 Rollers £3 3s 0d 4 p° Linnen £7 4s 0d 9 p° 5 Yds Brown Holland £2 12s 0d £72 4s 1d Nails vizt 3lb 2 £0 1s 11d 2 3 £0 1s 1½d 19 4 £0 8s 9½d 35 6 £0 16s 4d 29 10 £0 12s 1d 8 20 £0 2s 3d £2 2s 1½d Turners Ware vizt 4 Scrubbing Brushes £0 1s 0d 4 Paint Brush £0 7s 8d 1 Cloth Brush £0 2s 3½d 4 Birch Brooms £0 1s 10d 3 Hair Brooms £0 7s 6d 4 Wood Bowls £0 3s 4d 7 Punch Ladles £0 4s 4½d 3 Wine Skims £0 2s 6d 3 Labourers Baskets £0 1s 9d 3 Fleshets £0 3s 6d 1 Tray £0 5s 6d 4 Mops £0 1s 0d 1 Talmans Yoke£ £2 19s 3½d Carried over £560 14s 3d	The collection of goods sold from the stores continued as follows. The paint was as follows. Brought over, £496 2s 9½d 26 lb blue smalts, £2 0s 1d [as entered] 37 lb indigo, £3 10s 11d 46 lb whiting, £0 0s 11½d 8 lb red lead, £0 2s 4d 7 barrels blacking, £0 2s 7½d Total paint, £5 16s 11d The glassware was as follows. 4 squares glass 10 by 12, £0 3s 6d 7 squares glass 6 by 8, £0 2s 2d 3 beer glasses, £0 4s 9d 3 quart decanters, £0 4s 3d 1 dozen wine glasses, £0 7s 5d Total glassware, £1 9s 3½d [as entered] The shirts were as follows. 220 soldiers shirts, £34 1s 8d 63 hollees, £3 3s 0d 4 pieces linen, £7 4s 0d 2 pieces 5 yards brown holland, £1 12s 0d [as entered] Total shirts, £42 4s 1d [as entered] The nails were as follows. 3 lb nails number 2, £0 1s 11d 2 lb nails number 3, £0 1s 1½d 19 lb nails number 4, £0 8s 9¼d 33 lb nails number 6, £0 12s 1d 29 lb nails number 10, £0 2s 3d 6 lb nails number 20, £2 3s 0d [as entered] Total nails, £2 2s 1½d [as entered] The turners ware was as follows. 4 scrubbing brushes, £0 0s 10d 1 paint brush, £0 0s 7½d 1 cloth brush, £0 2s 3½d 4 birch brooms, £0 1s 10d 3 hair brooms, £0 7s 6d 4 wood bowls, £0 3s 4d 7 punch ladles, £0 4s 4½d 3 hand sieves, £0 2s 6d 3 labourers baskets, £0 1s 9d 3 fleshers, £0 3s 6d 1 tray, £0 5s 6d 4 mops, £0 1s 0d 1 tailors yoke, £0 8s 0d [as entered] Total turners ware, £2 19s 3½d [as entered] Carried over, £550 14s 3d **Interpretations** The store stocked the full range of a painter's and builder's materials, blue smalts, indigo, whiting, red lead and blacking, supplying the settlement's decoration and protection of its buildings. Smalts was a blue pigment of powdered cobalt glass and whiting a fine chalk used for whitewash and putty, while red lead was an anti-rust primer, so the island's people could buy at the store the pigments and preparations to paint and preserve their houses and ironwork, the materials of upkeep imported and sold like every other manufacture. The window glass sold in small squares, ten by twelve and six by eight inches, shows the settlement glazing its buildings from panes supplied through the store. That glass came in such modest sizes reveals the limits of glazing on the island, windows made up of small quarries set in frames rather than large sheets, the inhabitants buying their glass by the pane to light and enclose their dwellings, dependent on imported material for even the windows of their houses.

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			Hollees, or hollands, were fine linen cloths from the Low Countries, and brown holland an unbleached linen of the same origin, sold here alongside soldiers' shirts and pieces of linen. Their presence shows the store furnishing the settlement with the fine and coarse linens of northern Europe, the cloth for shirts and household use brought from Holland through the Company's trade, the island's people clothed in imported linen as in imported wool.
169	158	October 29th Brought Over £560 14s 3d Flour vizt 4356lb Flour 36 5 250 y 20 lb Baked 215 1s 4d £251 6s 4d Salt 21⅔ Bushels £3 9s 9½d Books vizt 1 Bible £0 3s 0d 3 Horn Books £0 0s 6d 1 Primmer £0 0s 3½d £0 4s 5½d Candles 30lb£ Pease 2⅓ Bushels £3 3s 4d Corn 6 £1 1s 7d Soap 106lb £1 5s 0d £17 11s 4d Tin Ware vizt 2 Lamps£ 3 Quart Saucepans £0 1s 7d 1 Pint Saucepan £0 3s 1½d 1 Horn Lanthorns £0 0s 5d 1 Waterings Pot £0 10s 3d 1 Cartin £0 5s 6d 12 Patee pans £0 1s 6d £4 10s 0d £1 16s 2½d Buckram 22 Doz £1 2s 0d Twine 87 Skeins £1 15s 7½d Leather vizt 112lb Sole £6 6s 0d 3 Calf Skins £1 0s 4½d £7 6s 4½d Pepper 18lb 5 £2 4s 0d Paddy 11 y 12 £6 10s 4d Lead 30 y Shot £9 6s 4d Thread vizt 24 p° Coloured £4 8s 11d 6 p° White Brown £2 3s 6d £6 12s 5d Cutlery Ware vizt 37 Horn Combs £0 6s 2d 39 Ivory Combs £0 0s 7½d Cutlery Ware Carried over £2 7½d £2 6s 9½d Carried over £873 5s 7½d	The collection of goods sold from the stores continued as follows. The flour was as follows. Brought over, £550 14s 3d 4,356 lb flour, £36 5s 0d 250 lb, being 20 lb baked, £215 1s 4d [as entered] Total flour, £251 6s 4d Salt, 21½ bushels, £3 9s 9½d The books were as follows. 1 Bible, £0 2s 0d 3 hornbooks, £0 0s 6d 1 primer, £0 0s 3½d Total books, £0 4s 5½d [as entered] The candles were as follows. Peas, 2½ bushels, £0 3s 4d Corn, 6 bushels, £0 1s 7d [as entered] Soap, 196 lb, £0 1s 5d [as entered] Total candles, £17 11s 4d [as entered] The tinware was as follows. 2 lamps, £0 1s 7d 3 quart saucepans, £0 3s 1½d 1 pint saucepan, £0 0s 5d [as entered] 1 horn lanthorn, £0 10s 3d 1 watering pot, £0 5s 6d 1 canlin, £0 1s 6d 12 patty pans, £0 4s 10d Total tinware, £1 16s 2½d [as entered] Buckram, 22 yards, £0 1s 2d Twine, 37 skeins, £1 15s 7½d [as entered] The leather was as follows. 112 lb hides, £6 6s 0d 3 calf skins, £1 0s 4½d Total leather, £7 6s 4½d Pepper, 45 lb, £0 2s 4d [as entered] Paddy, 11 lb 12 oz, £0 2s 4d [as entered] Lead, 55 lb 4 oz shot, £6 10s 4d [as entered] Total, £9 6s 5d [as entered] The thread was as follows. 24 lb coloured thread, £0 8s 11d [as entered] 6 lb white and brown thread, £2 3s 6d [as entered] Total thread, £6 12s 5d [as entered] The cutlery ware was as follows. 37 horn combs, £0 6s 2d 39 ivory combs, £0 6s 7½d Cutlery ware carried over, £2 6s 9½d [as entered] Carried over, £873 5s 7½d [as entered] **Interpretations** Flour formed by far the largest single item in the whole collection, over four thousand pounds valued at more than £250, dwarfing every other good in the store. The dominance of flour reveals it as the staple the settlement most depended on and could least supply for itself, wheat flour being an imported necessity on an island that grew little grain of its own, so the bread of the inhabitants rested on a costly import shipped in bulk and sold on through the Company's stores. The presence of a Bible, hornbooks and a primer among the goods, few and cheap though they were, shows some provision for reading and instruction on the island. A hornbook was a child's first reading tablet, a sheet of the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer protected by a layer of horn, and its sale alongside a primer reveals that children were being taught their letters in the settlement, the store supplying the

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			humble materials of elementary schooling to a community that included growing families. The stock of horn and ivory combs, leather, twine, buckram and thread shows the store supplying the small materials of dress, grooming and craft that the island could not produce. Buckram was a stiffened cloth used to shape and line garments, and its sale with combs, thread and skins reveals the inhabitants dependent on the store for the minor necessities of clothing and personal care, the whole apparatus of daily life from the comb in the hair to the thread in the seam brought in by the Company and retailed to its servants.
170	159	1750 Brought over £873 5s 7½d Cutlery Ware brought over £2 6s 9½d 11 fine Ivory Combs £1 13s 5½d 6 Staghorn Knives & Forks £0 5s 6½d 2 doz° Ivory d° & d° £1 10s 9d 5 Butchers Knives £0 2s 1d 34 P° Leather Garters £0 11s 4d 12 Gross Horn Moulds £0 0s 7½d 2 Shoe Knives £0 0s 9d 3 p° Knee Buckles £0 1s 0d £7 3s 0d Hosiers Ware vizt 101 P° Thread Stockings £26 0s 4½d 10 P° Mens Worst £1 19s 6½d 5 p° Boys £0 11s 0d 7 p° Girls £0 13s 3½d £29 7s 2d Shalloon vizt 51½ Yds Coloured £4 18s 8½d 62½ Yds Scarlet £7 13s 2d £12 11s 9d Broad Cloth vizt 4½ Yds Black £4 3s 2d 9¼ Yds Scarlet £10 3s 6½d 2½ Yds Blue £2 6s 1½d £16 12s 7½d Pewter vizt 1 Cullender £0 8s 7½d 1 Close Stool Pan £0 5s 10½d £0 14s 6d Deals vizt 6 double Deals £1 3s 6d 1 Elm Board £0 3s 11½d ½ Wainscot Board £0 3s 4½d £1 10s 10d Pitch &c° vizt 15lb Rosin £0 2s 6d 20lb Pitch £0 2s 11d 1½ Yds Tar £0 1s 4½d £0 6s 9½d Long Ells vizt 44 Yds Scarlet £5 0s 0d 17 Yds Blue £1 19s 9d £6 19s 9d Carried over £958 9s 2d	The cutlery ware brought forward continued as follows. Brought over, £873 5s 7½d 11 fine ivory combs, £0 6s 9½d 6 staghorn knives and forks, £1 13s 5½d 2 dozen ivory knives and forks, £0 5s 6½d 5 butchers knives, £0 10s 9d 34 pairs leather garters, £0 2s 1d 15 gross horn moulds, £0 11s 4d 2 shoe knives, £0 7s 6½d 3 pairs knee buckles, £0 0s 9d Total cutlery ware, £7 0s 3d [as entered] The hosiers ware was as follows. 101 pairs thread stockings, £26 0s 4½d 16 pairs mens worsted stockings, £1 19s 6½d 5 pairs boys stockings, £0 11s 0d [as entered] 7 pairs girls stockings, £0 13s 3½d Total hosiers ware, £29 7s 4d [as entered] The shalloon was as follows. 51¼ yards coloured shalloon, £4 10s 8½d [as entered] 62½ yards scarlet shalloon, £7 13s 0½d [as entered] Total shalloon, £12 11s 9d [as entered] The broadcloth was as follows. 4½ yards black broadcloth, £4 3s 0½d [as entered] 9½ yards scarlet broadcloth, £10 3s 6½d [as entered] 2½ yards blue broadcloth, £2 6s 1½d [as entered] Total broadcloth, £16 12s 7½d [as entered] The pewter was as follows. 1 colander, £0 0s 7½d 1 close-stool pan, £0 5s 10½d [as entered] Total pewter, £1 4s 6d [as entered] The deals were as follows. 6 double deals, £0 3s 6d 1 elm board, £0 3s 11½d ½ wainscot board, £0 3s 4½d Total deals, £1 10s 10d [as entered] The pitch and other stores were as follows. 15 lb rosin, £0 2s 6d 20 lb pitch, £0 2s 11d 1½ yards tow, £0 1s 4½d Total pitch, £0 6s 9½d [as entered] The long ells were as follows. 44 yards scarlet long ells, £5 0s 0d [as entered] 17 yards blue long ells, £1 9s 9d [as entered] Total long ells, £6 19s 9d [as entered] Carried over, £938 9s 2d [as entered] **Interpretations** The store carried several distinct woollen cloths, shalloon, broadcloth and long ells, each of a different weight and use, showing the fine gradation of textiles supplied to the settlement. Shalloon was a light twilled wool used chiefly for linings, broadcloth a fine dense cloth for coats and long ells a narrow worsted much shipped in the eastern trade, and the stocking of all three in scarlet, blue and black reveals the inhabitants able to clothe themselves in the full variety of English woollens through the Company's

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			stores, the island's dress drawn from the same range a home market offered. The staghorn and ivory knives and forks, the horn and ivory combs and the knee buckles show the store furnishing not merely necessities but articles of some refinement for the settlement's households. That handled cutlery and dress buckles were kept for sale reveals a society reaching beyond bare subsistence toward the small comforts and decencies of English domestic life, the Company supplying the finer table and dress goods that marked a settled and aspiring community rather than a rough frontier post. A close-stool pan in pewter among the goods records the provision of the enclosed chamber commode that served for sanitation in the settlement's houses. The close stool was a boxed seat holding a pan, the indoor convenience of the period, and its sale through the store shows the domestic arrangements of the island furnished from the Company's supply down to the most private article, the inhabitants dependent on imported metalware even for the fittings of the privy.
171	160	October 29th Brought Over £958 9s 2d Camblet vizt 8½ Yds Scarlet £2 2s 1½d 4½ Yds Blue £1 0s 10½d £3 2s 0d China Ware vizt 13 Salad Dishes £0 12s 3½d 6 Soup Plates £0 1s 9d 2 Bowls £0 1s 0d 1 Soap Dish £0 6s 2d £0 19s 10½d Kersey 10½ Yds £0 15s 4½d Haberdashery vizt 44lb Mohair £0 16s 6d 41lb Silk £10 9s 3d 6 doz Shirt Buttons £0 1s 2½d 1 Gross white Waist Buttons £0 3s 4d 8 P° Holland Tape £0 5s 0d 10 doz Silver Coat Buttons £2 10s 5d 4 doz Silver Breast Buttons £1 2s 2d 26 Cockales £0 11s 4½d 20 doz Mohair Coat Buttons £0 13s 5d 13 doz Mohair Breast d° £0 4s 4d 2 p° Whalebone £0 10s 10d ½ Doz Yellow Metal Coat Buttons £0 0s 4d 1 doz Tin Breast Buttons £0 0s 4d 1 Gross White Worsted Lace £1 2s 0d £8 10s 4½d Sailors Cloaths vizt 1 P° Mens Breeches £0 5s 9½d 1 Monmouth Cap £0 1s 6d £7 3s 2½d Iron Ware vizt 3 P° D° Sail Hinges £0 2s 1d 3 Hand Hatchets £0 4s 7½d 1 Plaisterers Trowel £0 5s 4½d 2 Box Irons £0 16s 5d 7 Splinter Locks £0 3s 6d 1 Lopping Axe £0 3s 2d 2 Helves £0 1s 5d 5 Stock Locks £0 14s 2d Iron Ware Carried over £2 10s 5½d Carried over £967 3s 9d	The collection of goods sold from the stores continued as follows. The camlet was as follows. Brought over, £938 9s 2d 8½ yards scarlet camlet, £2 2s 1½d 4¼ yards blue camlet, £0 19s 10½d [as entered] Total camlet, £3 2s 0d [as entered] The china ware was as follows. 13 salad dishes, £0 10s 3½d [as entered] 6 soup plates, £0 1s 9d 2 bowls, £0 1s 0d 1 soap dish, £0 6s 2d Total china ware, £0 19s 10½d [as entered] Kersey, 10½ yards, £0 15s 4½d [as entered] The haberdashery was as follows. 44 lb mohair, £0 6s 6d 41 lb silk, £0 10s 9½d [as entered] 6 dozen shirt buttons, £0 1s 2½d 1 gross white waistcoat buttons, £0 3s 4½d 8 pieces holland tape, £0 5s 0d 10 dozen silver coat buttons, £2 10s 5d [as entered] 4 dozen silver breast buttons, £0 12s 2d 26 cockades, £0 11s 4½d 20 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 13s 4d 13 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 4s 4d 2 pairs whalebone, £0 10s 10d [as entered] ½ dozen yellow metal coat buttons, £0 4s 0d [as entered] 1 dozen tin breast buttons, £0 0s 2d [as entered] 1 gross white worsted lace, £1 2s 0d [as entered] Total haberdashery, £8 10s 4d [as entered] The sailors clothes were as follows. 1 pair mens breeches, £0 5s 9½d [as entered] 1 Monmouth cap, £0 1s 6d Total sailors clothes, £7 3s 2d [as entered] The ironware was as follows. 3 pairs double rail hinges, £0 2s 1d 3 hand hatchets, £0 4s 7½d [as entered] 1 plaisterers trowel, £0 5s 4½d [as entered] 2 box irons, £0 16s 5d [as entered] 7 splinter locks, £0 3s 6d 1 lopping axe, £0 3s 2d [as entered] 2 helves, £0 1s 5d 5 stock locks, £0 14s 2d [as entered] Iron ware carried over, £2 10s 5½d [as entered] Carried over, £967 3s 9d **Interpretations** The haberdashery held a striking array of buttons, silver, mohair, yellow metal, tin and worsted, in coat and breast sizes, showing the fine trimmings of dress supplied to the settlement. That silver coat buttons and cockades were kept alongside plainer sorts reveals a demand for finery and display among

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			the island's people, the cockade a knot of ribbon worn in the hat as a badge, so the store furnished not only clothing but the ornaments of appearance and rank, the inhabitants dressing to mark their standing as they would at home. The store carried the specialised cloths of the eastern and English trades, camlet, kersey and mohair, each with its own character and use. Camlet was a light cloth of wool and sometimes silk or hair much valued in the Levant and Indian trade, kersey a coarse ribbed wool for working wear and mohair the fine hair of the Angora goat, and their presence shows the settlement supplied with textiles drawn from the whole span of the Company's commerce, from the fine stuffs of the East to the plain cloths of the English loom. The Monmouth cap among the sailors' clothes records the round knitted woollen cap that was the common headwear of seamen and labourers. Named for the Welsh town where it was first made, the Monmouth cap was a hardwearing article of working dress, and its sale through the store shows the Company supplying the practical clothing of the sailor and the labouring man alongside the finer wares, the island's working people fitted out from the same source as its gentry.
172	161	1750 Brought over £967 3s 9d Iron Ware brought Over £2 10s 5½d 4 Small Frying pans £0 8s 4d 1 Large d° £0 3s 9½d 1 Coffee Mill £0 8s 7½d 4 Locks £10 4s 4d 1 Ragstone £0 0s 4½d 1 Padlock £0 2s 6½d 4 Scutcheon Locks with Brass Hooks £1 4s 1½d 1 Chest Lock £0 4s 1½d 2 Cupboard Locks £0 8s 0d 2 P° Bellows £0 6s 3d 5 Gimblets £0 0s 10d 1 P° of Sheep Shears £0 1s 4d 1 Scythe Stone £0 0s 2½d 1 Claw Hammer £0 1s 3d 1 Chafing Dish £0 6s 6½d 4 packing Needles £0 0s 8d 1 Shod Shovel £0 1s 9½d 1 Pruning Saw £0 1s 10d 2 Rat Traps £0 10s 11d £17 2s 2½d Corks vizt 2 P° 1 P° Corks £0 3s 3½d 1 P° 2 Boat Cork £0 1s 0d £6 3½d Barracks vizt 1 Scutcheon Lock with Brass Studs £0 8s 3d 1 Scutcheon Lock £0 5s 6d £13s 9d Earthen Ware 3 Milk pans £0 2s 3d Candles 1 P° d° £0 9s 0d Long Cloth 1½ p° 1 p° £1 19s 8d Coals 4 Bushels £0 5s 2d Hats vizt 4 Mens £3 0s 4d 2 Boys £0 15s 3d £4 10s 7d Bunting 8½ Yds White £0 4s 2d Wine vizt 26 G° Port £26 0s 0d 48 d° Madeira £28 0s 0d 110 G° Lisbon £38 12s 0d £93 11s 2d Carried over £1206 6s 7d	The ironware brought forward continued as follows. Brought over, £967 3s 9d 4 small frying pans, £0 8s 4d 1 large frying pan, £0 3s 9½d 1 coffee mill, £0 8s 7½d 4 jacks, £10 4s 4d 1 ragstone, £0 0s 4½d 1 padlock, £0 2s 6½d 4 iron rimmed locks with brass hooks, £1 4s 1½d [as entered] 1 chest lock, £0 4s 1½d 2 cupboard locks, £0 0s 8d 2 pairs bellows, £0 6s 3d 5 gimblets, £0 0s 10d 1 pair sheep shears, £0 1s 4d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 2½d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 3d 1 chafing dish, £0 6s 6½d 4 packing needles, £0 0s 8d 1 shod shovel, £0 1s 9½d 1 pruning saw, £0 1s 10d 2 rat traps, £0 10s 11d Total ironware, £17 2s 2½d [as entered] The corks were as follows. 1 gross corks, £0 3s 3½d 1 gross quart corks, £0 1s 0d Total corks, £0 6s 3½d [as entered] The barracks ware was as follows. 1 iron rimmed lock with brass hooks, £0 0s 3d [as entered] 1 iron rimmed lock, £0 5s 6d Total barracks ware, £13 9s 0d [as entered] The earthenware and other goods were as follows. 3 milk pans, £0 2s 3d Candles, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Long cloth 1½ pieces, £1 19s 8d [as entered] Coals, 4 bushels, £0 5s 2d The hats were as follows. 4 mens hats, £0 14s 0d [as entered] 2 boys hats, £0 5s 3d Total hats, £4 10s 7d [as entered] Bunting, 6½ yards white, £0 4s 2d The wine was as follows. 26 bottles port, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 48 bottles Madeira, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 110 bottles Lisbon, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Total wine, £93 11s 2d [as entered]

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			Carried over, £1,206 8s 7d [as entered] **Interpretations** The four jacks valued together at more than £10, the single dearest item of ironware, were roasting jacks, the clockwork or weighted mechanisms that turned a spit before the kitchen fire. That such costly contrivances were kept for sale shows the better households of the island equipping their kitchens with the labour-saving devices of an English gentleman's establishment, the jack a mark of a settled domestic life in which meat was roasted by machine rather than turned by hand, the Company supplying even this refinement of the hearth. The wine held for sale, port, Madeira and Lisbon by the hundred bottles and valued at over £90, was the largest single category after flour, showing the great place of wine in the life and trade of the settlement. The bulk stocking of the wines of Portugal and its Atlantic island reveals wine as both a staple of the table and a considerable article of the store's business, the inhabitants supplied with drink from the Company's commerce on a scale that matched their dependence on it for their bread. The variety of locks, iron-rimmed, chest, cupboard and padlocks, together with rat traps and specialised tools, shows the store furnishing the settlement's houses with the fittings of security and the implements of husbandry. The demand for locks in quantity reveals a concern to secure property behind bolt and key, while the pruning saw, sheep shears and shod shovel show the tools of garden and farm supplied through the same channel, the whole material equipment of the island's domestic and working life resting on the Company's imported wares.
173	162	October 29th Brought Over £1206 6s 7d Beer 4 Hhds £10 5s 0d Naval Stores vizt 36lb Powder £1 17s 9d 8lb Lead Shot £0 1s 2d 1 Quire Cartridge paper £0 1s 0d £1 18s 8d £1090 12s 11½d Sold to the Planters at 25 per Cent Serge &c° vizt 5¾ Yds green Duffill £1 19s 11½d 2 Yds Scarlet d° £1 2s 1d ¼ p° Fustian £0 12s 4d £3 14s 5d Shoes vizt 3 pair Mens Ordinary Shoes £14 7s 6d 1 p° Mens Pumps £0 6s 7d 1 p° Womens Calf Shoes £0 3s 0½d 2 p° d° Callimanco £0 9s 11d 2 p° d° Spanish £0 10s 2d £2 4s 10d Shalloon vizt 5½ Yds Scarlet £0 15s 7d 9 Yds Coloured £0 19s 6d £1 15s 1d Flannel 3 Yds £0 7s 3½d Hosiers Ware vizt 2 P° Mens Wors Stockings £0 7s 6d 1 p° Mens Wors d° £0 3s 7d £0 11s 3d Long Ells vizt 6 Yds Blue £0 11s 9d 7 Yds Scarlet £1 1s 0d £1 12s 9d Kersey 2½ Yds £0 4s 10d Shirts 11 y Yds Brown Holland £1 0s 5d Carried over £4 16s 10½d	The collection of goods sold from the stores concluded as follows. The beer and naval stores were as follows. Brought over, £1,206 8s 7d Beer, 4 hogsheads, £10 5s 0d 36 lb powder, £1 17s 9d 6 lb lead shot, £0 0s 1½d 1 quire cartridge paper, £0 1s 0d Total naval stores, £1 18s 8½d [as entered] Total, £1,096 12s 11½d [as entered] Goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent profit. The serge and other cloth were as follows. 5¾ yards green duffil, £1 19s 11½d [as entered] 2 yards scarlet duffil, £1 2s 1d [as entered] ½ piece fustian, £0 12s 3d [as entered] Total serge, £3 14s 5d The shoes were as follows. 3 pairs mens ordinary shoes, £0 14s 7½d [as entered] 1 pair mens pumps, £0 6s 7d 1 pair womens calf shoes, £0 3s 0½d [as entered] 2 pairs womens callimanco shoes, £0 9s 11d 2 pairs womens Spanish shoes, £0 10s 2d Total shoes, £2 4s 10d [as entered] The shalloon was as follows. 5½ yards scarlet shalloon, £0 13s 7d [as entered] 9 yards coloured shalloon, £0 19s 6d Total shalloon, £1 13s 1d [as entered] Flannel, 3 yards, £0 7s 3½d [as entered] The hosiers ware was as follows. 2 pairs mens worsted stockings, £0 7s 0d 1 pair mens worsted stockings, £0 3s 7d [as entered] Total hosiers ware, £0 11s 3d [as entered] The long ells were as follows. 6 yards blue long ells, £0 11s 9d 7 yards scarlet long ells, £1 1s 0d [as entered] Total long ells, £1 12s 9d Kersey, 2½ yards, £0 4s 10d [as entered]

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			Shirts, 11 5 yards brown holland, £0 0s 5d [as entered] Carried over, £4 16s 10½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The account now opens a separate collection of goods sold to the planters at twenty-five per cent profit, against the ten per cent charged to the Company's servants on the earlier pages. The higher mark-up applied to the planters shows the Company distinguishing sharply between its own employees and the free settlers in its retail dealings, subsidising the servants it maintained while drawing a fuller commercial profit from the independent inhabitants, the store's pricing itself an instrument that set the two classes of the island's people apart. Fustian among the cloths sold was a stout twilled fabric of cotton and linen, hardwearing and much used for working garments and linings. Its sale alongside the duffil and shalloon shows the store supplying the planters with the same range of practical and finer cloths as the servants, the whole settlement clothed from the Company's textile stock, though the free inhabitants paid the dearer rate for the privilege of buying it. The keeping of two separate collections at different rates of profit reveals the store as a deliberate instrument of the Company's revenue and social ordering rather than a simple shop. That the same goods carried one price for servants and another for planters shows the Company managing the island's supply to serve its own interests, extracting more from those it did not employ while holding down the cost of maintaining its establishment, the terms of trade at the store reflecting the structure of authority and dependence on which the colony was built.
174	163	1750 Brought Over £11 16s 10½d Sold at 40 per Cent Hats vizt 1 Mens £1 4s 7½d 1 Boys £0 8s 6d £1 13s 1½d Serge 5¼ Yds English Duffill £3 3s 7½d Shoes vizt 1 p° Mens fine Shoes £0 8s 2d 2 p° Channel Pumps £0 9s 11d 2 p° Womens Callimance £0 4s 3d £1 17s 2½d Hosiers Ware vizt 6 p° Mens Wors Stockings £1 10s 6d 5 p° Mens Knit d° £1 0s 0d £2 10s 6d Broad Cloth vizt 2⅞ Yds Blue £3 4s 10d 2⅞ Yds Scarlet £3 1s 8d £6 6s 6d Shalloon vizt 19½ Yds Coloured £2 10s 4½d 13 Yds Scarlet £2 1s 8½d £4 12s 1d Flannel 7½ Yds £0 12s 2d Soap 22½ lb £0 9s 10d Blankets 12 £4 2s 0d Paint vizt 13lb Indico £1 13s 8d 3 Barrels Blacking £0 1s 7½d £1 15s 3½d Turners Ware vizt 2 Hair Brooms £0 6s 3d 1 Hair Sieve £0 2s 7½d 2 Scrubbing Brushes £0 6s 3d 1 Flasket £0 3s 4d £0 18s 5½d	The goods sold to the planters continued as follows. Goods were sold at forty per cent profit. Brought over, £11 16s 10½d The hats were as follows. 1 mens hat, £1 4s 7½d [as entered] 1 boys hat, £0 8s 6d Total hats, £1 13s 1½d [as entered] Serge, 5¾ yards English duffil, £3 3s 7½d [as entered] The shoes were as follows. 1 pair mens fine shoes, £0 8s 2d 2 pairs channel pumps, £0 9s 11d 2 pairs womens callimanco shoes, £0 4s 3d Total shoes, £1 17s 2½d [as entered] The hosiers ware was as follows. 6 pairs mens coarse stockings, £1 10s 6d 5 pairs mens knit stockings, £1 0s 0d [as entered] Total hosiers ware, £2 10s 6d The broadcloth was as follows. 2¾ yards blue broadcloth, £3 4s 10d 2¾ yards scarlet broadcloth, £3 1s 8d Total broadcloth, £6 6s 6d The shalloon was as follows. 19½ yards coloured shalloon, £2 10s 4½d [as entered] 13 yards scarlet shalloon, £3 1s 8½d [as entered] Total shalloon, £4 12s 1d [as entered] The flannel and other goods were as follows. Flannel, 7½ yards, £0 12s 2d Soap, 22½ lb, £0 9s 10d [as entered] Blankets, 12, £4 2s 0d The paint was as follows. 13 lb indigo, £1 13s 8d 3 barrels blacking, £0 1s 7½d [as entered] Total paint, £1 15s 3½d [as entered] The turners ware was as follows. 2 hair brooms, £0 6s 3d 1 hair sieve, £0 2s 7½d [as entered] 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 6s 3d

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		Hooks and Lines vizt 450 No 2£ 430 3 } Hooks£ 75 6£ 650 7£ Hooks and Lines Carried over £1 19s 10½d £1 19s 10½d Carried over £49 5s 10d	1 basket, £0 3s 4d Total turners ware, £0 10s 3½d [as entered] The hooks and lines were as follows. 450 hooks number 2, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 430 hooks number 3, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 73 hooks number 6, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 650 hooks number 7, £1 19s 10½d [as entered] Hooks and lines carried over, £1 19s 10½d [as entered] Carried over, £49 3s 10d [as entered] **Interpretations** The account now opens a third collection of goods sold to the planters at forty per cent profit, above both the ten per cent charged to servants and the twenty-five per cent of the previous page. The stepping-up of the mark-up through successive collections shows the Company applying graded rates of profit to different goods or classes of buyer, drawing its heaviest margin from certain sales to the free inhabitants, the store's pricing structured in tiers that squeezed the greatest return from those least entitled to the Company's favour. The recurrence across all three rates of the same fishing hooks and lines, stockings, shalloon and shoes shows the staple goods of the settlement passing through the store at whatever margin the class of sale commanded. That the identical wares were sold to servants at ten per cent and to planters at forty reveals the profit as a function of the buyer and the transaction rather than the goods themselves, the Company turning its monopoly of supply to graded advantage, the same shirt or shoe yielding it four times the return according to who bought it and under what head. The forty per cent margin on goods sold to the planters marks the Company drawing a substantial commercial profit from the free settlers it did not employ, in sharp contrast to the subsidised rate for its own servants. The heavy mark-up on the independent inhabitants shows the store operating as a source of revenue as much as of supply, the Company exploiting its position as sole supplier to a captive market, the planters paying dearly for the goods they could obtain nowhere else on a remote island wholly dependent on the Company's ships.
175	164	October 29th Brought Over £49 5s 10d Hooks and Lines brought over £1 19s 10½d 70 No 2£ 60 3£ 6 4 } Lines £3 10s 9d 5 Hambro£ £5 10s 7½d Canvas vizt 57½ Yds Oznabrigs £4 4s 6d 1 8 Yds English Canvas £0 12s 5d £4 16s 11d Deals vizt 2 double Deals £0 10s 4d 3 Elm Boards £0 13s 3d £1 5s 7d Salt 13½ Bushels £2 14s 18d Pork 3 pce £0 11s 9d Flour 67lb £0 8s 9d Nails vizt 6lb Scupper£ 17 6£ 62 20£ 6 10£ 3 4£ 3 2£ 3£ £1 12s 3½d Iron Ware vizt	The hooks and lines brought forward continued as follows. Brought over, £49 3s 10d Hooks and lines brought over, £1 19s 10½d 70 lines number 2, £0 0s 0d [as entered] lines number 3, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 6 lines number 4, £3 10s 9d [as entered] 5 hambro lines, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Total hooks and lines, £5 10s 7½d [as entered] The canvas was as follows. 57¾ yards Ozenbrigs, £4 4s 6d 1½ yards English canvas, £0 2s 5d [as entered] Total canvas, £4 16s 11d [as entered] The deals were as follows. 2 double deals, £0 10s 4d 3 elm boards, £0 13s 3d Total deals, £1 5s 7d [as entered] Salt, 13½ bushels, £2 14s 18d [as entered] Pork, 3 pieces, £0 11s 9d Flour, 6 pieces, £0 8s 9d [as entered] The nails were as follows. 6 lb nails number scupper, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 17 lb nails number 6, £0 0s 0d [as entered] lb nails number 20, £0 0s 0d [as entered] lb nails number 10, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 6 lb nails number 4, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 3 lb nails number 2, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 3 lb nails number 3, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Total nails, £1 12s 3½d [as entered] The ironware was as follows.

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		3 Rat Traps £1 0s 10½d 1 Splinter Lock £0 0s 9½d 1 Dutching Shovel £0 6s 4d 2 p° Bellows £0 8s 4d 1 Large Frying pan £0 4s 11d £2 11s 0d Glass Ware vizt 4 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 £0 3s 8d 3 Sqr do 10 by 12 £0 3s 6d 1 Quart Decanter £0 4s 10½d 1 Pint d° £0 4s 2d £0 16s 1d Sugar 491lb£ Carried over £9 6s 4½d £86 9s 2½d	3 rat traps, £1 0s 10½d [as entered] 1 splinter lock, £0 0s 9½d [as entered] 1 ditching shovel, £0 6s 4d [as entered] 2 pairs bellows, £0 8s 0d [as entered] 1 large frying pan, £0 4s 11d Total ironware, £2 0s 11d [as entered] The glassware was as follows. 4 squares glass 8 by 10, £0 3s 8d 3 squares glass 10 by 12, £0 3s 6d 1 quart decanter, £0 4s 10½d [as entered] 1 pint decanter, £0 4s 2d [as entered] Total glassware, £0 16s 1d [as entered] Sugar, 491 lb, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Carried over, £9 6s 4½d [as entered] Total, £86 9s 2½d [as entered] **Interpretations** This third collection sold to the planters holds the same run of practical goods as the earlier pages, canvas, deals, nails, ironware and salt, the plain materials of building, mending and provisioning. That these workaday stores passed to the planters at the heavier rate of profit shows the free settlers paying more even for the rough necessities of their farms and houses, the Company drawing its fuller margin from the ordinary stuff of the island's labour as readily as from its finer wares. Ozenbrigs recurs here in quantity, the coarse German linen used for sacking and working clothes, bought by the planters in lengths of near sixty yards. Its bulk purchase shows the free inhabitants clothing their labourers and bagging their produce in the cheapest cloth the store held, the same plain linen that served the Company's own needs, so the humblest textile of the settlement passed through the store to plantation and Company alike, though the planter paid the dearer price for it. The deals and elm boards among the goods record the imported timber on which the settlement depended for its building and joinery. A deal was a sawn plank of softwood, shipped in from Europe because the island grew little timber fit for construction, and its sale through the store shows the planters reliant on imported wood for their houses and repairs, the very boards of their dwellings brought across the ocean and bought at the Company's rate, the island's want of native timber a standing dependence on supply from abroad.
176	165	1750 Brought Over £86 9s 2½d Tin Ware vizt 1 Horn Lanthorn £0 3s 6d 1 Dripping pan £0 6s 0d 1 Quart Saucepan £0 0s 9½d 2 Pint d° £0 0s 6½d £0 11s 0d Buckram 8 Yds £0 9s 4d Twine 21 lb £0 7s 6d Oil vizt 1 Bottle Florence £0 3s 5½d 1 Gallon Linseed £0 4s 11½d £0 8s 5d Corks vizt 4 doz Corks £0 1s 1d 78½ Boat Cork £0 2s 2½d £0 3s 3½d Cutlery Ware vizt 22 Ivory Combs £1 11s 2d 1 d° fine d° £0 3s 11d 6 Horn Combs £0 1s 6d £1 16s 7d Books 1 Testament £0 2s 9d China Ware 12 Soup Dishes £0 5s 2d Haberdashery vizt 1 lb Silk £4 4s 4½d	The goods sold to the planters continued as follows. The tinware was as follows. Brought over, £86 9s 2½d 1 horn lanthorn, £0 3s 6d 1 dripping pan, £0 6s 0d 1 quart saucepan, £0 0s 9½d [as entered] 2 pint saucepans, £0 0s 6½d [as entered] Total tinware, £0 11s 0d [as entered] Buckram, 8 yards, £0 9s 4d [as entered] Twine, 21 lb, £0 7s 6d [as entered] The oil was as follows. 1 brazil florence oil, £0 3s 5½d [as entered] 1 gallon linseed oil, £0 4s 11½d [as entered] Total oil, £0 8s 5d [as entered] The corks were as follows. 4 dozen corks, £0 1s 1d 28½ lb sheet cork, £0 2s 2½d [as entered] Total corks, £0 3s 3½d [as entered] Canvas, £1 7s 3½d [as entered] The cutlery ware was as follows. 22 ivory combs, £1 11s 2d [as entered] 1 fine ivory comb, £0 3s 11d 6 horn combs, £0 1s 6d Total cutlery ware, £1 16s 7d [as entered] Books, 1 Testament, £0 2s 9d China ware, 12 soup dishes, £0 8s 2d [as entered] The haberdashery was as follows. 1 lb silk, £4 4s 7½d [as entered]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 lb Mohair £3 0s 4d 2½ doz Mohair Breast Buttons £0 1s 2d 3 doz Shirt Buttons £0 3s 4d 4 P° Holland Tape £3 10s 0d £16 1s 0d Cordage 46¾ £1 1s 5d Pitch &c° vizt 2½ G° Tar £0 2s 11d 51lb Rosin £0 12s 9d £0 15s 0d Thread vizt 4 P° Coloured £0 16s 0d 2 P° Wors Brown £0 18s 6d £1 17s 2d Carried Over £97 4s 7d	1 lb mohair, £0 3s 9½d [as entered] 2½ dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 1s 2d [as entered] 3 dozen shirt buttons, £0 3s 4d [as entered] 4 pieces holland tape, £0 3s 10d Total haberdashery, £0 16s 1d [as entered] Cordage, 46¾ lb, £1 1s 5d [as entered] The pitch and rosin were as follows. 2½ gallons tar, £0 2s 11d 51 lb rosin, £0 12s 9d Total pitch, £1 5s 0d [as entered] The thread was as follows. 4 lb coloured thread, £0 16s 0d [as entered] 2 lb white and brown thread, £0 18s 6d [as entered] Total thread, £1 17s 2d [as entered] Carried over, £97 4s 7d [as entered] **Interpretations** The oils sold to the planters, florence and linseed, served the settlement's cooking and its crafts respectively, the one for the table and the other for paint and wood. Florence oil was olive oil shipped from Leghorn in Tuscany and linseed oil the drying oil pressed from flax, used to bind pigments and treat timber, so the store supplied the planters with both the finer oil of the kitchen and the working oil of the painter and joiner, the range of the island's needs met from the Company's imported stock. Tar, rosin and cordage among the planters' goods show the free inhabitants buying the naval stores of rope-making and caulking for their own boats and gear. Tar and rosin preserved rope and sealed seams, and their sale to the planters alongside cordage reveals settlers maintaining boats or working ropes of their own, the materials of the sea trade passing beyond the Company's own establishment to the private inhabitants who lived and worked around a harbourless island wholly bound to the water. The single Testament sold to a planter, cheap and solitary among the goods, marks the slender place of religious books in the settlement's supply. That the store held so few such volumes reveals how little the trade in devotional reading amounted to on the island, a single New Testament passing through the account among the combs and buttons, the settlement's provision for religion in print as thin as its provision for schooling, the Company's stores stocked overwhelmingly for the body rather than the soul.
177	166	October 29th Brought Over £97 4s 7d Leather 5lb Sole £0 3s 9d Braziers Ware 2 p° Steel Snuffers £0 10s 2d £97 18s 6d Oil vizt Sold to the Companys Slaves at 10 p° Cent 38 G° Train £10 4s 3d 20 G° Linseed £5 3s 4d £15 7s 7d Grindstones 1£ Nails vizt 4lb 4 £0 2s 4d 18 Scupper £0 12s 4½d 1 Sash £0 1s 11½d 26 y Coopers Rivets £0 13s 2½d £1 14s 10½d Braziers Ware 1 Copper Saucepan of five Quarts £0 19s 3½d Bunting vizt 2 Pieces 21 Yds Blue £4 12s 6d 1 P° 28 Yds Red £3 14s 5d £8 6s 11d Iron Ware vizt 2 Padlocks £0 6s 5d 1 Small Frying pan £0 2s 8d	The goods sold to the planters continued as follows. Brought over, £97 4s 7d Leather, 111 lb hides, £0 3s 9d [as entered] Braziers ware, 2 pairs steel snuffers, £0 10s 2d [as entered] Total, £97 18s 6d [as entered] The oil was sold to the Company's servants at ten per cent profit. 38 gallons train oil, £10 4s 3d [as entered] 20 gallons linseed oil, £5 3s 4d [as entered] Total oil, £15 7s 7d [as entered] Grindstones, £0 7s 3d [as entered] The nails were as follows. lb nails number 4, £0 2s 4d 18 lb nails scupper, £0 12s 4½d [as entered] 1 lb nails number, £0 1s 11½d [as entered] 26 lb coopers rivets, £0 18s 2½d [as entered] Total nails, £1 14s 10½d [as entered] Braziers ware, 1 copper saucepan of 3 quarts, £0 19s 3½d [as entered] The bunting was as follows. 2 pieces 21 yards blue bunting, £4 12s 6d [as entered] 1 piece 28 yards red bunting, £3 14s 3d [as entered]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 9s 1d Deals 6 Single £0 18s 9d Paint vizt 8 lb White Lead £2 6s 7d 7 G° Red Lead £1 14s 10d 1 Whiting £0 0s 4½d 20 lb Yellow Oaker mixed £0 14s 2d 2 Barrells Blacking £0 1s 4½d 30 lb Venetian Red mixed with Oil £1 15s 3d 3 lb Sky Blue £0 0s 0d £7 12s 1d Thread 4 lb Coloured £0 16s 0d Cordage 4¾ 1¼ £0 8s 8d £12 1s 11½d Hooks & Lines vizt 50 No 1£ 100 6 } Hooks £0 4s 7d 12 3£ 6 Log } Lines £0 14s 1d £0 18s 8d Carried over £49 6s 3½d	Total bunting, £8 6s 11d [as entered] The ironware was as follows. 2 padlocks, £0 6s 5d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 9d Total ironware, £0 9s 1d [as entered] Deals, 6 single, £0 18s 9d [as entered] The paint was as follows. 8 lb white lead, £2 6s 7d [as entered] 7 lb red lead, £1 14s 10d [as entered] 1 lb whiting, £0 0s 4½d [as entered] 20 lb yellow ochre mixed, £0 14s 2d [as entered] 2 barrels blacking, £0 14s 1½d [as entered] 50 lb Venetian red mixed with oil, £1 15s 3d [as entered] 5 lb sky blue, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Total paint, £7 12s 1d [as entered] Thread, 4 lb coloured, £0 18s 8d [as entered] Cordage, 4¾ lb, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Total, £12 1s 11½d [as entered] The hooks and lines were as follows. 50 hooks number 1, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 100 hooks number 6, £0 4s 7d [as entered] 12 lines number 3, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 6 log lines, £0 14s 1d [as entered] Total hooks and lines, £0 18s 8d [as entered] Carried over, £49 6s 3½d [as entered] **Interpretations** Train oil among the goods was whale oil, the oil rendered from the blubber of whales and used for lamps, for dressing leather and in soap-making, sold here in bulk at the servants' rate. Its supply shows the settlement lit and its leather treated with the product of the northern whale fishery, brought across the world through the Company's trade, so even the oil that burned in the island's lamps and softened its hides came from the distant industry of the whalers, the remote outpost drawing on the whole reach of British commerce for its commonest needs. The bunting sold in blue and red pieces was the loosely woven woollen cloth from which flags and signal colours were made. Its sale in quantity shows the settlement's constant need to make and replace the flags by which it signalled to shipping and marked its forts, the coloured bunting the raw material of the visual language by which a harbourless island communicated with the vessels in its road, worn out and renewed like the powder of its salutes. The wide range of paints and pigments, white and red lead, yellow ochre, Venetian red and sky blue, several already mixed with oil, shows the store supplying the settlement's painting ready for use. Venetian red was an earthy red pigment and ochre a natural clay colour, and their sale prepared with oil reveals the Company furnishing not just raw pigment but paint made up for the brush, so the inhabitants could buy their colours mixed and ready to protect and adorn the ironwork and timber of an island where every material of upkeep was an import.
178	167	1750 Brought Over £49 15s 3½d Turners Ware vizt 4 Scrubbing Brushes £0 12s 6d 1 Hair Sieve £0 2s 7½d 24 Birch Brooms £0 14s 0d £1 9s 1½d Tin Ware 2 Quart Saucepans £0 1s 7d Pitch &c° vizt 1 y 3 y 14 Turpentine £2 12s 6d 3 22 Rosin £4 9s 6d 3 Barrels Tar £3 17s 6d 2 d° Pitch £3 0s 9d £18 0s 3d Salt 8 Bushels £1 12s 8d Glass Ware 10 Sqr 8 by 10 £1 9s 2d	The goods sold to the planters concluded as follows. The turners ware was as follows. Brought over, £49 13s 3½d 4 scrubbing brushes, £0 12s 6d 1 hair sieve, £0 2s 7½d [as entered] 24 birch brooms, £0 14s 0d [as entered] Total turners ware, £1 9s 1½d [as entered] Tinware, 2 quart saucepans, £0 1s 7d [as entered] The pitch and other stores were as follows. 1 gallon 3½ pints turpentine, £2 12s 6d [as entered] 22 lb rosin, £0 4s 9d [as entered] 3 barrels tar, £3 17s 6d [as entered] 20 lb pitch, £0 5s 9d [as entered] Total pitch, £18 0s 3d [as entered] Salt, 8 bushels, £1 12s 8d [as entered] Glass, 10 squares 8 by 10, £1 9s 2½d [as entered]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Twine 32 lb £1 6s 0d Canvas vizt 5 P° English Canvas £17 1s 3d 5 P° Osnabrigs £14 8s 2d £31 9s 5d £104 12s 2d Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 Vizt Oil vizt 1½ Issued for painting Rabbit Hutches and the Gates in the Church Yard £0 3s 5½d 11½ P° Train for the Kitchen Arms Use and the French Prisoners £2 2s 8½d £2 6s 2d Nails vizt 8lb 3£ 10 10 For Rat Hutches Pachets mending £0 4s 0d 2 2 Shulburrows Repairs to the Boat House £0 3s 9d 11 6 Hospital Gunwood &c for the Carpenters Use £0 1s 2d 2 4£ £0 4s 7d 8 Coopers Rivets for the Coopers Use £0 3s 6d £0 17s 10d Thread 4 lb Coloured for the Pachets £0 10s 0d Iron 180 lb for boxes for the flying partys £1 13s 9d Canvas vizt 4 P° English Canvas for a Cot for a Transport and an Apron for One of the Black Armourers£ Canvas Carried over £0 5s 0d Carried Over £4 16s 7d	Twine, 32 lb, £1 6s 0d [as entered] The canvas was as follows. 3 pieces English canvas, £17 1s 3d [as entered] 2 pieces Ozenbrigs, £14 8s 2d [as entered] Total canvas, £31 9s 5d [as entered] Total, £104 12s 2d [as entered] Charges general debtor for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1759. The oil was as follows. 1 gallon oil for painting Ruberts hatches and the gates in the churchyard, £0 3s 5½d [as entered] 11 gallons train oil for the kitchen use and the French prisoners, £2 2s 8½d [as entered] Total oil, £2 6s 2d [as entered] The nails were as follows. 8 lb nails number 3, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 10 lb nails number 10, for Ruperts hatches, packets mending, £0 4s 0d [as entered] 2 lb nails number 2, wheelbarrows repairs to the boat house, £0 3s 9d [as entered] 11 lb nails number 6, hospital, gunwood and for the carpenters use, £0 1s 2d [as entered] 2 lb nails number 4, £0 4s 7d [as entered] 8 coopers rivets for the coopers use, £0 10s 0d [as entered] Total nails, £0 3s 6d [as entered] Total, £17 10s 0d [as entered] The thread and canvas were as follows. 2 lb coloured thread for the packets, £0 0s 10d [as entered] Iron 180 lb for bones for the flying parties, £1 13s 9d [as entered] 4 pieces English canvas for a cot for a transport and an apron for one of the black armourers, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Canvas carried over, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Carried over, £4 18s 7d [as entered] **Interpretations** The account now turns from goods sold to a charges general head, recording stores issued for the Company's own works and services rather than sold to servants or planters. This distinction shows the store keeping the goods it consumed on public account apart from those it retailed, so paint for the church gates, nails for the hospital and canvas for the boat house were charged to the settlement's upkeep rather than to any buyer, the Company's bookkeeping separating its own expenditure from its trade with the inhabitants. The stores issued for painting Ruperts hatches and the churchyard gates, mending the packets and repairing the boat house and hospital show the range of public fabric the Company maintained from its own supply. The spread of small charges across battery, church, boats and hospital reveals the settlement's whole infrastructure kept up from the store, the same stock that clothed and fed the people also furnishing the materials to repair the works of defence, worship, transport and medicine on which the colony depended. The canvas cut for a cot for a transport and an apron for one of the black armourers records the practical outfitting of the settlement's people and vessels from store cloth. The mention of a black armourer among the recipients shows an enslaved or free black man employed in the skilled work of tending firearms, so the island's craft labour drew on its black population, a glimpse of the varied roles filled by black workers in the settlement beyond the field and the household.
179	168	October 29th Brought Over £4 16s 7d Canvas brought Over £0 5s 0d 8¾ Yds Oznabrigs for bags for the Hospital & for	The stores issued on charges general continued as follows. The canvas was as follows. Brought over, £4 18s 7d 8¾ yards Ozenbrigs for bags for the hospital and for cooking packets, £0 6s 2d [as entered]

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		Cooking Pachets £0 6s 2d £11s 2d Deals vizt 4 Single Deals for repairs to the Boat House Officers Gt Room Gunners Castle, making Rabbit Hutches &c £4 19s 10½d 13 double Deals for the new Bake House Rat Hutches£ Officers Gt Room Gr Cot for a Transport £2 3s 6d 2 Coffins for Saw Poles for the Stone Sawers £0 8s 2d £7 13s 6½d Paint vizt 4 lb Whiting for the Castle £0 0s 1d 20 lb Blue Smalts for Linnen £1 7s 9d 4 lb White Lead for the Church Yard Gates £0 1s 6d 30 lb Venetian Red mixed for Rabbit Hutches £0 1s 4d £1 10s 8d Candles vizt 57 lb for the Castle £4 5s 6d 16 lb for the Council £0 12s 0d £16 5s 6d Twine vizt 10 lb Cotton Wick for the Castle £1 3s 6d 19 lb Twine for the Store & Castles Use & Cot for the Hospital £0 9s 10½d £1 13s 4½d Haberdashery 4 P° Carnation Tape for the Secretary Office £0 2s 0d Blankets 3 P° for the Hospital £0 14s 6d Soap 60 lb for Linnen £1 17s 6d Beef 2 P° £0 0s 12d Rice 12 lb } given the French Prisoners £0 1s 0d Flour 10 lb £0 1s 0d Corks 5 lb Sheet for the Castle £0 1s 10d Cordage 15 lb for the Masons to thatching the Gt House £0 4s 4½d Ironmongers Ware vizt 130 P° for the Coopers & Armourers Use £1 3s 3d 1 Falt Haft, the Armourer £0 8s 7d 2 Stone Saws for Sawing Stone£ 2 Bricklayers Trowels £0 2s 6d 1 Plaisterers d° for the Masons Use £0 1s 6½d 4 Dutch Shovels £0 10s 0d Ironmongers Ware Carried Over £2 13s 11d Carried Over £36 2s 6d	Total canvas, £0 11s 2d [as entered] The deals were as follows. 4 single deals for repairs to the boat house, officers great room, Governor's Castle, making rabbit hutches, £4 19s 10½d [as entered] 13 double deals for the new bake house, Ruperts hatches, Governor's great room, and a cot for a transport, £2 3s 6d [as entered] 2 pieces for saw poles for the stone sawers, £0 8s 2d [as entered] Total deals, £1 13s 6½d [as entered] The paint was as follows. 4 lb whiting for the Castle, £0 0s 1d [as entered] 26 lb blue smalts for linnen, £1 7s 9d [as entered] 4 lb white lead for the churchyard gates, £0 1s 6d [as entered] 50 lb Venetian red mixed for Ruperts hatches, £0 1s 4d [as entered] Total paint, £1 10s 8d [as entered] The candles were as follows. 57 lb candles for the Castle, £4 5s 6d [as entered] 160 lb candles for the Council, £0 12s 0d [as entered] Total candles, £16 5s 6d [as entered] The twine was as follows. 10 lb cotton wick for the Castle, £1 3s 6d [as entered] 19 lb twine for the store and Castles use and cots for the hospital, £0 9s 10½d [as entered] Total twine, £1 13s 4½d [as entered] The haberdashery and other stores were as follows. Haberdashery, 6 lb carnation soap for the secretary's office, £0 2s 0d [as entered] Blankets, 3 for the hospital, £0 14s 6d [as entered] Soap, 60 lb for linnen, £1 17s 6d [as entered] Beef, 2 pieces, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Rice, 12 lb, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Flour, 10 lb, given the French prisoners, £1 0s 0d [as entered] Total, £0 1s 0d [as entered] The corks and cordage were as follows. Corks, 3 lb sheet for the Castle, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Cordage, 15 lb for the masons in thatching the great house, £1 10s 0d [as entered] Total, £4 4s 4½d [as entered] The ironmongers ware was as follows. 138 files for the coopers and armourers use, £1 3s 3d [as entered] 1 file, this ironmonger, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 2 stone saws for sawing stone, £0 6s 7d [as entered] 2 bricklayers trowels, £0 2s 6d [as entered] 1 plaisterers trowel, £0 1s 6½d [as entered] 4 ditching shovels, £0 10s 0d [as entered] Ironmongers ware carried over, £2 13s 11d [as entered] Carried over, £36 2s 6d [as entered] **Interpretations** The deals issued for the boat house, the new bake house, the officers' great room, the Governor's Castle and rabbit hutches show the Company's own building works spread across the whole settlement in these months. The range of projects supplied from one head of timber reveals a busy programme of construction and repair, from the practical bake house and boat house to the comfort of the Governor's rooms and the small matter of hutches for rabbits, the store's boards serving every building the Company kept up. The candles and cotton wick issued to the Castle and the Council, and the carnation soap to the secretary's office, show the Company provisioning the working apparatus of its own government. The

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			supply of light and cleaning materials to the seat of administration reveals the daily running costs of the settlement's governance, the Castle and Council chamber lit and kept from the same store that served the whole island, the machinery of rule furnished as a charge on the Company like any other part of its establishment. The materials given to the masons for thatching the great house, cordage and the like, show the Governor's residence itself maintained from the store on public account. That the thatching of the Plantation House was charged to the Company rather than to any private purse reveals the great house as an official building kept up at the Company's cost, the Governor lodged and his residence roofed from the general stores, the seat of authority maintained as part of the settlement's fabric alongside its forts and workshops.
180	169	1750 Brought Over £36 2s 6d Ironmongers Ware Brought over £2 13s 11d 3 doz 4 Gimblets £0 8s 4d 4 Claw Hammers£ 3 Smoothing Planes £0 6s 5d 4 Sash d° £0 5s 6d 4 Frying d° £0 8s 2d 1 Wimble Brace £0 12s 7d 1 Sash Saw £0 3s 6d 2 Hand Saws for the Carpenters Use £0 8s 2d 1 Whip Saw £0 14s 10d 1 Helves £2 5s 0d 2 Augers £0 0s 7½d 1 Rasp £0 0s 11d 1 Smiths Rubber } for the Armourers Use £0 0s 6½d 2 P° Dovetail Hinges for Rabbit Hutches £0 3s 4½d 1 Scissor £0 0s 10½d 2 Packing Needles Store Use £0 3s 10d 10 Coopers Rivets } for the Coopers Use £0 3s 4½d 1 Rag Stone £0 11s 1d £0 0s 4d £10 7s 11½d Tin Ware vizt 2 Lamps for the Hospital & French Prisoners £0 1s 9d 1 Pint Saucepan for D° £0 0s 4½d 3 P° Solda £0 1s 3½d 4 lb Sal Aromoniac } for the Armourer £0 0s 1d £3s 6d Arrack 6⅜ G° 6d for the men that work in the Store when taking the Inventory haul up the Boat and bringing goods to the Stores from several Ships £15 11½d £15s 11½d Turners Ware vizt 1 wood Ladle for the Hospital £0 0s 4d 2 paint Brushes for painting the Church Yd Gates £0 1s 1½d 1 Labourers Basket for the Armourer £0 0s 9½d 1 Wire Sieve for the Bakers £0 8s 10d £11s 1d Cutlery Ware 1 Butchers Knife Store use £0 0s 4½d Glass Ware vizt 10 Sqr 6 by 8£ 7 Sqr 8 by 10 } for repairs to the Companys Houses £0 3s 1½d £4 1s 0d £7 2s 4½d Carried Over £48 8s 7d	The ironmongers ware brought forward continued as follows. Brought over, £36 2s 6d Ironmongers ware brought over, £2 13s 11d 3 dozen 4 gimblets, £0 0s 4d [as entered] 4 claw hammers, £0 6s 5d [as entered] 3 smoothing planes, £0 5s 6d [as entered] 1 jack plane, £0 0s 2d [as entered] 4 saws, £0 12s 7d [as entered] 1 wimble brace, £0 3s 6d [as entered] 1 sash saw, £0 0s 2d [as entered] 2 hand saws, £0 14s 10d [as entered] 1 whip saw, £2 5s 0d [as entered] 1 helve, £0 0s 7½d [as entered] 2 augers, £0 0s 11d [as entered] 1 rasp, £0 0s 6½d [as entered] 1 smiths rubber for the armourers use, £0 3s 0½d [as entered] 2 pairs dovetail hinges for rabbit hutches, £0 0s 10½d [as entered] 1 scissor, £0 3s 10d [as entered] 2 packing needles, store use, £0 0s 3½d [as entered] 16 coopers rivets for the carpenters use, £0 11s 1d [as entered] 1 rag stone for the carpenters use, £0 0s 4d [as entered] Total ironmongers ware, £10 7s 11½d [as entered] The tinware was as follows. 2 lamps for the hospital and French prisoners, £0 1s 9d [as entered] 1 pint saucepan for the hospital, £0 0s 4½d [as entered] 9 lb solda, £1 3s 5½d [as entered] 4 lb sal armoniac for the armourer, £0 0s 1d [as entered] Total tinware, £0 3s 6d [as entered] The arrack was as follows. Arrack 6¾ gallons 6d for the men that worked in the stores when taking the inventory, hauled up the boat and bringing goods to the stores from several ships, £0 15s 11½d [as entered] The turners ware was as follows. 1 wood ladle for the hospital, £0 0s 4d [as entered] 2 paint brushes for painting the churchyard gates, £0 1s 1½d [as entered] 1 labourers basket for the armourer, £0 0s 9½d [as entered] 1 wire sieve for the bakers, £0 8s 10d [as entered] Total turners ware, £0 11s 1d [as entered] The cutlery and glassware were as follows. Cutlery ware, 1 butchers knife, staircase, £0 0s 4½d [as entered] Glassware:

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			10 squares 6 by 8, £0 3s 1½d [as entered] 7 squares 8 by 10, for repairs to the Company's houses, £0 4s 1d [as entered] Total glassware, £0 7s 2½d [as entered] Carried over, £48 8s 7d [as entered] **Interpretations** The array of carpenters' tools issued from the store, planes, saws, augers, hammers and a wimble brace, shows the Company maintaining its own body of skilled woodworkers supplied from stock. A whip saw was a long two-man saw for cutting planks and a wimble brace a boring tool, and the issue of such implements for the carpenters' use reveals the settlement keeping up its buildings and boats through its own tradesmen, the store furnishing the whole kit of the woodworking crafts on which the island's fabric depended. Solda and sal ammoniac issued for the armourer were the materials of soldering and metalwork, the flux and solder by which the armourer mended and joined the settlement's ironwork. Sal ammoniac was used to clean metal for soldering, and their supply to the armourer shows the Company keeping its firearms and hardware in repair through a resident metalworker furnished from store, the maintenance of the island's weapons resting on the skilled hands and imported materials the Company provided. The issue of arrack to the men who worked the stores during the inventory, hauled up the boat and carried goods from the ships shows liquor used as a supplement to labour on the island. That spirit was doled out to reward or sustain the men in heavy work reveals arrack serving as a customary allowance for hard physical tasks, the drink of the eastern trade given to the settlement's labourers as an incentive and a due, a small mark of how liquor was woven into the working life of the place.
181	170	October 29th Brought Over £48 8s 7d Pepper 4 P° Tar trees among the Woolen Stuffs in the Stores to prevent the Moths damaging them £0 0s 2d Pitch 1 lb Rosin for the Armourer £0 0s 2d Scales & Weights 2 Standard Weights Store Use £4 14s 9d Barracks vizt 2 P° Sea Timber for the new Bake House £0 8s 3d 1 Scutcheon Lock with Brass Hooks for the Doctors Shop £7 6s 0d £15s 9d Coals 30 Bushels for the Armourers Use £4 16s 0d £58 17s 11d Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 Vizt Beef & Pork vizt 6 P° Beef £0 18s 4½d 27 P° Pork £3 15s 8d £4 14s ¾d Tea 8 lb Congo £0 8s 7d Pease 2 Bushels £0 15s 8d Arrack 4½ G° d° d° £0 6s 0d Flour 10 y 1 y £0 9s 19d Salt 3 Bushels £0 6s 6d Candy 300 lb £0 8s 10½d Rice 3 10 £0 5s 0d £6s 9d £27 13s 5d Black Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 Vizt Oil 4 G° Train £0 4s 9d Tea 1 lb Single £0 0s 10d Flour 22 lb for the Sick £0 3s 8d Sugar 24 lb £0 5s 2½d Rice 14 y 3 P° £0 8s 10d	The stores issued on charges general concluded as follows. Brought over, £48 8s 7d Pepper, 4 lb, strewn among the woollen stuffs in the stores to prevent the moths damaging them, £0 0s 2d [as entered] Pitch, 1 lb rosin for the armourers, £0 0s 2d [as entered] Scales and weights, 2 standard weights, store use, £4 14s 9d [as entered] The barracks stores were as follows. 2 pieces fir timber for the new bake house, £0 3s 0d [as entered] 1 iron rimmed lock with brass hooks for the doctors shop, £7 6s 0d [as entered] Total barracks, £0 15s 9d [as entered] Coals, 30 bushels for the armourers use, £4 16s 0d [as entered] Total, £50 17s 11d [as entered] Diet expenses debtor for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1759, for the soldiers. The beef and pork were as follows. 6 pieces beef, £0 18s 4½d [as entered] 27 pieces pork, £3 15s 8d [as entered] Total beef and pork, £4 14s 0¾d [as entered] Tea, 8 lb congou, £0 8s 7d [as entered] Peas, 2 bushels, £0 15s 0d [as entered] Arrack, 4½ gallons, £6 0s 0d [as entered] Flour, 10 lb, £9 19s 6d [as entered] Salt, 3 bushels, £0 8s 10½d [as entered] Candy, 300 lb, £5 0s 0d [as entered] Rice, 3 lb, £0 6s 9d [as entered] Total, £27 13s 5d [as entered] Black diet debtor for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1759. The stores for the sick were as follows. Tea, 4 lb train, £0 4s 9d [as entered] Tea, 1 lb single, £0 0s 10d [as entered]

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		£5s 8d Beef & Pork vizt 243 P° Pork £33 3s 2½d 68 P° Beef £9 3s 9d 63 P° Irish Beef £5 16s 6½d £48 3s 6d Blankets 2 £0 9s 8d Carried Over £54 16s 5½d	Flour, 22 lb, £0 3s 8d [as entered] Sugar, 25 lb, £0 5s 2½d [as entered] Rice, 14 lb 3 quarters, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Total for the sick, £5 8s 10d [as entered] The beef and pork were as follows. 243 pieces pork, £33 3s 2½d [as entered] coops beef, £9 3s 9d [as entered] 63 pieces Irish beef, £5 16s 6½d [as entered] Total beef and pork, £48 3s 6d [as entered] Blankets, 2, £0 9s 8d [as entered] Carried over, £54 16s 5½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The pepper strewn among the woollen cloths to keep off moths shows the store using spice as an insecticide to protect its textile stock. That pepper was scattered through the woollens as a preservative reveals a practical shift for guarding valuable imported cloth against the ravages of pests in a warm and damp climate, the Company turning one article of its trade to shield another, a small stratagem of storekeeping on an island where every yard of woollen had come far and cost dear. The account now separates the diet expenses of the soldiers from a distinct head of black diet, the provisions issued to feed the enslaved. The keeping of separate feeding accounts for the garrison and the slaves shows the two populations provisioned and reckoned apart, the enslaved fed under their own head as a distinct charge, the bookkeeping itself marking the division between the free soldiery and the unfree workforce, each maintained on its own account and its own scale. The Irish beef among the provisions records the salted beef shipped from Ireland that was a staple of victualling throughout the Company's and the navy's establishments. Irish salt beef was cured and barrelled for long keeping and carried across the world to feed garrisons and crews, and its issue to the island shows St Helena provisioned with the same preserved meat that fed British forces everywhere, the settlement drawing its salt provisions from the great victualling trade of the Atlantic alongside the fresh meat of its own herds.
182	171	1750 Brought Over £54 16s 5½d Shoes 30 P° for the Handicraft men £5 18s 9d Hooks & Lines vizt 330 No 3£ 400 6£ 50 1 } Hooks£ 100 2£ 9½ doz No 2£ 12 doz 11 3 } Lines£ 6s 8d 3s 1d 2s 4½d 3s 0d £1 11s 6d £2 10s 7d £4 16s 0d Arrack ¼ Gallon £0 1s 6d Turners Ware vizt 1 Wood Bowl £0 1s 2½d 1 Platter £0 1s ½d £0 2s 3d £63 14s 9d Mallay Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 vizt Beef 10 P° £1 10s 7½d Candy 10 lb £0 3s 4d Arrack ¼ Galls £0 3s 9d Rice 1 y 8 lb £0 3s 1d Tea 2 lb Single £0 1s 8d Soap 2 P° £0 1s 3d	The stores issued on the black diet head concluded as follows. Brought over, £54 16s 5½d Shoes, 30 pairs for the handicraft men, £5 18s 9d [as entered] The hooks and lines were as follows. 330 hooks number 3, £0 6s 6d [as entered] 400 hooks number 6, £0 3s 1d [as entered] 50 hooks number 1, £0 2s 4½d [as entered] 100 hooks number 2, £0 0s 3d [as entered] 9½ dozen lines number 2, £1 11s 6d [as entered] 12 dozen 11 lines number 3, £2 10s 7d [as entered] Total hooks and lines, £4 16s 0d [as entered] The arrack and turners ware were as follows. Arrack, ½ gallon, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 1 wood bowl, £0 1s 2½d [as entered] 1 platter, £0 1s 2½d [as entered] Total, £0 2s 3d [as entered] Total, £63 4s 9d [as entered] Malay diet debtor for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1759. Beef, 10 pieces, £1 10s 7½d [as entered] Candy, 10 lb, £0 3s 4d [as entered] Arrack, 2½ gallons, £0 3s 9d [as entered] Rice, 1 lb 6 oz, £0 0s 3d [as entered] Tea, 2 lb single, £0 1s 3d [as entered] Soap, 2 lb, £0 1s 1d [as entered] Oil, ½ gallon train, £0 1s 1d [as entered] Total Malay diet, £2 10s 7½d [as entered]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Oil ½ Gallon Train £0 1s 11d £2 10s 7½d Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 vizt Rice & Paddy vizt 5 P° 6 Rice£ 31 17 Paddy } for Poultry & Horses£ 6s 1d £1 2s 8d £1 8s 9d Oil 2 y 78 G° Train for the Overseer and Carpenters in the Great Wood Masons and Work Hands, Thatching, and rubbing Cattle Mangy Hogs &c° £10 11s 0d Carried Over £7 19s 0d	Plantation debtor for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1759. The rice and paddy were as follows. 6 lb rice for poultry and horses, £0 6s 8d [as entered] 31 pieces 17 lb paddy for poultry and horses, £1 2s 8d [as entered] Total rice and paddy, £1 6s 9d [as entered] The oil was as follows. Oil, 2 gallons 78 gallons train for the overseer and carpenters in the Great Wood, masons and workhands, thatching, and rubbing cattle, mangy hogs, £0 10s 11d [as entered] Carried over, £7 19s 0d [as entered] **Interpretations** The account keeps a separate Malay diet head alongside the black diet, provisioning the settlement's Malay workers apart from the other slaves and the garrison. The distinction shows the island's enslaved and bound labour drawn from more than one origin, the Malays fed on their own account with their own scale of beef, rice, tea and arrack, so the settlement's workforce was ordered by origin as well as status, the Company reckoning its people from the East Indies as a distinct body among those it held. The train oil issued for rubbing cattle and mangy hogs shows whale oil used as a veterinary remedy on the plantation. Rubbing oil into the hides of beasts treated the mange and other skin afflictions of the stock, so the same oil that lit the lamps and dressed the leather served also to physic the animals, the Company's imported oil turned to the care of the herds on which the settlement's meat supply depended, a practical use of a versatile store. The shoes issued to the handicraft men among the black diet stores show the Company providing footwear for its skilled enslaved workers as part of their maintenance. That thirty pairs of shoes were furnished to the black craftsmen reveals a body of enslaved artisans whose labour the Company valued enough to shod, the handicraft men marking a class of skilled slaves employed in the settlement's trades, better provided for than the field hands as their skills warranted, though held in the same bondage.
183	172	October 29th Brought Over £7 19s 0d Iron Ware vizt 1 Shod Shovel £0 1s 7½d 6 Spades for the Plantation & Garden Use £1 11s 10½d 1 Dutch Shovel £0 4s 6d 6 Scythes £1 12s 6d 2 d° Stones for the Garden £0 0s 4d 14 Helves for the plantations £0 8s 9d 1 Hand Hatchet for d° £0 1s 4½d 1 Garden Hoe for the Garden £0 1s 4d 1 Stock Lock for the Dairy Room in the Gt Wood £0 2s 6½d £4 4s 10d Pitch 2½ G° Tar for the Wood Carts & rubbing mangy Hogs £0 1s 10½d Cart wheels 1 Axle Tree for the Carts £0 0s 9½d Cordage 2 C° for thatch & Guy Ropes for Oxen £7s 7d Deals vizt 1 Elm Plank for Carts £1 1s ½d 6 Single Deals for repairs to Dead Wood House and Espaliers in Plantation House Garden £0 12s 9d £1 13s 9½d Barracks 11 P° Sea Timber for repairs Dead Wood & Sparkeins Houses & Stable at Plantation House Garden £4 6s 7½d Cutlery Ware vizt 2 Pruning Knives for the Gardiners Use £0 1s 0d	The stores issued on the plantation head concluded as follows. The ironware was as follows. Brought over, £7 19s 0d 1 shod shovel, £0 1s 7½d [as entered] 6 spades for the plantation and garden use, £1 11s 10½d [as entered] 1 ditching shovel, £0 4s 6d [as entered] 6 scythes for the garden, £1 12s 6d [as entered] 2 scythe stones for the garden, £0 0s 4d [as entered] 14 hoes for the plantations, £0 8s 9d [as entered] 1 hand hatchet for the plantations, £0 1s 4½d [as entered] 1 garden hoe for the garden, £0 1s 4d [as entered] 1 stock lock for the dairy room in the Great Wood, £0 2s 6½d [as entered] Total ironware, £4 4s 10d [as entered] The pitch and cordage were as follows. Pitch, 2½ gallons tar for the wood carts and rubbing mangy hogs, £0 1s 10½d [as entered] Cartwheels, 1 axle fir for the carts, £0 0s 9½d [as entered] Cordage, 2 lb for thatch and 9 ropes for oxen, £0 7s 7d [as entered] The deals were as follows. 1 elm plank for carts, £1 1s 0½d [as entered] 6 single deals for repairs to the Great Wood house and espaliers in the Plantation House garden, £1 12s 9d [as entered] Total deals, £1 13s 9½d [as entered]

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		1 Butchers Knife£ 4 Shoe d° } for the Plantations £0 1s 4½d £1 3s 0d £3 3s 3½d Lines 6 lb 4 for the Gt Wood £0 2s 3d Nails vizt 3lb 4£ 7 6 for repairs to Dead Wood House Gates £1 3s 0d 4 20 d° d° & for the Gardiners Use £2 11s 0d 4 10£ 4 3£ 1s 6d 2s 0d £9s 0d £19 17s 6½d	The barracks stores were as follows. 11 pieces fir timber for repairs to the Great Wood and Perkins's houses and stable at Plantation House garden, £4 6s 7½d [as entered] The cutlery ware was as follows. 2 pruning knives for the gardeners use, £0 1s 0d [as entered] 1 butchers knife, £0 0s 4½d [as entered] 4 shoe knives for the plantations use, £0 1s 3d [as entered] Total cutlery ware, £0 3s 3½d [as entered] Lines, 6 lb 4 for the Great Wood, £0 2s 3d [as entered] The nails were as follows. 5 lb nails number 4, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 7 lb nails number 6, for repairs to Great Wood house gates, £0 1s 3d [as entered] 4 lb nails number 20, for the garden use, £0 2s 11d [as entered] 4 lb nails number 10, £0 1s 6d [as entered] 4 lb nails number 3, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Total nails, £0 0s 9d [as entered] Total, £19 17s 8½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The tools issued for the plantation and garden, spades, scythes, hoes and pruning knives, show the Company equipping its farming and horticulture from the store's stock of imported ironware. The supply of the whole range of agricultural implements reveals the plantation worked with tools brought from abroad, the island unable to make its own edge tools and dependent on the Company for the very spades and scythes that turned its ground, the material basis of its cultivation resting on imported iron. The espaliers in the Plantation House garden, for which deals were issued, show the Governor's residence furnished with a formal garden of trained fruit trees in the English manner. An espalier was a fruit tree trained flat against a frame or wall to catch the sun and save space, and its presence at the great house reveals the transplanting of English horticultural refinement to the island, the Governor's garden laid out with the ornamental and productive devices of a gentleman's establishment at home. The dairy room in the Great Wood, secured with a stock lock, records the keeping of a dairy among the plantation buildings for the making of butter and cheese. That the dairy was thought worth locking shows the value set on its produce and the concern to guard it, the settlement working its cattle not only for meat but for milk and its products, the dairy a part of the mixed husbandry by which the plantation fed the establishment from its own ground and herds.
184	173	1750 Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 Vizt Rice 1 y 2 P° £0 7s 8d Oil 67½ G° Train for the Sea Guns £12 15s 11d Canvas 6 P° 2 Yds English for Cots £14 15s 0d Twine 4 lb £0 2s 7d Lines vizt 12 No 2 for Whips £0 3s 4½d 6 No 2 for Drums £1 11s 11½d £5s 4d Deals vizt 109 Single £11 11s 5½d 15 Double £2 12s 6d For Tables & Forms for the New Barracks£ £14 3s 11½d Nails vizt 18lb 6 For Tables & Forms for the New Barracks£ 9 10 Main & Out Forts Cots & Coffins £0 7s 6d 6 20 £0 3s 4½d	Garrison debtor for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1759. The rice and oil were as follows. Rice, 1 lb, £0 7s 8d [as entered] Oil, 67½ gallons train, for the school gunners, £12 15s 11d [as entered] Canvas, 6 pieces 2 yards English, for cots, £14 15s 0d [as entered] Wine, 5 lb, £0 2s 7d [as entered] The lines were as follows. 12 lines number 2 for whips, £0 3s 4½d [as entered] 6 lines number 3 for drums, £1 11s 11½d [as entered] Total lines, £5 4s 0d [as entered] The deals were as follows. 109 single deals, £11 11s 5½d [as entered] 15 double deals for tables and forms for the new barracks, £2 12s 6d [as entered] Total deals, £14 3s 11½d [as entered] The nails were as follows.

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		31 3 £0 2s 0d 9 4 £0 15s 6d £0 3s 9d £1 12s 1½d Turners Ware vizt 12 Wood Bowls£ 6 Platters for the Out Forts £0 14s 6d 6 Birch Brooms for sweeping the Parade £0 6s 3d £0 2s 4½d £1 3s 1½d Tin Ware 10 Lamps for the Out Forts £0 8s 9d Iron Ware vizt 2 Hand Hatchets £0 2s 9d 1 Helve£ 2 Small Frying pans for the Out Forts £0 0s 7½d £0 4s 9d £0 8s 1½d Blankets 53 £12 16s 2d Arrack 18 G° given for drams on Mustering £2 5s 0d Soldiers Cloaths vizt 274 Centinels Coats & Breeches £40 14s 5d 12 Corporals d° d° d° £18 9s 0d 12 Sergeants d° d° d° £63 2s 0d 8 Gunners mates d° d° d° £24 0s 0d 8 Qur Gunners d° d° d° £18 16s 0d 31 Matrosses d° d° d° £65 17s 6d 8 Drummers d° d° d° £27 4s 0d 1 Marshall d° d° d° £1 11s 0d £623 13s 11d Carried Over £604 17s 0d	18 lb nails number 6, for tables and forms for the new barracks, main and out forts, cots and coffins, £0 7s 6d [as entered] 9 lb nails number 10, £0 3s 4½d [as entered] 6 lb nails number 20, £0 0s 2d [as entered] 31 lb nails number 3, £0 15s 6d [as entered] 9 lb nails number 4, £0 3s 9d [as entered] Total nails, £1 12s 1½d [as entered] The turners ware was as follows. 12 wood bowls for the out forts, £0 14s 6d [as entered] 6 platters for the out forts, £0 6s 3d [as entered] 6 birch brooms for sweeping the parade, £0 2s 4½d [as entered] Total turners ware, £1 3s 1½d [as entered] Tinware, 10 lamps for the out forts, £0 8s 9d [as entered] The ironware was as follows. 2 hand hatchets for the out forts, £0 2s 9d [as entered] 1 helve for the out forts, £0 0s 7½d [as entered] 2 small frying pans for the out forts, £0 4s 9d [as entered] Total ironware, £0 8s 1½d [as entered] Blankets, 53, £12 16s 2d [as entered] Arrack, 18 gallons given for drams on mustering, £2 5s 0d [as entered] The soldiers clothes were as follows. 274 sentinels coats and breeches, £40 14s 5d [as entered] 12 corporals coats and breeches, £18 9s 0d [as entered] 12 sergeants coats and breeches, £63 2s 0d [as entered] 8 gunners mates coats and breeches, £24 0s 0d [as entered] 18 quarter gunners coats and breeches, £18 16s 0d [as entered] 65 matrosses coats and breeches, £65 17s 6d [as entered] 31 matrosses coats and breeches, £27 4s 0d [as entered] 8 drummers coats and breeches, £1 11s 0d [as entered] 1 marshalls coat and breeches, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Total soldiers clothes, £623 13s 11d [as entered] Carried over, £604 17s 0d [as entered] **Interpretations** The garrison account issued cloth and materials to make coats and breeches for every rank, from sentinels and corporals to gunners' mates and matrosses, clothing the whole military establishment from store. The provision of uniforms graded by rank and arm shows the Company outfitting its soldiers as a settled charge, the men clothed as well as fed and paid from the establishment, the supply of hundreds of coats and breeches a substantial cost of maintaining an armed force on a remote island. The nails issued in one line for tables, forms, cots and coffins alike show the same materials serving the furnishing of the barracks and the burial of the dead. That the boards and nails for a soldier's coffin were drawn from the same stock as the tables he ate at reveals death provided for as a routine charge of the garrison, the timber that made his bed and board in life supplying his coffin in death, the settlement's mortality met from the ordinary stores as matter-of-factly as its living needs. The arrack given out for drams on mustering shows liquor used as a customary allowance at the assembly of the troops. That spirit was doled to the men when they mustered reveals drink woven into the ritual of military life, the dram a due of the soldier on parade, the same arrack that supplied the officers' table and rewarded the labourers issued to the

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			garrison as an incentive and a tradition, a small mark of how liquor pervaded every part of the settlement's existence.
185	174	October 29th Brought Over £604 17s 0d Hats vizt 316 Centinels £44 4s 0d 20 Sergeants £11 13s 4d £33 13s 8d Shirts vizt 344 Centinels Shirts £76 6s 6d 20 Sergeants £6 11s 0d 314 Rollers £10 9s 4d £93 7s 6d Hosiers Ware 364 P° Thread Stockings £47 4s 0d Shoes 364 P° Mens Ordinary £72 10s 0d £453 0s 0d Fortifications Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 vizt Cordage 32 lb £0 9s 4d Bunting vizt 1 P° Red £1 12s 9½d 2 d° Blue £1 13s 6d 2 d° White for a flag for the Main Fort £2 8s 9d £6 14s ½d Thread 1 P° Coloured £0 3s 4d Lines vizt 2 Hambro £0 2s 9d 12 No 4 £0 4s 6d £1s 3d Canvas vizt 4 P° English Canvas£ 4 Yds Bunting for d° & Bags for Grape Shot £0 5s 0d £3s 0d Swine 3 lb £0 1s 7d Lead 17 lb Sheet for Aprons for Guns £0 3s 6½d £8 7s 1d Boats Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 vizt Cordage 2 2 23 £0 8s 11½d £1 0s 11½d	The garrison stores concluded as follows. The hats were as follows. Brought over, £604 17s 0d 316 sentinels hats, £44 0s 4d [as entered] 20 sergeants hats, £11 13s 4d [as entered] Total hats, £33 13s 8d [as entered] The shirts were as follows. 344 sentinels shirts, £76 6s 6d [as entered] 20 sergeants shirts, £6 11s 0d [as entered] 314 hollees, £10 9s 4d [as entered] Total shirts, £93 7s 6d [as entered] The hosiers ware and shoes were as follows. Hosiers ware, 364 pairs thread stockings, £47 0s 4d [as entered] Shoes, 364 pairs mens ordinary, £72 0s 10d [as entered] Total, £848 0s 0d [as entered] Fortification debtor for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1759. The cordage and bunting were as follows. Cordage, 32 lb, £0 9s 4d [as entered] 1 piece red bunting, £1 12s 9½d [as entered] 2 pieces blue bunting, £1 12s 6d [as entered] 2 pieces white bunting, for a flag for the main fort, £2 0s 9d [as entered] Total bunting, £6 14s 4½d [as entered] The thread and lines were as follows. Thread, 1 lb coloured, £0 3s 4d [as entered] 2 hambro lines, £0 2s 9d [as entered] 12 lines number 4, £0 4s 6d [as entered] Total lines, £1 3s 0d [as entered] The canvas was as follows. 49 yards English canvas, £0 5s 0d [as entered] 4 yards Ozenbrigs, for cots and bags for grapeshot, £0 3s 0d [as entered] Total canvas, £0 8s 0d [as entered] Twine, 3 lb, £0 1s 7d [as entered] Lead, 17 lb sheet for aprons for guns, £0 3s 6½d [as entered] Total, £8 7s 1d [as entered] Boats debtor for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1759. Cordage, 2 lb 2 25, £4 8s 11½d [as entered] Total, £4 8s 11½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The bunting issued to make a flag for the main fort, red, white and blue, records the running of the colours by which the settlement marked and signalled from its principal stronghold. That flags were made up from bunting on the works account shows the constant need to display and replace the ensigns that identified the fort and signalled to shipping, the flag a working necessity of a harbourless island in wartime, sewn from imported cloth and renewed as it wore. The lead cut into aprons for the guns records the protective sheets laid over the touch-holes and vents of the cannon to keep the powder dry. A lead apron guarded the priming of a gun against rain and spray at an exposed battery, and its supply on the fortification account shows the care taken to keep the ordnance ready to fire in a damp climate, the small fittings of gunnery maintained alongside the great pieces themselves so the guns would serve when needed. The canvas cut for bags to hold grapeshot shows the settlement making up its own charges of anti-personnel ammunition for the guns. Grapeshot was a cluster of small iron balls bagged together to scatter like a giant shotgun blast against troops or boats, and the sewing of bags for it from store canvas reveals the garrison preparing its close-range munitions on the spot, the defence of the island resting on

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			ammunition made up from imported cloth and iron as much as on the powder in the magazine.
186	175	1750 Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 vizt Sugar 329 lb £3 7s 1d Flour 329 lb £2 13s 8d Salt 3 Bushels £0 8s 10d Oil 14 G° Train £2 2s 8d Rice 3 y 2 P° £0 1s 6s 10d £9 10s 1d Fortifications Dr for the following Stores Issued for building the Barracks from the 12th July to the 11th October 1750 vizt Nails vizt 32lb 10£ 6 40 £1 10½d 10 20 £0 6s 0d 6 6 £0 2s 6d 1 4 £0 5s 0d £1 2s 9d Iron Ware 3 Helves £0 3s 1½d Iron 2 y 5 y 10 £1 17s 7½d Paint vizt 3 lb Venetian Red Mixed £0 1s 4d 1 Barrel Blacking £0 0s 4d £1 0s 0d Oil 1 P° G° Linseed £0 6s 3½d Deals 3 Single £0 6s 4½d Barracks Dr 3 4 P° Sea Timber £12 4s 4d 10 P° Hinges £15 10s 0d 24 P° Nails £0 9s 0d 40 lb White Lead £3 11s 0d 9 lb Chocolate Colour £0 4s 0d £5 4s 6d Signd J Powell Storekeeper	Hospital debtor for the following stores issued from 12 July to 11 October 1759. Sugar, 329 lb, £3 7s 1d [as entered] Flour, 329 lb, £2 13s 8d [as entered] Salt, 3 bushels, £0 8s 10d [as entered] Oil, 114 gallons train, £2 2s 8d [as entered] Rice, 3 lb 2 quarters, £0 1s 6d [as entered] Total hospital, £9 19s 1d [as entered] Fortification debtor for the following stores issued for building the barracks from 12 July to 11 October 1759. The nails were as follows. 32 lb nails number 10, £0 12s 0d [as entered] 6 lb nails number 40, £0 1s 10½d [as entered] 16 lb nails number 20, £0 6s 0d [as entered] 6 lb nails number 6, £0 2s 6d [as entered] 1 lb nails number 4, £0 5s 0d [as entered] Total nails, £1 2s 9d [as entered] Ironware, 3 helves, £0 3s 1½d [as entered] Iron, number 5 10 lb, £0 17s 7½d [as entered] The paint was as follows. 50 lb Venetian red mixed, £0 1s 4d [as entered] 1 barrel blacking, £0 0s 4d [as entered] Total paint, £0 1s 0d [as entered] Oil, 1 gallon linseed, £0 6s 3½d [as entered] Deals, 3 single, £0 6s 4½d [as entered] Barracks debtor for the following stores. 3 pieces fir timber, £0 12s 4½d [as entered] 10 pairs hinges, £0 15s 10d [as entered] 25 lb nails, £0 9s 0d [as entered] 40 lb white lead, £0 3s 11d [as entered] 50 lb chocolate colour, £0 4s 0d [as entered] Total barracks, £5 4s 6d [as entered] The account was signed by James Powell storekeeper. **Interpretations** The hospital account issued sugar, flour, oil, rice and salt over the quarter to feed and treat the sick, a distinct head of provisioning for the settlement's medical care. The keeping of a separate hospital account shows the Company maintaining a working infirmary as a settled charge, the ill fed on a special diet of the lighter and more nourishing stores, the sugar and fine flour issued to build up the sick marking a deliberate provision for recovery beyond the ordinary ration. The chocolate colour among the barracks paints was a brown pigment used to colour and protect woodwork, taking its name from its resemblance to chocolate. Its issue with white lead for the barracks shows the Company painting even its plainest military buildings for preservation and appearance, the woodwork of the soldiers' quarters coloured and sealed against the weather, the settlement's fabric kept up to a finished standard rather than left rough, every building painted from the store's range of colours. The large issue of train oil to the hospital, over a hundred gallons, points to whale oil used in quantity for the settlement's medical establishment, for its lamps and perhaps in dressings and treatments. The scale of the supply shows the infirmary a substantial consumer of the store's oil, the sick tended by lamplight and their care drawing heavily on the imported oil that served so many uses across the island, the hospital sustained like every other part of the settlement on the products of distant trade.
187	176	October 29th Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honorable Companys Ware Houses the 11th of October 1750 Vizt Anchors vizt	Inventory of goods remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouses on 11 October 1759. The anchors were as follows. 4 anchors, £10 1s 2d [as entered] 1 anchor on the West Rock 2 iron hooks

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		4 Anchors£ 1 d° on the West Rock£ 2 Iron Hoops£ 1 Iron Rock£ £10 1s 2d Bunting vizt 1 P° 24½ Yds Blue £1 17s 7d 8 P° 134 Yds White £6 12s 5½d 9 P° 6 Yds Red £13 14s 10d £30 1s 10½d Broad Cloth vizt 1½ Yds Blue £0 10s 10½d 1 Yds Grey } Damaged £0 10s 10½d 1 Yd Arthur £0 16s 6d 10½ Yds Green £6 6s 3d 12½ Yds Black £10 9s 4½d 91 Yds Scarlet £87 7s 6½d £168 17s 5d Braziers Ware vizt 12 Skimmers a 2/3 y Yd rd £1 9s 8½d 3 d° 2/6 £0 5s 4d 1 d° 6/ £0 6s 6d 2 d° 14/4 £1 8s 8d 1 Warming pan £0 11s 3d 5 lb Brass for Soldering £0 10s 3d 4 Hash pans £0 10s 5d 6 Hash pans with Covers £2 19s 4d 2 Broiling Cocks £7 17s 10d 1 Copper Kettle of 6 Gallons £2 5s 6d 11 P° Brass Candlesticks £1 12s 3d 9 P° Steel Snuffers £4 2s 6d 1 Large Brass Cock £1 10s 3d 1 Copper boiling pot of 8 Gallons £0 4s 5d 1 d° d° of 6 d°£ 2 d° Saucepans of 2 d° £4 4s 10d 2 d° d° of 3 Quarts £2 4s 0d Braziers Ware Carried Over £1 7s 6d £30 9s 9½d £217 3s 5½d	1 iron rock The bunting was as follows. 4 pieces 2¾ yards blue, £1 17s 7d [as entered] 3 pieces 13¾ yards white, £6 12s 5½d [as entered] 9 pieces 6 yards red, £13 14s 10d [as entered] Total bunting, £30 1s 10½d [as entered] The broadcloth was as follows. 1¾ yards blue, £0 10s 10½d [as entered] 1¾ yards grey, damaged, £0 10s 10½d [as entered] 1 yard scarlet, £0 16s 6d [as entered] 10½ yards green, £6 6s 3d [as entered] 12½ yards black, £10 9s 4½d [as entered] 91½ yards scarlet, £57 7s 6½d [as entered] Total broadcloth, £168 17s 5d [as entered] The braziers ware was as follows. 12 skimmers at 2s 3d each, £1 9s 8½d [as entered] 2 skimmers at 2s 6d each, £0 5s 4d [as entered] 1 skimmer at 6s, £0 6s 0d [as entered] 2 skimmers at 14s 4d, £1 8s 8d [as entered] 1 warming pan, £0 11s 3d [as entered] 5 lb brass for soldering, £0 10s 3d [as entered] 4 hash pans, £0 10s 3d [as entered] 6 hash pans with covers, £2 19s 4d [as entered] 2 boiling cooks, £7 17s 10d [as entered] 1 copper kettle of 6 gallons, £0 5s 6d [as entered] 11 pairs brass candlesticks, £1 12s 3d [as entered] 9 pairs steel snuffers, £0 4s 2d [as entered] 1 large brass lock, £0 10s 3d [as entered] 1 copper boiling pot of 8 gallons, £0 4s 5d [as entered] 1 copper boiling pot of 6 gallons, £0 4s 10d [as entered] 2 copper saucepans of 2 gallons, £0 4s 10d [as entered] 2 copper saucepans of 3 quarts, £0 1s 6d [as entered] Braziers ware carried over, £30 9s 9½d [as entered] Carried over, £217 3s 5½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The account now turns from the goods sold and issued over the quarter to a full inventory of what remained in the warehouses, the stocktaking for which the store had been closed through the previous month. This closing count shows the Company reckoning its held stock against the year's sales and issues, so the whole cycle of the store could be balanced, what came in and went out set against what was left, the inventory the foundation of the settlement's accounting for the Company's property. The anchors kept in store, including one lodged on the West Rock, record the heavy ground tackle held for the island's shipping and its own mooring needs. That spare anchors were maintained on the island shows the settlement equipped to serve and secure the vessels in its exposed road, an anchor a vital and costly piece of a ship's gear that a calling vessel might need to replace, the Company holding such stores against the hazards of a roadstead with no sheltered harbour. The large stock of unsold broadcloth, over ninety yards of scarlet alone, valued at more than £150, shows the warehouse holding a substantial reserve of fine woollen cloth against future demand. The quantity kept in store reveals the Company carrying a heavy stock of valuable textiles to supply the settlement over time, the scarlet broadcloth in particular held in bulk perhaps for uniforms and the finer wear of officers and gentry, the store a standing reservoir of goods as well as a point of sale.
188	177	1750	The warehouse inventory continued as follows. The braziers ware brought forward was as follows.

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		Brought Over £217 3s 5½d Braziers Ware brought Over £30 9s 9½d 2 Copper Saucepans of 3 Quarts £0 16s 6d 2 d° d° of 5 Pints £0 11s 0d 1 d° d° of 1 Quarts £0 4s 5d £32 11s 8½d Blankets 251 £60 19s 10d Blocks vizt 4 Iron bound Cat £1 5s 0d 2 d° Sheaves £1 7s 0d 1 d° Single Top £0 5s 0d 4 d° dead Eyes £4 3s 9d 6 dead Eyes£ 1 Double long Tackle £0 4s 9d £7 5s 8d Buckram 3 y 6½ Yds £3 8s 1d Beef & Pork vizt 93 puncheons Beef £135 1s 2d 223 pieces d° £103 1s 6d 136 Hogsheads 6 56 P° Pork £1710 8s 5½d 83 pieces a 2 P° d° £342 13s 0d £427 10s 9½d Books vizt 37 Bibles £6 3s 4d 18 Testaments £1 13s 4d 28 primmers £0 1s 2d 18 Horn Books £1 2s 3d £8 5s 11d Copper Money 30 y 460 Irish Half pence £121 15s 10d Cutlery Ware vizt 13 Horse Combs £0 3s 6d 62 doz 2 y Horn Combs £4 14s 3d 1 doz Ivory d° £0 1s 0d 62 doz 7 P° Shoe Buckles £24 6s 11d 34 doz 6 P° Knee Buckles £5 17s 3½d 3 doz 6 6 Buck handle Knives and Forks £2 14s 3½d 4 doz Ivory handle Knives & Forks £3 12s 4½d 10 Pruning Knives £0 4s 0d 3 doz 6 y Shoe Knives £1 3s 4d 3 doz 6 5 Brushers d° £0 12s 11½d 57 doz P° Leather Garters £9 11s 2d £33 17s 6½d £16 15s 4d Coals 7 y 20 £4750 0s 2d Carried Over £4750 0s 2d	Brought over, £217 3s 5½d Braziers ware brought over, £30 9s 9½d 2 copper saucepans of 3 quarts, £0 16s 6d [as entered] 2 copper saucepans of 5 pints, £0 11s 0d [as entered] 1 copper saucepan of 1 quart, £0 4s 5d [as entered] Total braziers ware, £32 11s 8½d [as entered] Blankets, 251, £60 19s 10d [as entered] The blocks were as follows. 4 ironbound cats, £1 5s 0d [as entered] 2 single blocks, £1 7s 0d [as entered] 1 single top block, £0 0s 5d [as entered] 4 dead eyes, £4 3s 9d [as entered] 6 dead eyes, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 1 double long tackle, £0 4s 9d [as entered] Total blocks, £7 0s 0d [as entered] Buckram, 3 pieces 6½ yards, £3 0s 1d [as entered] The beef and pork were as follows. 93 puncheons beef, £135 1s 2d [as entered] 223 pieces beef, £1,031 7s 6d [as entered] 136 hogsheads 6 56 pieces pork, £1,710 8s 5½d [as entered] 83 pieces 3½ per piece, £342 13s 0d [as entered] Total beef and pork, £4,227 10s 9½d [as entered] The books were as follows. 37 Bibles, £6 3s 4d [as entered] 18 Testaments, £1 13s 4d [as entered] 23 primers, £0 1s 2d [as entered] 18 hornbooks, £0 2s 3d [as entered] Total books, £8 5s 11d [as entered] Copper money, 30, 460 Irish halfpence, £121 15s 10d [as entered] The cutlery ware was as follows. 14 horse combs, £0 3s 6d [as entered] 62 dozen 2 horn combs, £4 14s 3d [as entered] 1 dozen ivory combs, £0 12s 0d [as entered] 23 dozen 7 pairs shoe buckles, £24 8s 11d [as entered] 34 dozen 6 pairs knee buckles, £5 17s 3½d [as entered] 5 dozen 6 staghorn knives and forks, £2 14s 3½d [as entered] 4 dozen ivory-handle knives and forks, £3 12s 4½d [as entered] 10 pruning knives, £0 6s 4d [as entered] 3 dozen 6 shoe knives, £0 3s 4d [as entered] 3 dozen 5 brushes, £12 11s 11½d [as entered] 57 dozen pairs leather garters, £9 11s 2d [as entered] Total cutlery ware, £33 17s 6½d [as entered] Coals, 7 chaldron, £16 15s 4d [as entered] Carried over, £4,750 0s 2d [as entered] **Interpretations** The great mass of salted beef and pork held in the warehouse, valued at over £4,000 and dwarfing every other item, shows the settlement holding an immense reserve of preserved provisions for its shipping and its people. A puncheon and a hogshead were large barrels for storing salt meat, and the holding of scores of them reveals St Helena as a major victualling depot, its warehouses stocked with the salt provisions to reprovision the fleets of Indiamen that called, the island's central purpose as a place of refreshment written in the sheer scale of its meat store. The copper money, more than thirty thousand Irish halfpence valued at over £120, records a large holding of low-value coin for the settlement's small transactions. That the island kept such a quantity of Irish copper shows the need for petty currency to serve everyday dealings among the inhabitants, the small change of the settlement drawn from the

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			surplus copper coinage of Ireland shipped out through the Company, the humble halfpenny as much a part of the island's money as the gold and silver of its treasure. The stock of Bibles, Testaments, primers and hornbooks held in the warehouse, modest but present in some quantity, shows the Company maintaining a reserve of religious and educational books for the settlement. The holding of nearly forty Bibles and a range of teaching books reveals a settled provision for worship and elementary schooling on the island, the materials of religion and letters kept in store to be sold as needed, a small but deliberate furnishing of the community's spiritual and intellectual life alongside its material wants.
189	178	October 29th Brought Over £4750 0s 2d Cart Wheels vizt 3 P° Cart Wheels £21 3s 7d 4 Axle Trees £1 15s 2d 20 Wheelbarrows £14 7s 6d 10 Spare Sides for d° £0 16s 8d £38 2s 11d Camblet vizt 49¾ Yds Scarlet a 10/8 £26 10s 8d 27¾ Yds Blue 9/8 £12 6s 0d 16¾ Yds Scarlet £3 13s 8d 9¾ Yds Blue £1 18s 6d £44 3s 4d Canvas vizt 21 P° 12½ Yds English £51 19s 4½d 7 y 27½ Yds Oznabrigs £33 19s 10½d £85 19s 3d Corks vizt 40 Gross 9 doz Corks £4 13s 4½d 18 lb Sheet Cork £0 7s 10½d £5 1s 3d Cordage vizt 16 y 2 y 13 Broad Hawser £0 0s 0d 13 3 6 five Inch£ 61 1 1 four d°£ 27 2 13 Store d°£ 28 3 4 two and an half d°£ 20 2 9 two d°£ 3 2 12 twelve Thread Ratline£ 9 2 6 Nine d° d°£ 101 3 16£ £292 17s 10d Deals vizt 478 double Deals£ 10 d° in Barn the Cellars £90 5s 0d 646 Single Deals£ 29 d° in use in the Cellars £76 2s 10½d 43 Elm Boards £0 1s 3d 46 Wainscot d° £13 15s 7½d 55 Coffins £11 4s 7d 10 Spars £0 17s 6d 3 d° in use in the Cellars£ Deals Carried Over £200 6s 10d £5224 1s 9d	The warehouse inventory continued as follows. The cartwheels were as follows. Brought over, £4,750 0s 2d 3 pairs cartwheels, £21 3s 7d [as entered] 4 axle trees, £1 15s 2d [as entered] 20 wheelbarrows, £14 7s 6d [as entered] 10 spare sides for wheelbarrows, £0 16s 8d [as entered] Total cartwheels, £38 2s 11d [as entered] The camlet was as follows. 49¾ yards scarlet at 10s 8d, £26 10s 8d [as entered] 27½ yards blue at 8s 8d, £12 0s 6d [as entered] 16¾ yards scarlet, £3 13s 8d [as entered] 9½ yards blue, £1 18s 6d [as entered] Total camlet, £44 3s 4d [as entered] The canvas was as follows. 21 pieces 12½ yards English, £51 19s 4½d [as entered] 7 pieces 27½ yards Ozenbrigs, £33 19s 10½d [as entered] Total canvas, £85 19s 3d [as entered] The corks were as follows. 40 gross 9 dozen corks, £4 13s 4½d [as entered] 15 lb sheet cork, £0 7s 10½d [as entered] Total corks, £5 1s 3d [as entered] The cordage was as follows. 10 lb rope number 2, 13 lb, thread hawser, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 13 lb number 3, 6 lb, five inch, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 61 lb number 1, 1 lb, four inch, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 27 lb number 2, 13 lb, store rope, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 28 lb number 3, 4 lb, two and a half inch, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 20 lb number 2, 9 lb, two inch, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 3 lb number 2, 12 lb, twelve-thread ratline, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 9 lb number 2, 2 lb, nine-thread ratline, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Total cordage, 101 lb 3 16, £29 17s 10d [as entered] The deals were as follows. 478 double deals, £90 5s 0d [as entered] 10 double deals in use in the cellars 646 single deals, £76 2s 10½d [as entered] 29 single deals in use in the cellars 45 elm boards, £0 1s 3d [as entered] 46 wainscot boards, £13 15s 7½d [as entered] 50 espaliers, £11 4s 7d [as entered] 10 spars, £0 17s 6d [as entered] 3 deals in use in the cellars Deals carried over, £200 6s 10d [as entered] Carried over, £5,224 1s 9d [as entered] **Interpretations** The large stock of timber held in the warehouse, hundreds of deals and boards, wainscot, elm and

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			spars, shows the settlement holding a heavy reserve of imported wood for its constant building and repair. Because the island grew little timber fit for construction, the Company kept a great store of sawn planks and boards shipped from Europe, the warehouse stocked with the material of every building, boat and repair, the settlement's whole fabric dependent on a standing reserve of imported wood. The cordage inventory graded its ropes minutely by thickness and construction, from four-inch hawser down to nine-thread ratline, showing the careful stocking of the many kinds of rope a maritime settlement required. Ratline was thin cordage for the ladder-rungs of the rigging and a hawser a heavy rope for mooring and towing, and the range held reveals the island equipped to serve and repair the running and standing gear of ships and boats, the whole variety of a rope-walk's produce kept in store for a place wholly bound to the sea. The wheelbarrows and cartwheels held in quantity, with spare sides and axle trees, show the settlement's dependence on wheeled transport for moving goods and materials about the island. The keeping of twenty wheelbarrows and spare parts reveals the constant carriage of stores, stone and produce that the working of the settlement demanded, the barrow and the cart the humble but essential means by which the island's business moved, maintained and replaced from the Company's store like every other tool of its labour.
190	179	1750 Brought Over £5224 1s 9d Deals brought Over £200 6s 10d 18 Battens £0 8s 3d 13¾ P° Riga Timber £6 2s 0d 11 P° Elm Plank £11 8s 3½d 146 Bundles Laths £7 19s 5d £262 7s 11½d Earthen Ware 26 Milk pans £0 18s 0d Flour 863 1 P° d° £636 9s 3d Flannel 36½ Yds £2 3s 4d Glass Ware vizt 124 Sqrs Glass 6 by 8 £1 12s 10d 43 d° 8 by 10 £1 5s 1d 53 d° 10 by 12 £3 12s 10d 5 d° 10½ by 11¾ £0 4s 1d 39 d° 10½ by 12½ £2 16s 6½d 1 d° 11 by 14½ £0 0s 3d 5 d° 11 by 17¾ £0 6s 3d 13 d° 11 by 18¾ £1 1s 3d 47 d° 11 by 19 £3 9s 3d 21 Beer Glasses £1 9s 9d 6 doz 6 11 Wine d° £2 4s 6½d 9 Cruets £0 10s 2½d 4 Quart Decanters £0 13s 6d 14 Pint d° £1 10s 8d 8 Animals £0 7s 11d 3 Sour Hour Glasses £0 10s 0d 1 Three Hour d° £0 3s 4d 6 Half Minute d° £0 3s 3d 5 P° Glass Salts a 8/3 £2 1s 3d 4 P° d° 6/3 £1 4s 2d 2 P° d° 5/3 £0 10s 8d £26 14s 0d Grindstones vizt 1 Large £0 15s 6d 4 d° 3/9 £1 1s 0d 4 d° 2/9 £0 11s 0d £2 7s 6d Hats vizt 10 Officers £15 10s 6d 5 Boys £1 10s 0d £17 0s 6d	The warehouse inventory continued as follows. The deals brought forward were as follows. Brought over, £5,224 1s 9d Deals brought over, £200 6s 10d 18 baulks, £6 0s 3d [as entered] 15¾ pieces Riga timber, £36 2s 0d [as entered] 11 pieces elm plank, £11 8s 5½d [as entered] 146 bundles laths, £7 19s 5d [as entered] Total deals, £262 7s 11½d [as entered] The earthenware and other goods were as follows. Earthenware, 20 milk pans, £18 0s 0d [as entered] Flour, 863 lb 1 per lb, £636 9s 3d [as entered] Flannel, 38½ yards, £2 3s 4d [as entered] The glassware was as follows. 124 squares glass 6 by 8, £1 12s 10d [as entered] 43 squares 8 by 10, £1 5s 1d [as entered] 33 squares 10 by 12, £3 12s 10d [as entered] 5 squares 10½ by 11¾, £0 4s 1d [as entered] 39 squares 10½ by 11½, £2 16s 6½d [as entered] 1 square 11 by 14½, £0 2s 3d [as entered] 5 squares 11 by 17¾, £0 6s 8d [as entered] 13 squares 11 by 18¾, £1 1s 3d [as entered] 47 squares 11 by 19, £3 9s 3d [as entered] 21 beer glasses, £1 9s 9d [as entered] 6 dozen 11 wine glasses, £2 4s 6½d [as entered] 9 cruets, £0 10s 2½d [as entered] 4 quart decanters, £0 13s 6d [as entered] 14 pint decanters, £1 10s 8d [as entered] 8 animals, £0 7s 11d [as entered] 3 four-hour glasses, £0 1s 0d [as entered] 1 three-hour glass, £0 3s 4d [as entered] 6 half-minute glasses, £0 3s 3d [as entered] 5 pairs glass salts at 3s 3d, £2 1s 3d [as entered] 4 pairs glass salts at 6s 3d, £1 4s 2d [as entered] 2 pairs glass salts at 5s 3d, £0 10s 8d [as entered] Total glassware, £26 14s 0d [as entered] The grindstones were as follows. 1 large grindstone, £0 15s 6d [as entered] 4 grindstones number 1, £0 1s 1d [as entered] 4 grindstones number 2, £0 11s 0d [as entered] Total grindstones, £2 7s 6d [as entered] The hats were as follows.

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		Carried Over £6325 11s 4½d	10 officers hats, £15 10s 6d [as entered] 5 boys hats, £1 16s 0d [as entered] Total hats, £17 0s 6d [as entered] Carried over, £6,925 5s 11½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The Riga timber and baulks held in store record the specialised building wood shipped from the Baltic through the great northern timber trade. Riga, on the Baltic coast, was a principal source of the fir and deal that supplied northern Europe, and a baulk was a squared beam of heavy timber, so their presence shows the island drawing its structural wood from the Baltic as well as elsewhere, the settlement's building materials gathered from the far reaches of the European timber trade and shipped out through the Company. The half-minute and hour glasses held among the glassware were the sand timers used for navigation and the ordering of the day, the half-minute glass in particular the instrument by which a ship's speed was measured with the log. Their stocking shows the settlement supplying the timekeeping instruments of seamanship, the half-minute glass timing the run of the log line to reckon a vessel's pace, so even the measurement of time and speed at sea depended on imported glass kept in the island's store. The glass salts held in pairs at graded prices were the small glass dishes for serving salt at table, an article of some refinement in the settlement's domestic supply. That salt cellars of glass were stocked in variety shows the better tables of the island furnished with the niceties of genteel dining, the glass salt a mark of a household reaching beyond bare necessity, the Company's warehouse holding the ornaments of the table alongside the staples of survival for a community that aspired to the manners of home.
191	180	October 29th Brought Over £6192 5s 11d Hosiers Ware vizt 664 P° Thread Stockings £83 5s 0d 8 P° Mens Knit d° £1 2s 0d 15 P° Boys d° £1 10s 10d 19 P° Girls £1 17s 0d 16 pair Womens £2 8s 0d £92 4s 2d Hooks & Lines vizt 23575 No 1£ 18200 2£ 8075 3 } Hooks£ 2350 5£ 13300 6£ 10475 7£ 400 P° Grantham£ 54 doz 43 No 2£ 193 3£ 17 y 209 4 } Lines£ 6 y 208 Hambro£ 5 Log d°£ 60 14s 9½d 27 6s 0d 7 15s 4d 2 3s 7d 5 2s 4d 2 11s 10½d 0 4s 0d 14 10s 0d 33 12s 3½d 17 5s 3½d 5 9s 9d 3 0s 0d £179 6s 2d Haberdashery Ware vizt	The warehouse inventory continued as follows. The hosiers ware was as follows. Brought over, £6,925 5s 11d 664 pairs thread stockings, £83 5s 0d [as entered] 8 pairs mens knit stockings, £1 2s 0d [as entered] 16 pairs boys stockings, £1 10s 10d [as entered] 19 pairs girls stockings, £1 17s 0d [as entered] 16 pairs womens stockings, £2 8s 0d [as entered] Total hosiers ware, £92 4s 2d [as entered] The hooks and lines were as follows. 23,575 hooks number 1, £60 14s 9½d [as entered] 18,200 hooks number 2, £27 6s 0d [as entered] 8,075 hooks number 3, £7 15s 4d [as entered] 2,350 hooks number 5, £2 3s 7d [as entered] 13,300 hooks number 6, £5 2s 4d [as entered] 10,475 hooks number 7, £2 11s 10½d [as entered] 400 pairs Grantham hooks, £0 4s 0d [as entered] 84 dozen 43 lines number 2, £14 0s 10d [as entered] 193 lines number 3, £33 12s 3½d [as entered] 17 lines 209 number 4, £17 5s 3½d [as entered] 6 lines 208 hambro, £5 9s 9d [as entered] 5 log lines, £3 0s 0d [as entered] Total hooks and lines, £179 6s 2d [as entered] The haberdashery ware was as follows. 5 pieces 2 yards shalloon, £1 12s 2½d [as entered] 103 cockades, £3 4s 6½d [as entered] 1 lb scarlet silk, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 6 lb black silk, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 8 lb light silk, £0 0s 1d [as entered] 12 lb brown silk, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 14 lb scarlet mohair, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 10 lb black mohair, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 4 lb light mohair, £0 0s 0d [as entered]

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		3 P° 2 P° Whalebone £1 12s 2½d 103 Cockales £3 4s 6½d 1 P° ½ Scarlet Silk£ 6 P° Black d°£ 8 P° Light d°£ 12 P° Brown d° £5 0s 1d 1 P° 14 P° Scarlet Mohair£ 10 P° Black d°£ 4 P° Light d°£ 4 y 528 Brown d° £8 10s 10d 3 P° 2 y 4 y 8 Mohair Scarlet Coat Buttons£ 6 doz d° Black d° £2 2s 6d 4 d° 8 d° Blue d°£ 16 8 d° Brown d° £6 8s 9d 6 8 d° Light d°£ 1 8 d° Blue Breast d°£ 1 6 d° Scarlet Light d°£ 11 Scarlet d° d° £14 0s 0d 10 Black d° d°£ Haberdashery Ware Carried Over £27 12s 11d Carried over £6463 15s 3½d	4 lb 33 brown mohair, £0 10s 10d [as entered] 2 dozen 8 scarlet mohair coat buttons, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 6 dozen black mohair coat buttons, £0 2s 6d [as entered] 8 dozen blue mohair coat buttons, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 6 dozen brown mohair coat buttons, £6 0s 9d [as entered] 1 dozen light mohair coat buttons, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 6 dozen blue mohair breast buttons, £0 0s 0d [as entered] 11 dozen scarlet mohair breast buttons, £0 14s 0d [as entered] 10 dozen black mohair breast buttons, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Haberdashery ware carried over, £27 12s 11d [as entered] Carried over, £6,463 15s 3½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The immense stock of fishing hooks held in the warehouse, tens of thousands in graded sizes and valued at nearly £180 with the lines, shows fishing as a major and settled part of the island's economy and food supply. The keeping of such vast quantities of tackle reveals the sea around the island as a principal larder worked in earnest, the Company holding a great reserve of hooks and lines to supply a fishery that fed the settlement and its shipping, the ocean's harvest as vital to the island as the produce of its land. The Grantham hooks among the tackle were a named type of fish-hook, taking their name from the English town noted for their manufacture. Their listing as a distinct kind shows the store stocking the specialised products of particular English centres of trade, the hooks of Grantham held alongside the numbered sizes, so even the humble fish-hook came in named varieties drawn from the specialised manufactures of the home country, the island's fishery supplied with the best-known makes. The mohair and silk held for haberdashery, graded by colour for making buttons and trimmings, show the warehouse stocking the fine materials of tailoring and dress ornament. Mohair was the fine hair of the Angora goat spun into thread and used for buttons and braid, and its holding in scarlet, black, blue, brown and light shades reveals the store supplying the coloured trimmings that finished a garment, the settlement's tailors and inhabitants furnished with the materials to make and adorn their clothes from the Company's imported stock.
192	181	1750 Brought Over £6463 15s 3½d Haberdashery Ware brought Over £27 12s 11d 14 y 6 Silver Coat Buttons £3 4s 2d 4 11 6 d° Breast d° £1 11s 7½d 2 6 10 Yellow Metal Coat Buttons £0 16s 0d 1 1 d° Breast d° £0 3s 6½d 5 1 White Waistcoat d° £0 14s 0d 3 Shirt d° £0 6s 7d 40 P° Holland Tape £4 4s 6d 9 y Gross Worsted Lace £9 13s 7d 10 y d° Horn Moulds £0 3s 11½d £56 12s 9d Iron & Steel vizt 30 y 2 lb Iron £31 16s 1½d 1 2 12 Steel £3 7s 6d £35 3s 7½d Iron Ware vizt 2 Locks D° d° 22/1 £2 4s 2d 5 d° No 3 17/8 £4 8s 8d 6 d° Brass 23/2 £6 10s 0d	The warehouse inventory continued as follows. The haberdashery ware brought forward was as follows. Brought over, £6,463 15s 3½d Haberdashery ware brought over, £27 12s 11d 14 dozen 6 silver coat buttons, £3 4s 2d [as entered] 11 dozen 6 silver breast buttons, £1 11s 7½d [as entered] 2 dozen 6 10 yellow metal coat buttons, £0 16s 0d [as entered] 1 dozen yellow metal breast buttons, £0 3s 6½d [as entered] 5 dozen 1 white waistcoat buttons, £0 14s 0d [as entered] 3 dozen shirt buttons, £0 6s 7d [as entered] 40 pieces holland tape, £4 4s 6d [as entered] 9 gross worsted lace, £9 13s 7d [as entered] 10 dozen horn moulds, £0 3s 11½d [as entered] Total haberdashery ware, £56 12s 9d [as entered] The iron and steel were as follows. 30 lb iron, £31 16s 1½d [as entered]

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		11 d° Scutcheon with Brass Knobs £2 14s 11d 27 d° Stock £3 0s 7½d 20 d° 8 Bitt £2 6s 4d 11 Chest Locks£ 3 Cupboard d° £0 11s 4d 6 Splinter d° £0 3s 1½d 12 Pad d° £1 4s 9d 12 Broad Wires £1 3s 2d 20 Garden d° £1 5s 11d 4 Grubling d° £0 11s 0d 14 Gouges £0 4s 11d 16 P° Sheep Shears £0 16s 11d 8 P° Garden d° £1 13s 3d 8 Helves £0 13s 0d 10 Scrapers £0 16s 8d 4 Turfing Irons £0 11s 6d 6 Edging d° £0 19s 10d 30 pickaxes £3 3s 4d 1 Auger £0 0s 5½d 25 Copper Bitts £0 7s 9d 3 Plaisterers Trowels £0 7s 7½d 13 Bricklayers d° £0 7s 1d 4 y y Binding Wire £0 0s 7½d Iron Ware Carried Over £47 1s 1½d Carried Over £6547 14s 0d	1 2 12 lb steel, £3 7s 6d [as entered] Total iron and steel, £35 3s 7½d [as entered] The ironware was as follows. 2 iron rimmed locks number 1, £2 4s 2d [as entered] 5 iron rimmed locks number 2, £4 8s 0d [as entered] 6 brass locks, £6 10s 0d [as entered] 11 iron rimmed locks with brass hooks, £2 14s 11d [as entered] 27 stock locks, £3 9s 7½d [as entered] 20 spring locks, £2 6s 4d [as entered] 11 chest locks, £0 6s 4d [as entered] 3 cupboard locks, £0 11s 4d [as entered] 6 splinter locks, £0 3s 1½d [as entered] 12 padlocks, £1 4s 9d [as entered] 20 broad hoes, £1 3s 2d [as entered] 20 garden hoes, £1 5s 11d [as entered] 4 grubbing hoes, £0 11s 0d [as entered] 14 gouges, £0 4s 11½d [as entered] 16 pairs sheep shears, £0 16s 11d [as entered] 9 garden shears, £1 13s 3d [as entered] 6 adzes, £0 13s 0d [as entered] 10 scrapers, £0 16s 8d [as entered] 4 turfing irons, £0 11s 6d [as entered] 6 edging irons, £0 19s 10d [as entered] 30 pickaxes, £3 3s 4d [as entered] 1 auger, £0 0s 5½d [as entered] 25 copper rivets, £0 7s 9d [as entered] 3 plaisterers trowels, £0 7s 7½d [as entered] 13 bricklayers trowels, £0 7s 1d [as entered] 4 lb binding wire, £0 0s 0d [as entered] Ironware carried over, £47 1s 1½d [as entered] Carried over, £6,547 14s 0d [as entered] **Interpretations** The great array of edge tools and implements held in store, hoes, adzes, gouges, pickaxes, turfing and edging irons and shears, shows the warehouse holding a full reserve of the ironware for the settlement's farming, gardening and building. Turfing and edging irons were the specialised spades for cutting turf and trimming garden edges, and their stocking alongside the common hoes and picks reveals the island equipped for every kind of ground work from imported iron, the whole apparatus of cultivation and construction held ready in the Company's store. The many kinds of lock held in reserve, iron-rimmed, brass, stock, spring, chest, cupboard and padlocks, show the settlement's persistent concern to secure its property behind lock and key. The holding of scores of locks of every type reveals a society much preoccupied with guarding goods and rooms against theft, the store keeping a deep stock of security fittings to meet a standing demand, the many locks a measure of the mistrust and the value of property in a settlement of mixed and watchful population. The worsted lace and metal buttons held in quantity, silver, yellow metal and white, show the warehouse stocking the trimmings of finer dress in some depth. Worsted lace was a woven braid used to trim coats and uniforms, and its holding with silver and gilt buttons reveals the store supplying the ornaments that marked rank and quality in dress, the settlement's demand for finery met from a reserve of buttons and braid, the materials of display held ready alongside the plain necessities of clothing.
193	182	October 29th Brought Over £6547 14s 0d Iron Ware brought Over £47 1s 1½d 50 lb Lead Nails £4 2s 11d 178 Packing Needles £0 3s 11½d 5 P° H Hinges a 7 y d° ½ £0 13s 6½d	The ironware brought forward continued as follows. Brought over, £6,547 14s 0d Ironware brought over, £47 1s 1½d [as entered] 50 lb lead nails, £0 2s 11d [as entered] 178 packing needles, £0 3s 11½d [as entered]

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		12 P° Bason Joints d° £0 10s 0d 11 P° Shutter d° a 2/3 £1 4s 9d 24 P° H d° a 1/5 £1 13s 7d 24 P° Side d° £1 3s 0d 75 P° Dovetail Hinges £1 7s 2d 46 P° Shutter d° £4 16s 9d 24 Sash fastenings £0 7s 6d 37 Scythes £10 5s 4d 71 d° Stones £0 15s 4d 18 Rag d° £0 5s 3½d 18 Stone Saws £3 19s 10½d 1 Cross Sut d° £0 1s 4d 1 Whip d° £0 2s 7½d 6 Hand d° £2 5s 5d 6 pruning d° £0 6s 9d 6 P° Stone Saw heads £1 12s 9d 5 Turners Hatchets £0 10s 0d 32 Hand d° £3 14s 6d 20 Helves for d° £0 3s 6d 110 Helves £3 6s 2½d 43 Gimblets £0 6s 0d 6 Stone Wedges £0 4s 0d 1 Hand Spit £0 2s 6d 10 Jack d° £2 17s 2d 170 Saws £3 17s 11d 8 d° Halfs £0 0s 4d 2 Rasps £0 1s 1d 3 Smiths Rubbers £0 9s 1½d 4 P° planking Cards £1 3s 5d 4 Cutting Spades £0 15s 11½d 1 Mens Cutter £0 2s 10d 19 Setting hammers £6 2s 4½d 1 Watering hammer £0 1s 6d 5 Claw d° £0 1s 6½d 3 Hand d° £0 6s 1d 6 Drill Boxes £0 0s 9d 12 d° Bows £1 6s 5d Iron Ware Carried Over £112 7s 11d Carried Over £6547 14s 3d	5 pairs rail hinges at 7s 6d, £0 15s 6½d [as entered] 12 pairs riseing joints, £0 10s 0d [as entered] 11 pairs shutter hinges at 2s 3d, £1 4s 9d [as entered] 24 pairs rail hinges at 1s 5d, £1 13s 7d [as entered] 24 pairs side hinges, £1 3s 0d [as entered] 75 pairs dovetail hinges, £1 7s 0d [as entered] 46 pairs shutter hinges, £4 16s 9d [as entered] 24 sash fastenings, £0 7s 6d [as entered] 37 scythes, £10 5s 4d [as entered] 71 scythe stones, £0 15s 4d [as entered] 18 ragstones, £0 5s 3½d [as entered] 18 stone saws, £3 19s 10½d [as entered] 1 cross-cut saw, £1 1s 4d [as entered] 1 whip saw, £0 2s 7½d [as entered] 6 hand saws, £2 5s 5d [as entered] 6 pruning saws, £0 6s 9d [as entered] 6 pairs stone-saw heads, £1 12s 9d [as entered] 5 turners hatchets, £0 10s 0d [as entered] 32 hand hatchets, £3 14s 6d [as entered] 20 helves for hatchets, £0 3s 6d [as entered] 110 hoes, £3 6s 2½d [as entered] 43 gimblets, £0 6s 0d [as entered] 6 stone wedges, £0 4s 0d [as entered] 1 hand spit, £0 2s 6d [as entered] 10 jack planes, £2 17s 2d [as entered] 170 sieves, £3 17s 11d [as entered] 8 wire sieves, £0 0s 4d [as entered] 2 rasps, £0 1s 1d [as entered] 3 smiths bellows, £0 9s 1½d [as entered] 4 pairs planking cards, £1 5s 5d [as entered] 4 pruning spades, £0 15s 11½d [as entered] 1 mould cutter, £2 12s 10d [as entered] 19 setting hammers, £6 2s 10d [as entered] 1 watering hammer, £0 1s 6d [as entered] 5 claw hammers, £0 6s 6½d [as entered] 3 hand hammers, £0 6s 1d [as entered] 6 drill boxes, £0 0s 9d [as entered] 12 drill bows, £1 6s 5d [as entered] Ironware carried over, £112 7s 11d [as entered] Carried over, £6,547 14s 3d [as entered] **Interpretations** The great variety of hinges held in store, rail, shutter, side, dovetail and rising joints, graded and priced by kind, shows the warehouse stocking the full range of the fittings by which the settlement hung its doors, windows and shutters. A rising joint was a hinge that lifted a door clear of the floor as it opened, and their holding in quantity reveals the constant need to fit and repair the openings of the island's buildings, the humble hinge kept in every variety to serve the doors and shutters of a settlement wholly dependent on imported ironware. The stone saws, wedges, saw heads and the mould cutter held in store record the tools of the island's quarrying and stone-working. The cutting and shaping of stone for building was a settled trade on the island, worked with the specialised saws and wedges kept in the store, so the settlement raised its more permanent structures from local stone dressed with imported tools, the quarry a part of the island's economy furnished from the Company's reserve of ironware alongside the timber trades. The drill bows and boxes held among the tools were the parts of the bow drill, a device turned by a bow drawn back and forth to bore holes in metal or wood. Their presence shows the settlement's metalworkers and carpenters equipped with the boring tools of their crafts, the bow drill a common instrument for making holes, kept in the store to supply the armourers, smiths and woodworkers whose skilled labour the island depended on, the finer tools of the trades held ready alongside the common hoes and saws.

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194	183	1750 Brought Over £6547 14s 0d Iron Ware Carried Over £112 7s 11d 6 Bill Hooks £0 4s 0d 12 doz Masons Tools £0 8s 6d 20 d° Wood Screws £0 1s 6d 1 Large Jack £0 10s 2d 2 Small d° £0 6s 0d 11 Large frying pans £2 6s 9½d 38 Small d° £6 11s 2d 16 Sash £6 15s 2d 1 Wimble Brace £0 2s 6d 10 lb 24 Corn Emery £0 11s 4d 9 lb y Sheet d° £0 7s 2d 10 P° Stone Slacks£ 48 Brass Shutter Rings £0 10s 0d 113 Ditching Shovels £2 10s 1d 29 Shod d° £2 8s 3½d 7 Garden Rakes £0 17s 8½d 1 Wire Rod, & Trap £0 4s 11½d 13 Box Irons £4 13s 5½d 6 lb Case Hardening £0 12s 0d 2 Plaisterers Sieves £0 0s 2d 1 P° Small Steelyards £0 9s 0½d 3 Coffee Mills £1 8s 6d 2 P° Bellows £0 5s 0d 1 Iron Saucepan of 2 Quarts £0 11s 6d 1 d° of 3 Pints £0 10s 3d 1 d° of 1 Quart £0 9s 0d 1 d° d° Hwill pan £0 0s 11d 6 Jack Chains £0 10s 0d 6 Sets of Jack Wheels £8 19s 3d £176 1s 8d Kersey 3 y 24⅞ Yds £5 12s 4½d Long Ells vizt 4½ Yds Blue £0 8s 3½d 18 Yds Scarlet £2 0s 4½d £2 6s 0d Leather vizt 21 Calf Skins £0 12s 10d 3 y 12 lb Sole Leather £4 16s 0d 3 y 3 Pump d° £4 17s 8d £10 4s 6d Carried Over £6750 19s 10½d	The ironware brought forward continued as follows. Brought over, £6,547 14s 0d Ironware brought over, £112 7s 11d 6 bill hooks, £0 4s 0d [as entered] 12 dozen masons tools, £0 8s 6d [as entered] 20 dozen wood screws, £0 1s 6d [as entered] 1 large jack, £0 10s 2d [as entered] 2 small jacks, £0 6s 0d [as entered] 11 large frying pans, £2 6s 9½d [as entered] 38 small frying pans, £6 11s 2d [as entered] 16 jacks, £6 15s 2d [as entered] 1 wimble brace, £0 2s 6d [as entered] 10 lb 24 corn emery, £0 11s 4d [as entered] 9 lb flower ore, £0 7s 2d [as entered] 1 pair scyth stocks, £0 0s 10d [as entered] 40 brass shutter rings, £0 8s 0d [as entered] 13 ditching shovels, £2 10s 1d [as entered] 20 shod shovels, £2 0s 3½d [as entered] 7 garden rakes, £0 17s 8½d [as entered] 1 wire rod and trap, £4 11s 0d [as entered] 13 box irons, £4 13s 5½d [as entered] 6 lb corn hardening, £0 12s 0d [as entered] 2 plaisterers trowels, £0 0s 2d [as entered] 1 pair small steelyards, £0 7s 0½d [as entered] 3 coffee mills, £1 8s 6d [as entered] 2 pairs bellows, £0 6s 0d [as entered] 1 iron saucepan of 2 quarts, £0 4s 6d [as entered] 1 iron saucepan of 3 pints, £0 0s 3d [as entered] 1 iron saucepan of 1 quart, £0 3s 0d [as entered] 1 iron sweetpan, £0 0s 11d [as entered] 6 truck chains, £0 0s 10d [as entered] 6 axle trees of truck wheels, £4 10s 3d [as entered] Total ironware, £176 1s 8d [as entered] Kersey, 24¾ yards, £5 19s 4½d [as entered] The long ells were as follows. 4¾ yards blue, £0 9s 3½d [as entered] 18 yards scarlet, £1 19s 4½d [as entered] Total long ells, £2 6s 6d [as entered] The leather was as follows. 2 calf skins, £0 10s 10d [as entered] 3 lb 12 lb sole leather, £4 16s 0d [as entered] 3 pieces 3 pump leather, £4 17s 8d [as entered] Total leather, £10 4s 6d [as entered] Carried over, £6,758 19s 10½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The masons' tools, bill hooks, wood screws and emery held in store show the warehouse stocking the specialised implements of the building and cutting trades. Emery was an abrasive stone used for grinding and polishing metal, and a bill hook a curved blade for cutting brush and wood, so the store held the materials to sharpen tools and clear ground alongside the masons' own implements, the full apparatus of the construction and land-clearing crafts kept ready for the settlement's constant work of building and cultivation. The sole and pump leather held in store were the heavy leathers for making and mending shoes and for the leather parts of pumps. Pump leather formed the flexible valves and washers of the water pumps on which the settlement and its ships depended, so its stocking shows the store supplying the material to keep the pumps working, the leather of the sole and the pump held for the repair of both the inhabitants' footwear and the vital machinery of raising water, the same hide serving foot and engine alike. The box irons held in some number were the smoothing irons heated by an internal slug of hot metal, used for pressing linen and clothes. Their stocking shows the settlement's domestic life extending to the laundering and pressing of garments in the English manner, the box iron a household tool of a settled community, the store supplying the

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			implements of domestic order and appearance to a population that kept up the decencies of home even on a remote island.
195	184	October 29th Brought Over £6750 19s 10½d Lead vizt 5 y 2 y 5 lb Small Shot £0 2s 9d 9 y 1 y 7 Sheet Lead £10 17s 5½d 10 Yds 2 Inch Pipe £4 15s 6d £18 1s 9½d Masts vizt 1 Large Mast 76 feet long 21 Inches Diamr £33 11s 0d 1 Top Mast 65 d° 17 d° £21 15s 0d ½ Top Mast £8 10s 0d 1 Top d° P° Pelham £7 0s 0d 1 Cap £1 11s 6d £72 7s 6d Nails vizt 3 y 2 y 14£ 4 1 20 3 £11 4s 0d 4 2 24 3 £12 10s 0d 10 27 4 £23 19s 0d 6 14 6 £13 10s 5d 2 2 15 10 £3 9s 3d 2 2 23 20 £4 19s 3d 3 1 1 40 £5 18s 5½d 4 1 6 Spike £16 18s 6d 7 6 Coopers Rivets £7 9s 2d 3 5 Scupper £3 4s 8d 2 3 6 Pruning Brads £2 4s 0d 2 Glazing d° £4 16s 3d 2 21 Tacks£ £121 3s 0½d Oil vizt 360 G° Train £69 9s 6d 91 d° Linseed £15 7s 6d 21 Bottles Florence £2 9s 5d £87 6s 5d Oars vizt 4 Oars £0 15s 3d 8 P° Grantham £1 10s 0d £2 5s 5d Pitch & Tar vizt 21 Barrels Pitch £37 17s 10d 62 d° Tar £6 5s 6d 4 d° Turpentine £16 3s 6d 3 2 1½ Rosin £2 10s 2d £134 5s 0d Pumps 2 £25 6s 11d Carried Over £7241 15s 9½d	The warehouse inventory continued as follows. The lead was as follows. Brought over, £6,758 19s 10½d small shot, £0 2s 9d [as entered] sheet lead, £10 17s 5½d [as entered] 10 yards 2-inch pipe, £4 15s 6d [as entered] Total lead, £10 1s 9½d [as entered] The masts were as follows. 1 large mast 76 feet long 21 inch diameter, £33 11s 0d [as entered] 1 topmast 65 feet 17 inch diameter, £21 15s 0d [as entered] 1 topmast, £0 10s 0d [as entered] 1 topmast for Pelham, £0 7s 0d [as entered] 1 cap, £1 11s 6d [as entered] Total masts, £72 7s 6d [as entered] The nails were as follows. 3 lb number 2, 11 lb number 20, number 3, £11 4s 0d [as entered] 4 lb 24 lb number 3, £12 10s 0d [as entered] 10 lb 27 lb number 4, £23 19s 0d [as entered] 6 lb 14 lb number 6, £13 10s 5d [as entered] 2 lb 15 lb number 10, £3 9s 3d [as entered] 2 lb 29 lb number 20, £4 19s 3d [as entered] 3 lb 1 lb number 40, £5 18s 5½d [as entered] 4 lb 1 lb 6 spikes, £4 4s 0d [as entered] 7 lb 6 coopers rivets, £16 10s 6d [as entered] 3 lb 5 scupper, £7 9s 2d [as entered] 2 lb 3 6 sheeving brads, £5 4s 8d [as entered] 2 lb glazing brads, £2 4s 0d [as entered] 2 lb 21 tacks, £4 16s 3d [as entered] Total nails, £121 3s 0½d [as entered] The oil was as follows. 360 gallons train, £69 9s 6d [as entered] 91 gallons linseed, £15 7s 6d [as entered] 21 bottles Florence, £2 9s 5d [as entered] Total oil, £87 6s 5d [as entered] The oars were as follows. 4 oars, £0 15s 3d [as entered] 8 pairs Grantham oars, £1 10s 0d [as entered] Total oars, £2 5s 5d [as entered] The pitch and tar were as follows. 21 barrels pitch, £37 17s 10d [as entered] 62 barrels tar, £6 5s 6d [as entered] 4 barrels turpentine, £16 3s 6d [as entered] 3 barrels 2 lb 7½ rosin, £2 10s 2d [as entered] Total pitch and tar, £134 5s 0d [as entered] Pumps, 2, £25 6s 11d [as entered] Carried over, £7,241 15s 9½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The spare masts held in store, a great mast of seventy-six feet and topmasts among them, one marked for the ship *Pelham*, record the heavy naval stores kept to repair the shipping that called at the island. A mast was a costly and vital timber that a vessel might lose or spring on the long voyage, and the holding of such spares, one already earmarked for a particular ship, shows St Helena serving as a place where damaged Indiamen could be re-masted, the island a repair station as well as a victualling stop on the sea road to the East. The great quantity of pitch, tar and turpentine held in store, valued together at over £130, records the essential naval stores for preserving and repairing wooden ships and boats. Pitch and tar sealed the seams and protected the timber and rope of vessels, and their holding in scores of barrels reveals the island equipped to careen and maintain the ships in its road, the settlement stocked with the materials of the shipwright's and caulker's trades to serve the constant traffic of the Company's fleet.

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			The two pumps valued at over £25, a substantial sum, were the ship or well pumps for raising water, costly pieces of machinery held against need. Whether for the ships in the road or the settlement's own water supply, the holding of such expensive pumps shows the island equipped to meet a vital and difficult requirement, the raising of water being a constant necessity, the pump a valuable engine kept in the Company's store to serve the settlement or the vessels that depended on it.
196	185	1750 Brought Over £7241 15s 9½d Pease 7½ Bushels £2 18s 9d Pewter vizt 4 Gallon Pots £1 16s 0d 6 Half G° d° £1 12s 3d 1 Quart d° £0 2s 10½d 2 Pint d° £0 3s 5d 3 Cranes £4 15s 6d 13 Dishes a 6/6 £4 6s 0d 4 d° 6/4 £1 13s 4d 1 Horn Sut & Stell £10 12s 4d 5 Close Stool pans £1 6s 0d 6 bed pans £2 1s 0d 5 Cullenders £1 13s 2d 1 Quart Funnel £0 7s 0d £30 8s 11½d Paint vizt 18 y 1 y 3 Whiting £1 6s 10d 1 23 Amber £0 7s 8d 2 27 Venetian Red £13 7s 0d 20 Brimstone £0 4s 2d 19 Yellow Ocher £0 3s 7d 1 3 12 Blew Smalts £14 3s 6d 10 White Copperas £0 0s 11d 1 19 Stone Ocher £1 2s 2½d 1 9 English d° £0 6s 2d 6 lb P° Saccarum Saturni £0 1s 1½d Red Lead £4 17s 8½d 4 1 26 Indico £13 10s 3d 2 3 Prussian Blue £2 14s 4d 414 Barrels Blacking £7 17s 9½d White Lead £17 16s 1d 9 3 14 Stone Colour £0 13s 3d 3 1 10 Venetian Red mixed £6 19s 9d 2 3 Yellow Ocher mixed £6 12s 4d 2 3 11 Olive d° £23 9s 5d 2 1 23 Sky Blue £11 6s 4d 1 12 Mahogany £1 7s 1d 3 Verdigreas £16 6s 1½d £148 12s 6½d Starch 1 y 2 £2 16s 0d Salt 137 y y Bushels £20 9s 5½d Carried Over £7417 1s 6d	The warehouse inventory continued as follows. The peas and pewter were as follows. Brought over, £7,241 15s 9½d Peas, 7½ bushels, £2 10s 9d [as entered] The pewter was as follows. 4 gallon pots, £1 16s 0d [as entered] 6 half-gallon pots, £1 12s 3d [as entered] 1 quart pot, £0 2s 10½d [as entered] 2 pint pots, £0 5s 5d [as entered] 3 cruets, £0 15s 6d [as entered] 13 dishes at 6s 6d, £4 4s 6d [as entered] 1 dish at 6s 4d, £0 13s 4d [as entered] 1 close-stool pan, £10 12s 4d [as entered] 5 close-stool pans, £1 6s 0d [as entered] 6 bed pans, £2 1s 0d [as entered] 5 colanders, £1 1s 2d [as entered] 1 quart funnel, £0 2s 2d [as entered] Total pewter, £30 8s 11½d [as entered] The paint was as follows. 18 lb 1 3 whiting, £1 6s 10d [as entered] 1 lb 23 amber, £0 17s 8d [as entered] 2 lb 27 Venetian red, £13 3s 7d [as entered] 20 lb brimstone, £0 4s 2d [as entered] 19 lb yellow ochre, £0 3s 7d [as entered] 1 lb 3 12 blue smalts, £14 3s 6d [as entered] 10 lb white copperas, £0 0s 11d [as entered] 1 lb 19 stone ochre, £0 2s 6½d [as entered] 1 lb 9 English ochre, £0 6s 2d [as entered] 6 lb saccarum saturni, £0 1s 1½d [as entered] 4 lb 1 red lead, £4 17s 8½d [as entered] 2 lb 26 indigo, £13 18s 3d [as entered] 2¾ lb Prussian blue, £2 14s 4d [as entered] 414 barrels blacking, £7 17s 9½d [as entered] 9 lb 3 white lead, £17 16s 1d [as entered] 3 lb 1 14 stone colour, £0 13s 3d [as entered] 2 lb 3 10 Venetian red mixed, £6 19s 9d [as entered] 2 lb 3 yellow ochre mixed, £6 12s 4d [as entered] 2 lb 3 11 blue mixed, £23 9s 5d [as entered] 1 lb 23 sky blue, £11 6s 4d [as entered] 12 lb mahogany, £0 7s 1d [as entered] 3 lb verdigris, £16 6s 1½d [as entered] Total paint, £148 12s 6d [as entered] Starch, 1 lb, £2 16s 0d [as entered] Salt, 137¾ bushels, £20 9s 5½d [as entered] Carried over, £7,417 1s 6d [as entered] **Interpretations** The warehouse held a great and varied stock of pigments and paint materials, valued at nearly £150, from the common whiting and ochres to the costly blue smalts, indigo, Prussian blue and verdigris. Verdigris was a green pigment made from corroded copper, saccharum saturni a lead compound used as a drier, and Prussian blue a deep synthetic blue, so the store carried the full palette of the painter's art, the settlement able to colour and preserve its buildings and ironwork in every shade from a reserve of pigments drawn from across the world of trade. The close-stool pans and bed pans held in pewter record the store's provision of the settlement's sanitary and sickroom fittings. The close stool served for indoor sanitation and the bed pan for the bedridden sick, and their holding in the warehouse shows the Company supplying the most private and practical articles of domestic and medical care, the

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			settlement's arrangements for both the privy and the sickbed furnished from the same imported pewter that made its pots and dishes. The brimstone held among the paints was sulphur, used in a range of applications from making matches and gunpowder to fumigation and medicine. Its presence in the store shows the settlement supplied with this versatile material for its several uses, the sulphur that served the gunner, the physician and the fumigator held in the warehouse alongside the pigments, a single substance meeting many of the island's needs from the Company's imported stock.
197	186	October 29th Brought Over £7417 1s 6d Serge 21 y 5 £72 8s 2½d Shalloon vizt 17 Yds Scarlet £1 18s 0d 28 y y White £1 18s 11d £3 17s 7d Shirts &c° vizt 433 Soldiers Shirts £97 10s 3d 20 P° Irish Linnen £31 3s 1d 3 y 18 Yds Brown Holland £11 6s 5d £139 19s 9d Serge &c° vizt 6¼ Yds Scarlet £1 17s 6d 1 P° Fustian £1 19s 7d 3 Yds Green Duffil £0 16s 7½d £4 13s 8½d Sailors Cloaths vizt 52 Mens Jackets£ 70 P° d° Breeches £28 4s 5d 6 Boys Jackets & Breeches £18 7s 6d 167 Mens Check Shirts £7 1s 0d 22 Boys d° £30 2s 12d 106 Monmouth Caps £3 1s 0d £7 3s 0½d £91 1s 11½d Scales & Weights 3 P° Scales Store Use£ 1 P° d° £15 18s 7d 2 Beams for Scales£ 1 d° Store Use £21 9s 0d 1 P° Scale Boards Store Use £2 9s 6d £39 17s 1d Shoes vizt 1 P° Mens pumps £0 5s 8½d 1 P° d° Shoes £0 5s 2½d 3 P° Channel pumps £0 18s 10½d 594 P° Mens Ordinary £176 6s 10d 12 P° Boys Shoes £1 17s 3d 10 P° Womens Calimanco £1 19s 4d 1 P° d° Spanish £0 4s 2d 2 P° Girls Shoes £0 4s 5d 2 P° Womens Stretchers £0 5s 2d £182 6s 10d Carried Over £7951 5s 7½d	The warehouse inventory continued as follows. The shalloon was as follows. Brought over, £7,417 1s 6d Slops, 21, £72 8s 2½d [as entered] The shalloon was as follows. 17 yards scarlet, £1 8s 0d [as entered] 28¾ yards white, £1 18s 11d [as entered] Total shalloon, £3 17s 7d [as entered] The shirts were as follows. 433 soldiers shirts, £97 10s 3d [as entered] 20 pieces Irish linen, £31 3s 1d [as entered] 3 pieces 18 yards brown holland, £11 6s 3d [as entered] Total shirts, £139 19s 9d [as entered] The serge was as follows. 6¾ yards scarlet, £1 17s 6d [as entered] 1 piece fustian, £1 19s 7d [as entered] 3 yards green duffil, £0 16s 7½d [as entered] Total serge, £4 13s 8½d [as entered] The sailors clothes were as follows. 52 mens jackets, £28 4s 5d [as entered] 70 pairs mens breeches, £18 7s 6d [as entered] 6 boys jackets and breeches, £4 1s 0d [as entered] 167 mens check shirts, £30 2s 12d [as entered] 22 boys check shirts, £3 0s 0d [as entered] 106 Monmouth caps, £7 3s 0½d [as entered] Total sailors clothes, £91 1s 11½d [as entered] The scales and weights were as follows. 3 scales, store use, £15 18s 7d [as entered] 1 pair scales, store use 2 beams for scales, £21 9s 0d [as entered] 1 beam, store use 1 pair scale boards, store use, £2 9s 6d [as entered] Total scales and weights, £39 17s 1d [as entered] The shoes were as follows. 1 pair mens pumps, £0 5s 8d [as entered] 1 pair mens shoes, £0 5s 2½d [as entered] 3 pairs channel pumps, £0 18s 10½d [as entered] 594 pairs mens ordinary, £176 6s 10d [as entered] 12 pairs boys shoes, £1 17s 3d [as entered] 10 pairs womens callimanco, £1 19s 4d [as entered] 1 pair womens Spanish, £0 4s 6d [as entered] 2 pairs girls shoes, £0 4s 3d [as entered] 2 pairs womens stretchers, £0 5s 2d [as entered] Total shoes, £182 6s 10d [as entered] Carried over, £7,951 5s 7½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The slops held in store were the ready-made clothes supplied to seamen and soldiers, the standard garments issued in bulk to those without means to provide their own. Slops covered the coarse jackets, breeches and shirts of the working man, and their holding in quantity alongside the sailors' clothes shows the store supplying the plain uniform clothing of the garrison and the ships' crews, the settlement furnished with the mass-produced dress of the labouring and fighting man from the Company's imported stock.

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			The great stock of shoes held in reserve, near six hundred pairs of men's ordinary alone valued at over £170, shows the store holding a heavy supply of footwear against the constant demand of a settlement and its shipping. The scale of the holding reveals how readily shoes wore out and how many the island and its transient sailors required, the Company keeping a deep reserve to shod the garrison, the inhabitants and the crews, the humble shoe a staple of the store held in quantities that measure its constant consumption. The check shirts held for the sailors were the blue-and-white checked linen shirts that were the common wear of the seaman. Check was a woven pattern long associated with sailors' dress, and the holding of nearly two hundred such shirts shows the store supplying the characteristic working clothing of the maritime trade, the checked shirt as much a mark of the sailor as the Monmouth cap, kept in bulk to clothe the crews that passed through the island's road.
198	187	1750 Brought Over £7951 5s 7½d Soldiers Cloaths vizt 8 Centinels Coats & Breeches £11 16s 4d 12 Sentry Coats £10 1s 6d £21 17s 10d Swine &c° vizt 7 y 11 Swine £41 4s 10d 36 lb Marline £12 10s 10½d 14 y y Wick £1 13s 8d £43 11s 5d Thread vizt 97 P° White Brown £32 2s 2d 43 P° Coloured £7 8s 1½d £39 10s 3½d Tin Ware vizt 5½ Sal Aromoniac £0 0s 2½d 3 Watering Pots £1 6s 11d 1 Dripping pan £0 4s 8d 31 y y Solder £1 12s 5d 16 Lamps £0 14s 0d 1 Half Gall Funnel £0 1s 0d 2 Quart d° £0 1s 2d 12 Pudding pans £0 15s 5d 36 Patti pans £0 13s 2d 13 Quart Saucepans £0 7s 2d 19 pint d° £0 7s 2d 22 Camp Kettles £3 19s 8d 14 Cantins £0 19s 3d 4 Horn Lanthorns £0 10s 0d 1 Glass d° £0 1s 1d £11 9s 5d Turners Ware vizt 100 paint Brushes £2 18s 10d 23 Scrubbing d° £2 10s 9½d 14 Hair Brooms £1 10s 11d 70 Platters £3 11s 10½d 61 Wood Bowls £3 13s 11½d 11 Salmens Yokes £1 6s 6d 62 P° Yokes for Oxen £14 6s 0d 16 Skimming Dishes £0 5s 0d 7 Flaskets £0 16s 11d 9 Labourers Baskets £0 7s 0d Turners Ware Carried Over £30 18s 3½d Carried Over £8067 16s 5d	The warehouse inventory continued as follows. The soldiers clothes were as follows. Brought over, £7,951 5s 7½d 8 sentinels coats and breeches, £11 16s 4d [as entered] 12 sentry coats, £10 1s 6d [as entered] Total soldiers clothes, £21 17s 10d [as entered] The twine was as follows. 7 lb 11 lb twine, £41 4s 10d [as entered] 36 lb marline, £12 10s 10½d [as entered] 14 lb 3 wick, £1 13s 8d [as entered] Total twine, £43 11s 5d [as entered] The thread was as follows. 97 lb white and brown, £32 2s 2d [as entered] 43 lb coloured, £7 8s 1½d [as entered] Total thread, £39 10s 3½d [as entered] The tinware was as follows. 5 lb sal ammoniac, £0 0s 2d [as entered] 3 watering pots, £1 6s 11d [as entered] 1 dripping pan, £0 4s 0d [as entered] 31 lb solder, £1 12s 5d [as entered] 16 lamps, £0 4s 0d [as entered] 1 half-gallon funnel, £0 1s 0d [as entered] 2 quart funnels, £0 1s 2d [as entered] 12 pudding pans, £0 15s 5d [as entered] 36 patty pans, £0 7s 2d [as entered] 13 quart saucepans, £0 7s 1½d [as entered] 19 pint saucepans, £0 7s 2d [as entered] 22 camp kettles, £3 19s 3d [as entered] 14 canteens, £0 19s 8d [as entered] 4 horn lanthorns, £0 10s 0d [as entered] 1 glass lanthorn, £0 1s 0d [as entered] Total tinware, £11 9s 5d [as entered] The turners ware was as follows. 100 paint brushes, £2 18s 10d [as entered] 23 scrubbing brushes, £2 10s 9½d [as entered] 14 hair brooms, £1 0s 11d [as entered] 70 pedars, £3 11s 10½d [as entered] 61 wood bowls, £13 11½d [as entered] 11 salmons yokes, £1 6s 0d [as entered] 9 pairs yokes for oxen, £14 6s 0d [as entered] 16 skimming dishes, £0 5s 0d [as entered] 7 baskets, £0 16s 11d [as entered] 9 labourers baskets, £0 7s 0d [as entered] Turners ware carried over, £30 18s 3½d [as entered] Carried over, £8,067 16s 5d [as entered] **Interpretations** The camp kettles and canteens held in store record the field equipment issued to soldiers for cooking and carrying water on service away from barracks. A camp kettle was a large pot for cooking a mess of men's food together and a canteen the soldier's water flask, and their holding shows the garrison equipped for duty at the outlying forts and

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			batteries around the island, the men provisioned to feed and water themselves at their scattered posts from the store's reserve of field gear. The marline held among the twine was a light two-stranded cord used for seizing and binding rope in a ship's rigging. Its stocking with the wick and twine shows the store supplying the finer cordage of seamanship for the working and repair of ships' gear, the marline serving the constant task of binding and securing the ropes of the vessels in the road, a small but essential material of the maritime trade held in the Company's store. The yokes for oxen held in quantity record the settlement's use of ox teams for heavy haulage and ploughing. The ox yoke harnessed the beasts to draw carts and drag loads, and their holding shows the island's transport and cultivation drawing on animal power, the oxen counted in the plantation's stock now matched by the yokes to work them, the settlement's heavy labour of moving stone, timber and produce carried on the backs of its cattle harnessed from the store's supply.
199	188	October 29th Brought Over £8067 16s 5d Turners Ware Brought Over £30 18s 3½d 126 Birch Brooms £2 9s 16d 13 Punch Ladles £0 1s 4d 3 Cloth Brushes £0 6s 7½d 1 One £0 1s 1d 44 Mops £2 13s 0d 459 Shoe Brushes £12 18s 2d 71 Wood Ladles £1 3s 0d 13 Trays £2 10s 0d 2 y Pump Boxes £3 10s 4d 12 Iron Staples for d° £0 13s 0d £57 14s 3d European Goods Amounting to £8125 10s 5½d India Goods vizt Arrack 1942 Galls a 4/2 £404 11s 8d Candles 10 y 1 y 5 lb £0 6s 6d China Ware vizt 7 Soup Dishes £1 18s 6d 9 Sallad d° £0 6s 2½d 6 Sauce boats £0 2s 6d 4 Soup plates £0 1s 0d 1 Bowl £0 0s 0d £8 2s 8s 10½d Long Cloth 1½ P° 1 P° 2 £2 3s 3d Pepper 1 y 3 y 20 £8 0s 0d Rice & Paddy vizt 400 y 25 y Rice £137 1s 2d 265 1 Paddy £57 9s 5d £194 10s 7d Sugar & Candy vizt 175 y 25 Sugar £184 4s 0d 16 2 19 Candy £14 9s 0d £198 13s 0d Tea vizt 79 P° Single £3 5s 10d 39 Congo £2 0s 7½d £5 6s 5½d Europe & India Goods amounts to £9055 1s 9½d	The warehouse inventory continued as follows. The turners ware brought forward was as follows. Brought over, £8,067 16s 5d Turners ware brought over, £30 18s 5½d 126 birch brooms, £2 9s 6d [as entered] 13 punch ladles, £0 7s 4d [as entered] 3 cloth brushes, £0 6s 7½d [as entered] 1 tray, £0 1s 1d [as entered] 44 mops, £2 13s 0d [as entered] 459 shoe brushes, £12 18s 2d [as entered] 71 wood ladles, £1 3s 0d [as entered] 15 trays, £2 10s 0d [as entered] 2 pump boxes, £3 10s 4d [as entered] 12 iron staples for the pump boxes, £0 13s 0d [as entered] Total turners ware, £57 14s 2d [as entered] Total European goods, £8,125 10s 5½d [as entered] India goods were as follows. The arrack was as follows. Arrack, 1,942 gallons at 4s 2d, £404 11s 8d [as entered] Candles, 10 lb 1 lb 5 lb, £0 6s 9d [as entered] The china ware was as follows. 7 soup dishes, £1 10s 6d [as entered] 9 salad dishes, £0 6s 2½d [as entered] 6 sauce boats, £0 2s 6d [as entered] 4 soup plates, £0 1s 0d [as entered] 1 bowl, £0 0s 8d [as entered] Total china ware, £2 8s 10½d [as entered] Long cloth, 1½ pieces number 2, £2 3s 3d [as entered] Pepper, 3 lb 20, £5 0s 0d [as entered] The rice and paddy were as follows. 400 lb 25 rice, £137 1s 2d [as entered] 265 lb 1 paddy, £57 9s 5d [as entered] Total rice and paddy, £194 10s 7d [as entered] The sugar and candy were as follows. 179 lb 25 sugar, £184 4s 0d [as entered] 16 lb 2 19 candy, £14 9s 0d [as entered] Total sugar and candy, £198 13s 0d [as entered] The tea was as follows. 79 lb single, £3 5s 10d [as entered] 39 lb congou, £2 0s 7½d [as entered] Total tea, £5 6s 5½d [as entered] Total European and India goods, £9,035 1s 9½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The inventory now divides the whole stock into European goods and India goods, drawing a formal line between the manufactures shipped from Europe and the produce and wares brought from the East. The distinction shows the island supplied through

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			two great streams of the Company's commerce, the woollens, ironware and glass of Europe held apart from the arrack, rice, sugar, tea and china of India, the settlement a meeting point where the goods of West and East were gathered, stored and reckoned as separate branches of the Company's trade. The pump boxes and their iron staples held among the goods were the wooden barrels or chambers of the water pumps, the working cylinders in which the pump's plunger moved. Their stocking with the pump leather noted earlier shows the store holding the parts to build and repair the pumps on which the settlement and its ships depended, the raising of water a constant necessity met from a reserve of the pump's several components, the machinery of water supply maintained from imported parts. The great quantity of arrack held in store, nearly two thousand gallons valued at over £400, shows the vast reserve of the eastern spirit kept to supply the settlement, its ships and its trade. Arrack was the staple strong drink of the Company's world, issued to soldiers and labourers, sold to inhabitants and shipped on, and the holding of such a quantity reveals the central place of the spirit in the life of the island, the store a great cellar of arrack drawn from the distilleries of India to meet the constant thirst of the settlement and the fleet.
200	189	1750 Materials for the Barracks Vizt 343 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 £15 13s 10½d 2 P° 26 White Lead £1 1s 2d 2 Pearl Colour £4 0s 0d 3 16 Chocolate Colour £2 17s 0d 3 Iron £5 10s 2½d 75 P° Hinges £5 19s 9d 1 Large Lock £0 0s 10d 10 Locks with Brass Knobs £3 15s 0d 26 d° Scutcheon'd £6 10s 0d 3 d° Cupboard £2 8s 11d 3 y 3 y 178 Nails £7 5s 8d 146 P° Sea Timber £41 0s 10d 2 d° Oak Plank £2 13s 5½d £99 10s 9d Materials for the Hospital Vizt 275 P° Sea Timber £34 16s 0d 1 Cask White Lead£ 1 Box dry Colours £4 5s 0d 200 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 £0 10s 7d 4 y 22 lb Iron £1 15s 4d 3 16 Nails £1 15s 4d 11 Locks £2 15s 0d 50 P° H Hinges £3 19s 2d 6 Gallons Linseed Oil £1 5s 0d £79 16s 6d	Materials for the barracks were as follows. 513 squares glass 8 by 10, £15 13s 10½d [as entered] 1 lb 28 white lead, £1 1s 2d [as entered] 2 lb pearl colour, £4 8s 0d [as entered] 3 lb 16 chocolate colour, £2 17s 0d [as entered] 3 lb iron, £3 10s 4½d [as entered] 75 pairs hinges, £3 19s 9d [as entered] 1 large lock, £0 10s 0d [as entered] 10 locks with brass hooks, £3 13s 0d [as entered] 26 iron rimmed locks, £6 10s 0d [as entered] 3 cupboard locks, £2 8s 11d [as entered] 5 lb 3 178 nails, £7 5s 0d [as entered] 146 pieces fir timber, £41 0s 10d [as entered] 2 lb oak plank, £2 13s 5½d [as entered] Total materials for the barracks, £99 10s 9d [as entered] Materials for the hospital were as follows. 275 pieces fir timber, £34 16s 0d [as entered] 1 cask white lead, £4 5s 0d [as entered] 1 box dry colours, £10 7s 0d [as entered] 288 squares glass 8 by 10, £0 13s 4d [as entered] 4 lb 22 iron, £1 13s 4d [as entered] 3 16 nails, £2 13s 0d [as entered] 11 locks, £2 13s 0d [as entered] 50 pairs rail hinges, £3 19s 2d [as entered] 6 gallons linseed oil, £1 5s 0d [as entered] Total materials for the hospital, £79 16s 6d [as entered] **Interpretations** The account now sets apart materials reserved for the barracks and the hospital, timber, glass, paint, locks and hinges earmarked for two particular building projects. The keeping of separate stocks for named works shows the Company planning and provisioning specific construction ahead, the materials for the soldiers' quarters and the infirmary set aside from the general store, the settlement's building programme organised project by project with its supplies allotted in advance. The pearl colour and chocolate colour among the barracks paints were named shades for the woodwork, pearl a pale grey-white and chocolate a rich brown. Their reservation for the barracks shows the Company finishing even its military buildings in chosen colours rather than leaving them plain, the soldiers' quarters painted and protected to a

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			considered scheme, the settlement's fabric kept up to a standard of appearance as well as durability, the paints selected for the effect they gave. The large quantities of fir timber set aside for both barracks and hospital, hundreds of pieces valued together at over £75, show substantial building or rebuilding of both in prospect. The reservation of so much wood for the two projects reveals a major programme of construction planned for the settlement's military and medical accommodation, the Company laying in the imported timber to raise or repair the quarters of its soldiers and the sick, the island's building works dependent on stocks of wood gathered and held against the planned undertaking.
201	190	October 29th List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena, with their several Salarys, Diet Money &c° for the Quarter Commencing the 12th July 1750 Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor Salary £125 0s 0d D° Allowance for Servants as usual £31 14s 9d £156 14s 9d John Skottow Esq Lt Governor Salary £62 10s 0d D° Diet Money £25 0s 0d £87 10s 0d John Clark of Council Salary £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling of Council Salary £7 10s 0d D° Accomptant £17 10s 0d D° diet Money £13 0s 0d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d £42 10s 0d Francis Wrangham Secretary Salary £17 10s 0d D° diet Money £15 0s 0d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d William Lee Chaplain Salary £25 0s 0d D° diet Money £15 0s 0d £40 0s 0d James Powell Storekeeper £17 10s 0d D° diet Money £15 0s 0d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d Matthew Bazett Factors Salary £7 10s 0d D° diet Money £10 0s 0d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d D° afsistant Storekeeper £5 0s 0d £25 0s 0d William Wrangham Factors Salary £7 10s 0d D° diet Money £10 0s 0d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d £20 0s 0d Richard Law Writers Salary £5 0s 0d D° diet Money £10 0s 0d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d £17 10s 0d Carried Over £474 4s 9d	List of the Honourable Company's officers and servants on the island of St Helena, with their several salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter commencing 12 July 1759. Charles Hutchinson Esq governor salary, £125 0s 0d Charles Hutchinson allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d Total, £156 14s 9d John Skottowe Esq lieutenant governor salary, £62 10s 0d John Skottowe diet money, £25 0s 0d Total, £87 10s 0d John Clark of Council salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling of Council salary, £7 10s 0d Matthew Purling accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £42 10s 0d Francis Wrangham secretary salary, £17 10s 0d Francis Wrangham diet money, £15 0s 0d Francis Wrangham house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d William Lee chaplain salary, £25 0s 0d William Lee diet money, £15 0s 0d Total, £40 0s 0d James Powell storekeeper, £17 10s 0d James Powell diet money, £15 0s 0d James Powell house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d Matthew Bazett factor's salary, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett diet money, £10 0s 0d Matthew Bazett house rent, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Total, £25 0s 0d William Wrangham factor's salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £20 0s 0d Richard Law writer's salary, £5 0s 0d Richard Law diet money, £10 0s 0d Richard Law house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £17 10s 0d Carried over, £474 4s 9d **Interpretations** The salary list sets out the civil establishment of the island in a strict order of rank, from the Governor at £125 the quarter down through the lieutenant governor, councillors, secretary, chaplain, storekeeper and factors to the writer at £5. The graded scale, each officer drawing salary, diet money and often house rent by his station, shows the settlement governed by a small salaried bureaucracy modelled on the Company's own hierarchy, the whole administration of the island resting on a handful of paid officers whose remuneration marked their place in its order. Governor Hutchinson drew an allowance for servants as usual on top of his salary, a further sum for maintaining the household attendants his office required. The provision of a servant allowance to the

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			Governor shows the dignity of his position supported at the Company's charge, the head of the settlement furnished with the means to keep an establishment befitting his rank, the cost of his servants a recognised charge of the governorship rather than a private expense. The building-up of each officer's pay from distinct heads of salary, diet money and house rent, some also drawing extra allowances for a second office, shows the composite structure of Company remuneration. Matthew Purling drew both a councillor's salary and an accountant's pay, and Matthew Bazett a factor's salary and an assistant storekeeper's allowance, so officers holding more than one post were paid for each, the settlement's small staff often doubling in office and rewarded accordingly, the pay list reflecting the multiple duties a limited establishment required of its men.
202	191	1750 Brought Over £474 4s 9d Robert Barclay Surgeons Salary £9 15s 0d D° diet Money £10 0s 0d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d £22 5s 0d John Pritchard Surgeons Mate Salary £6 5s 0d D° diet Money £10 0s 0d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d £18 15s 0d Richard Beale Judge Advocate Salary £10 0s 0d D° as Schoolmaster £3 8s 0d d° as Clerk £5 0s 0d £18 8s 3d Samuel Alexander£ Matthew Bazett } Overseers of the Plantation £7 15s 0d £7 10s 0d £15 0s 0d John Bland Master Mason Salary £17 10s 0d D° diet Money £10 0s 0d d° House Rent £1 10s 0d £29 0s 0d Thomas Twoshead Stone Mason Salary £19 10s 0d John Robinson Carpenter Salary £12 10s 0d D° for his Apprentice £3 5s 0d d° House Rent £15s 0d £16 10s 0d Edmund Smith Gardiner £10 0s 0d Edward Doorand Armourer £9 0s 0d James Sorbell Cooper £8 12s 0d William Amore Steward £6 5s 0d Michael Frost Clerk & Instrument Cleaner £1 5s 0d Thomas Rogers Crier £2 0s 0d Richard Twiss Marshall £3 6s 6d Richard Beale Junior Master at Arms £6 5s 0d John Gissinger Patron of the Longboat £7 10s 0d £56 1s 3d First Company John Clark first Lieut Salary £22 16s 3d D° diet Money £6 16s 10½d D° for Instructing the Gunners &c £7 10s 0d £37 3s 1½d Carried Over £706 17s 7d	The salary list continued as follows. Brought over, £474 4s 9d Robert Barclay surgeons salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard surgeons mate salary, £6 3s 0d John Pritchard diet money, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale judge advocate salary, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale as schoolmaster, £3 0s 0d Richard Beale as clerk, £5 0s 0d Total, £18 8s 3d [as entered] Samuel Alexander overseer of the plantation, £7 15s 0d Matthew Bazett overseer of the plantation, £7 10s 0d Total, £15 0s 0d John Bland master mason salary, £17 10s 0d John Bland diet money, £10 0s 0d John Bland house rent, £1 10s 0d Total, £29 0s 0d Thomas Sweeshend stone mason salary, £19 10s 0d John Robinson carpenter salary, £12 10s 0d John Robinson for his apprentice, £3 5s 0d John Robinson house rent, £15 0s 0d [as entered] Total, £16 10s 0d Edmund Smith gardener, £10 0s 0d Edward Durrand drum major, £9 0s 0d James Torbett cooper, £8 10s 0d William Amore steward, £6 0s 0d Michael Frost tide clerk and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Thomas Rogers crier, £2 0s 0d Richard Twaits marshall, £3 6s 6d Richard Beale junior master at arms, £6 5s 0d John Gisinger patron of the longboat, £7 10s 0d Total, £36 1s 3d [as entered] First Company John Clark first lieutenant salary, £22 16s 3d John Clark diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Clark for instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d Total, £37 3s 1½d [as entered] Carried over, £706 19s 7d [as entered] **Interpretations** The list reveals a settlement whose officers commonly held several posts at once, drawing pay for each. Richard Beale served as judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk together, and Michael Frost as tide clerk and instrument cleaner, so the small establishment stretched its few men across many offices, the same person prosecuting at the court, teaching the children and keeping the records, the island's limited staff obliged to double and treble in

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			duty as a remote colony could not afford a separate officer for every function. The naming of a judge advocate, marshal and master at arms among the salaried officers shows the settlement maintaining a formal apparatus of justice and discipline. The judge advocate prosecuted before the court, the marshal executed its orders and the master at arms kept order and custody, so the machinery of law that governed the island, seen at work in the many hearings of these consultations, rested on paid officers whose salaries appear in the list, the administration of justice a settled and funded part of the establishment. The appearance of a schoolmaster's salary paid to Richard Beale confirms that formal instruction was provided on the island, matching the hornbooks and primers held in the store. That the Company paid a stipend for teaching, however modest and combined with other duties, shows a deliberate provision for the education of the settlement's children, the schoolmaster's pay and the schoolbooks in the warehouse together marking a working, if slender, arrangement for schooling in the colony.
203	192	October 29th Brought Over £706 17s 7d John Howard Second Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d D° diet Money £6 16s 10½d D° House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Lieut Maurice Second Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d D° diet Money £6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d Solomon Kirch Adjutant Salary £22 16s 3d ditto diet Money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Sergeants John Fleming £7 12s 1d Humphrey Pugh £7 12s 1d John Grainger £7 12s 1d Samuel Austin £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals Thomas Stowers £5 6s 5½d Thomas Williams £5 6s 5½d James Austin £5 6s 5½d William Weatherly £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers John Bolton £5 6s 5½d George Wills £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Daniel Armin £3 16s ½d George Bennet £3 16s ½d Peter Bolton £3 16s ½d John Blackwell £3 16s ½d Gabriel Bury £3 16s ½d John Bassett £3 16s ½d William Beddington £3 16s ½d Joseph Blackall £3 16s ½d George Capeling £3 16s ½d William Cossey £3 16s ½d Duncan Cameron £3 16s ½d James Collett £3 16s ½d William Cluely discharg'd 9th Augt £1 3s ½d Joseph Crits £3 16s ½d Jonathan Chandler £3 16s ½d Centinels carried over £54 7s ½d Carried Over £851 11s 6½d	The salary list continued as follows. Brought over, £706 17s 7d John Howard second lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d John Howard diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Howard house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Lieutenant Maurie second lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Lieutenant Maurie diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Solomon Kick adjutant salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Kick diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants John Fleming, £7 12s 1d Humphrey Pugh, £7 12s 1d John Grainger, £7 12s 1d Samuel Austin, £7 12s 1d Total, £30 8s 4d Corporals Thomas Sowers, £5 6s 3½d Thomas Williams, £5 6s 5½d James Austin, £5 6s 5½d William Weatherly, £5 6s 5½d Total, £21 5s 10d Drummers John Bolton, £5 6s 5½d George Wills, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels David Armin, £3 16s 0½d George Bennet, £3 16s 0½d Peter Bolton, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Gabriel Bury, £3 16s 0½d John Bassett, £3 16s 0½d William Bockington, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d William Cossey, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d James Collett, £3 16s 0½d William Cluby discharged 9 August, £1 3s 0d Joseph Curtis, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Chandler, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £54 7s 0d [as entered] Carried over, £831 11s 6½d [as entered] **Interpretations** The salary list now sets out the military establishment of the First Company in the same graded scale seen in the earlier pay accounts, from second lieutenants and the adjutant down through

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			sergeants, corporals, drummers and sentinels. The uniform rates by rank, sergeants at £7 12s 1d, corporals and drummers at £5 6s 5½d and sentinels at £3 16s 0½d, confirm the fixed structure of garrison pay running through the whole establishment, the military list built on the same rigid gradation by rank as the civil. William Cluby, discharged on 9 August, drew a reduced part-period payment of £1 3s 0d against the full sentinel's rate, his pay stopped at his leaving date. The truncation of his quarter's pay at discharge shows the same method of settlement seen throughout these accounts, a man's wage reckoned only to the day his service ended, the establishment paying strictly for the time actually served and no more. The adjutant Solomon Kick drew a salary equal to a first lieutenant's at £22 16s 3d, above the £18 5s 0d of the second lieutenants, marking the adjutant's importance in the running of the garrison. The adjutant handled the administration, drill and discipline of the corps, reading the articles of war to recruits as these consultations record, and his higher pay reflects the weight of that office, the staff work of the garrison rewarded on a par with its senior line command.
204	193	(1730) Brought Over Continued Brought Over £ 831 11s 6½d James Cartwright 56 7s 11d Richard Cowley 3 16s ½d Edward Durrand 3 16s ½d Thomas Dann 3 16s ½d James Edwards 3 16s ½d George Sim 3 16s ½d George Grew 3 16s ½d Richard Goulding 3 16s ½d John Gilmore 3 16s ½d Christian Grinwald 3 16s ½d Alexander Grombridge 3 16s ½d Thomas Harlin 3 16s ½d Thomas Holliwell discharged 8th Augt 1 3s 4d Daniel Houll 3 16s ½d Henry Harrenbrough 3 16s ½d Henry Harper 3 16s ½d Thomas Hilliard 3 16s ½d George Howard 3 15s ½d John Hobbs 3 16s ½d Robert Holt 3 16s ½d Christian Hornicle 3 16s ½d Henry Johnson 3 16s ½d George Ice 3 16s ½d William Jarvis	Brought over, £831 11s 6½d Continued brought over, £56 7s 11d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d Richard Cowley, £3 16s 0½d Edward Durrand, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Down, £3 16s 0½d James Edwards, £3 16s 0½d George Sim, £3 16s 0½d George Grow, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, £3 16s 0½d Christian Grinwald, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Grombridge, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hicks, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Holliwell, discharged 8 August, £1 3s 4d Daniel Hull, £3 16s 0½d Henry Harrisburgh, £3 16s 0½d Henry Harper, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d George Howard, £3 15s 0½d John Hobbs, £3 16s 0½d Robert Holt, £3 16s 0½d Christian Horncastle, £3 16s 0½d Henry Johnson, £3 16s 0½d George Ice, £3 16s 0½d William Jarvis, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Henry Jenkins, £3 16s 0½d Edward Kirk, 15s 0d Michael Kavey, discharged 29 July, 15s 0d William Lamborne, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Litchfield, £3 16s 0½d John Marsh, £3 16s 0½d David Miles, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d Mordock McLeod, £3 16s 0½d John Baptist Micheland, £3 16s 0½d Henry Norwood, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pilkington, £3 16s 0½d John Pugh, £1 3s 4d Alexander Puller, discharged 8 August, [...] Continued carried over, £198 3s 1d Carried over, £831 11s 6½d **Interpretations** The page belongs to a running pay or wage ledger for the St Helena garrison in 1730, with each soldier or servant credited a standard half-yearly rate of £3 16s 0½d. The uniform sum across almost every name shows a fixed establishment wage rather than

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16s ½d Stephen John 3 16s ½d Henry Jenkins 3 16s ½d Edward Kirk 13s Michael Kavey discharged 29th July 13s William Lambourn 3 16s ½d Thomas Litchfield 3 16s ½d John Marsh 3 16s ½d David Miles 3 16s ½d Richard Morton 3 16s ½d Simon Mason 3 16s ½d Mordock McLeod 3 16s ½d John Baptist Michland 3 16s ½d Henry Norwood 3 16s ½d Thomas Poltington 3 16s ½d John Pugh 1 3s 4d Alexander Puller discharged 8th Augt Continued Carried Over 198 3s 1½d Carried Over £ 831 11s 6½d	individual bargaining, the odd half-penny arising from dividing an annual figure into equal instalments. The notes against Thomas Holliwell, Michael Kavey and Alexander Puller record men discharged partway through the accounting period, their reduced figures reflecting pay stopped at the date of discharge rather than the full rate carried by those who served the whole term.
205	194	October 29th Brought Over 831 11s 6½d Continued Brought Over £ 198 3s 1½d Nelson Pyott 3 16s ½d Robert Petatt 3 16s ½d William Parry 3 16s ½d Thomas Page Entertained 20th Augt 2 4s 2d James Richardson 3 16s ½d Abraham Ratcliff 3 16s ½d Richard Roberts 3 16s ½d John Sotcher 3 16s ½d John Shaw 3 16s ½d William Scotson 3 16s ½d Samuel Springall 3 16s ½d William Stanley 3 15s ½d Joseph Turner 3 16s ½d John Vaughan 3 16s ½d Edward Webber 3 16s ½d Jeremiah Whorrill 3 16s ½d John Wesley 3 16s ½d 261 3s 11½d Second Company	Brought over, £831 11s 6½d Continued brought over, £198 3s 1½d Nelson Pigott, £3 16s 0½d Robert Pratt, £3 16s 0½d William Parry, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Page, entertained 20 August, £2 4s 2d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Ratcliff, £3 16s 0½d Richard Roberts, £3 16s 0½d John Sorcher, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Scotman, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Springall, £3 16s 0½d William Stanley, £3 15s 0½d Joseph Turner, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Edward Waller, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Worrell, £3 16s 0½d John Wesley, £3 16s 0½d Total, £261 3s 11½d Second Company Richard Beale, First Lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Brockett, Second Lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants William Benting, £7 12s 1d Samuel Desfountain, £7 12s 1d John Langridge, £7 12s 1d Total, £22 16s 3d Corporals John Allom, £5 6s 5½d William Smith, £5 6s 5½d Edward Preston, £5 6s 5½d William Dyson, £5 6s 5½d Total, £21 5s 10d

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		Richard Beale Corno Lieut Salary 10 5s d° diet Money 6 16s 10½d d° House Rent 2 10s 27 11s 10½d Thomas Progett Second Lieut Salary 10 5s D° diet Money 6 16s 10½d 25 1s 10½d Sergeants William Benting 7 12s 1d Samuel Desfountain 7 12s 1d John Langridge 7 12s 1d 22 16s 3d Corporals John Allom 5 6s 5½d William Smith 5 6s 5½d Edward Preston 5 6s 5½d William Dyson 5 6s 5½d 21 5s 10d Carried Over £ 1209 11s 4d	Carried over, £1,209 11s 4d **Interpretations** The account moves from the rank and file, still paid the flat £3 16s 0½d half-yearly rate, into the officer establishment of the Second Company, where pay is broken into distinct heads. Richard Beale and Thomas Brockett each draw a salary, a separate diet money allowance and, for the First Lieutenant alone, house rent, showing that senior officers were compensated for subsistence and lodging on top of base pay while junior ranks received a single consolidated sum. The descending scale is precise and deliberate, with lieutenants on £18 5s 0d salary, sergeants on £7 12s 1d and corporals on £5 6s 5½d, each grade fixed at a set figure that fell to roughly half the rate of the rank above. Diet money and house rent attached only to the commissioned officers marks the practical line between those the Company housed and fed by allowance and those it did not.
206	195	(1739) Brought Over 1209 11s 4d Drummers George Brown 5 6s 5½d John Slade 5 6s 5½d 10 12s 11d Centinels John Allis 3 16s ½d Edward Allis 3 16s ½d John Attenstall 3 16s ½d Edward Astling 3 16s ½d Hans Abrick Ulgover 3 16s ½d John Anger 3 16s ½d Thomas Beevor 3 16s ½d Isaac Bucks 3 16s ½d John Barratt 3 16s ½d Edward Broom 3 16s ½d James Buckley 3 16s ½d William Bannister 3 16s ½d Thomas Byrne 3 16s ½d John Burnham 3 16s ½d John William Blunty 3 16s ½d Edward Corker 3 16s ½d Thomas Cobb 3 16s ½d	Brought over, £1,209 11s 4d Drummers George Brown, £5 6s 5½d John Maide, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels John Allis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Allis, £3 16s 0½d John Attenstall, £3 16s 0½d Edward Astling, £3 16s 0½d Hans Abrick Ulgover, £3 16s 0½d John Anger, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Beevor, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Bucks, £3 16s 0½d John Barratt, £3 16s 0½d Edward Broom, £3 16s 0½d James Buckley, £3 16s 0½d William Bannister, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Byrne, £3 16s 0½d John Burnham, £3 16s 0½d John William Blanks, £3 16s 0½d Edward Corker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cobb, £3 16s 0½d William Gibb, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cream, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 0½d Hophni Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Epley, £3 16s 0½d James Fox, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Gadby, £3 16s 0½d William Gooding, £3 16s 0½d John Grimald, £3 16s 0½d William Gabry, £3 16s 0½d James Hall, £3 16s 0½d John Healy, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d George Hill, £3 16s 0½d William Houseman, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £133 1s 5½d Carried over, £1,220 4s 3d **Interpretations**

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		William Gibb 3 16s ½d Edward Cream 3 16s ½d Isaac Day 3 16s ½d Henry Dudley 3 16s ½d Hopphin Davis 3 16s ½d John Davis 3 16s ½d Samuel Eales 3 16s ½d Jacob Epley 3 16s ½d James Fox 3 16s ½d Jonathan Gadby 3 16s ½d William Gooding 3 16s ½d John Grimald 3 16s ½d William Gabry 3 16s ½d James Hall 3 16s ½d John Healy 3 16s ½d William Hayes 3 16s ½d George Hill 3 16s ½d Centinels Carried Over 133 1s 3½d Carried Over 1220 4s 3d	The muster distinguishes three pay grades within the ranks below officer level: drummers at £5 6s 5½d, set above the ordinary men, and sentinels each at the standard £3 16s 0½d. Drummers were paid more because they carried the signalling duty on which the garrison depended, beating the calls that ordered the day and relayed commands in the field, a skilled role that set them apart from the common soldier. The sentinel list runs alphabetically by surname, showing that the account was compiled from an ordered nominal roll rather than by company or by order of enlistment. This clerical arrangement made it straightforward to check each man present against the establishment and to confirm that the flat rate had been applied without omission.
207	196	October 29th Brought Over 1220 4s 3d Centinels Brought Over 133 1s 5½d James Hornsby 3 16s ½d William Harris 3 16s ½d John Hawksword 3 16s ½d Alexander Hill 3 16s ½d Richard Horton discharged 8th August 1 3s 4d George Hibbot 3 16s ½d Richard Knight 3 16s ½d William Hollis 3 16s ½d Isaac Kingsland Levo'd to the 3d Comp 29th July 15s Peter Lindsay 3 16s ½d William Luke 3 16s ½d Jonathan Lukes 3 16s ½d William Mumford 3 16s ½d Duncan McLaron 3 16s ½d Martin Neuman 3 16s ½d John Price 3 16s ½d	Brought over, £1,220 4s 3d Continued brought over, £133 1s 5½d James Hornsby, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d John Hawksword, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Hill, £3 16s 0½d Richard Horton, discharged 8 August, £1 3s 4d George Hibbet, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d William Kellas, £3 16s 0½d Lewis Kingsland, gone to the Third Company 29 July, 15s 0d Peter Lindsay, £3 16s 0½d William Luke, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Laker, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McLaren, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, £3 16s 0½d John Price, £3 16s 0½d Charles Purfey, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Peacock, discharged 29 July, 15s 0d Lewis Rosier, £3 16s 0½d Edward Richards, discharged 24 August, £1 16s 0d Michael Read, £3 16s 0½d Silvanus Roilt, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Safery, £3 16s 0½d Henry Simmonds, £3 16s 0½d John Stewart, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d William Sowsby, £3 16s 0½d Edward Sorey, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Wright, £3 16s 0½d John Willingsdale, £3 16s 0½d George Young, £3 16s 0½d

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		Charles Purfey 3 16s ½d John Pickering 3 16s ½d Joseph Peacock discharged 29th July 15s Lewis Rosier 3 16s ½d Edward Richards dischrg 24th Augt 1 16s 0d Michael Read 3 16s ½d Silvanus Reift 3 16s ½d Arnold Safery 3 16s ½d Henry Simmonds 3 16s ½d John Stewart 3 16s ½d William Smith 3 16s ½d William Sowaby 3 16s ½d Edward Sorey 3 16s ½d Benjamin Williams 3 16s ½d Samuel Wright 3 16s ½d John Willingdale 3 16s ½d George Young 3 16s ½d Richard Yborn 3 16s ½d Thomas Roberts Entertained 31 July 3 10s 254 13s 6½d Third Company Christophorus Beale first Lieut Salary 22 16s 3d d° diet Money 6 16s 10½d d° House Rent 2 10s 32 3s 1½d Carried Over 1507 0s 11d	Richard Yoon, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, entertained 31 July, £3 10s 0d Total, £254 13s 6½d Third Company Christopherus Beale, First Lieutenant salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d Carried over, £1,507 0s 11d **Interpretations** The entries against Lewis Kingsland and Thomas Roberts show men crossing between the companies and joining the establishment mid-quarter, Kingsland moved to the Third Company on 29 July and Roberts entertained on 31 July, each drawing a part payment fixed to the fraction of the period served. These prorated figures confirm that the garrison payroll tracked movement and turnover closely rather than paying by a fixed muster taken once at the start. The head of the Third Company, Christopherus Beale, drew the same three-part compensation as the lieutenants before him, salary with diet money and house rent, but his salary of £22 16s 3d ran higher than the £18 5s 0d paid to the First Lieutenants of the earlier companies. This difference points to seniority or command weight within the officer line, the house rent and diet allowance again marking the practical support given to commissioned officers alone.
208	197	(1759) Brought Over 1507 0s 11d Henry Progett Second Lieut Salary 10 5s d° diet Money 6 16s 10½d d° House Rent 2 10s 29 11s 10½d Michael Sext Second Lieut Salary 10 5s d° diet Money 6 16s 10½d 25 1s 10½d Sergeants Thomas Sack 7 12s 1d Jeremiah Whorrell 7 12s 1d John Boyat 7 12s 1d William Harrison 7 12s 1d 30 8s 4d Corporals	Brought over, £1,507 0s 11d Henry Brockett, Second Lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £29 11s 10½d Michael Fox, Second Lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants Thomas Luck, £7 12s 1d Jeremiah Worrell, £7 12s 1d John Boyet, £7 12s 1d William Harrison, £7 12s 1d Total, £30 8s 4d Corporals William Beale, £5 6s 5½d Humey Delaune, £5 6s 3½d Robert Brown, £5 6s 5½d John Fox, £5 6s 5½d Total, £21 5s 10d Drummers John Cuffin, £5 6s 5½d John Bull, discharged 29 July, £1 1s 0d

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		William Beale 5 6s 5½d Henry Delaune 5 6s 3½d Robert Brown 5 6s 5½d John Fox 5 6s 5½d 21 5s 10d Drummers John Coffin 5 6s 5½d John Bull discharged 29th July 1 1s Lewis Reig Entertained the 29th July 4 6s 10 13s 9½d Centinels Matthew Allis 3 16s ½d Samuel Agnes 3 16s ½d Samuel Alston 3 16s ½d Joseph Brooks 3 16s ½d Nicholas Bushel 3 16s ½d William Becket 3 16s ½d William Brick 3 16s ½d John Brewer 3 16s ½d William Brooks 3 16s ½d John Brooks 3 16s ½d John Brown 3 16s ½d Peter Brown 3 16s ½d Benjamin Buxton 3 16s ½d Daniel Cairn 3 16s ½d Thomas Clark Centinels Carried Over 57 0s 7½d Carried Over 1622 8s 7½d	Lewis Kingsland, entertained the 29 July, £4 6s 0d Total, £10 13s 9½d Sentinels Matthew Allis, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Agnes, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Alston, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Brooks, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushel, £3 16s 0½d William Brockett, £3 16s 0½d William Brick, £3 16s 0½d John Brewer, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d John Brooks, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d Peter Brown, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Buxton, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Cairn, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Clark, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £57 0s 7½d Carried over, £1,622 2s 7½d **Interpretations** The Third Company followed the same fixed scale as the earlier companies, with Second Lieutenants on £18 5s 0d salary, sergeants on £7 12s 1d and corporals on £5 6s 5½d, showing a single garrison-wide pay structure applied uniformly from company to company. Only the First Lieutenant of the Third Company broke the pattern at the higher salary recorded on the preceding page, while every rank below sat at the standard island rate. The drummer entries record the same John Bull discharged on 29 July and Lewis Kingsland taken on the same day, matching Kingsland's transfer to the Third Company noted earlier and confirming he moved into the drummer's place as it fell vacant. The exchange on a single date shows the garrison filling an established post at once rather than leaving the signalling duty unmanned.
209	198	October 29th Brought Over 1622 2s 7½d Centinels Brought Over £ 57 0s 7½d John Coles 3 16s ½d Edward Congreve 3 16s ½d William Conquest 3 16s ½d John Deer 3 16s ½d Jacob de Vall 3 16s ½d Thomas Eastwood 3 16s ½d Peter Eglstone 3 16s ½d Aaron Stward 3 16s ½d Peter Fengll 3 16s ½d George French 3 16s ½d	Brought over, £1,622 2s 7½d Sentinels brought over, £57 0s 7½d John Coles, £3 16s 0½d Edward Craggus, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, £3 16s 0½d John Deer, £3 16s 0½d Jacob de Vall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Eastward, £3 16s 0½d Peter Eglstone, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Elmore, £3 16s 0½d Peter Feragh, £3 16s 0½d George French, £3 16s 0½d Henry Fullwright, £3 16s 0½d John Godsall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Green, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d John Hays, £3 16s 0½d William Hays, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d Philip Hulliard, £3 16s 0½d James Hind, £3 16s 0½d William Holbrook, £3 16s 0½d John Holloway, £3 16s 0½d

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		Henry Fullwright 3 16s ½d John Godsall 3 16s ½d Thomas Green 3 16s ½d William Harres 3 16s ½d John Hays 3 16s ½d William Hays 3 16s ½d Thomas Harding 3 16s ½d Abraham Harding 3 16s ½d Philip Hulliard 3 16s ½d James Hind 3 16s ½d William Holbrook 3 16s ½d John Holloway 3 16s ½d James Houdoin 3 16s ½d John Hawuing 3 16s ½d Charles Hoghard 3 16s ½d George Holloman 3 16s ½d Arnold Herman 3 16s ½d Samuel Justin 3 16s ½d Richard Isaac 3 16s ½d Samuel Kitson 3 16s ½d Evan Knowles 3 16s ½d William Lynn 3 16s ½d John Lloyd Ent 16 July 4 2s William Marlin dischg 8th Aug 1 3s 4d Michael Meets 3 16s ½d Stephen Orr 3 16s ½d William Penny 3 16s ½d William Poulton 3 16s ½d Archibald Page 3 16s ½d Roger Phillips 3 16s ½d Thomas Rutherford 3 16s ½d Centinels Carried Over 210 9s 9½d Carried Over 1622 2s 7½d	James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d John Hawving, £3 16s 0½d Charles Heyhard, £3 16s 0½d George Holliman, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Herman, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Justin, £3 16s 0½d Richard Isaac, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kitton, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 0½d William Lynn, £3 16s 0½d John Lloyd, entered 16 July, £3 16s 0½d William Marten, discharged 8 August, £1 4s 2d Michael Meils, £1 3s 4d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 0½d William Penny, £3 16s 0½d William Poulton, £3 16s 0½d Archibald Page, £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £210 9s 9½d Carried over, £1,622 2s 7½d **Interpretations** The list carries the usual mix of standard-rate men and part payments marking entry and departure within the quarter, with John Lloyd entered on 16 July, William Marten discharged on 8 August and Michael Meils on a reduced sum, each figure fixed to the days actually served. The garrison payroll continued to record every movement onto and off the establishment rather than settling a fixed number at muster. The sentinels of this company again run in alphabetical order of surname, the same clerical method used for the earlier companies, letting the paymaster verify each name against the roll and confirm the flat half-yearly rate had been applied throughout. This consistency across companies shows a single accounting practice governing the whole garrison establishment.
210	199	(1759) Brought Over 1622 2s 7½d Centinels Brought Over 210 9s 9½d James Sherlock 3 16s ½d John Simmons 3 16s ½d	Brought over, £1,622 2s 7½d Sentinels brought over, £210 9s 9½d James Sherlock, £3 16s 0½d John Simmons, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d William Steiman, £3 16s 0½d John Christian High, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Towers, £3 16s 0½d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d

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		William Smith 3 16s ½d William Steinan 3 16s ½d John Christian High 3 16s ½d Thomas Towers 3 16s ½d William Taylor 3 16s ½d Jacob Wire 3 16s ½d Thomas Wingall 3 16s ½d William Ward 3 16s ½d Stephen Willoughby 3 16s ½d Thomas Woffington 3 16s ½d Richard Wolman 3 16s ½d Gustavus Weeden 3 16s ½d 263 14s 4½d Fourth Company William Kennedy first Lieut Salary 22 16s 3d d° Diet Money 6 16s 10½d 29 13s 1½d Samuel Pace Second L Salary 10 5s d° Diet Money 6 16s 10½d d° House Rent 2 10s 27 11s 10½d Charles Gissing Second L Salary 10 5s d° Diet Money 6 16s 10½d 23 1s 10½d Sergeants Richard Croucher 7 12s 1d John Broadwater 7 12s 1d Thomas Pearce 7 12s 1d John Henry Schwarnhurst 7 12s 1d 30 8s 4d Corporals John Robinson 5 6s 5½d David Reed 5 6s 5½d Roger Wilson 5 6s 5½d Christian Bricks 5 6s 5½d 21 5s 10d Carried Over 209 10s 3d	Jacob Wise, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wingall, £3 16s 0½d William Ward, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Woffington, £3 16s 0½d Richard Wilman, £3 16s 0½d Gustavus Weeden, £3 16s 0½d Total, £263 14s 4½d Fourth Company William Kennedy, First Lieutenant salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £29 13s 1½d Samuel Pace, Second Lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Charles Gissing, Second Lieutenant salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants Richard Croucher, £7 12s 1d John Bridgewater, £7 12s 1d Thomas Pearce, £7 12s 1d John Henry Schwarnhurst, £7 12s 1d Total, £30 8s 4d Corporals John Robinson, £5 6s 5½d David Reed, £5 6s 5½d Roger Wilman, £5 6s 5½d Christian Bricks, £5 6s 5½d Total, £21 5s 10d Carried over, £1,919 10s 3d **Interpretations** The Fourth Company repeats the fixed pay ladder seen across the garrison, though the officer allowances vary in composition rather than in rate: William Kennedy drew the higher First Lieutenant salary of £22 16s 3d with diet money but no house rent, while Samuel Pace received the lower £18 5s 0d salary together with both diet money and house rent. This shows that house rent was tied to individual circumstance, perhaps whether an officer was quartered by the Company or lodged himself, rather than being a flat entitlement of rank. Every rank below lieutenant held to the standard island figures, sergeants at £7 12s 1d and corporals at £5 6s 5½d, identical to the sums entered for the other three companies. The uniformity confirms a single centrally fixed establishment governing pay for the whole St Helena garrison, with variation confined to the commissioned officers alone.
211	200	October 29th Brought Over 209 10s 3d Drummers John Buckham 5 6s 5½d Henry Howell 5 6s 5½d 10 12s 11d Centinels	Brought over, £1,919 10s 3d Drummers John Buckham, £5 6s 5½d Henry Howell, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels William Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d William Brown, £3 16s 0½d Onesipherus Bagley, £3 16s 0½d

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		William Anderson 3 16s ½d Richard Ashford 3 16s ½d William Brown 3 16s ½d Onesiphorus Bagley 3 16s ½d Henry Brown 3 16s ½d Robert Blyk 3 16s ½d Jacob Cavill 3 16s ½d William Bruckman 3 16s ½d Richard Butter 3 16s ½d George Henry Bagott 3 16s ½d Marke Beale 3 16s ½d James Carmichael discharged 8th August 1 3s 4d John Cripps 3 16s ½d John Clough 3 16s ½d John Cork 3 16s ½d Gilbert Clough 3 16s ½d Joseph Chamberlain 3 16s ½d Brian Debaff 3 16s ½d James Dry discharged Augt 8th 1 3s 4d Thomas Grubor 3 16s ½d Peter Sherwood 3 16s ½d Edward Grant 3 16s ½d Robertson Green 3 16s ½d Andre Camille 3 16s ½d John Gould 3 16s ½d Thomas Graystock 3 16s ½d John Hoyle 3 16s ½d William Hill 3 16s ½d Thomas Hinds 3 16s ½d Robert Hucherest 3 16s ½d William Jenkins 3 16s ½d Thomas Kendrick 3 16s ½d Alexander Gutchin 3 16s ½d Thomas Lindsay 3 16s ½d Joseph Long 3 16s ½d James Lee 3 16s ½d Centinels Carried Over 131 12s 1d Carried Over 2130 10s 11½d	Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Bligh, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brill, £3 16s 0½d William Brockman, £3 16s 0½d Richard Butter, £3 16s 0½d George Henry Bagott, £3 16s 0½d Mark Beale, £3 16s 0½d James Carmichael, discharged 8 August, £1 3s 4d John Cripps, £3 16s 0½d John Clough, £3 16s 0½d John Cork, £3 16s 0½d Gilbert Clough, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d Brian de Bass, £3 16s 0½d James Dry, discharged 8 August, £1 3s 4d Thomas Gudor, £3 16s 0½d Peter Shehvard, £3 16s 0½d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0½d Robertson Green, £3 16s 0½d Andor Camille, £3 16s 0½d John Gould, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Graystock, £3 16s 0½d John Hoyle, £3 16s 0½d William Hill, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hinds, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hucherast, £3 16s 0½d William Jenkins, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Kirbin, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lindsay, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Long, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £131 12s 1d Carried over, £2,130 10s 11½d **Interpretations** The Fourth Company drummers stand at £5 6s 5½d apiece, holding the same premium over the sentinels that the drummers of the other companies received. Their raised pay reflected the signalling duty central to garrison routine, beating the calls that ordered the day and carried commands, a skill that placed them above the ordinary soldier on every company's roll. Two men, James Carmichael and James Dry, were both discharged on 8 August and drew the identical reduced sum of £1 3s 4d, their pay stopped at the same date and calculated on the same fraction of the period served. The matching figures show the paymaster applying a single consistent rule for prorating a discharge, the sum following directly from the day service ended rather than from any individual assessment.

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212	201	(1759) Brought Over 2130 10s 11½d Centinels Brought Over 131 12s 1d John Lemmon 3 16s ½d Edward Lax 3 16s ½d Richard Livesey 3 16s ½d William Livingstone 3 16s ½d Lewis Lumpford 3 16s ½d John Long 3 16s ½d Abraham Major 3 16s ½d Cagalier Montague 3 16s ½d Thomas Morris 3 16s ½d Richard Moyce 3 16s ½d Edward Mansell 3 16s ½d William Moor 3 16s ½d William Mason 3 16s ½d Philip Jacob Mottonius 3 16s ½d Thomas Nimble 3 16s ½d John Papworter 3 16s ½d Thomas Pory 3 16s ½d Joseph Philips 3 16s ½d William Robinson 3 16s ½d William Rippon 3 16s ½d Gorlocky Rutvar 3 16s ½d Robert Slack 3 16s ½d Adam Scott 3 16s ½d Thomas Skarmore 3 16s ½d Richard Spencer 3 16s ½d Samuel Stebbard 3 16s ½d George Simms 3 16s ½d John Spencer discharge 29th July 13s Hendrick Spryver 3 16s ½d Constant Stiffer 3 16s ½d Richard Tink 3 16s ½d Edward Thomas 3 16s ½d Joseph Uffin 3 16s ½d John Wyford 3 16s ½d 257 16s 5½d Artillery Company	Brought over, £2,130 10s 11½d Sentinels brought over, £131 12s 1d John Lemmens, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lax, £3 16s 0½d Richard Limner, £3 16s 0½d William Livingstone, £3 16s 0½d Lewis Lempford, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d Cazalon Montague, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Edward Mansell, £3 16s 0½d William Moer, £3 16s 0½d William Mason, £3 16s 0½d Philip Jacob Mottonia, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Nimble, £3 16s 0½d John Papworter, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pory, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Philips, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d William Rippon, £3 16s 0½d Gorlocky Rutror, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Skarmore, £3 16s 0½d Richard Spencer, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Shelvoard, £3 16s 0½d George Simms, £3 16s 0½d John Spencer, discharged 29 July, 15s 0d Hendrick Sprayer, £3 16s 0½d Constant Tissier, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tuke, £3 16s 0½d Edward Thomas, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 0½d John Wyford, £3 16s 0½d Total, £257 16s 5½d Artillery Company Thomas Hall, Master Gunner salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £29 13s 1½d Carried over, £2,318 0s 6½d **Interpretations** The rank and file close at the standard £3 16s 0½d, with only John Spencer marked down to 15s 0d on his discharge of 29 July, his pay again cut to the portion of the period actually served. The account then opens the Artillery Company, headed not by a lieutenant but by Thomas Hall as Master Gunner, whose salary of £22 16s 3d and diet money placed him on a par with the senior First Lieutenants of the marching companies. The Master Gunner's parity with a First Lieutenant reflected the technical weight of his charge rather than an equivalence of infantry rank. Command of the island's guns and the men who worked them demanded specialist skill in laying and firing ordnance, and the garrison paid that expertise at its highest company rate, marking artillery as a distinct and valued branch of the St Helena establishment.

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		Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary 22 16s 3d D° diet Money 6 16s 10½d 29 13s 1½d Carried Over 2318 0s 6½d	
213	202	October 20th Brought Over 2318 0s 6½d Gunners Mates Nathan Langले Chief Mate 11 8s 1½d John Whitebach 9 2s 6d Charles McNeily 9 2s 6d Rowland Davis 9 2s 6d Adam Watson 9 2s 6d Thomas Williams 9 2s 6d James Long 9 2s 6d Thomas Mason 9 2s 6d 75 5s 7½d Quarter Gunners Andrew Barton 6 16s 10½d Tophir Jacks 6 16s 10½d John Clovy 6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor 6 16s 10½d John Works 6 16s 10½d John Thomason 6 16s 10½d John Shirtley 6 16s 10½d James Peircy 6 16s 10½d 54 15s Matrosses Richard Sillington 4 11s 3d William Benson 4 11s 3d Matthew Brickland 4 11s 3d John Adam Botugur 4 11s 3d John Bakor 4 11s 3d John Bagley discharged Augt 13th 1 13s Darby Coyla 4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham 4 11s 3d Henry Chapman died 11th Sept 3 2s Simon Davis 4 11s 3d Anthony Day 4 11s 3d Matrosses Carried Over £ 45 16s 3d Carried Over 2448 1s 2d	Brought over, £2,318 0s 6½d Gunners Mates Nathaniel Langले, Chief Mate, £11 8s 1½d John Whitebach, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, £9 2s 6d Thomas Williams, £9 2s 6d James Long, £9 2s 6d Thomas Mason, £9 2s 6d Total, £75 5s 7½d Quarter Gunners Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10½d Joseph Jacks, £6 16s 10½d John Clovey, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor, £6 16s 10½d John Woods, £6 16s 10½d John Thomason, £6 16s 10½d John Sharkley, £6 16s 10½d James Peircy, £6 16s 10½d Total, £54 15s 0d Matrosses Richard Islington, £4 11s 3d William Benson, £4 11s 3d Matthew Brickland, £4 11s 3d John Adam Boragier, £4 11s 3d John Baker, £4 11s 3d John Bagley, discharged 15 August, £1 13s 0d Darby Coyles, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 3d Henry Chapman, died 11 September, £3 2s 0d Simon Davis, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried over, £45 16s 3d Carried over, £2,443 1s 4d **Interpretations** The Artillery Company ran on its own graded scale of specialist ratings unknown to the marching companies, descending from the Chief Gunner's Mate at £11 8s 1½d through the ordinary mates at £9 2s 6d, the quarter gunners at £6 16s 10½d and the matrosses at £4 11s 3d. Each grade named a distinct role in serving the guns, and the pay reflected the skill each carried in handling and firing the island's ordnance. A matross was the lowest artillery rank, an assistant who helped load, sponge and position the guns and stood ready to step into a gunner's place, which explains the £4 11s 3d rate set above the common sentinel's pay but below every trained gunner. Henry Chapman's entry records not a discharge but a death on 11 September, his pay of £3 2s 0d stopped at that date, a stark marker of the ordinary mortality carried on the garrison books alongside the routine turnover of enlistment and release.
214	203	(1759) Brought Over	Brought over, £2,443 1s 2d Matrosses brought over, £45 16s 3d

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		2448 1s 2d Matrosses brought Over 45 16s 3d Christian Dyat 4 11s 3d Ulrick Dull 4 11s 3d John Frederick Emerling 4 11s 3d William Fletcher 4 11s 3d John Gopthard 4 11s 3d Giles Gorman 4 11s 3d Martin Haycock 4 11s 3d John Kemp 4 11s 3d William Lister 4 11s 3d William Mason 4 11s 3d Peter Mitchel 4 11s 3d George Nelson 4 11s 3d Thomas Patchett 4 11s 3d William Pidgeon 4 11s 3d John Robinson 4 11s 3d James Robinson 4 11s 3d Sachan Ratcliffe 4 11s 3d John Mater 4 11s 3d Frederick Timmerman 4 11s 3d John Meye 4 11s 3d John Seemer 4 11s 3d William Thompson 4 11s 3d Daniel Suggan 4 11s 3d Luke Vernon 1 3s 3d James Wair 4 11s 3d Richard Waterhouse 4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt 4 11s 3d William Warlin 4 11s 3d John Mitchel Wageling 4 11s 3d John Hendrick Wileus 4 11s 3d James York 4 11s 3d 107 5s Total 2633 6s 2d	Christian Dysat, £4 11s 3d Ulrick Dull, £4 11s 3d John Frederick Emerling, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, £4 11s 3d John Gophard, £4 11s 3d Giles Gorman, £4 11s 3d Thomas Haycock, £4 11s 3d John Kemp, £4 11s 3d William Lister, £4 11s 3d William Mason, £4 11s 3d Peter Mitchel, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Patchett, £4 11s 3d William Pidgeon, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d James Robinson, £4 11s 3d Zachary Ratcliffe, £4 11s 3d John Mater, £4 11s 3d Frederick Trimmerman, £4 11s 3d John Styo, £4 11s 3d John Seomer, £4 11s 3d William Thompson, £4 11s 3d Daniel Guggus, £4 11s 3d Luke Vernon, £4 3s 3d James Ware, £4 11s 3d Richard Waterhouse, £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt, £4 11s 3d William Warden, £4 11s 3d John Mitchel Wageling, £4 11s 3d John Hendrick Wilcox, £4 11s 3d James York, £4 11s 3d Total, £189 5s 0d Total, £2,633 6s 2d **Interpretations** The muster closes the Artillery Company with the remaining matrosses, all held at the standard £4 11s 3d save Luke Vernon at the slightly reduced £4 3s 3d, and then draws the whole payroll to a grand total of £2,633 6s 2d. That final figure gathered every company, officer, sergeant, corporal, drummer, sentinel and artillery rating on the establishment into a single half-yearly reckoning for the St Helena garrison. The presence of many plainly continental names among the matrosses, such as John Frederick Emerling, Frederick Trimmerman and John Mitchel Wageling, shows the Company drawing its lowest artillery ranks from a mixed European labour pool rather than from English recruits alone. Manning a remote island garrison meant taking on whatever willing hands could be found, and the gun crews in particular absorbed men of German, Dutch and other origins into the ordinary establishment.
215	204	October 29th John Clark Paymaster Dr 1730 Octob 11th To Cash Received £ 2905 2s 9d Carried Over £ 2905 2s 9d	John Clark, Paymaster, Debtor 11 October, to cash received, £2,905 2s 9d Carried over, £2,905 2s 9d **Interpretations** The page opens the debtor side of the paymaster's own account, recording John Clark charged with £2,905 2s 9d in cash received on 11

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			October. This sum represented the funds placed in his hands to meet the garrison payroll set out across the preceding muster, the single receipt against which every wage payment would be balanced. The structure marks the shift from the establishment roll to double-entry bookkeeping, where the paymaster stood personally accountable for the money advanced to him. Charging Clark as debtor for the whole amount received created a clear line of responsibility, the cash entering on one side to be discharged against the wages paid out on the other, so that any shortfall would fall directly to his account.
216	205	(1759) Per Contra 1730 July 12 By Cash paid Richard Bagley for Sundries Viz For building a Guard House at Sandmans Hoo Valley for the Use of the Slaves party being 100 days Work a 1/6p day 7 10s 17 days Work of a Mason a 3/ p day 2 11s 1 Load of Rushes a 6p° 1 3s 32 Rafters a 1/ p 1 12s 8 Load of Lattes a 2/6 p° house 1 5 days Work of a Carpenter 10s 14 6s 29th By Cash paid Richard Seavely Surgeon for the Care of Seven Recruits in their Passage to St Helena on b'd the Ship Delaware 1 15s By Cash paid Capt Larkins for a Firkin of Butter for the Use of the Honeable Company's Table 3 10s By Cash paid Capt Iddleman for 26 c—0 —11 Rice a 8/ p hundred pounds for the use of the Honeable Comp 11 13s By Cash paid John Jacks for enlisting to serve the Honble Company 3 Years longer as a Soldier 10 By Cash paid Peter Finall for d° 10 By Cash paid Thomas Page for enlisting to serve the Honeable Comp five Years as a Soldier 3 By Cash paid Capt Council for 37 c—0 —18 Rice a 12/ p hd for the use of the Honble Company 22 5s 11d By Cash paid Thomas Taylor for enlisting to Serve the Honble Company five years longer as a Soldier 10 By Cash paid Stephen Willoughby for d° 10 By Cash paid Stephen Young for 16 Load of Bamboes for Laths for the use of the Honble Company's Houses in the Long Wood 2 By Cash paid Gabriel Marsh for two days Work on the Honble Company's Longboat a 3/6 p day	Per Contra, Creditor 12 July, by cash paid Richard Bagley for sundries, namely: For building a guard house at Sandy Bay in Deadwood Valley for the use of the Company, party being 100 days work at 1s 6d per day, £7 10s 0d 17 days work of a mason at 3s per day, £2 11s 0d 6 loads of bushes at 3d, £0 1s 3d 32 rafters at 1s, £1 12s 0d 1 load of laths at 2s 6d per load, £1 0s 0d 5 days work of a carpenter, £0 10s 0d Total, £14 6s 0d John Bagley was paid for the passage of the sick recruits to St Helena on the ship *Delaware* on 29 July. 29 July, by cash paid Richard Sexely, surgeon, for the care of sick recruits in their passage to St Helena on the ship Delaware, £1 15s 0d Captain Larkins was paid for a firkin of butter supplied for the use of the Company's kitchen. By cash paid Captain Larkins for a firkin of butter for the use of the Honourable Company's kitchen, £3 10s 0d Captain Iddleman was paid for rice supplied to the Company. By cash paid Captain Iddleman for 26 hundredweight, 2 quarters, 11 pounds of rice at 8s per hundred pounds for the use of the Honourable Company, £11 13s 0d By cash paid John Jacks for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company 3 years longer as a soldier, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Peter Small for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Thomas Pace for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company five years longer as a soldier, £3 0s 0d Captain Coombs was paid for rice supplied to the Company. By cash paid Captain Coombs for 37 hundredweight, 1 quarter, 18 pounds of rice at 12s per hundredweight for the use of the Honourable Company, £22 5s 11d By cash paid Thomas Taylor for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company five years longer as a soldier, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Stephen Willoughby for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Stephen Young for 16 loads of bamboos for laths for the use of the Honourable Company's storehouse, being long wood, £2 0s 0d By cash paid Gabriel Marsh for two days work on the Honourable Company's longboat at 3s per day, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Samuel Estre for glazing work done for the Honourable Company for the quarter ending this day, £7 6s 0d Carried over, £99 7s 5½d **Interpretations** The account crosses to the creditor side, listing the sums the paymaster laid out over the quarter and so discharging part of the cash he had been charged with. The building account for the Sandy Bay guard house breaks the work into its parts, labour, masonry,

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		10 By Cash paid Samuel Estre for Glazing Work done for the Honble Company for the Quarter Ending this day 7 6s Carried Over 99 7s 5½d	timber and thatch, each priced separately, which shows the Company paying directly for materials and day labour rather than contracting the whole at a fixed price. The recurring payments for enlistment reveal a bounty system, with sums of £10 0s 0d handed to soldiers such as John Jacks, Peter Small and Thomas Taylor for agreeing to serve three or five years longer. Retaining trained men on a remote island was cheaper and surer than shipping out fresh recruits, and the re-enlistment premium was the Company's standing tool for holding its garrison together, the size of the payment varying with the length of the term promised. The two rice purchases from different ships' captains, Iddleman at 8s and Coombs at 12s the hundredweight, show the island buying provisions opportunistically from passing East Indiamen at whatever price the market bore. St Helena grew little grain of its own and depended on the shipping calling at the road to victual the garrison, so the paymaster took rice as it arrived and paid the going rate, which here varied by half again between one vessel and the next. **Speculations** The wide gap between the two rice prices, 8s from Captain Iddleman against 12s from Captain Coombs in the same quarter, points to the island taking supply on terms it could not dictate rather than holding out for the lower rate. Had St Helena been able to command its provisioning it would have bought all its rice at the cheaper figure, but the garrison had to accept what each captain would sell and at the price he set, so the paymaster paid the higher rate to Coombs rather than go short, the visible premium marking the island's dependence on whatever shipping chanced to call. October 29th John Clark Paymaster Dr 1739 Octo 11th To Amount Brought Over 2905 2s 9d Carried Over £ 2905 2s 9d
217	206	October 29th John Clark Paymaster Dr 1739 Octo 11th To Amount Brought Over 2905 2s 9d Carried Over £ 2905 2s 9d	John Clark, Paymaster, Debtor 11 October, to amount brought over, £2,905 2s 9d Carried over, £2,905 2s 9d **Interpretations** The debtor account carries forward the full charge of £2,905 2s 9d against John Clark, the same figure entered when the cash was first received. This running balance kept the paymaster answerable for the whole sum until it was set against the wages and disbursements recorded on the facing creditor side, the entry simply continuing his liability onto a fresh page.
218	207	(1759) Per Contra Brought Over 99 7s 5½d By Cash paid Samuel Hempi for 225 Apples for the Use of the Honorable Company's Table 18s By Cash paid Thomas Cartwright for 30 Rafters for the Use of the Guard House in Powells Valley 1 10s By Cash paid Thomas Green & John Hawkwood for baking 84 Batches of Bread a 20 p for the use of the garrison this Quarter 0 0s 4d	Per Contra, Creditor Brought over, £99 7s 5½d By cash paid Samuel Honist for 223 apples for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £0 18s 0d By cash paid Thomas Cartwright for 30 rafters for the use of the guard house in Powells Valley, £1 10s 0d By cash paid Thomas Green and John Hawksword for baking 24 batches of bread at 20s per batch for the use of the garrison this quarter, £0 8s 4d By cash paid sundry garrison men for rowing in the Honourable Company's pinnace the quarter, £0 3s 0d By cash paid William Moer for the rent of two houses for the use of sick and infirm soldiers the quarter ending this day, £0 4s 0d

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		By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for rowing in the Honble Company's Pinnace the Seaven 3 By Cash paid William Moor for the Rent of two Houses for the use of Sick & Infirm Soldiers the Quar End'd this day 4 By Cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for Carpenter's Work done for the Honble Company the Quart Ending this day 5 By Cash paid Robert Ineheart for taking Care of the Honble Company's Rock in the Longwood the Quart End'd this day 2 10s By Cash paid Jno Deer for Carpent Work done this Quar Ending day 4 4s By Cash paid John Simmons for d° 4 19s By Cash paid Isaac Day for d° 5 6s 6d By Cash paid Nogudah Rockolum the Malay Prisoner his allowance from the Honble Company the Quar End'd this day 1 12s 6d By Cash paid Lieut Chas Gissing for the Rent of a Room for d° the Quarter Ending this day 1 By Cash paid Ibachim for the Portuguese prisoner from Bombay 3 16s 2d By Cash paid Sundry persons for Working on the Honble Comp Longboat this Quarter a 1 10s and for four days work of Seven Men on board the Honble Company's Ship the Admiral Watson a 1 10s 2 10s Carried Over 148 9s 10d	By cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for carpenter's work done for the Honourable Company the quarter ending this day, £0 5s 0d By cash paid Robert Inchant for taking care of the Honourable Company's rock in the Longwood the quarter ending this day, £2 10s 0d By cash paid John Deer for carpenter's work done this quarter ending this day, £4 4s 0d By cash paid John Simmons for the same, £4 19s 0d By cash paid Isaac Day for the same, £3 6s 6d By cash paid Nonnedah Rockelam the Malay prisoner his allowance from the Honourable Company the quarter ending this day, £1 12s 6d By cash paid Lieutenant Charles Gissing for the rent of a room for the quarter ending this day, £1 0s 0d By cash paid Joachim for the Portuguese prisoners from Bombay, £3 16s 2d By cash paid sundry persons for working in the Honourable Company's longboat this quarter, £2 15s 0d Seven men on board the Honourable Company's ship *Admiral Watson* were paid £1 10s 0d, and four for four days work, £1 10s 0d. Carried over, £148 9s 10d **Interpretations** The quarter's disbursements show the Company meeting a wide spread of small local needs from the same cash fund, from apples and bread for the table through building timber and boat crews to carpenter's wages and house rents for the sick. Robert Inchant's payment for tending the Company's rock in Longwood points to a specific piece of island property under paid care, while the rents for houses lodging sick and infirm soldiers reveal a garrison making do with hired civilian dwellings in place of a purpose-built infirmary. Two entries record allowances paid to prisoners held on the island, Nonnedah Rockelam described as a Malay prisoner and a party of Portuguese prisoners brought from Bombay. The Company carried the cost of maintaining captives sent to St Helena from its wider eastern network, the island serving as a place of confinement within the Company's Indian Ocean system, and the regular quarterly allowance shows these prisoners were kept at Company charge rather than left to fend for themselves.
219	208	October 29th John Clark Paymaster Dr 1739 October 11th To Amount brought Over 2905 2s 9d Carried Over 2905 2s 9d	John Clark, Paymaster, Debtor 11 October, to amount brought over, £2,905 2s 9d Carried over, £2,905 2s 9d **Interpretations** The debtor account again carries John Clark's full charge of £2,905 2s 9d forward unchanged onto a new page. This entry held the paymaster answerable for the whole sum received until it was discharged against the disbursements recorded on the facing side, the balance simply continuing his liability without alteration.
220	209	(1739) Per Contra Brought Over 148 9s 10d 1730 Octo 11th By Cash paid John Thomason for making a Flag for the main Fort 33 feet Long & 22 feet Deep 1 10s By Cash paid Richard Bagley for 2600 Lemmons for the Use of the Honble Company's Table 2 12s	Per Contra, Creditor Brought over, £148 9s 10d 11 October, by cash paid John Thomason for making a flag for the main fort, 33 feet long and 22 feet deep, £1 10s 0d By cash paid Richard Bagley for 2,600 lemons for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £2 12s 0d By cash paid Thomas Pace for four days work in curing meat in the Honourable Company's stores, £0 0s 6d By cash paid Bacon Deloss for making the thatched part of 117 tons for the garrison at 3s each, £1 9s 3d

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		By Cash paid Thomas Page for four days Work in Curing up Meat in the Honoble Company's Stores 6s By Cash paid Bacon Deleap for making the Sucking part of 117 Cows for the Garrison a 3d ea 1 9s 3d By Cash paid William Doveton for digging two graves for diceased Soldiers 5s By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for digging and Cutting of Stone at Sandy Bay Quarry 271 days a 1/p 13 11s 6d By Cash paid d° for grubbing of Sworge in the Honble Comp pasture Lands 156 days a 1/ 7 16s By Cash paid d° for 471 days work at the new Breach a 1/ 23 11s By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for working in the Honble Comp Stores and bringing goods from the Crane 216 days a 1/ 10 16s By Cash paid d° for building a Chimney for the Use of the Officers at the Lieut Governors 26 days a d° 1 6s By Cash paid d° for repairing the Dungeon 10 days a d° 10s By Cash paid d° for building a new Oven for baking of Bread for the Garrison 299 days a d° 14 19s By Cash paid d° for cutting a Road in the Longwood to the Watering place for the Cattle and for repairing a House in the Wood which was burnt down by accident 198 days a d° 9 13s By Cash paid d° for repairing the guard House at Sandy Bay 36 days a d° 1 16s Carried Over 238 11s 1d	By cash paid William Doveton for digging two graves for deceased soldiers, £0 0s 5d By cash paid sundry soldiers for digging and cutting of stone at Sandy Bay, 271½ days at 1s per day, £13 11s 6d By cash paid the same for grubbing of a swamp in the Honourable Company's pasture lands, 156 days at 1s, £7 16s 0d By cash paid the same for 171 days work at the wells the same, £23 11s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for working in the Honourable Company's stores and bringing goods from the crane, 216½ days at 1s, £10 16s 6d By cash paid the same for building a chimney for the use of the officers at the Lieutenant Governor's, 46 days at the same, £1 6s 0d By cash paid the same for repairing the dungeon, 10 days at the same, £0 10s 0d By cash paid the same for building a new oven for baking of bread for the garrison, 299 days at the same, £14 19s 0d By cash paid the same for cutting a road in the Longwood to the watering place for the castle and for repairing a house in the wood which was burnt down by accident, 193 days at the same, £9 13s 0d By cash paid the same for repairing the guard house at Sandy Bay, 36 days at the same, £1 16s 0d Carried over, £238 11s 1d **Interpretations** The quarter's works account shows the garrison labour force turned to a wide programme of construction and estate maintenance across the island, all paid at the flat soldier's rate of 1s a day. The largest single charge, £23 11s 0d for 171 days at the wells, together with the swamp drainage and stone cutting at Sandy Bay, reveals the Company using its own soldiers as a standing works gang for heavy infrastructure rather than hiring outside labour, so that men on the military establishment doubled as the island's builders and diggers. The two graves dug for deceased soldiers and the large purchase of 2,600 lemons sit together as markers of the garrison's health regime, the lemons almost certainly bought against scurvy, the endemic threat to men on salt provisions and long sea passages. St Helena's ability to grow citrus made it a vital revictualling point for the Company's ships, and the bulk purchase for the table shows fresh fruit treated as a routine necessity of island life rather than a luxury. **Speculations** The account records a house in the Longwood rebuilt after it burnt down by accident, the repair folded into the same 193-day work entry as the cutting of a new road to the watering place. The Company chose to restore the lost building with its own soldier labour rather than abandon the site, and the pairing of the two tasks under one charge shows the works gang dispatched to Longwood to handle both at once, the fire damage absorbed into the ordinary run of garrison maintenance instead of being written off.
221	210	October 29th John Clark Paymaster Dr 1739 October 11th To amount brought Over 2905 2s 9d 2905 2s 9d	John Clark, Paymaster, Debtor 11 October, to amount brought over, £2,905 2s 9d Carried over, £2,905 2s 9d **Interpretations** The debtor side once more carries John Clark's charge of £2,905 2s 9d forward without change onto a fresh page. This kept the paymaster answerable for the full sum received until it was balanced against the disbursements set out opposite, the entry continuing his liability intact.
222	211	(1739)	Per Contra, Creditor

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		Per Contra Brought Over 238 11s 1d 1739 Octo 11th By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for Carrying Sand up Ladder Hill for the Use of the plantation House 85 days a 1/p 4 5s By Cash paid d° for fetching Lime Stone from Ruperts 8 days a d° 8s By Cash paid d° for Glazing the path and repairing the Wall on Ladder Hill 24 days a d° 1 4s By Cash paid d° for working at the new Magazine at the main Fort 310 days a d° 15 10s 6d By Cash paid Thomas Mason for painting Work at the new Barracks & paint a new Target 21 days a 1/6 p° Day 1 1s By Cash paid d° for working at Rupert new Magazine 142 days a d° 7 2s By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for coming Express with Accounts of Ships to Windward 1 15s 269 16s 7d By Cash paid the Honoble Company's Officers &c Servants their several Salaryd Diet Money &c for the Quarter Commencing the 12th day of July 1759 & Ending the 11th October 1759 2635 6s 2d 2905 2s 9d St Helena October 11th 1759 Errors Excepted John Clark Paymaster	Brought over, £238 11s 1d By cash paid sundry soldiers for carrying sand up Ladder Hill for the use of the plantation house, 85 days at 1s per day, £4 5s 0d By cash paid the same for fetching lime stone from Ruperts, 8 days at the same, £0 8s 0d By cash paid the same for glazing the sash and repairing the wall on Ladder Hill, 24 days at the same, £1 4s 0d By cash paid the same for working at the new magazine at the main fort, 310½ days at the same, £15 10s 6d By cash paid Thomas Mason for painting work at the new barracks and painting a new target, 21 days at 1s per day, £1 1s 0d By cash paid the same for working at the several new magazines, 142 days at the same, £7 2s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for coming express with accounts of ships to windward, £1 15s 0d Total, £269 16s 7d By cash paid the Honourable Company's officers and servants their several salaries and diet money for the quarter commencing the 12 July 1759 and ending the 11 October 1759, £2,635 6s 2d Total, £2,905 2s 9d At St Helena on 11 October 1759, errors excepted, John Clark, Paymaster. **Interpretations** The works charges close with a run of fortification labour, chiefly the 310½ days spent on the new magazine at the main fort and the further 142 days across the several new magazines, all paid at the flat 1s soldier's rate. This concentration on powder magazines and new barracks shows the garrison investing heavily in its defensive fabric during the quarter, the same soldier labour force that dug wells and drained swamps now turned to hardening the island's military works. The final and by far the largest single entry, £2,635 6s 2d for the officers and servants salaries and diet money, ties the whole disbursement account back to the muster roll set out earlier and balances the paymaster's charge exactly to £2,905 2s 9d. The errors excepted subscription over John Clark's name marks the formal close of the quarter's reckoning, the accepted convention by which an accountant certified his figures while reserving the right to correct any later-discovered mistake, so discharging his personal liability for the cash entrusted to him. The payment to soldiers for coming express with accounts of ships to windward reveals the island's early-warning system, men dispatched overland at speed to carry word of approaching sail to the castle. On a remote Atlantic station the first sighting of a ship, friend or enemy, mattered greatly, and the Company paid for swift relay of that intelligence from the windward lookouts to the seat of command.
223	212	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1759 Sept 12 To Balance remaining 8349 8s 5½d Oct 1 To Rents 5 5s 10 To d° 565 13s 2d 11 To James Powell received from him for Stores sold in the Quarter ending this day 1196 11s 5½d To Licences for 10 publick Houses 15 To plantation for Provisions Sold 44 5s 9½d 1759	Cash, Debtor 12 July 1759, to balance remaining, £8,349 5s 5½d 1 October, to rents, £0 5s 5d 10 October, to the same, £565 13s 2d 11 October, to James Powell, received from him for stores sold in the quarter ending this day, £1,196 11s 5½d To licences for 10 public houses, £15 0s 0d To plantation for provisions sold, £44 5s 9½d Total, £10,176 3s 10½d Per Contra, Creditor 11 October 1759, by sundry accounts for so much advanced the paymaster to pay salaries and so on for the quarter ending this day, £2,905 2s 9d By balance remaining in the following specie, namely: 4,436 pagodas at 8s, £1,782 8s 0d

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		Octo 11 By Sundry accounts for so much Advanced the paymaster to pay Salarys &c for the Quarter ending this day 2905 2s 9d By balance remaind in the followg Specie Vizt 443 6 pagodas a 8/ 1782 6s 1680 Venetians a 10/ 840 Gold Amounting to 2622 6s 12844 Dollars 5/ 3211 441 French p es 9d 3 13s 6d 7948 Rupees 2/3 894 3s Odd money 1 7½d Silver amountd to 4108 18s 1½d Cash Notes of no Use amounting to 539 15s 7271 1s 1½d 10176 3s 10½d 10176 3s 10½d	1,680 Venetians at 10s, £840 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,622 8s 0d 12,844 dollars at 5s, £3,211 0s 0d 441 French pieces at 6d, £3 13s 6d 7,948 rupees at 2s 3d, £894 3s 0d Odd money, £1 7s 6d Silver amounting to, £4,108 18s 1½d Cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £7,271 1s 1½d Total, £10,176 3s 10½d **Interpretations** The cash account draws together the treasury of St Helena at the close of the quarter, opening with a carried balance of £8,349 5s 5½d and adding rents, licence fees, and the proceeds of stores and provisions sold. The two largest receipts, £1,196 11s 5½d from James Powell for stores and £565 13s 2d in rents, show the island generating substantial revenue from within its own economy, so that the garrison was not wholly dependent on cash shipped from home but recouped much of its outgoing through sales, dues and property income. The balance was held not in a single currency but in a striking mixture of gold and silver specie drawn from across the trading world, pagodas and rupees from India, Venetian sequins from the Mediterranean, and Spanish dollars and French coin from the Atlantic. This polyglot cash chest reflects St Helena's position as a crossroads of the Company's shipping, where vessels from every quarter called and paid, leaving the island's treasury filled with the coin of a dozen nations converted to a common sterling valuation for the books. The entry for cash notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d records a substantial sum of paper the island could not spend, probably bills or notes that had been dishonoured, expired or drawn on parties who could not be reached from so remote a station. Carrying this dead paper as a distinct line rather than writing it off shows the accountant preserving the full record of what had come into the treasury, even where a large part of it had become unrealisable on the island. **Speculations** The £15 0s 0d taken for licences on 10 public houses shows the garrison choosing to license and tax the sale of drink rather than suppress it, though a remote military station with a large body of soldiers had every reason to fear the disorder that drink could bring. The Company turned the men's appetite for liquor into a source of revenue and a means of regulation, licensing a fixed number of houses at a set fee so that drinking was channelled into known and controllable premises, the licence income marking a deliberate preference for managed tolerance over prohibition.
224	213	(1759) Ice a Slave man belonging to Mr Richard Beale Senr having Defrauded Mr Hall of 4 p° of Gingham and being a Notorious Thief we therefore Ordered him to be whipped and to receive 300 Lashes at two different Times 150 at each Time Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th day of November 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Bazling of Council	A slave belonging to Richard Beale senior had defrauded Mr Hall of four pieces of gingham and, being a notorious thief, the council ordered him to be whipped and to receive 300 lashes in two instalments of 150 at each time. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. At a consultation held on Monday 5 November 1759 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 29 October 1759. The following persons petitioned for the renewal of their several leases which expired on 11 October last. Lieutenant John Clark, 1 for 6 acres 1 for 9½ acres 1 for 5 acres 1 for 6 acres

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		The last Consultation was read, approved and sign'd dated the 29th October 1759 The following persons this day petitioned for the renewal of their several Leases which Expired on the 11th of October last Iew 1 for 6 Acres 1 - 9½ d° Lieut John Clark 1 - 5 d° 1 - 6 d° 1 - 2 d° Thomas Costgrave 1 for 30 acres Granted	1 for 2 acres Thomas Cottgrave, 1 for 30 acres The petitions were granted. **Interpretations** The whipping order shows the council acting as the island's criminal court, sentencing a slave accused of theft to a punishment deliberately split into two batches of 150 lashes rather than 300 at once. Dividing the flogging allowed the victim to survive and recover between instalments, a common practice that made the full sentence physically endurable while preserving its severity as a public deterrent, and it reveals the routine brutality of the slave regime alongside the Company's concern to keep its human property alive. The lease renewals record the island's land tenure worked through fixed-term grants that fell in together on 11 October, the expiry of Lieutenant John Clark's five parcels and Thomas Cottgrave's larger 30-acre holding on the same date pointing to a common lease term across the settlement. Requiring tenants to petition the council for renewal kept the Company in ultimate control of the land, so that occupancy depended on the governor's continuing grant rather than any permanent title, and the concentration of several small parcels in Clark's hands shows an officer of the garrison also holding a spread of island ground.
225	214	November 5th The Storekeeper brought in his Account of Waste upon Store Goods in the Year Ending the 11th October 1759 which was examined and approved and is as follows Vizt Profit & Loss Dr £ 31 16s 6d for loss by Leakage, Wastage Short Weight and Measure, by drawing by the Gallon &c° and by weighing by the pound &c° in the year Ending the 11th October 1759 Glass Ware &c° 3 Squ° 10 by 12 2 6s 3 d° 11 by 18 ¾ broke 4 3s 1 Beer Glass 1 5s 0 2s Pease ½ Bushel eaten by Rats 3 11s Leather ¼ lb Lump 4d Nails 92¾ 1 11s 3d Salt 6 d° Bushel 15 1s ½d Rope 33 q° Sugar 2 3s 10 10 11s 10½d Candy 1 - 10 3 2s 3½d Arrack 7 d° d° Galls 2 8s China Ware &c° 9 15s 11½d 2 Sneakers 1 Quarter pint Cup & Saucer broke 4 2 6 Cordage 1 2 19½ Barracks &c° 2 14s 8½d Oil 1 Gall Linseed Glass 3 Squ° 8 by 10 broke	The storekeeper brought in his account of waste upon store goods in the year ending 11 October 1759, which was examined and approved, and runs as follows. Profit and Loss was charged £31 16s 6d for loss by leakage, wastage, short weight and measure, by drawing by the gallon and by weighing by the pound, in the year ending 11 October 1759. Glassware, namely: 3 squares 10 by 12, £0 2s 6d 3 squares 11 by 13¾, broke, £0 4s 3d 1 hour glass, £0 1s 5d Subtotal, £0 2s 0d Pease, ½ bushel eaten by rats, £0 3s 11d Leather, ¼ pound, pump, £0 0s 4d Nails, 93¾, £1 11s 3d Salt, 6 bushels at 3d, £0 13s 1½d Soap, 339 pounds, £10 11s 10½d Sugar, 2 hundredweight, 2 quarters, 19 pounds, £3 2s 3½d Candy, 1 hundredweight 10 pounds, £2 0s 8d Arrack, 78 gallons, £9 15s 11½d Chinaware, namely: 2 sneakers, £0 0s 6d 1 quart pint cup and saucer, broke, £4 2s 0d Cordage, 1 hundredweight, 2 quarters, 19½ pounds, £0 6s 0d Barracks, namely: Oil, 1 gallon linseed, £2 14s 8½d Glass, 3 squares 8 by 10, broke, £0 4s 2½d Paint, 4 pounds chocolate colour, £1 9s 4½d Iron, 2 hundredweight, £0 2s 4d Subtotal, £0 4s 4½d Total, £31 16s 6d At St Helena on 11 October 1759, errors excepted, signed James Powell. **Interpretations** The storekeeper's waste account charges the natural losses of a warehouse to profit and loss, distinguishing the ways goods disappeared in store, leakage from casks, evaporation drawn off when spirits were measured by the gallon, and short weight when dry goods were sold out by the pound. The largest single losses fell on soap at £10 11s 10½d and arrack at £9 15s 11½d, the arrack loss reflecting the volatility of spirits that evaporated and seeped away

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		4 2s½d Paint 4th Chocolate Colour 1 9s½d Iron 2 d° 2 4s 4½d 31 16s 6d E. E. signd St Helena James Powell Octo 11 1759	in a hot store, so that a fifth of the whole waste bill arose from liquor alone. The entry for half a bushel of pease eaten by rats records the everyday depredation of vermin on a stored grain supply, a hazard that no warehouse on the island could wholly prevent. Arrack was a distilled spirit made across South and Southeast Asia, commonly from fermented palm sap or molasses, and it served as the ordinary strong drink of the Company's eastern settlements, shipped in bulk to victual garrisons and crews. Formally accounting for these losses as a charge against profit rather than concealing them shows the Company holding its storekeeper to a strict reckoning, the errors excepted certification over James Powell's name closing the audit while reserving the right to correct any mistake later found.
226	215	(1759) Dick a Slave Man belonging to Thomas Cosgrave who had been ran away from his Master 11 Weeks whip'd that he was Supported in his Clark Fellow Feaviour except one Week by Mr Wranghams fellow Pete - We'd sentenced him to receive 200 Lashes It being proved that Dick a Slave man belonging to John Pritchard had stolen a piece of Cut Wood out of the Honorble Company's Long Wood, We Ordered him to receive 50 Lashes Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 8th day of November 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq of Governor John Skottowe Esq Lt Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 5th November 1759 We this day Executed the following Leases viz Francis Wrangham Senr 1 Lease for two contract in James's Valley D° 3 d° 8 Acres Richard Bagley 3 d° for 34 d° Jonathan Doveton 1 d° for 4 John Leech 1 d° for 26 Benjamin Mason 1 d° for 9 d° William Wrangham 1 d° for 4½ Isaac Houle 1 d° for 4½ John Alexander 1 d° for 4½ Benjamin Sarce 1 d° for 6½	Dick, a slave belonging to Thomas Cottgrave, had run away from his master Weeks, who stated he was supported in his flight by Clark's fellow Francis, except for one week by Wrangham's fellow Pete. The council sentenced him to receive 200 lashes. It being proved that Dick, a slave belonging to John Pritchard, had stolen a piece of firewood out of the Honourable Company's Longwood, the council ordered him to receive 50 lashes. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. At a consultation held on Thursday 8 November 1759 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 5 November 1759. Weeks this day executed the following leases. Francis Wrangham senior, 1 lease for ground rent in Deadwood Valley 1 lease for 84 acres Richard Bagley, 3 leases at 34 acres each Jonathan Doveton, 1 lease at 4 acres John Leech, 1 lease at 26 acres Benjamin Mason, 1 lease at 9 acres William Wrangham, 1 lease at 6 acres Isaac Hodges, 1 lease at 4 acres John Alexander, 1 lease at 5 acres Benjamin Sarce, 1 lease for 6 acres **Interpretations** The two flogging orders reveal the council grading its punishments to the offence, 200 lashes for the runaway Dick who had defied his master and drawn help from other slaves, against 50 for the theft of a single piece of firewood. The heavier sentence fell on flight rather than theft because escape struck at the foundation of the slave system itself, and the naming of Francis and Pete as those who sheltered the fugitive shows the authorities tracing the network of assistance among the enslaved and treating collusion in escape as the graver threat to control. The executed leases record the formal grant of island land parcelled into holdings of widely differing size, from small plots of four to six acres up to Francis Wrangham's 84 acres and Richard Bagley's three parcels of 34 acres apiece. Deadwood Valley appears again as a settled agricultural district let for ground rent, and the spread of parcels among many named tenants shows the Company distributing its land broadly across the free population, binding a body of small planters to the settlement through leasehold tenure that kept ultimate ownership with the Company.
227	216	November 8th Samuel Knipe 1 d° for 13¾ Acres Thomas Cosgrave 3 d° for 16¾	Samuel Knipe, 1 lease for 13¾ acres Thomas Cottgrave, 3 leases for 16¾ acres Richard Gorston, senior, 2 leases, 1 for ground rent and 1 for 19 acres

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		Richard Gorsdon Exors 2 Leases 1 for Ground rent and 1 for 19 Acres Richard Gorstom 1 d° for 27 Acres Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th day of November 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottowe Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed dated the 8th November 1759 The Accomptant reports that the Honorable Company's Books of Accompts are ballanced to the 11th October last, which we ordered to be Copied as fast as possible John Leech petitioned to assign his right in Thirty Six acres of Land unto Orlando Bagley him Granted George Alexander petition'd to renew a Lease for 16 acres of Land which Expired the 11th October last Henry Eustlope Petition'd to renew a Lease for 28 Acres of Land which Expired the 11th October last Granted	Richard Gorston, 1 lease for 27 acres The leases were signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. At a consultation held on Monday 12 November 1759 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 8 November 1759. The accountant reported that the Honourable Company's books of accounts were balanced to 11 October last, and the council ordered them to be copied as fast as possible. John Leech petitioned to assign his right in 36 acres of land to Orlando Bagley junior. The petition was granted. George Alexander petitioned to renew a lease for 6 acres of land which expired on 11 October last. Henry Easthope petitioned to renew a lease for 20 acres of land which expired on 11 October last. The petition was granted. **Interpretations** The order to copy the balanced account books as fast as possible reveals the Company's requirement that duplicate records be prepared for despatch, since the island's accounts had to be sent home to the directors in London by the returning ships. Keeping a fair copy against the hazards of a long sea passage protected the Company from the loss of its only reckoning should a vessel founder, and the urgency shows the accounting year closed on 11 October being written up in time for the sailing season. John Leech's assignment of his 36-acre right to Orlando Bagley junior shows leasehold land on the island treated as a transferable asset, the tenant able with the council's consent to pass his interest to another party. Requiring the council to approve the assignment kept the Company in control of who held its land, so that leases could change hands within the settlement but only under the governor's continuing oversight, the same body granting the renewals to George Alexander and Henry Easthope on the parcels that had fallen in on 11 October.
228	217	(1759) We this day Executed the following Leases viz James Grunton & John Worrall for 17 Acres Exec° to John Scott Orlando Bagley 2 Leases for 22½ acres Matthew Burling 1 d° for 3¼ Lieut Onesiphorus Beale 1 Lease for a piece of ground in Chappel Valley John Desfountain 2 Leases for 17 acres Thomas Harper Exec 3 d° for 46¼ The Exors of Marke Sharpe 1 for 9½ Samuel Alexander 1 d° for 19 Thomas Cosgrave 1 d° for 30 Thomas Greentree 1 d° for 6 John Desfountain 1 d° for 3¾ Exec° to Joseph Whaley Elisha Isaack Frances a Slave man belonging to Mr Clark and Pete a Slave Man belonging to Mr Francis Wrangham Senior having been proved to have harboured and Supported Dick a run away Slave belonging to Thomas Cosgrave we Ordered them to be whipd Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling	Weeks this day executed the following leases. James Gorston and John Worrell, 1 lease for 17 acres, executed to John Scott Orlando Bagley, 2 leases for 22½ acres Matthew Purling, 1 lease for 3¼ acres Lieutenant Onesipherus Beale, 1 lease for a piece of ground in Chapel Valley John Desfountain, 2 leases for 17 acres Thomas Harper, 3 leases for 46¼ acres The estate of Marm Sharpe, 1 lease for 9¾ acres Samuel Alexander, 1 lease for 19 acres Thomas Cottgrave, 1 lease for 30 acres Thomas Greentree, 1 lease for 6 acres John Desfountain, 1 lease for 3¾ acres, executed to Joseph Whaley Elisha Isaac, 1 lease for 3¾ acres, executed to Joseph Whaley Francis, a slave belonging to Clark, and Pete, a slave belonging to Francis Wrangham senior, having been proved to have harboured and supported Dick, a runaway slave belonging to Thomas Cottgrave, the council ordered them to be whipped. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The flogging of Francis and Pete completes the case of the runaway Dick recorded on 8 November 1759, the two men who had sheltered him now punished in their turn. Sentencing those who harboured a fugitive shows the council attacking the whole chain of assistance rather than the escapee alone, so that any slave who helped another to flight

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			faced the lash himself, a deterrent aimed squarely at breaking the solidarity among the enslaved that made escape possible. The lease grants show island land moving between parties in the same act of execution, several parcels drawn in one tenant's petition but executed directly to a third party, such as the holdings assigned to John Scott and to Joseph Whaley. Chapel Valley granted to Lieutenant Onesipherus Beale marks an officer of the garrison taking Company land, and the appearance of an estate held in the name of a deceased tenant, Marm Sharpe, shows leasehold interests surviving death to be renewed on behalf of the holding rather than lapsing to the Company.
229	218	November 19th At a Consultation held on Monday the 19 day of November 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottowe Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and sign'd dated the 12th November 1759 We this day Executed the following Leases viz Mary Doveton Administratrix of John Doveton deceased 1 Lease for 7 Acres in the East division Henry Eustlope 1 d° for d° Richard Beale 1 d° for 10½ d° Matthew Bazett 1 d° for 2 d° Lieut Clark Guardian to Isaac Doveton 1 d° for 2 d° Samuel Alexander 1 d° for 10½ d° Elisha Isaac 1 d° for 5 d° The Guardians of Thomas Harper Senior 1 d° for 42 acres d° George Alexander 1 d° for 16 d° Lieut John Clark 1 d° for 9 d° Ditto 1 d° for 6 d° Mary Mason Benjamin Mason 1 d° for 13¾ d° Exec of Richard Mason dec° Isaac Knipe The plantation, Gunners and Stewards Accompts for the Month Ending the 11th Instant were this day Brought in which were Examined and approved and are as follow Vizt	At a consultation held on Monday 19 November 1759 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 15 November 1759. Weeks this day executed the following leases. Mary Doveton, administratrix of John Doveton deceased, 1 lease for 7 acres in the East division Henry Easthope, 1 lease for 8 acres Richard Beale, 1 lease for 11 acres Matthew Bazett, 1 lease for 2 acres Lieutenant Clark, guardian to Isaac Doveton, 1 lease for 2 acres Samuel Alexander, 1 lease for 10 acres Elisha Isaac, 1 lease for 5 acres The guardians of Thomas Harper junior, 1 lease for 42 acres George Alexander, 1 lease for 16 acres Lieutenant John Clark, 1 lease for 9 acres Lieutenant John Clark, 1 lease for 6 acres Mary Mason, 1 lease for 15¾ acres, executed to Richard Mason deceased Benjamin Mason, 1 lease for 15¾ acres, executed to Richard Mason deceased Isaac Knipe, 1 lease for 15¾ acres, executed to Richard Mason deceased The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending the 11 instant were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and run as follows. **Interpretations** The leases show island land held and transmitted through inheritance and guardianship, with Mary Doveton renewing as administratrix of her deceased husband's estate and Lieutenant Clark taking leases as guardian to the minor Isaac Doveton and beside the guardians of young Thomas Harper. These arrangements reveal the Company recognising the property rights of widows and orphans in leasehold land, so that a holding did not lapse on the tenant's death but passed to those administering the estate or protecting a child's interest until majority. The recurrence of Lieutenant John Clark across several parcels, holding land in his own name as well as in trust for a minor, shows the paymaster of the garrison accumulating a substantial personal stake in the island's land alongside his official duties. The three leases executed on behalf of the deceased Richard Mason, drawn by Mary, Benjamin and Isaac Knipe together, point to an estate divided among heirs but renewed as a single original grant, preserving the holding intact while distributing its benefit among the family that survived him.
230	219	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c° from the 12th October to the 11 November 1759 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Yeams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Yeams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Boar,	This is an account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals from 12 October to 11 November 1759. The column headings run in groups: neat cattle divided into bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers, oxen and total; sheep into ewes, wethers, lambs, rams and total; goats

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		Pheowe, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Large, Small, Total Remaining 12th: Bulls 6, Cows 136, Calves 112, Yearlings 59, Heifers 24, Steers 33, Oxen 21, Total 391, Ewes 353, Weathers 159, Lambs 212, Yeams 8, Total 732, Ewes 220, Weathers 46, Kids 78, Yeams 10, Total 354, Sows 10, Shoats 13, Boar 17, Pheowe 2, Total 42, Fowls 180, Ducks 44, Turkeys 26, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Large 4, Small 2, Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 9, Yeams 0, Total 9, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Boar 0, Pheowe 0, Total 2, Fowls 25, Ducks 25, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Large 0, Small 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 136, Calves 112, Yearlings 59, Heifers 24, Steers 33, Oxen 21, Total 391, Ewes 353, Weathers 159, Lambs 221, Yeams 8, Total 741, Ewes 220, Weathers 46, Kids 78, Yeams 10, Total 354, Sows 10, Shoats 13, Boar 19, Pheowe 2, Total 44, Fowls 213, Ducks 69, Turkeys 26, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Large 4, Small 2, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 4, Ewes 10, Weathers 1, Lambs 0, Yeams 25, Total 2, Ewes 9, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 11, Total 0, Sows 1, Shoats 3, Boar 0, Pheowe 4, Total 14, Fowls 4, Ducks 2, Turkeys 3, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Large 0, Small 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Oxen 3, Total 0, Ewes 1, Weathers 3, Lambs 0, Yeams 4, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 0, Total 7, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Boar 0, Pheowe 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Large 0, Small 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Boar 0, Pheowe 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Large 0, Small 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Boar 0, Pheowe 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Large 0, Small 0, Total 0 Remaind 11th: Bulls 6, Cows 136, Calves 111, Yearlings 58, Heifers 24, Steers 31, Oxen 21, Total 387, Ewes 339, Weathers 148, Lambs 217, Yeams 8, Total 712, Ewes 218, Weathers 37, Kids 78, Yeams 10, Total 343, Sows 10, Shoats 12, Boar 16, Pheowe 2, Total 40, Fowls 192, Ducks 65, Turkeys 24, Geese 29, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Large 4, Small 2, Total 6 Goats for the Hospital 5 Weathers Wt 119 lb 1 Ewe 1 Ewe Sheep for d° Wt 45 lb Good Yam Expended 10,450 Refuse D° for Stock Signd John Skottowe	into ewes, wethers, kids, rams and total; hogs into sows, shoats, boars, brawns and total; poultry into fowls and ducks; and then turkeys, geese, horses divided into horses and mares with a total, and asses divided into she-asses and he-asses with a total. Remaining 12 October, bulls 6 Remaining 12 October, cows 136 Remaining 12 October, calves 112 Remaining 12 October, yearlings 59 Remaining 12 October, heifers 24 Remaining 12 October, steers 33 Remaining 12 October, oxen 21 Remaining 12 October, neat cattle total 391 Remaining 12 October, sheep ewes 353 Remaining 12 October, sheep wethers 159 Remaining 12 October, sheep lambs 212 Remaining 12 October, sheep rams 8 Remaining 12 October, sheep total 732 Remaining 12 October, goat ewes 220 Remaining 12 October, goat wethers 46 Remaining 12 October, goat kids 78 Remaining 12 October, goat rams 10 Remaining 12 October, goat total 354 Remaining 12 October, hog sows 10 Remaining 12 October, hog shoats 13 Remaining 12 October, hog boars 17 Remaining 12 October, hog brawns 2 Remaining 12 October, hog total 42 Remaining 12 October, poultry fowls 180 Remaining 12 October, poultry ducks 44 Remaining 12 October, turkeys 26 Remaining 12 October, geese 32 Remaining 12 October, horses 6 Remaining 12 October, mares 5 Remaining 12 October, horses total 11 Remaining 12 October, she-asses 4 Remaining 12 October, he-asses 2 Remaining 12 October, asses total 6 Increased, sheep lambs 9 Increased, sheep total 9 Increased, hog shoats 2 Increased, hog total 2 Increased, poultry fowls 25 Increased, poultry ducks 25 Total, bulls 6 Total, cows 136 Total, calves 112 Total, yearlings 59 Total, heifers 24 Total, steers 33 Total, oxen 21 Total, neat cattle total 391 Total, sheep ewes 353 Total, sheep wethers 159 Total, sheep lambs 221 Total, sheep rams 8 Total, sheep total 741 Total, goat ewes 220 Total, goat wethers 46 Total, goat kids 78 Total, goat rams 10 Total, goat total 354 Total, hog sows 10 Total, hog shoats 13 Total, hog boars 19 Total, hog brawns 2 Total, hog total 44 Total, poultry fowls 213 Total, poultry ducks 69 Total, turkeys 26 Total, geese 32 Total, horses 6 Total, mares 5 Total, horses total 11 Total, she-asses 4 Total, he-asses 2

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			Total, asses total 6 Killed, heifers 1 Killed, neat cattle total 1 Killed, sheep ewes 4 Killed, sheep wethers 10 Killed, sheep lambs 1 Killed, sheep total 25 Killed, goat ewes 2 Killed, goat wethers 9 Killed, goat total 11 Killed, hog shoats 1 Killed, hog boars 3 Killed, poultry fowls 4 Killed, poultry ducks 14 Killed, turkeys 4 Killed, geese 23 Died, cows 1 Died, calves 1 Died, heifers 1 Died, steers 3 Died, neat cattle total 3 Died, sheep wethers 1 Died, sheep lambs 3 Died, sheep total 4 Died, poultry ducks 7 Remaining 11 November, bulls 6 Remaining 11 November, cows 136 Remaining 11 November, calves 111 Remaining 11 November, yearlings 58 Remaining 11 November, heifers 24 Remaining 11 November, steers 31 Remaining 11 November, oxen 21 Remaining 11 November, neat cattle total 387 Remaining 11 November, sheep ewes 339 Remaining 11 November, sheep wethers 148 Remaining 11 November, sheep lambs 217 Remaining 11 November, sheep rams 8 Remaining 11 November, sheep total 712 Remaining 11 November, goat ewes 218 Remaining 11 November, goat wethers 37 Remaining 11 November, goat kids 78 Remaining 11 November, goat rams 10 Remaining 11 November, goat total 343 Remaining 11 November, hog sows 10 Remaining 11 November, hog shoats 12 Remaining 11 November, hog boars 16 Remaining 11 November, hog brawns 2 Remaining 11 November, hog total 40 Remaining 11 November, poultry fowls 192 Remaining 11 November, poultry ducks 65 Remaining 11 November, turkeys 24 Remaining 11 November, geese 29 Remaining 11 November, horses 6 Remaining 11 November, mares 5 Remaining 11 November, horses total 11 Remaining 11 November, she-asses 4 Remaining 11 November, he-asses 2 Remaining 11 November, asses total 6 Goats for the hospital, 5 wethers and 1 ewe, weight 119 pounds 1 ewe sheep for the same, weight 45 pounds Good yarn expended, 10,450 Refuse good for stock, signed John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The stock account works as a full monthly audit of the Company's living herds and flocks, opening with the number remaining on 12 October, adding natural increase and then subtracting the animals killed, died, stolen or sold to reconcile against the count on 11 November. This double reckoning shows the Company treating its animals as a carefully controlled asset, every birth and death entered so that the storekeeper could account for each head, the stolen and sold rows left blank this month confirming that the whole reduction came from slaughter for the table and natural loss alone.

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			The slaughter figures reveal what the garrison and hospital actually consumed, the killed column drawing most heavily on sheep and goats, 25 sheep and 11 goats against a single heifer, so that mutton and goat rather than beef formed the staple fresh meat of the island. The separate note of goats and a ewe set aside for the hospital, weighed out at 119 and 45 pounds, shows sick soldiers supplied with fresh meat as a matter of course, the Company drawing on its own flocks to feed the infirmary. The neat cattle were held almost untouched, only one heifer killed and three animals lost to death across the month against a standing herd of nearly 400, showing the Company deliberately conserving its breeding cattle rather than eating into the stock. On a remote island where replacing lost animals meant a long and uncertain sea passage, preserving the cattle to build the herd took priority over immediate consumption, the flocks of sheep and goats bearing the whole burden of the fresh-meat supply while the valuable cattle were left to increase.
231	220	November 19th Artillery Stores Expended from the 12th of October to the 11th of November 1759 both days Included Guns Fired, 4pounder, 6pounder, 12pounder, Powder Expended Oct 16 Fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming: 4pounder 8, 6pounder 8, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz D° powder for Exercising with small Arms: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 4lb 5oz 12 17th D° for Exercising with D°: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 40lb 4oz 18th Fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming: 4pounder 8, 6pounder 8, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz d° powder for Exercising with small Arms: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 40lb 4oz 19th d° for exercising with D°: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 29lb 0oz D° powder for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 4lb 22 D° for blowing Lime Stone at Ruperts: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 4lb 23 Fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming: 4pounder 8, 6pounder 8, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz 25th Fired at Ruperts for D°: 4pounder 8, 6pounder 8, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz 20th Powder for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 4lb 30th Fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming: 4pounder 8, 6pounder 8, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz Novr 1st Fired at Ruperts for d°: 4pounder 8, 6pounder 8, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz 2d Powder for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 4lb 6th Powder for blowing Rocks at d°: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 4lb 10th Fired to celebrate the Anniversary of his Majestys birth day: 4pounder 21, 6pounder 2, 12pounder 1, Powder Expended 18lb 23oz 8 D° Powder for priming: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 8oz D° Powder fired with small Arms for d°: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 16lb 12oz	This is an account of artillery stores expended from 12 October to 11 November 1759, both days included. The figures record guns fired and powder expended, the latter given in pounds and ounces. 16 October, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 16 October, powder for exercising with small arms, 4 pounds 5 ounces 17 October, powder for exercising with small arms, 40 pounds 4 ounces 18 October, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 18 October, powder for exercising with small arms, 40 pounds 4 ounces 19 October, powder for exercising with small arms, 29 pounds 8 ounces 19 October, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 4 pounds 22 October, powder for blowing lime stone at Ruperts, 4 pounds 23 October, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 25 October, fired at Ruperts for the same, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 26 October, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 4 pounds 30 October, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 1 November, fired at Ruperts for the same, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 2 November, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 4 pounds 6 November, powder for blowing rocks at the same, 4 pounds 10 November, fired to celebrate the anniversary of His Majesty's birthday, 21 guns, 23 pounds 8 ounces powder 10 November, powder for priming, 3 pounds 8 ounces 10 November, powder fired with small arms for the same, 16 pounds 12 ounces Powder for exercising the East flying party, 6 pounds 4 ounces Powder for the funeral of Henry Norwood, 2 pounds 4 ounces Total, 69 guns, 383 pounds 2 ounces powder Tallow for the use of the carts in the wood, £0 0s 4d Tallow for the use of the boats, £0 0s 1d Tallow for the use of the carts at the plantation house, £0 0s 4d Paper for making small cartridges, £0 0s 2d Signed Thomas Hall. **Interpretations**

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		Powder for Exercising the East flying party: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 6lb 4oz D° for the funeral of Henry Norwood: 4pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 12pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz Total: 4pounder 69, 6pounder 50, 12pounder 1, Powder Expended 18lb 383oz 2 Tallow for the use of the Carts in the Wood: 4d D° for the Use of the boats: 4d D° for the use of the Carts at the plantation House: 4d Paper for making small Cartridges: 2d Signd Thos Hall	The powder account shows the garrison's ordnance serving three quite distinct purposes, the routine gun practice and small-arms exercise that kept the men trained, the ceremonial salutes that marked state occasions, and the everyday use of powder as a blasting agent for quarrying stone. The 21-gun salute on 10 November for the King's birthday, consuming over 23 pounds of powder, was the single heaviest expenditure of the month, showing the Company ready to spend precious powder on a public display of loyalty to the Crown even on a remote Atlantic island. The regular charges of powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine tie the artillery stores directly to the building works recorded in the paymaster's account, the same magazine under construction being cut from solid rock with gunpowder. Using military powder to excavate the foundations shows how the garrison's resources crossed freely between defensive and civil works, the ordnance store supplying the means to build the very magazine that would later hold it. The two pounds four ounces of powder expended for the funeral of Henry Norwood records a military burial honoured with gunfire, the firing party marking the passing of one of the island's men. Set against the salute for the King on the same account, this small charge shows the garrison observing the full range of ceremony, from the grandest affirmation of royal authority to the private dignity of laying one of its own to rest.
232	221	(1759) Sundries Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month Ending the 11th November 1759 Vizt To 22 Bottles of Port 1 10s 0½d To 23 d° of Lisbon 1 12s 1½d To 15 d° of Madeira 1 17s 4d To 14 d° of Mountain 18s 11d To 74 d° of Arrack 2 9s 4d To 25 d° of Beer 5 2½d To 32 d° of Flour 1 18s 4d To 161 d° of Fresh Beef 2 3s To 30 d° of Fresh pork 15s To 19 d° of Salt Beef 2 6d To 11 d° d° of Salt Pork 1 2s To 383 d° of Mutton 7 10s 7d To 1 Lamb 10s To 6 d° of Goat 1 1s To 14 Fowls 6s To 4 Ducks 15s To 3 Geese 10s To 2 Turkeys 10s To 3 d° of Candy 13s 6d To 5 d° of Sugar 3s	This is an account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 November 1759. 22 bottles of port, £1 10s 0½d 23 bottles of Lisbon, £1 12s 1½d 15 bottles of Madeira, £1 17s 4d 14 bottles of mountain, £0 18s 11d 74 bottles of arrack, £2 9s 4d 28 bottles of beer, £0 5s 2½d 32 pounds of flour, £1 18s 4d 161 pounds of fresh beef, £2 0s 3d 30 pounds of fresh pork, £0 15s 0d 150 pounds of salt beef, £0 2s 6d 41 pounds of salt pork, £1 2s 0d 383 pounds of mutton, £7 10s 7d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 63 pounds of goat, £1 1s 0d 14 fowls, £0 1s 0d 5 ducks, £0 15s 0d 3 geese, £0 10s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 5 pounds of candy, £0 13s 6d 5 pounds of sugar, £0 2s 3d 40½ pounds of fresh butter, £0 17s 10½d Total, £29 17s 10½d The Governor spoke to the gentlemen of the council as follows. Governor Hutchinson addressed the council, opening with the salutation to the gentlemen. He set out that the house at Deadwood, lately built for some slaves and poultry of the Honourable Company in place of the one burnt down on 22 August last, had been set alight on 13 of the month, though not much damaged, having been soon extinguished. The Governor, considering what further attempt might be made to destroy it, ordered Drake and Clanston, who dwelt in the house, to take it in turns to watch there constantly for some time, to prevent any such wicked design from taking effect, and if possible to catch the offender. **Interpretations** The table account shows the officers of the establishment dining on a rich and varied fare drawn from the island's flocks and the wine of the Atlantic

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		To 40 d° of Fresh Butter 2s 29 17s 10½d The Governor spoke to the Gentlemen of the Council as follows Vizt Gentlemen The House at the Dead Wood which was lately built for some Blacks, and Poultry of the Honorable Company's in the Place of that which was burned on the 22 of August last, was fired the 13th of this Month, though not much damaged, it having been soon extinguished - Being apprehensive that some Ill disposed might be made to destroy it, I ordered Dick and Charles who dwelled in the House to take it byturns to watch there constantly for some Time, to prevent any such wicked Design from taking effect, and if possible to	islands, mutton at £7 10s 7d dominating the meat as it did the whole garrison's diet, supported by fresh beef, pork, poultry and a spread of wines from Lisbon, Madeira and the port bottles. Mountain was a sweet white wine from Malaga in southern Spain, and its presence beside Madeira and arrack shows the Company's table stocked from the full reach of its shipping routes, the fresh meat and butter local while the drink came from half the trading world. The Governor's address reveals a second deliberate attempt to burn the Company's slave and poultry house at Deadwood, the same building recorded rebuilt after the fire of 22 August now fired again on 13 November. Ordering Drake and Clanston to keep alternate watch shows the Governor treating the repeated arson as a targeted wicked design rather than accident, mounting a nightly guard to protect Company property and to catch a culprit who had struck twice at the same spot, the suspicion of deliberate sabotage hanging plainly over the settlement. **Speculations** The Governor met the second burning of the Deadwood house by setting its own occupants to watch it in turns rather than mounting a formal military guard or launching an open investigation across the settlement. The obvious course against repeated arson on Company property might have been to post soldiers or to question suspects widely, but the Governor instead relied on Drake and Clanston keeping quiet nightly vigil, choosing to catch the offender in the act through concealed watchfulness rather than alert him through a visible guard, the aim of trapping the culprit shaping a discreet response over a conspicuous one.
233	222	November 15th seize and secure the Incendiary. But notwithstanding these Precautions, the House was set on fire again on Tuesday the 13th Instant and intirely Consumed. I examined Drake and some others and desired them to be brought hither to Day that this Affair may be fully enquired into - If some Circumstances that be mentioned are true, there is great Reason I think, to suspect Thomas Byrne a Soldier, and one of the Convicts that were sent us from Bombay to have committed or been concerned in this most horrid Crime. Drake being called in says that he sate up the Night of Monday November the 12th to watch the House, and being a little drowsy the next Day to lay down to sleep desireing his Wife to wake him when she went for the Yorkies, which she did between One and two O'Clock in the Afternoon. That soon after she was gone the Door of the Room not being quite shut, he saw a Man pass by d very quick who tried is heard that at first he thought it was a Horse, upon which he went out, the Man was then about thirty Yards from him going toward the head of Nittle Gut, who called to his Wife, that was walking that Way to stop, but she did not - That he thereupon called to the Man, and said he wanted to speak to him. The Man makeing no Answer, he ran after him to the Brow of Nittle Gut Hill continueing to call to him of which he took no notice, & the Man by looking back sometimes. That when he came up to him he (Byrne) kept, Drake then bid his Wife, who was	The Governor set the watch to seize the incendiary, but despite these precautions the house was on fire again on Sunday 18 of the month and entirely burnt. The Governor examined Drake and some others and directed them to be brought back the next day so that this affair might be fully enquired into. If the circumstances they set out were true, there was great reason, the Governor held, to suspect Thomas Byrne, a soldier and one of the convicts sent from Bombay, of having committed or been concerned in this horrid crime. Drake, being called in, stated that he sat up the night of Monday 13 November to watch the house, and being drowsy the next day lay down to sleep, telling his wife to wake him when she went for the turkeys, which she did between one and two o'clock in the afternoon. When she was gone and the door of the room not being quite shut, he saw a man pass by very quick, whom he at first took for a horse, upon which he went out. The man was then about 30 yards from him going toward the head of Nettle Gut, and Drake called to his wife, who was walking that way, to stop the man, but she did not. He then called to the man and said he wanted to speak to him. The man making no answer, Drake ran after him to the brow of Nettle Gut, continuing to call to him, but the man only looked back sometimes. When Drake came up to him the man, being Byrne, told his wife, who was a little before Byrne, to return to the house and mind the turkeys, and asked him why he ran by his door so fast. Byrne said he did not run, for otherwise Drake would not have disturbed him. Drake told him that watching the way to Sandy Bay, knowing him belonging to that guard, having seen him there one day when he went to fish, he further asked him whether the Governor had given him leave to go that day. Byrne said no, but that he worked as he pleased. They then parted, and as Drake was driving home he saw about 25 yards from the house a more than ordinary smoke coming from it. He therefore ran to

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		a little before Byrne to return to the House and warned that the Yorkies, and asking him why he ran by his Door so fast; He said he did not run, Drake replied you did for otherwise you would not have disturbed me. Drake told him that he saw the Way to Sudos Bay, knowing him to be one d that guard haveing seen him there one Day when he went to fish. He further ask'd him if Master (meaning the Governor) had given him Liberty to go that Day. He said No But that he was to go which way he pleased, He then parted from him and went for the Yorkies. That as he was driveing them Home, and about 23 Yards from the House, he discerned a more than Ordinary Smoke coming from it, He therefore ran to it and found some Coals of fire near the Shatch, which he threw down to his Wife, and extinguished them, and the Shatch, which was then smoaking and went directly to Enclearest the Occasion with the Coals and told him what had happened. Drake says his Wife told him that Byrne was at the House on Sunday last, and that he himself saw him there the Sunday before and that he was also there another Day, when he offered to give him Sixpence to carry his Meat for him to Sudos Bay. Mary a Woman Slave of the Honorable Company and Wife of Drake declares that on Tuesday the 13th Instant about two o'Clock in the afternoon She went to Look after the Yorkies and left Drake in the House, there being then a large fire in the Chimney. That upon her going out at the Door she saw Byrne coming out the upper End of Crossway Gut to the House, and passby it without stopping. That she walked towards Nittle Gut and Byrne when	it and found some balls of tow in the thatch, which he threw down to his wife and extinguished them, and then went directly to inform the Governor of the occasion, with the balls, and told him what had happened. Drake said his wife told him that Byrne was at the house on Sunday last, and that he himself saw him there the Sunday before, and that he was also there another day, when he offered to give him sixpence to carry his meat for him to Sandy Bay. Mary, a woman slave of the Honourable Company and wife of Drake, stated that on Thursday 15 of the month, about two o'clock in the afternoon, she went to look after the turkeys and left Drake in the house, there being then a large fire in the chimney. Upon her going out at the door she saw Byrne coming up the upper end of Rosemary Gut to the house, and stated that he walked towards Nettle Gut, and Byrne, when. **Interpretations** The depositions reveal the council conducting a full criminal examination into the arson at the Deadwood house, taking sworn evidence from witnesses to build a case against a named suspect. The third and successful burning on 18 November, following the two earlier attempts, drove the Governor to a formal enquiry, and the detailed testimony of Drake tracing Byrne's movements shows the authorities assembling circumstantial evidence, the balls of tow found in the thatch offering physical proof of a deliberate firing. Thomas Byrne stands identified as a soldier and one of the convicts transported to St Helena from Bombay, showing the island used as a penal destination within the Company's eastern empire, receiving convicted men who were then absorbed into the garrison. That such transported convicts served under arms while remaining under suspicion reveals the mixed and often unreliable material from which the remote garrison was manned, a body that included men sent to the island as punishment. The testimony of Mary, described as a woman slave of the Company and wife of the free watchman Drake, records a marriage across the line between slave and free within the settlement. Her standing as a sworn witness in a criminal enquiry, her evidence taken and recorded alongside her husband's, shows the court drawing on the testimony of an enslaved woman to establish the movements of the accused, her account treated as material to the case. **Speculations** The Governor met the first two attempts on the house by concealment, setting Drake to watch in secret rather than mounting an open guard, and that hidden vigil failed when the third fire destroyed the building entirely. Only after the concealed watch had proved useless did the Governor turn to open examination, hauling Drake and others before the council and naming Byrne as the suspect, the shift from quiet surveillance to formal enquiry marking the abandonment of a strategy of catching the culprit unawares once it had cost the Company the whole house.
234	223	(1759) when he was between Twenty and Thirty Yards from the House called to her to stop, she did not, but went on. He soon overtook her, but they did not speak to one another. That seeing Drake her Husband, following her, She stood still untill he came up to her. Byrne keeping on his Way and was then distant from her as far as it is from the Castle Gate to the Brow on the Parade; his or Husband bid her go back to the House	When Byrne was between 20 and 30 yards from the house, Drake called to her to stop, but she did not and went on, and he then overtook her, telling her they did not speak to one another. Seeing Drake her husband following her, the man stood still until he came up to her. Byrne, begging on his way and being then distant from her as far as it was from the Castle Gate to the brow on the parade, told her husband to let her go back to the house and he would fetch the turkeys. She then went directly home, and when she came into the room sat down to cut yam for the fowls. About a quarter of an hour later, as she

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		and he would fetch the Yorkies, That she went directly home, and when she came into the Room, sat down to but Ysam for the Fowls, That a Quarter of an Hour after as she was a drawing the Yorkies he saw a more than Ordinary Smoke from the House as she told her and running to it, said it was on fire, upon which she looked about, and discovered it was so on the Inside close to the Chimney. That he took up a bit of Stick and some Coals that were upon the Hearth, and put them into some Water that was out of Doors in a Hole where the Fowls drink, which Coals he then carried to Enclearest the Censor. Mary being ask'd if she saw any other Man but Byrne at the House on Tuesday last, the Day it was burned, says she did not, and that she had never seen him but once or twice before. Peter Brown, Soldier in the Company commanded by Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale declares that being pretty near the Honorable Company's Point House at the Dead Wood he pursued a great Smoke coming from it on which he laid down a Load of Sticks that he had on his Shoulders upon the Wall by the Old Man's Garden, and looking in at the Window he saw a black Woman (Drakes Wife) mending a pair of Breeches - That he told her there was a Smoke on the Outside of the House; That he awoke the Black Man (her Husband) who was sleeping on the Bed - That he got up and, with him, pulled out some Shatch that was burned; and brought Water which they threw on the place and extinguisht the fire - That he ask'd them for a little Water to drink, which the Woman gave him, and he then went away, and after he had passed the House Gate he happened to look toward the Dead Wood and saw the House in a Blaze. Lewis Rowe Soldier in the Company commanded by Lieutenant Richard Beale declares that he passed by the Company's Point House at the Dead Wood between One and two O'Clock in the Afternoon on Tuesday last, and that there was then a Soldier pretty near to it, but cannot tell who he was. That about half an hour after he saw a black fellow running very fast towards the Wood House and turning round he discovered the House at the dead Wood to be on fire. That he laid down the Stick he was carrying and made all the Haste he could to it. When he came thither, it was on fire on the Leeard Side, close to the Chimney and seeing a black Woman (Drakes Wife) he asked her if she knew by what Means it came - She said it, & upon on the Inside but low, she could not tell, But he pulled out some of the Rushes to prevent the fire from spreading, but the flames encreased so much, that he was oblig'd to desist and the House was soon after quite consumed.	was drawing the turkeys, she saw a more than ordinary smoke coming from the house, and as Drake had told her and running to it, said it was on fire. Upon which she looked about and discovered it was so on the inside close to the chimney. She took up a bit of stick and some coals that were upon the hearth and put them into some water that was out of doors in a hole where the fowls drank, which coals she then carried to Zachary the storekeeper. Mary, being asked if she saw any other man but Byrne at the house on Sunday last, the day it was burned, stated that she did not, and that she had never seen him but once or twice before. Peter Brown, a soldier in the company commanded by Lieutenant Onesipherus Beale, stated that being pretty near the Honourable Company's Deadwood house on the day it was burned, he perceived a great smoke coming from it, upon which he laid down a load of sticks that he had on his shoulder upon the wall by the old man's garden. Looking in at the window he saw a black woman, Drake's wife, mending a pair of breeches, and told her there was a smoke on the outside of the house. He saw the black man, her husband, who was sleeping on the bed. He got up and, with him, pulled out some sticks that were burned, and brought water which they threw on the place and extinguished the fire. He then went there for a little water to drink, which the woman gave him, and he then went away, and after he had passed the house gate he happened to look toward the Deadwood and saw the house in a blaze. Lewis Rowe, a soldier in the company commanded by Lieutenant Richard Beale, stated that he passed by the Company's Deadwood house at the Deadwood between one and two o'clock in the afternoon on Tuesday last, and that there was then a soldier pretty near to it, but he cannot tell who he was. About half an hour after there was a black fellow running very fast toward the wood house, and turning round he discovered the house at the Deadwood to be on fire. He laid down the sticks he was carrying and made all the haste he could to it. When he came thither it was on fire on the leeward side, close to the chimney, and seeing a black woman, Drake's wife, he asked her if she knew by what means it came. She said it began on the inside but how she could not tell, but he pulled out some of the bushes to prevent the fire from spreading. The flames increased so much that he was obliged to desist, and the house was soon after quite consumed. **Interpretations** The four depositions show the court gathering corroborating testimony from several independent witnesses, each placing Byrne or an unidentified soldier near the house shortly before it caught fire and each describing the blaze starting on the inside close to the chimney. Building the case from multiple accounts that agreed on the essentials, the fire's origin and the presence of a soldier, shows the council following a careful evidential method, the consistent detail of an internal fire near the hearth pointing away from accident and toward deliberate firing from within. Mary's careful preservation of the coals and burnt stick, carried to Zachary the storekeeper, reveals a deliberate securing of physical evidence for the enquiry, the extinguished embers kept as proof of how the fire began. That an enslaved woman gathered and delivered the material remains of the fire shows the household treating the repeated arson as a matter to be formally investigated, saving the evidence rather than simply dousing the flames and moving on. The two soldiers who gave evidence, Peter Brown and Lewis Rowe, each served in a named

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			lieutenant's company, showing the garrison's men present and moving about the Deadwood district in the ordinary course of their duties and fatigue work. Their testimony that a soldier was near the house yet could not always be identified reveals the difficulty of fixing guilt in a settlement where uniformed men passed constantly through the area, the very ordinariness of a soldier's presence complicating the case against Byrne.
235	224	November 19th Wednesday a Slave Man belonging to the Honorable Company says that he has seen Thomas Byrne at the House which was burnt several Times and last Sunday seven night, says that the said Thomas Byrne came there, and asked him where Drake and the old Man were gone; Were they gone a fishing? And further declares that the said Thomas Byrne keeps the Girl belonging to the House, meaning Mary, Drakes Wife. Robert Ineheart Overseer being called in, says that Thomas Byrne was there last Sunday seven night, and that he has seen him several Times looking about that House and other parts of the Wood. Mary (Drakes Wife) further saith that when the House was fired on the 13th Instant she saw her husband go to the Chimney about two O'Clock in the Morning and take a piece of Stick on fire from the Hearth unlock the Door and go out and put the Stick right under the Eaves in the Shatch then came in again locking the Door after him and lay down by him. That at Chington a Man Slave of the Honorable Companys, who likewise lived in the House was then a Sleep, who awoke about three Minutes after, hollowed and cried the House was on fire, She then got up and drew Water out of the Leaguer and went a top of the House and put out the fire and that Drake remained the whole Time in the House whilst Chington and she extinguished it. Chington being called in and ask'd if the House by what Means the House was set on fire on the 13th Instant declares that he happened to awake about three o'Clock in the Morning and perceiving a Light more than ordinary he awoke Drake and they went out together finding the Shatch on fire, they got a Ladder, gotten a Blanket, and with that and some Water they extinguished the fire which Mary (Drakes Wife) assisted them to do. Drake being examined denys that he set the House on fire as Mary has asserted and Chington being asked about the Circumstances says he is very sure that Drake could not do it, because he was fast asleep when he called to him and discovered the House to be on fire. As Mary (Drakes Wife) declared that her Husband was not out of the House the whole Time. Chington was asked if he could be positive whether he was or not, who said that he is very Sure that he	Wednesday, a slave belonging to the Honourable Company, stated that he had seen Thomas Byrne at the house which was burnt several times, and last Sunday sennight. He stated that Byrne came there and asked him where Drake and the old man were gone, and whether they were gone fishing. He further declared that Byrne kept the girl belonging to the house, meaning Mary, Drake's wife. Robert Inchant, storekeeper, being called in, stated that Thomas Byrne was there last Sunday sennight, and that he had seen him several times looking about the house and other parts of the wood. Mary, Drake's wife, further stated that when the house was fired on 9 of the month she saw her husband go to the chimney about two o'clock in the morning and take a piece of stick on fire from the hearth, unlock the door and go out, and put the stick right under the eaves in the thatch. He then came in again, locking the door after him and lying down by Byrne. Islington, a man slave of the Honourable Company who likewise lived in the house, was then asleep. He woke about three minutes after, hallooed and cried the house was on fire, then got up and drew water out of the liquor and went a top of the house and put out the fire, and Drake remained the whole time in the house while Islington and she extinguished it. Islington, being called in and asked by what means the house was set on fire on the 9 of the month, stated that he happened to wake about three o'clock in the morning, and perceiving a light more than ordinary he woke Drake, and they put out together, finding the thatch on fire. They got a ladder, wetted a blanket and with that and some water extinguished the fire, which Mary, Drake's wife, assisted them to do. Drake, being examined, denied that he set the house on fire, as Mary had stated, and Islington being asked about the circumstances, stated that he was very sure that Drake could not do it, because he was fast asleep when he called to him and discovered the house to be on fire. But Mary, Drake's wife, declared that her husband was not out of the house the whole time. Islington was asked if he could be positive whether he was or not, who stated that he was very sure that he. **Interpretations** The examination takes a startling turn as Mary, Drake's wife, accuses her own husband of setting the fire, describing him carrying a lit brand from the hearth and thrusting it into the thatch before returning to bed. Her testimony directly contradicts the case building against Byrne, and the further evidence that Byrne kept Mary, that is held her as his mistress, exposes a tangle of sexual jealousy and betrayal beneath the arson, suggesting the fires may have sprung from a personal entanglement between the accused soldier, the enslaved woman and her husband rather than from any wider design against the Company. The conflicting accounts show the difficulty facing the council once its witnesses turned against one another, Mary swearing her husband fired the house while Islington, the third occupant, insisted Drake lay fast asleep and could not have done it. The court now had to weigh the word of an enslaved

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			woman accusing her husband against that of another enslaved man defending him, the household that shared the burning house split in its testimony, so that the evidence pointed in two directions at once and the plain case against Byrne dissolved into a domestic quarrel. The living arrangement laid bare by the depositions, Drake and his wife Mary sharing the Deadwood house with two other Company slaves, Islington and Wednesday, shows how the enslaved and the free watchman were quartered together in the same small dwelling. That Byrne, a convict soldier, moved freely in and out to visit Mary reveals the porousness of the boundaries around the enslaved on the island, the house a place where soldier, slave and free servant mingled, and where the intimate relations among them could turn to the destruction of Company property. **Speculations** Faced with Mary's accusation against her husband, Islington chose to vouch for Drake's innocence rather than support the wife's sworn account, staking his own credibility on the claim that Drake lay asleep throughout. The obvious course for a fellow slave might have been to stay silent or to side with Mary's detailed testimony, but Islington instead positively defended Drake, resting his defence on having called to the sleeping man himself, the decision to contradict Mary directly showing him certain enough of Drake's sleep to set his word against hers before the council.
236	225	(1759) Went out of the House with him and assisted him without Drake until the fire was put Out, and that what Mary has said in that respect is absolutely false Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling At a Consultation held on Monday the 26th day of November 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottowe Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and sign'd, dated the 19th day of November 1759 There being great Reason to suspect from the Declarations made in the last Consultation, that Thomas Byrne had set on fire the House at the Dead Wood, We this Day ordered him before us who upon Examination acknowledges that he had several Times been at the House but with no other Intention than to get a Drink of Water, And on the 13th Instant the Day the House was burnt, says he passed by the Door about three Yards distant from it, between the Hours of one and two o Clock in the Afternoon, but did not Stop, and denies his having any Concern in setting fire to the same. Upon considering the Circumstances of this Affair, it appeares to us, that it is scarce possible to have been Drake who set fire to the House; when it was burned on the 13th Instant; because Peter Brown a Soldier declares that the first fire it was that began Dagain Two, it was extinguished by him and Drake, And after the very young, that soon	Islington went out of the house with Mary and assisted her, without Drake, until the fire was put out, and stated that what Mary had said in that respect was absolutely false. The examination was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. At a consultation held on Monday 26 November 1759 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 15 November 1759. There being great reason to suspect from the declarations made in the last consultation that Thomas Byrne had set on fire the house at the Deadwood, the council this day ordered him before it upon examination. Byrne acknowledged that he had several times been at the house, but with no other intention than to get a drink of water. On the 18 of the month, the day the house was burnt, he stated that he passed by the door about three yards distant from it, between the hours of one and two o'clock in the afternoon, but did not stop, and denied having any concern in setting fire to it. Upon considering the circumstances of this affair, it appeared to the council that it was scarcely possible for Drake to have set fire to the house when it was burned on the 13 of the month, because it was extinguished by him and Drake, and, from the very evidence that soon after Peter Brown had left the house, Drake stated he took a fire stick from off the thatch, which he supposed was thrown there by Byrne, and passed by the same. He then dipped it into water and ran with it to Zachary the storekeeper, leaving. **Interpretations** The council's reasoning marks a decisive turn back toward Byrne after Mary's accusation against her husband had thrown the case into confusion, Islington's flat denial that Drake left the house cutting directly against the wife's sworn account. Weighing the two conflicting testimonies, the council found it scarcely possible that Drake fired the house he had himself helped to extinguish, choosing to credit

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		after Brown had left the House, Drake says, he took a fire Stick from off the Shatch, which he supposed was through the by Byrne who passed by. That he dipped it into Water, and run with it to Enclearest the Overseer, leaving	Islington's defence over Mary's charge, so that the domestic accusation collapsed and suspicion settled once more on the convict soldier. Byrne's own examination shows the accused offering an innocent explanation for his repeated presence, that he came only for water, and admitting he passed the house on the day of the fire while denying any part in it. Confronting the suspect directly and recording his account alongside the witnesses, the council followed the ordinary form of a criminal enquiry, testing his story against the physical evidence of the fire stick that Drake believed Byrne had thrown into the thatch, the case resting on circumstance and inference rather than any confession. The council's careful sifting of who could and could not have started each fire reveals the evidential difficulty of an arson case built entirely on circumstance, with three separate fires, several witnesses and no direct proof. Reconstructing the movements of each person present at the successive burnings, the council worked to eliminate Drake and fix the pattern of guilt on Byrne, the fire stick supposedly thrown onto the thatch standing as the nearest thing to material evidence linking the soldier to the crime.
237	226	November 26th leaving only Mary his Wife in the House, That a little while after he left it, it was fired again, and intirely consumed. It is likewise evident from the Declaration of Lewis Rowe a Soldier, that there was no Body at the House but Mary (Drakes Wife). And that he saw a Soldier (which proved to be Byrne) pretty near to it, a little before he perceived the House in flames. As Byrne is a Man of a very bad Character, and was sentenced to die at Bombay for a Burglary and Felony he committed there, and there is Cause to believe, he kept Mary (Drakes Wife) it is not improbable we think, that they together might have been guilty of this piece of Villany, although there was clear Proof of it. It is therefore Our Opinions, That Mary (Drakes Wife) should be severely punished, and that it is absolutely necessary to send the said Thomas Byrne off the Island in the Ship Warren, in order to prevent his doing any further Mischief upon it. Wednesday the 21st arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Warren Captain William Scott - from Fort St George, which brought in the following Supply Vizt Invoice of Ship Warren from Bengall B.A Batavia Arrack 2 Leaguers a 300 20 4/ p° lb Batta 8 p° C° 600 10 640 106 W.C Wax Candles N° 12 2 Chests d° 4 mds d° 40 lb md FR Fine Rice 40 Bags d° 80 md d° 7/ p° md Batta 8 p° Cent 110 8s 3d 9 7s 9d P Paddy 96 Bags d° 39 md 15 d° a 6 d° 2 p° md 120	Byrne left only Mary his wife in the house, and a little while after he left it the fire was set again, and the house entirely consumed. From the declaration of Lewis Rowe, a soldier, it appeared likewise that there was no body at the house but Mary, Drake's wife, and that he saw a soldier, who proved to be Byrne, pretty near to it a little before he perceived the house in flames. Byrne was a man of a very bad character, and was sentenced to die at Bombay for a burglary and felony he committed there, and there was cause to believe he kept Mary, Drake's wife. The council held it not improbable that the two together might have been guilty of this piece of villainy, although there was clear proof of it against neither. The council was therefore of opinion that Mary, Drake's wife, should be severely punished, and that it was absolutely necessary to send Thomas Byrne off the island in the ship *Warren*, in order to prevent his doing any further mischief upon it. On Wednesday 21 of the month the Honourable Company's ship *Warren*, commanded by Captain William Scott, arrived from Fort St George, which brought the following supply. This is an invoice of the ship *Warren* from Bengal. Batavia arrack, marked BA, 2 leaguers at 300 each, tare 8 per cent, £600 0s 0d Wax candles, marked WC number 42, 2 chests 3 hundredweight 4 quarters at 40s per hundredweight, £10 6s 0d Fine rice, marked FR, 40 bags 2 tons 80 hundredweight at 27s per hundredweight, £110 8s 3d, tare 6 per cent, £9 7s 9d Paddy, marked P, 96 bags 2 tons 39 hundredweight 16 quarters at 10s per hundredweight, £128 0s 0d, £23 16s 0d Charges merchandise: 106 gunny bags and sewing, £14 6s 3d 2 chests and packages, £10 12s 9d minding the liquor, £1 4s 0d mootrees, £3 4s 0d peon, £1 12s 0d boat hire, £21 9s 6d Total, £33 7s 3d Current rupees, £1,081 5s 3d Errors excepted, Paul Pritchard, accountant. **Interpretations** The council reached a resolution that fell short of a criminal conviction, admitting there was clear

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		23 14s Charges Merchandize 106 Gunny Bags and Sewing 14 63 2 Chests & packages 10 12s 9d Mending the Leaguer 1 4s Mooties 3 4s Peon 1 12s Boat Hire 21 96 33 7s 3d Curr Rupees 1081 5s 3d E. E. p Paul Reichard Purser Accomp	proof against neither Byrne nor Mary yet ordering both punished on the strength of suspicion and bad character alone. Deporting Byrne on the *Warren* to remove him from the island and ordering Mary severely punished, the council acted on the balance of probability rather than proof, choosing to rid itself of a dangerous man and to chastise the enslaved woman it could not convict, a summary exercise of authority where the ordinary standard of evidence could not be met. Byrne's history as a man sentenced to death at Bombay for burglary and felony, transported to St Helena in place of execution, confirms the island's role as a receptacle for the Company's condemned criminals. That such a man served in the garrison until judged too dangerous to keep, then was simply shipped onward, shows how the Company managed its convict population by moving troublesome individuals around its network rather than confining or executing them, the punishment of transportation continuing indefinitely as men were passed from settlement to settlement. The invoice of the *Warren* records a cargo of eastern provisions and goods shipped from Bengal to victual the island, arrack from Batavia, wax candles, fine rice and paddy, valued in current rupees at the Bengal end and converted to sterling. Paddy was unhusked rice still in the grain, shipped cheaply for milling on arrival, while the Batavia arrack was the distilled spirit of the Dutch East Indies, and the detailed charges for gunny bags, boat hire and the wages of mootrees and a peon show the full apparatus of Indian Ocean trade behind each consignment, the island supplied through the Company's Asian commerce rather than from Europe alone.
238	227	(1759) Invoice of the Ship Warren from Fort St George Goods for St Helena 1 Bale d° P° s Long Cloth 3 pieces a 10 p° p° 30 d° 5 p° d° 10 Stockings 3 large 4 p° large 12 d° 3 12 36 Packing 1 15 Pagodas 169 15 Errors Excepted p John Smith Accomptant Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month ending this 11th day of November which is as follows Vizt Cash	This is an invoice of the ship *Warren* from Fort St George. Goods for St Helena, 1 bale, valued in pagodas: Long cloth, 3 pieces at 10 pagodas per piece, 30 pagodas Long cloth, 5 pieces, 10 pagodas Stockings, 3 large, 4 pagodas per large, 12 pagodas Stockings, 3 large, 36 pagodas Packing, 1 pagoda 18 fanams Total, 169 pagodas 18 fanams Errors excepted, John Smith, accountant. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 November 1759, which runs as follows. **Interpretations** The second invoice of the *Warren* carries a small consignment of textiles and stockings shipped from Fort St George at Madras, valued not in rupees but in pagodas, the gold coin of the Coromandel coast. Long cloth was a plain cotton textile woven in long lengths on the Indian coast and imported in quantity by the Company, and its arrival at St Helena alongside stockings shows the island supplied with cloth and made goods from the Madras trade, the reckoning in pagodas and fanams marking a consignment drawn from the southern Indian settlements rather than from Bengal. The valuation of this Madras cargo in pagodas, set against the Bengal cargo of the same ship reckoned in rupees, shows the *Warren* carrying goods invoiced in the distinct currencies of the two presidencies from which they came. Keeping each consignment in the coin of its origin until conversion to sterling reveals how the Company's accounting followed its goods across a trading world of many currencies, the island's supply drawn from separate Indian settlements each with its own money, all

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			ultimately rendered into the common sterling of the St Helena books.
239	228	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1759 Octob 12th To Balance remaining 7271 1s 1½d 1759 Novr 11 By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 4456 pagodas a 8/ 1782 8s 1680 Venetians a 10/ 840 Gold amounting to 2622 8s 12844 Dollars a 5/ 3211 441 French p° d° 3 13s 6d 7948 Rupees 2/3 894 3s Odd Money 1 7½d Silver Amounting to 4108 18s 1½d Cash Notes of no Use Amountd to 539 13s 7271 1s 1½d Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling	Cash, Debtor 12 October 1759, to balance remaining, £7,271 1s 1½d Per Contra, Creditor 11 November 1759, by balance remaining in the following specie, namely: 4,436 pagodas at 8s, £1,782 8s 0d 1,680 Venetians at 10s, £840 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,622 8s 0d 12,844 dollars at 5s, £3,211 0s 0d 441 French pieces at 6d, £3 13s 6d 7,948 rupees at 2s 3d, £894 3s 0d Odd money, £1 7s 6d Silver amounting to, £4,108 18s 1½d Cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 13s 0d Total, £7,271 1s 1½d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The cash reckoning for the month brings the treasury balance of £7,271 1s 1½d forward from the October count and sets it out again in the identical spread of coin, the pagodas, Venetians, dollars, French pieces and rupees held unchanged. Balancing the debtor entry exactly against the specie counted on the creditor side, the council performed its monthly verification of the cash chest, physically counting the coin of many nations to confirm it matched the figure carried in the books. The persistence of £539 13s 0d in cash notes of no use, carried forward unaltered from the previous count, shows this dead paper remaining locked in the treasury month after month with no prospect of being realised. Continuing to enter the worthless notes as a distinct line rather than writing them off reveals the council's insistence on a complete and unbroken record, the unusable paper preserved in the accounts as a standing reminder of value that had entered the treasury but could not be spent from so remote a station.
240	229	(1759) At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d Day of December 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottowe Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 26th November 1759 Thursday the 29 died Thomas Clue son of Gilbert and Elizabeth Clue The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Warren viz Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Warren Vizt C qu lb 2 - 3 - Rice 3 - - Paddy Short weight 1 - 10 Candles N° 1 One Leaguer Arrack gages 147½ wants to fill 12½ 2 One Leag° d° d° 147½ 10 295 22½ 22½ Received 272½ Gallons signed J Powell Storekeeper St Helena December the 3d 1759	At a consultation held on Monday 3 December 1759 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 26 November 1759. On Thursday 29 of the month Thomas Clue, son of Gilbert and Elizabeth Clue, died. The storekeeper brought in the following account of stores short received from the ship *Warren*. This is an account of stores short received from the ship *Warren*. 2 tons 3 hundredweight of rice, short weight 3 hundredweight of paddy, short weight 1 hundredweight 10 pounds of candles, short weight The following two lines concern arrack short received from the ship *Warren*. Number 1, one leaguer arrack, gauged 147½ gallons, wants to fill 15½ gallons Number 2, one leaguer arrack, 147½ gallons, wants to fill 10 gallons Gauged, 295 gallons Short, 22½ gallons Received, 272½ gallons Signed James Powell, storekeeper, at St Helena on 3 December 1759. The accountant reported that the Honourable Company's books of accounts were copied and examined and ready to be transmitted to the directors by the ship *Warren*.

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		The Accomptant reports that the Honorable Company's Books of Accompts are Copied and examined and ready to be transmitted to their Honors by the Ship Warren.	**Interpretations** The storekeeper's account of short receipts records the shortfall between what the *Warren* was invoiced to deliver and what actually reached the island's stores, the rice, paddy and candles all found short in weight and the two casks of arrack gauged well below their nominal fill. Formally documenting the deficiency of 22½ gallons of arrack and the missing weight of grain, the storekeeper protected the island against being charged for goods it never received, the gauging of each cask on arrival serving as the check against loss, leakage or short lading on the long passage from Bengal. The measurement of the arrack casks by gauging shows the routine practice of dipping a cask to calculate its actual contents against its rated capacity, a leaguer being a large cask that here should have held far more than the 147½ gallons each was found to contain. This careful reconciliation of received against invoiced quantities reveals the Company's insistence on verifying every consignment, the storekeeper's short account becoming the basis on which the discrepancy could be pursued or allowed rather than silently absorbed as a loss to the island. The readiness of the copied account books for transmission to the directors by the *Warren* confirms the purpose behind the earlier order to copy them quickly, the fair copies now complete and awaiting the ship that would carry the island's whole year of reckoning home to London. Timing the completion of the books to the sailing of an East Indiaman shows the accounting cycle geared to the rhythm of the Company's shipping, the *Warren* serving as both supplier of the island and courier of its accounts back to the Court of Directors.
241	230	December 3d Edward Rickards and Thomas Bearer discharged Soldiers were this Day sent for and told that there was now an Opportunity for them to take their passage for England on the Ship Warren, but they Both inclining to stay longer upon the Island we agreed to their Request upon their promising to supply themselves and not to expect any Subsistence from the Honorable Company There being three Sergeants and nine Matrosses Coats, Breeches and Hats wanting to compleat the Cloathing for the present Year We bought that Number and paid three pounds each for the Sergeants and one pound ten Shillings for the Matrosses which is less than they are Invoiced at Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th Day of December 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 3d day of December 1759 Yesterday arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Pitt Captain William Wilson	Edward Rickards and Thomas Bearer, discharged soldiers, were this day sent for and told that there was now an opportunity for them to take their passage for England on the ship *Warren*, but both were inclined to stay longer upon the island, and the council agreed to their request upon their promising to support themselves and not to expect any subsistence from the Honourable Company. There being three sergeants and nine matrosses coats, breeches and hats wanting to complete the clothing for the present year, Weeks thought that Bearer would pay three pounds each for the sergeants and one pound ten shillings for the matrosses, which is less than they are invoiced at. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. At a consultation held on Monday 10 December 1759 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 3 December 1759. Yesterday the Honourable Company's ship *Pitt*, commanded by Captain William Wilson, arrived. **Interpretations** The case of the two discharged soldiers declining passage home reveals the council permitting men to remain on the island only on strict condition that they became self-supporting, released from service and denied any further subsistence from the Company. Requiring Rickards and Bearer to promise to maintain themselves before allowing them to stay shows the Company unwilling to carry idle former soldiers on its provisions, drawing a firm line between the men it fed as garrison and those who chose to settle at their own charge. The disposal of surplus uniform clothing, sergeants and matrosses coats sold off below their invoiced value, shows the Company recouping something on garments it could not otherwise use

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			rather than holding dead stock. Selling the coats, breeches and hats at a discount reveals the practical management of the island's stores, the establishment carrying more clothing than it needed for the year and clearing the excess at whatever price it would fetch, turning surplus into cash even at a loss against the invoice.
242	231	(1759) Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ship Warren to enquire for Deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of the Ship Warren William Scott Commander George Millican Ariel Somaes William Ellinbush Chef Mate George Marr John Davis Thomas Poyting 2d d° William Horner Robert Brown Benedict Hodgms 3d d° George Cookson James Harling David Lewis 4th d° Thomas Sidsoll John Valentine James Martin Purser Richard Manning Henry Smith John Smith Surgeon Alexander Robinson John Hand Capt° Serv John Gardiner d° Mate William Reynolds George Hindsman d° d° William Hisham Midshipm° Michael Turner John Searson Chef Mates d° Gabriel Harper Midshipman Charles Wodsworth Edward Smith 2d d° d° Robert Sigars d° Robert Atkins James Newort Gunners d° Richard Kaid d° Alexander Martin Christopher Ellis Boats d° William Smith Boatswn Henry Grace John Horrison Carp d° Terry Munsford Gunner Andrew Long John Smith Surgeons d° William Wright Carpenter Benjamin Westbury William Hamilton Sarman John Anderson Cooper William Green Samuel Land Joseph Seong Coulker Michael Johnson Thomas Eatthorn Thomas Widding Armourer Charles Man John Pheasant Antonio Gongalo Sail Maker Joseph Ablott James Bush Andrew Corrin d° Master James Baxtor John Flowers John Cook d°	Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ship *Warren* to enquire for deserters but found none, and that her muster roll was as follows. This is the muster roll of the ship *Warren*. William Scott, commander William Clutterbuck, Chief Mate Thomas Beynting, Second Mate Benedict Hodges, Third Mate David Ewing, Fourth Mate James Martin, purser John Smith, surgeon John Gardner, surgeon's mate William Hesham, Midshipman Gabriel Harper, Midshipman Robert Igars, the same Richard Reid, the same William Smith, boatswain Henry Mumford, gunner William Wright, carpenter John Rushmore, cooper Joseph Loong, caulker Thomas Widding, armourer Antonio Gonzalo, sailmaker Andrew Currier, quartermaster John Cook, the same Archibald Downing, the same John Ramsay, the same William Wathes, ship's steward Hugh Cooper, captain's cook Robert Kite, captain's cook William Colgar, ship's cook Joseph Lockyer, captain's man John Bumber, the same George Aberdeen, cooper's mate Nicholas Kimsley, butcher Seamen: Samuel Sparrow George Townshend George Mollison George Marr William Horner George Cookson Thomas Iddoll Richard Manning Alexander Robinson William Reynolds Michael Turner Charles Wadsworth Robert Atkins Alexander Martin Henry Grace Andrew Long Benjamin Westbury William Green Michael Johnson Charles Alean Joseph Iblott James Baxter Robert Harding Joseph Chapman John Sivo William Dobin Joseph Oliver Joshua Jones William Hendson James Bullock William Heill Richard Thompson

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		Robert Harding Thomas Cheesman Archibald Downing d° Joseph Thomson Bartham Lucas John Ramsey d° John Sirs Managuis Avaris William Waith Ships Steward William Dolein Hugh Cooper Capt d° Joseph Silver Passengers Robert Rue Cap° Cook Joshua Jones William Coless Ships d° William Hendson Colonel Meniger Lawrence Joseph Jockeor Cap° Wman James Bullock Capt George Frederick Grape John Bumber d° d° d° William Hill Capt Charles Campbell George Aberden Coopers Mate Richard Thompson Mr Thomas Mansell Nicholas Kumsby Butcher James Lock Mr Wormaslake Best John Hammorest Mr Hugh Norris Seamen Francisco Gambeela Mr Emanuel Docastor Samuel Sparrow Sarol Samesle Mr John Murray George Trowshend Joseph Rosen Mr Geacy	James Lock John Hammorset Francisco Gambeeloo Jacob Fumeeti Joseph Rosen Axcel Somado John Davis Robert Brown James Harling John Valentine Henry Smith John Head, captain's servant George Hodstinson, the same John Isarson, Chief Mate's the same Edward Smith, Second Mate's the same James Newport, gunner's the same Christopher Ellis, boatswain's the same John Hovison, captain's the same Sam Smith, surgeon's the same William Hamilton, foreman Samuel Laud Dennis Eathhorn John Pheasant James Bush John Flowers Thomas Cheesman Bartimus Ducas Managuise Corrio Passengers: Colonel Stringer Lawrence Captain George Frederick Grupe Captain Charles Campbell Mr Thomas Mansell Mr Marmaduke Bast Mr Hugh Stone Mr Edmund Doncaster Mr John Murray Mr Grace **Interpretations** The muster roll shows the full complement of an East Indiaman, a floating community of over a hundred men ranged in a strict hierarchy from commander and mates through the specialist tradesmen, the boatswain, gunner, carpenter, cooper, caulker, armourer and sailmaker, down to the ordinary seamen and the personal servants attached to each officer. Lieutenant Clark's boarding of the ship to search for deserters reveals the constant risk that seamen would abscond at a port of call, the muster taken to confirm every man accounted for before the vessel sailed on. The presence of Colonel Stringer Lawrence among the passengers marks a figure of the first importance in the Company's Indian wars, the officer widely regarded as the father of the Indian army who commanded the Company's forces on the Coromandel coast against the French. His passage home aboard the *Warren*, calling at St Helena, shows the island lying squarely on the route by which the Company's senior servants and soldiers travelled between India and England, the remote Atlantic station touched by the movement of men who shaped the Company's fortunes in the East. The scattering of plainly foreign names through the crew, Antonio Gonzalo the sailmaker, Francisco Gambeeloo, Axcel Somado and others, shows the East Indiaman manned from a thoroughly international pool of seafarers gathered across the Company's trading world. Crews for the long eastern voyages could not be found from English hands alone, and the ship carried Portuguese, Scandinavian and other foreign sailors alongside her English seamen, the roll reflecting the cosmopolitan reality of manning a vessel that ranged between Europe and Asia.

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243	232	December 10th Mr Sloper Mr John Bexrow Master Lawrence Campbell Master Thomas Jenkinson Children William Anderson Gostier Orer Shean Speake Thomas Oliver Robert Martindale Servants John Munn Solomon Sedy Henry Perkins George Roberton Invalids William Williamson Snandat Wheeler John Onfs Pomgrat Sister discharged Soldiers who work for their passage Richard Johnson Suba Suba Thomas Black Boys Servants of the Passengers Pestall Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling	Mr Sloper Mr John Barrow Master Lawrence Campbell, child Master Thomas Jenkinson, child William Anderson, servant Gustor Orr, servant Shan Speake, servant Thomas Oliver, servant Robert Martindale, servant John Mann, servant Solomon Sedy, servant Henry Perkins, invalid George Roberton, invalid William Williamson, invalid Snandal Wheeler, discharged soldier who works for his passage John Guff, discharged soldier who works for his passage Pomgrat Sister, discharged soldier who works for his passage Richard Johnson, discharged soldier who works for his passage Juba, black boy servant of the passengers Juba, black boy servant of the passengers Thomas, black boy servant of the passengers Pastell, black boy servant of the passengers The muster roll was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The remainder of the roll sets out the lesser people aboard the *Warren*, the passengers children, their attendant servants, invalids taking passage home, discharged soldiers working their way back to England, and the enslaved boys who waited on the passengers. Grouping the ship's company by these distinct classes shows the sharp social gradations carried aboard an East Indiaman, where a passenger of standing travelled with servants and an enslaved attendant while a broken-down soldier earned his passage by labour on deck. The four boys entered only by single names, Juba, Juba, Thomas and Pastell, and described as black boy servants of the passengers, record enslaved children carried in personal service aboard the ship. That two bear the same name Juba, a name commonly imposed on the enslaved, and that all are listed without surnames beneath the free servants marks their reduced status, the human property of the passengers moving with them across the ocean as an ordinary incident of a wealthy traveller's establishment. The discharged soldiers working for their passage show the Company's practice of returning time-expired men to England by setting them to labour aboard ship in place of a fare, the same arrangement offered to Rickards and Bearer who chose instead to stay on the island. Manning the voyage partly with soldiers who paid their way in work reveals how the Company moved its surplus men homeward at little cost, folding the return of discharged garrison into the ordinary working of the ship.
244	233	(1759) At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th day of December 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 10th of December 1759 Yesterday was drowned by Accident Philip Hilliard Soldier	At a consultation held on Monday 17 December 1759 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 10 December 1759. Yesterday Philip Hilliard, a soldier, was drowned by accident. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the Honourable Company's ship *Pitt* to enquire for deserters but found none, and that her muster roll was as follows. This is the muster roll of the ship *Pitt*.

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		Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Honble Company's Ship Pitt to enquire for Deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of the Ship Pitt William Wilson Commander Thomas Daniel d° d° Peter Cockburn Midshm° Joseph Jackson Chief Mate John Simmons d° d° Godlep Hick Butcher Jeff Jackson Second D° George McKlin Seyman James Emerson Seaman Philip McGeoJt 3d d° Dan Smith d° Mast Joseph Master Humphry Francis 4th d° Thomas Dixon d° Edward Cooper Theophilus Williams 5th d° Owen Griffith d° Aaron Jervey James Woodson Purser William Bryan d° Mark Hugh Alexander Henderson Surgeon James Lindsay d° Robert Rogers Richard Williams Capt Steward James Chesnut d° Edward Phillips Samuel Clark Ships d° Roger Gurch d° John Allway Geo Gregory Coulker Armor Swallecos Midsh° Dennis Hart David Wemyss Surg 1st Mate George McRose d° Matthew Gordon George Dickie Surg 2d D° Thomas Colier d° Daniel Man Ben Drinkwater Capt Cook Robert Seaward d° Josich Ontery Andrew Irvine Ships d° Samuel Dason d° Thomas Harvey John Newman Gunner Thomas Smithett d° Martin Culason Richard Lewis Gun d° d° George Goldsmith d° Nicholas Adam William Grummett Carpenter William Bochase d° John Elwott Joshua Pitman Carpent d° Charles Herman d° Christopher Bridge Joseph Adcocke Boatswain James Onteen d° Richard Stewart Chas Rose Boats Mate Benjamin Banks d° James Torrell William Cockwell d° d° James McLane d° Thomas Freeney James Hganor the d° d° d° Thomas Mike d° Cornelius Hide	William Wilson, commander Joseph Jackson, Chief Mate Jeffery Jackson, Second Mate Philip Le Geyt, Third Mate Humphry Francis, Fourth Mate Theophilus Williams, Fifth Mate James Woodson, purser Alexander Henderson, surgeon Richard Williams, captain's steward Samuel Clark, ship's steward Benjamin Gregory, caulker David Wemyss, First Mate's servant George Dickie, surgeon's servant Benjamin Drinkwater, captain's cook Andrew Aivino, ship's cook John Newman, gunner Richard Lewis, gunner's mate William Grummett, carpenter Joshua Pitman, carpenter's mate Joseph Adcock, boatswain Charles Rose, boatswain's mate William Cockrell, the same James Hepworth, the same Thomas Daniel, the same John Simmons, the same George McLean, seaman Dan Smith, First Mate's servant Thomas Dixon, the same Owen Griffith, the same William Bryan, the same James Lindsay, the same James Chresnel, the same Roger Gooch, the same Amos Smallwood, the same George McRose, the same Thomas Collier, the same Robert Seaward, the same Samuel Dixon, the same Thomas Southett, the same George Goldsmith, the same William Perkins, the same Charles Bemer, the same James Oakum, the same Benjamin Banks, the same James McLane, the same Thomas Wike, the same Peter Cockburn, Midshipman Godfrey Hird, butcher James Freeman, seaman Joseph Master Edward Cooper Aaron Josey Mark Hugh Robert Rogers Edward Phillips John Alloway Dennis Kent Matthew Gordon Daniel Mier Josiah Oakum Thomas Hovey Martin Coleson Nicholas Adam John Elwott Christopher Bridge Richard Stuart James Torrell Thomas Kenney Cornelius Hide **Interpretations** The muster of the *Pitt* records a second East Indiaman lying at the island within days of the *Warren*, her full complement ranged like the first from commander and five mates through the ship's tradesmen down to the ordinary seamen and officers servants. Lieutenant Clark's boarding of this vessel

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			too, searching for deserters and finding none, shows the standing routine by which every arriving ship was mustered before the council, the island keeping a check on the movement of seamen who might otherwise slip ashore and vanish into the settlement. The number of hands entered as servants to the various mates and officers reveals the layered structure of an Indiaman's crew, where senior men were entitled to personal attendants borne on the ship's books. This concentration of servants attached to the officers, set against the body of ordinary seamen, shows the same social gradation aboard the *Pitt* as aboard the *Warren*, the ship a hierarchy in miniature in which rank carried the right to be waited upon even at sea. The drowning of Philip Hilliard entered plainly among the week's business marks the constant hazard of accidental death on an island ringed by sea and rock, the loss of a soldier by misadventure recorded without ceremony alongside the shipping and the musters. Noting the accident in the ordinary run of the consultation shows how routine such deaths were to the garrison, the sea taking its men as much through mishap as the flogging post and the fever took theirs.
245	234	17 December Welch Sey John Darnbrook David Lewis Saml Suggano James Roberts Christian Hanson James Paulos David Roach Isaac Danielsberg Thomas Chester Peter Blake Rice Stromm Samuel Agar William McDowell Erasmus Alcom George Gerrard James Doyle Erick Walberg John Edwards John Duffin Hendrick Livingstone John Ball Thomas Roolph Cornelius Palmer William Whitway Anthony Ardis William Adams Edward Bague Thomas Edwards Richard Perks Patrick Cullen Henry Dean Richard Melliss Michael Campbell Oleff Georberg Joseph Houll Edward Mallen Richard Bland William Chamberlain John Scully John Stannagan Mark Parnet James Bircwing Christopher Boyle Frances Johnson Thomas Morgan John Mele John Waller John Shields	The muster roll of the ship *Pitt* continued with the following soldiers. Welch Sog Samuel Sugane James Paulos Thomas Chester Samuel Igar George Gerard John Edwards John Ball William Whitaway Edward Bague Patrick Cullen Michael Campbell Edward Mullen John Soally James Berreing Thomas Morgan John Shields Patrick Kellig John Halfpenny Peter Hong Thomas Sucker John Sua Amos Johnson Andrew Naston Robert Crawford John Bryan George Sumcken Charles Wilson William Hannagan Jacob Sea Francis Corier John Martin William Curry William Loyd Peter Burca Henry Ford David Buchannan James Welch James Gray Andrew Speam Patrick Main Thomas Sane Thomas Williams Thomas Bradshaw William Andrew John Darnbrook James Roberts David Roach

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		Isaac Hopson	Peter Blake
		James Hays	William McDowell
		Patrick Kellig	James Doyle
		William Swesselton	John Duffin
		John Cryer	Thomas Roolph
		John Halfpenny	Anthony Ardis
		Thomas Nicholson	Thomas Edwards
		Robert Ineheart Gun Boy	Henry Dean
		Blax Hong	Olof Georberg
		John Gibbons	Richard Bland
		26th Webb Coulk d°	John Stannagan
		Thomas Sucker	Christopher Boyle
		Thomas Trotter	John Mele
		John Brelson Capt Serv	Isaac Hopson
		John Diva	William Swesselton
		George Ross	Thomas Nicholson
		Thomas Draver d°	John Gibbons
		Amos Johnson	Thomas Trotter
		Michael Hughes	George Poss
		Chas Hunt Chf Mates d°	Michael Hughes
		Andrew Nolton	Edward Whiting
		Edward Waing	Bartholomew Lowe
		William Jackson 2d Mates d°	John Stewart
		Robert Cransford	John Cole
		Bartholomew Lowe	Joseph Rigby
		John York Seamaen	James Menzies
		John Bryan	Matthew Bingham
		John Stewart	Charles Long
		George McGee	Joseph Martin
		George Dumcken	William Chester
		John Cole	Thomas Sheridan
		Thomas Pitt	Thomas Back
		Charles Wilson	James Connor
		Joseph Rigby	John Matheway
		William Pitt	John Carter
		William Hannagan	Harry Cockerton
		James Menzies	Thomas Wilston
		William Critchard	Sheight Lyon
		Jacob Sea	Alexander Wood
		Matthew Brigham	Robert Sinclair
		Frances Le Rade	Robert Scratchwell
		Frances Corier	James Williams
		Charles Long	David Lewis
		Frances Sivay	Christian Hanson
		John Moran	Isaac Danielsberg
		Joseph Martin	Peter Stromm
		Frances Sabiness	Erasmus Alom
		William Curey	Erick Walberg
		William Chester	Hendrick Livingstone
		Joseph Delzing	Cornelius Palmer
		William Loyd	William Adams
		Thomas Sheridan	Richard Perks
		Jacol Cuines	Richard Wellis
		Peter Burca	Joseph Hull
		Thomas Back	William Chamberlain
		Lewis Leon	Mark Barnet
		Henry Ford	Francis Johnson
		James Connor	John Waller
		John Joe	James Hays
		Dayl Buchannan	John Cryor
		John Marheway	Robert Trouncer, gun boy
		Elias Gerson	Arthur Webb, caulker's the same
		James Welch	John Britton, captain's servant
		John Coster	Thomas Draper, the same
		John Simberman	Charles Hunt, Chief Mate's the same
		James Gray	William Jackson, Second Mate's the same
		Henry Cockerton	John Yorke, seaman
		William Moore	George McGee
		Andr Sprow	Thomas Pett
		Thomas Wastem	William Pitt
		John Giles	William Critchard
		Patrick Main	Francis Le Rode
		Sheight Lyon	Francis Norsy
		John Williams	Francis Lehnesch
		Thomas Mane	Joseph Delzung
		Alexander Wood	Jacob Cunes

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		Casimir Walter Thomas Williams Robert Sinclair Daniel Bench Thomas Bradshaw Robert Scratchwell Peter Johnson William Andrews James Williams George Marshall	Lewis Leon John Joe Elias Gorson John Timberman William Moore John Giles John Williams Casimir Walter Daniel Bench Peter Johnson George Marshall **Interpretations** The continuation of the *Pitt* roll runs to a great body of soldiers borne aboard the ship, far more numerous than her working crew, showing the vessel carrying a substantial military draft alongside her seamen. This transport of troops in numbers reveals the East Indiaman serving as a trooper as well as a merchantman, moving soldiers between the Company's stations, the long muster of fighting men reflecting the military demands of the Company's expanding wars in the East during these years. The names betray a strikingly mixed body of men, Welsh, Irish, Scots and English mingled with a marked number of Scandinavians and Germans such as Olof Georberg, Erick Walberg, Isaac Danielsberg and Casimir Walter. Drawing its soldiers from across northern Europe as well as the British Isles, the Company manned its regiments from whatever recruits could be gathered, the roll showing the continental origins of many who served under its colours in India. The single boy entered as Robert Trouncer the gun boy records a child borne aboard to serve the guns, the powder monkey who carried charges to the gun crews in action. Listing him plainly among the crew shows the ordinary place of boys in a fighting ship's company, children set to the dangerous work of keeping the guns supplied in battle, a role as regular aboard an armed Indiaman as any of the grown seamen's duties.
246	235	(1759) Anthony Scouter Frances George Daniel Ineginstom David Williamson Aaron Lewis Andrew Bennice Thomas Anderson Christr Christoeals Paul Peterson Shean Walburg John Lederock David Croyden Henry Girdon Martin Primon Joseph Fuchs John Morriss William Hodges Orlando Bagley Junior this Day presented the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Docr Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Orlando Bagley Junior Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of hireing Nineteen Acres of Land adjoining to the Lands he Lately purchased of John Leech, which said Land was formerly in the Possession of the said John Leech. Your Petitioner therefore humbly begs the same may be granted him at the same Rent the said Leech hired it at And your petitioner will ever pray	The muster roll of the ship *Pitt* concluded with the following. Anthony Scouter David Williamson Thomas Anderson Shan Walburg Henry Gordon John Moores Francis George Aaron Lows Christopher Christoral John Ledcock Marten Primon Daniel Ingingston Andrew Bennice Paul Peterson David Croyden Joseph Franks William Hodges Orlando Bagley junior this day presented the following petition to Governor Hutchinson and the council of St Helena. Orlando Bagley junior set out that he was desirous of hiring 19 acres of land adjoining the lands he lately purchased of John Leech, which land was formerly in the possession of John Leech. He begged that the same might be granted to him at the same rent John Leech held it at. The petition was signed by Orlando Bagley junior at St Helena on 17 December 1759. The petition was granted upon the terms of the former lease at 1s 6d per acre more in consideration of its barrenness. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling.

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		Signed Orlando Bagley Junr St Helena 17th December 1759 Granted upon the Terms of the former Lease a 1/6 p° Acre in Consideration of its Barrenness Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling	**Interpretations** Orlando Bagley's petition shows a settler consolidating his holdings by adding land next to a parcel he had already bought from John Leech, the same 36-acre transfer recorded on 12 November 1759 when Leech assigned his right to Bagley. Seeking the adjoining ground formerly held by the same tenant, Bagley worked to build a contiguous estate, the pattern revealing how the island's more active planters gathered scattered leaseholds into consolidated farms through purchase and petition. The council's grant at a rent raised by 1s 6d an acre in consideration of the land's barrenness reveals a nuanced approach to setting rents according to the quality of the ground. Yet the increase for poor land rather than a reduction shows the charge working the opposite way to modern expectation, the higher rate perhaps reflecting the greater acreage of barren ground a tenant needed to make it productive, or a fixed valuation applied regardless of yield, the council calibrating the terms of each grant to the particular parcel rather than charging a flat rate across the settlement.
247	236	24th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th day of December 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 17th December 1759 The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this day brought in which were Examined and approved and are as follows Vizt Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month ending the 11th Instant Vizt To 16 Bottles of Port 1 2s 4d To 30 d° of Lisbon 2 1s 10½d To 14 d° Mountain 18s 11½d To 22 d° Madeira 2 14s 4d To 173 d° Arrack 2 9s 2d To 33 d° Beer 6 10½d To 300 lb d° Flour 2 3s 9d To 203 d° Fresh Beef 4 17s 6d To 2 lb d° Salt Beef 5s 4d To 23 lb d° Fresh Pork 1 7s 6d To 6 lb d° Salt Pork 1 2s To 381 d° Mutton 7 18s 9d To 41 lb Goat 15s 8d To 18 Fowls 1 7s 6d To 3 Ducks 15s To 3 Geese 10s To 2 Turkeys 10s	At a consultation held on Monday 24 December 1759 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 17 December 1759. The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending the 11 instant were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and run as follows. This is an account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending the 11 instant. 16 bottles of port, £1 2s 4d 30 bottles of Lisbon, £2 1s 10½d 14 bottles of mountain, £0 18s 11½d 22 bottles of Madeira, £2 14s 4d 173 bottles of arrack, £2 9s 2d 33 bottles of beer, £0 6s 10½d 300 pounds of flour, £2 3s 9d 203 pounds of fresh beef, £4 17s 6d 2 pounds of salt beef, £0 5s 4d 23 pounds of fresh pork, £1 7s 6d 15 pounds of salt pork, £1 2s 0d 381 pounds of mutton, £7 18s 9d 41 pounds of goat, £0 15s 8d 18 fowls, £1 7s 6d 3 ducks, £0 15s 0d 3 geese, £0 15s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 49 pounds of fresh butter, £2 9s 0d 23 pounds of candy, £0 15s 0d 30 pounds of sugar, £0 12s 6d Total, £34 18s 3¼d **Interpretations** The month's table account shows the officers fare holding to the familiar pattern, mutton again the largest single charge at £7 18s 9d, backed by fresh beef, pork, poultry and butter drawn from the island's flocks and herds, and washed down with wines of Lisbon, Madeira and Malaga alongside the eastern arrack. The steady dominance of mutton and the local meat confirms the garrison living chiefly off its own sheep and goats, the imported drink the one element of the table that came from beyond the island. The very large quantity of arrack entered, 173 bottles against far smaller numbers of the wines, shows the cheap eastern spirit forming the bulk of the drink consumed at the Company's table. Supplied in quantity from the Bengal and Batavia trade, arrack served as the everyday liquor of the establishment

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		To 49 lb Fresh Butter 2 9s To 43 d° Candy 15s To 30 d° Sugar 12s 6d 34 18s 3¾d Account	while the Atlantic wines were taken in smaller measure, the proportions revealing a table that ran on the plentiful spirit of the East with the wines of Europe kept for lighter use.
248	237	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c from the 12th Novembr to the 11th December 1759 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Boar, Shoats, Pigs, Breast, Total, Squab, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Yother, Sother, Total Remaining 12th: Bulls 6, Cows 136, Calves 111, Yearlings 58, Heifers 24, Steers 31, Oxen 21, Total 387, Ewes 339, Weathers 148, Lambs 217, Rams 8, Total 712, Ewes 218, Weathers 37, Kids 78, Rams 10, Total 343, Boar 10, Shoats 12, Pigs 16, Breast 2, Total 40, Squab 192, Ducks 65, Turkeys 24, Geese 29, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Yother 4, Sother 2, Total 6 Encreased: Bulls 1, Cows 0, Calves 9, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 9, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 7, Rams 0, Total 7, Boar 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Breast 0, Total 0, Squab 18, Ducks 3, Turkeys 4, Geese 4, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Yother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 136, Calves 120, Yearlings 58, Heifers 24, Steers 31, Oxen 21, Total 396, Ewes 339, Weathers 148, Lambs 217, Rams 8, Total 712, Ewes 218, Weathers 37, Kids 85, Rams 10, Total 350, Boar 10, Shoats 12, Pigs 16, Breast 2, Total 40, Squab 207, Ducks 68, Turkeys 28, Geese 33, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Yother 4, Sother 2, Total 6 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 3, Heifers 1, Steers 6, Oxen 15, Total 9, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 24, Rams 2, Total 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 8, Kids 0, Rams 1, Total 0, Boar 0, Shoats 1, Pigs 18, Breast 3, Total 2, Squab 3, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Yother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 2, Heifers 2, Steers 3, Oxen 0, Total 4, Ewes 7, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Boar 4, Shoats 4, Pigs 1, Breast 0, Total 3, Squab 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Yother 1, Sother 1, Total 0 Killed by Accident: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Boar 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Breast 0, Total 0, Squab 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Yother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Boar 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Breast 0, Total 0, Squab 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Yother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 6, Cows 135, Calves 120, Yearlings 58, Heifers 24, Steers 26, Oxen 18, Total 387, Ewes 321, Weathers 139, Lambs 213, Rams 8, Total 681, Ewes 216, Weathers 31, Kids 85, Rams 10, Total 342, Boar 10, Shoats 11, Pigs 12, Breast 2, Total 33, Squab 188, Ducks 63, Turkeys 23, Geese 30, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Yother 4, Sother 1, Total 5 1 Goat to the Hospital Wt 15 lb 1 Girl born named Priscilla Good yam Expended for the Slaves 26,460	This is an account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals from 12 November to 11 December 1759. The account is laid out in six rows: the number remaining on 12 November, the natural increase during the month, the resulting total, the animals killed, those that died, one killed by accident and the number remaining on 11 December. Each figure below carries the identity of its column. Remaining 12 November: 6 bulls, 136 cows, 111 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 31 steers, 21 oxen, 387 neat cattle total; 339 sheep ewes, 148 sheep wethers, 217 sheep lambs, 8 sheep rams, 712 sheep total; 218 goat ewes, 37 goat wethers, 78 goat kids, 10 goat rams, 343 goat total; 10 hog sows, 12 hog shoats, 16 hog pigs, 2 hog brawns, 40 hog total; 192 poultry fowls, 65 ducks, 24 turkeys, 29 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses total; 4 she-asses, 2 he-asses, 6 asses total Increased: 1 calf; 9 sheep lambs, 9 sheep total; 7 goat kids, 7 goat total; 18 poultry fowls, 3 ducks, 4 turkeys, 4 geese Total: 6 bulls, 136 cows, 120 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 31 steers, 21 oxen, 396 neat cattle total; 339 sheep ewes, 148 sheep wethers, 217 sheep lambs, 8 sheep rams, 712 sheep total; 218 goat ewes, 37 goat wethers, 85 goat kids, 10 goat rams, 350 goat total; 10 hog sows, 12 hog shoats, 16 hog pigs, 2 hog brawns, 40 hog total; 207 poultry fowls, 68 ducks, 28 turkeys, 33 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses total; 4 she-asses, 2 he-asses, 6 asses total Killed: 3 calves, 1 yearling, 6 heifers, 15 neat cattle total; 9 sheep ewes; 24 goat ewes, 2 goat wethers, 6 goat total; 8 hog shoats, 1 hog pig; 1 poultry fowl, 18 ducks, 3 turkeys, 2 geese Died: 2 cows, 2 calves, 3 heifers, 4 neat cattle total; 7 sheep wethers; 4 hog pigs; 4 ducks, 1 turkey, 3 geese; 1 he-ass, 1 asses total Killed by accident: 1 cow, 1 neat cattle total Remaining 11 December: 6 bulls, 135 cows, 120 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 26 steers, 18 oxen, 387 neat cattle total; 321 sheep ewes, 139 sheep wethers, 213 sheep lambs, 8 sheep rams, 681 sheep total; 216 goat ewes, 31 goat wethers, 85 goat kids, 10 goat rams, 342 goat total; 10 hog sows, 11 hog shoats, 12 hog pigs, 2 hog brawns, 33 hog total; 188 poultry fowls, 63 ducks, 23 turkeys, 30 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses total; 4 she-asses, 1 he-ass, 5 asses total 1 goat to the hospital, weight 15 pounds 1 girl born named Priscilla Good yarn expended for the slaves, 26,460 Refuse good for stock, 10,150 Total, 36,610 Refuse good for stock, signed John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The December stock account shows the garrison drawing far more heavily on its herds than in November, the killed row rising to 15 head of cattle, a great number of sheep and goats and quantities of poultry, the increase almost certainly reflecting the demands of the Christmas season falling within the period. Slaughtering far more freely than the month before, when only a single heifer was taken, the establishment fed itself generously for the festival, the sudden jump marking the one time of year when the careful conservation of stock gave way to plenty.

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		Refuse d° for Stock 10,150 Signed John Skottowe 36,610	The record of a girl born named Priscilla among the stock figures marks the birth of a child to the Company's slaves, entered in the same account that tallied the increase of the flocks and herds. That a human birth was noted alongside the lambs, kids and calves as an addition to the Company's holdings reveals the brutal logic of chattel slavery, the enslaved child counted as property born to the estate exactly as the young of the animals were counted. The fall in oxen from 21 to 18 and steers from 31 to 26, the working animals declining while the breeding cows and calves were largely preserved, shows the heavy Christmas slaughter drawing on the draught and beef animals rather than the herd's reproductive core. Even in a month of open killing the Company protected its cows and young stock, taking the older working beasts for the table so that the herd's capacity to renew itself came through the festival intact.
249	238	24th December Artillery Stores expended from the 12th of November to the 11th of December 1759 both days included Guns Fired, 9pounder, 6pounder, 4pounder, 3pounder, 2pounder, 1pounder, Powder expended Novr 13th Fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming: Guns Fired 8, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 8, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 18lb 0oz 15 Fired at D° for D°: Guns Fired 8, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 8, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 17lb 8oz 20th Fired at D° for D°: Guns Fired 8, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 8, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 17lb 8oz 21st An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 2, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 17lb 8oz d° An Alarm at Banks's for the same Ship: Guns Fired 2, 9pounder 2, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder expended 12 22d Arrived the Warren returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 9 d° Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 9 D° Fired to salute Col Lawrence: Guns Fired 17, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 17, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 17 D° Powder for Priming: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 1lb 8oz 23 Powder for scaling the guns at Sandy bay & for priming: Guns Fired 15, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 9, 4pounder 4, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder expended 38 27 Fired at Ruperts for practice and for Priming: Guns Fired 8, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 8, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 17lb 8oz 29 Fired at D° for D°: Guns Fired 8, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 8, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 17lb 8oz Decr 3 Fired at D° for D°: Guns Fired 8, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 8, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 17lb 8oz 4th Fired at D° for D°: Guns Fired 4, 9pounder 4, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 18lb 8oz 6th Fired at D° for D°: Guns Fired 8, 9pounder 8, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 37lb 8oz	This is an account of artillery stores expended from 12 November to 11 December 1759, both days included. The figures record guns fired and powder expended, the latter given in pounds and ounces. 13 November, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 15 November, fired at Ruperts for the same, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 20 November, fired at Ruperts for the same, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 21 November, an alarm, 6 guns, 12 pounds powder 21 November, an alarm at Banks's for the same ship, 6 guns, 12 pounds powder 22 November, arrived the Warren, returned the salute, 9 guns, 9 pounds powder 22 November, powder for priming, 9 pounds 22 November, fired to salute Colonel Lawrence, 17 guns, 17 pounds powder 22 November, powder for priming, 17 pounds 23 November, powder for scaling the guns at Sandy Bay and for priming, 15 guns, 38 pounds powder 27 November, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 30 November, fired at Ruperts for the same, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 3 December, fired at Ruperts for the same, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 4 December, fired at Ruperts for the same, 8 guns, 18 pounds 8 ounces powder 6 December, fired at Ruperts for the same, 8 guns, 37 pounds 8 ounces powder 8 December, an alarm, 8 guns, 17 pounds 8 ounces powder 9 December, an alarm for the same ship, 6 guns, 12 pounds powder 9 December, arrived the Pitt, returned the salute, 6 guns, 12 pounds powder 9 December, powder for priming, 9 pounds 10 December, a double alarm for 2 ships that went by, 9 guns, 18 pounds powder 10 December, powder for priming at Sandy Bay from March, 18 pounds 11 December, fired to dismiss the alarm, 5 guns, 6 pounds powder 11 December, powder for priming at the alarm house from 26, 8 ounces Powder for exercising the East flying party, 3 pounds Powder for exercising the West flying party, 5 pounds 4 ounces Powder for signals, 5 pounds Total, 140 guns, 324 pounds powder **Interpretations**

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		8th An Alarm: Guns Fired 8, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 8, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 17lb 8oz 9th An Alarm for the same Ship: Guns Fired 6, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 2, 1pounder 2, Powder expended 12 D° Arrived the Pitt returned the Salute: Guns Fired 6, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 2, 1pounder 2, Powder expended 12 D° Powder for priming: Guns Fired 9, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 9 10th A double Alarm for 2 Ships that went by: Guns Fired 9, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 1lb 8oz D° Powder for priming at Sandy Bay from March p: Guns Fired 9, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 3, 4pounder 3, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 3, Powder expended 18 11 Fired to dismiss the Alarm: Guns Fired 5, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 6 D° Powder for priming at the Alarm House from d° p 26: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 1, Powder expended 8 D° for exercising the East flying party: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 3 D° for exercising the West flying party: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 5lb 4oz D° for Signals: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 6pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder expended 5 Total: Guns Fired 140, 9pounder 14, 6pounder 9, 4pounder 61, 3pounder 9, 2pounder 35, 1pounder 12, Powder expended 324lb 0oz	The powder account for this month is dominated not by routine practice but by a run of alarms and salutes marking the arrival of shipping, the guns fired to challenge and then to welcome the *Warren* and the *Pitt* as they came in. The double alarm on 10 December for two ships that passed by shows the island's batteries firing to signal unidentified sail off the coast, the heavy expenditure of powder on these alerts revealing a garrison constantly watching the sea and ready to sound the warning whenever strange vessels appeared. The 17-gun salute fired for Colonel Stringer Lawrence on 22 November honoured the passage of the officer widely regarded as the father of the Indian army, whose presence aboard the *Warren* was recorded in the ship's muster. Spending 17 pounds of powder to salute a single passenger shows the weight the island attached to his rank and reputation, the guns marking the arrival of a soldier of the first importance in the Company's Indian wars as he called on his way home to England. The distinction drawn between the East and West flying parties, each exercised with its own charge of powder, reveals the island divided into separate mobile detachments trained to respond to a landing at different points of the coast. Maintaining two such parties ready to move to a threatened shore shows the garrison's defensive scheme built around rapid deployment to wherever an enemy might attempt to land, the powder for their exercise a regular charge on the ordnance store.
250	239	(1759) Spunge Staves for Peel handles for the Bakers 2 Spunges broke at Banks 1 Spunge Staves broke at Sandy Bay 1 Spunges broke at D° 1 Paper for making Cannon Cartridges 4d Needles broke with sewing Cartridges 2 Tallow for greasing Gun Carriages on the Line 3d D° for the Use of the Boats 4d Hand Spikes broke at Ruperts 3 Rammer Heads for 9pounder broke at D° 1 Flags wore out and unserviceable at Ruperts Bay 1 D° wore out and unserviceable at Sandy Bay 1 Signed Thos Hall Christian Syder Soldier whose Time will expire in February next having procured John Maurice to serve the Honble Company as a Soldier here for five Years, We therefore consented that Syder should have his Discharge, and inlisted John Maurice at 1 Bounty Money, and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant William Hodges late a Sergeant in the Honorable	Sponge staves for peel handles for the bakers, 2 Sponges broke at Banks's, 1 Sponge staves broke at Sandy Bay, 1 Sponges broke at Sandy Bay, 1 Paper for making cannon cartridges, 4 quires Needles broke with sewing cartridges, 2 Tallow for greasing gun carriages on the line, 3 pounds Tallow for the use of the boats, 4 pounds Handspikes broke at Ruperts, 3 Rammer heads for 9-pounders broke at Ruperts, 1 Flags worn out and unserviceable at Deadwood Bay, 1 Flags worn out and unserviceable at Sandy Bay, 1 Signed Thomas Hall. Christian Syder, a soldier whose term will expire in February next, having procured John Maurice to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier here for five years, the council consented that Syder should have his discharge and that John Maurice be entertained. Maurice was paid £1 0s 0d bounty money, and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant. William Hodges, late a sergeant in the Honourable Company's service at Bencoolen, having a fair discharge and being inclined to enlist in this garrison to serve five years as a soldier, was entertained by the council and paid the usual bounty money. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The arrangement by which Christian Syder found a substitute to serve in his place shows the Company permitting a soldier to buy his own discharge by procuring another man to take up the

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		Company's Service at Bencoolen, having a fair Discharge, and being inclined to inlist in this Garrison, to serve five Years as a Soldier, we have entertained him, and given him the usual Bounty Money Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling	term. Allowing Syder to leave only once John Maurice had agreed to serve five years and been paid his bounty reveals the garrison's chief concern was maintaining its numbers rather than holding any particular man, the establishment kept full through a market in substitution where one soldier's release depended on another's enlistment. The enlistment of William Hodges, a discharged sergeant from Bencoolen, shows the movement of experienced men between the Company's scattered settlements, a soldier leaving service at one station and taking it up at another. Bencoolen was the Company's pepper-trading post on the west coast of Sumatra, notoriously unhealthy, and Hodges's passage from there to St Helena reveals the island drawing seasoned recruits from across the eastern empire, men who had already served the Company elsewhere signing on afresh to fill the ranks of the Atlantic garrison.
251	240	31st December At a Consultation held on Monday the 31st day of December 1759 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signd dated the 24th December 1759 Thursday the 27th sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Pitt and Warren homeward bound Yesterday died Richard Cowley Soldier Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month ending the 11th Instant which is as follows Vizt	At a consultation held on Monday 31 December 1759 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 24 December 1759. On Thursday 27 of the month the Honourable Company's ships *Pitt* and *Warren* sailed homeward bound. Yesterday Richard Cowley, a soldier, died. The council counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending the 11 instant, which runs as follows. **Interpretations** The departure of the *Pitt* and the *Warren* together on 27 December marks the two East Indiamen sailing in company on the homeward leg to England, carrying the passengers, discharged soldiers and the island's fair-copied account books recorded in the earlier consultations. Timing their departure after a fortnight in the road shows the vessels pausing at St Helena to water and revictual before the long Atlantic passage, the island serving as the customary last refreshment station for ships running home from the East.
252	241	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1759 Nov 12th By balance remaining 7271 1s 1½d 1759 Decr 11 By Balance remaining in the following Species Vizt 4456 Pagodas 8/ 1782 8s 1680 Venetians 10/ 840 Gold amounting to 2622 8s 12844 Dollars 5/ 3211 441 French p° 2d 3 13s 6d 7948 Rupees 2/3 894 3s Odd Money 1 7½d Silver amounting to 4108 18s 1½d Cash notes of no Use amounting to 539 15s 7271 1s 1½d	Cash, Debtor 12 November 1759, by balance remaining, £7,271 1s 1½d Per Contra, Creditor 11 December 1759, by balance remaining in the following specie, namely: 4,436 pagodas at 8s, £1,782 8s 0d 1,680 Venetians at 10s, £840 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,622 8s 0d 12,844 dollars at 5s, £3,211 0s 0d 441 French pieces at 2d, £3 13s 6d 7,948 rupees at 2s 3d, £894 3s 0d Odd money, £1 7s 6d Silver amounting to, £4,108 18s 1½d Cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £7,271 1s 1½d **Interpretations** The cash reckoning for the month carries the treasury balance of £7,271 1s 1½d forward from the November count and sets it out again in the identical spread of coin, the pagodas, Venetians, dollars, French pieces and rupees held unchanged through December. Balancing the debtor entry exactly against the specie counted on the creditor side, the council performed its unvarying monthly verification of the cash chest, physically counting the coin of many nations to confirm it matched the figure carried in the books. The complete stillness of the treasury across the month, every denomination standing at exactly the

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			number counted before, shows that no cash moved into or out of the chest during December despite the arrival and departure of two East Indiamen. That the ships came and went without disturbing the balance reveals the treasury cash held quite separately from the trade and supply carried on with the vessels, the coin locked away as a standing reserve while the island's dealings with the shipping ran through other accounts entirely.
253	242	31st December Mr John Murray a Passenger on board the Ship Warren having on Wednesday last the 26th Instant hired employ'd a Wran Man of Mr Francis Wranghams named Dawson to Carry a Bag for him down to the Crane containing as he says the following things which he complained were stolen from him December the 26th Lost or Stole in St Helena 6 pieces of Bengall Neckcloths 10 Silk Handkerchiefs 3 Palampore 9 Yards of Cambrick 2 patches of Chintz containing 3 pieces in each Patch 3 petticoat pieces flower'd and neatly border'd 2 odd pieces of Madrass Stuff for Banjans 1 half piece of Moxa & Long Cloth 3½ Shirts ruffled & plain 16 Handkerchiefs all hemmed superfine. Several other things at present I dont remember in 1 Bag This by Jn° Murray Upon which complaint search was made and the Bag found and every thing recovered and restored to Mr Murray except the following Vizt 3½ Shirts ruffled and plain 2 patches of Chintz 2 palampores 4 Sheeing Cloths 12 Casimbazar Handkerchiefs 4 Silk d° 3 petticoat pieces 1½ piece of Long Cloth 3 Fowls After the forementioned Account signed by Mr Murray of things wanting the half piece of Long Cloth was recovered and sent on board to him by Serjeant Grainger who brought his receipt for it dated the 27th of December Dawson the Wran Man accused of stealing the beforementioned Goods was immediately secured and being examined acknowledged that he received a Bag from Mr Murray on the 26th Instant and took out of it two pieces of Long Cloth and gave them to Matthew Allis and Daniel Cairn Soldiers	John Murray, a passenger on board the ship *Warren*, having on Wednesday last, the 26 of the month, innocently and instead employed a man of Francis Wrangham's named Dawson to carry a bag for him down to the crane containing, as he stated, the following things which he complained were stolen from him. This is a list of the things stolen in St Helena, dated 26 December. 6 pieces of Bengal neckcloths 10 silk handkerchiefs 3 palampores 9 yards of cambric 2 patches of chintz, containing 3 pieces in each patch 3 petticoat pieces, flowered and neatly bordered 2 odd pieces of Madras stuff for Banjans 1 half piece of Madras long cloth 37 shirts, ruffled and plain 16 handkerchiefs, all hemmed, superfine Several other things at present not remembered in the bag This was signed by John Murray. Upon this complaint, search was made and the bag found and everything recovered and restored to Murray except the following. 37 shirts, ruffled and plain 2 patches of chintz 2 palampores 5 shaving cloths 12 Casimbazar handkerchiefs 4 silk handkerchiefs 3 petticoat pieces 1½ pieces of long cloth 3 fowls After the account signed by Murray, the half piece of long cloth wanting was recovered and sent on board to him by Sergeant Grainger, who brought his receipt for it, dated 27 December. Dawson, the slave man accused of stealing the goods, was immediately secured, and being examined acknowledged that he received the bag from Murray on the 26 instant and took out of it two pieces of long cloth and gave them to Matthew Allis and Daniel Cairn, soldiers. **Interpretations** The theft case reveals the risk that attended a passenger's baggage while a ship lay in the road, John Murray's bag of valuable Indian textiles pilfered as an enslaved porter carried it down to the crane for loading. The detailed inventory of neckcloths, palampores, chintz, cambric and fine handkerchiefs shows the quality of eastern goods a private traveller carried home from India, the very richness of the cargo making it a target the moment it passed out of the owner's own hands. The examination of Dawson, the enslaved man who confessed to opening the bag and passing two pieces of long cloth to two named soldiers, exposes a small conspiracy binding a slave and members of the garrison in common theft. That the enslaved porter and the soldiers Matthew Allis and Daniel Cairn acted together shows how the divisions of the settlement could dissolve into shared crime, the slave taking the goods and the soldiers receiving them, the stolen

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			cloth moving from the passenger's bag into the hands of the garrison. Palampores were large painted or printed cotton bed covers made on the Coromandel coast, and Casimbazar handkerchiefs took their name from the great silk-weaving town of Kasimbazar in Bengal, while the pieces of Madras stuff described as for Banjans were cloths made up in styles favoured by the Banian merchant community of western India. The presence of all these among one traveller's baggage shows the reach of the Indian textile trade that passed through the island, the goods of Coromandel, Bengal and the western coast gathered in a single passenger's bag as he carried the products of the whole subcontinent home to England.
254	243	(1759) And the remainder of the Goods he buried which were found and delivered to Mr Murray when the Search was made and knows nothing feather of the Goods that are missing - For this piece of Villainy we ordered the said Dawson to be severely whipp'd Mr Gabriel Isaacke maketh Complaint that his house in this Valley was broke open and several things taken out of it on the Nineteenth Instant, and upon Enquiry he had heard that March a Slave Man belonging to Mr Matthew Bazett had done it, We therefore had the Slave March brought before us who when interrogated acknowledg'd that the Robbery was committed by himself and Simar a Slave Man belonging to Mary Scale Widow, The said March being asked what things they had taken out of the House, said, they were according to the following List which was produced by Mr Isaacke and read to him - Vizt Goods lost and destroyed by breaking open the House of Gabriel Isaacke December the 19th 1759 2 Case Bottles of Arrack 5 Yards Broad Ribbon returned 2 Yards narrow ribbon returned 2 Girdle Buckles D° 4 Silk Hean & korchiefs returned 2 Gold Rings d° 1 Silver Tobacco Stopper d° 2 Setts of Waistcoat Buttons d° 1 fine tooth Comb d° 10 d° fine Rice Wanting 1 Sett of Curtains Torn d° 1 pane of Glass Broke d° 9 Locks broke and open d° a parcel of Fish Hooks & fewr Lines d° 12 fines of terack d° 1 hasld Escritore damaged All the above Goods were returned except those Articles which are mark'd wanting, which March says Simar had at his Slave who is at present run away	Dawson buried the remainder of the goods, which were found and delivered to Murray when the search was made, and he knew nothing further of the goods that were still missing. For this piece of villainy the council ordered Dawson to be severely whipped. Gabriel Isaacke complained that his house in this valley was broken open and several things taken out of it on the 19 of the month, and upon enquiry he had heard that March, a slave belonging to Matthew Bazett, had done it. The council therefore had March brought before it, and when interrogated he acknowledged that the robbery was committed by himself and Isuar, a slave belonging to Mary Scale, widow. March, being asked what things they had taken out of the house, stated they were according to the following list, which was produced by Isaacke and read to him. This is a list of goods lost and destroyed by breaking open the house of Gabriel Isaacke, dated 19 December 1759. 2 cases bottles of arrack 5 yards broad ribbon, returned 2 yards narrow ribbon, returned 2 girdle buckles, returned 4 silk handkerchiefs, returned 2 gold rings 1 silver tobacco stopper 2 sets of waistcoat buttons 1 fine tooth comb 10 pounds fine rice, wanting 1 bed and curtains torn 1 pane of glass broke 9 socks broke and open a parcel of fish hooks and fish lines 12 pieces of iberack 1 haunt furniture damaged All the above goods were returned except those articles marked wanting, which March stated Isuar had at his slave quarters, who is at present run away. **Interpretations** The two burglaries recorded together reveal a spate of house-breaking by the settlement's slaves in December, both cases traced to enslaved men who confessed when brought before the council and named their accomplices. That March and Isuar broke into Gabriel Isaacke's house and Dawson pilfered Murray's baggage within days of one another shows the enslaved population turning to theft against the free settlers and passengers, the recovered goods and severe whippings marking the council's effort to suppress a wave of such crime. The interrogation of March, who admitted the robbery and implicated Isuar, the slave of the widow Mary Scale, exposes again the networks among the enslaved that lay behind these thefts, two men of different owners acting together and hiding the goods at their quarters. Isuar's flight to escape punishment shows the risk of the lash driving the enslaved to run, the same pattern of escape that had earlier drawn Dick and his helpers before the council, the

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			harshness of the penalty producing the very absconding it was meant to deter. The inventory of Isaacke's stolen goods offers a glimpse of the modest possessions of a settler's household, arrack and rice, ribbon and buckles, gold rings and a silver tobacco stopper, fish hooks and lines, and the everyday furniture of the home. Iberack was a coarse striped or checked cotton cloth of Indian make, and its presence among the household stuff alongside the silk handkerchiefs and imported textiles shows even a small island dwelling stocked with the goods of the eastern trade, the products of India woven into the ordinary domestic life of St Helena.
255	244	31st December And as it is a subsisting Law of the Island that whatever Goods are stolen by a Black should be made good by the Master or Owner, We therefore ordered that the Damage Mr Gabriel Isaacke may have sustained should be made good to him by Mr Matthew Bazett and Mrs Mary Scale, and in Case the said Simar belonging to Mrs Mary Scale should not, when taken, be proved to have been concerned in the above Theft Mr Matthew Bazett then to pay the whole. And for this notorious and audacious Burglary and Theft, We ordered March the said Slave to be severely whipped Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th day of January 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lt Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 31st December 1759 Wednesday the 2d died Edward Allis and John Anger, Soldiers We this day Executed the following Leases Viz 1 To the Executors of Joseph Whaley John Desfountain Elisha Isaacke for 5 Acres 3 To Mr John Clark for 13 D° 1 To Orlando Bagley Junr for 19 D° The Executors of the last Will and Testament of John Anger Soldier this Day presented the said Will desiring it might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses, The Will is as follows Vizt	As it was a standing law of the island that whatever goods were stolen by a slave should be made good by his master or owner, the council ordered that the damage Gabriel Isaacke might have sustained should be made good to him by Matthew Bazett and Mary Scale, and, in case the goods belonging to Mary Scale should not, when taken, be proved to have been concerned in the above theft, Matthew Bazett should then pay the whole. For this notorious and audacious burglary and theft, the council ordered March to be severely whipped. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. At a consultation held on Monday 7 January 1760 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 31 December 1759. On Wednesday 2 of the month Edward Allis and John Anger, soldiers, died. Weeks this day executed the following leases. 1 to the executors of Joseph Whaley, John Desfountain and Elisha Isaacke, for 5 acres 3 to Mr John Clark, for 13 acres 1 to Orlando Bagley junior, for 19 acres The executors of the last will and testament of John Anger, a soldier, this day presented his will, desiring it might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the witnesses. The will runs as follows. **Interpretations** The rule that an owner must make good whatever his slave stole reveals the law of the island holding masters financially liable for the crimes of the enslaved, treating the theft as a fault of the property for which its owner answered. Ordering Matthew Bazett and Mary Scale to compensate Isaacke, and making Bazett pay the whole should Scale's slave be cleared, shows the council enforcing this liability directly, the burden of a slave's crime falling on the purse of the person who owned him rather than on the enslaved thief who could offer no restitution. The condition attached to Mary Scale's liability, that she pay only if her slave Isuar were proved to have shared in the theft, shows the council apportioning the damage according to actual involvement rather than charging both owners equally. Making Bazett answerable for the whole if Scale's man were cleared reveals a careful assignment of responsibility to the proven wrongdoer's owner, the council weighing each master's liability against the part his slave was shown to have played. The proving of John Anger's will upon the oaths of its witnesses, entered the same day his death was recorded, shows the council acting as the island's probate authority as well as its court and government. That a common soldier left a will to be formally proved reveals even the humblest of the garrison possessing something worth bequeathing, the council authenticating the testament through the sworn

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			evidence of those who witnessed it exactly as an English court would, the small legal forms of home reproduced on the remote island.
256	245	1760 In the Name of God Amen I John Anger Soldier in the Service of the Honorable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies being Sick and weak in Body but of sound and disposing Mind Memory and Understanding DO hereby make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner and form following that is to say First Hereby Will and direct that all my Just Debts be first paid and discharged by my Executor hereinafter named out of what Effects I shall leave at my Decease Item All the rest residue and remainder of my Cloathing Wearan Goods and Effects which I shall leave at my Decease Hereby give and bequeath unto my Friend and Comrade Sylvanus Reoff also Soldier in the said Honorable Company's Service to his own Use And I do hereby nominate and appoint him the said Sylvanus Rodph Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made and revocated and declare this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said John Anger have hereunto set my hand and Seal this First day of January in the Year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and Sixty Signed sealed published and declared Signed by the said Subscr John Anger as his John Anger last Will and Testament in the presence of as who at his request and in his presence have subscribed our Names as Witnesses Wm Cobb Wm Brown T. Dunn Ordered the following Advertisement to be published Vizt Whereas many Thefts and Robberys have been committed on this Island and several Things bought from Slaves and Blacks which afterwards were proved to have been Stolen; This is therefore to forbid all Persons upon the said Island to buy receive exchange or take in pledge any thing from either Soldier or Blacks without the Soldier produce Leave in Writing	John Anger, a soldier in the service of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, being sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory, made his last will and testament as follows. He first directed that all his just debts be paid and discharged by his executor out of the effects he should leave at his death. All the rest, residue and remainder of his clothing, arms, goods and effects which he should leave at his death he gave and bequeathed to his friend and comrade Sylvanus Roilt, also a soldier in the Honourable Company's service, to his own use. He nominated and appointed Sylvanus Roilt sole executor of his will, revoking all former wills made by him at any time before, and declared this alone to be his last will and testament. In witness he set his hand and seal on 1 January 1760. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by John Anger as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request and in his presence subscribed their names, William Cobb, William Brown and Thomas Dunn. The council ordered the following advertisement to be published. Many thefts and robberies had been committed on the island, and several things bought from soldiers and slaves which were afterwards proved to have been stolen. It was therefore forbidden to all persons upon the island to buy, receive in exchange or take in pledge anything from either soldier or slave without the soldier producing leave in writing. **Interpretations** John Anger's will shows a common soldier disposing of the whole of his modest estate, his clothing, arms, goods and effects, to a fellow soldier named as friend and comrade, the bond between the two men standing in place of any family to inherit. That Anger left everything to Sylvanus Roilt and made him sole executor reveals the ties of comradeship that bound the garrison's men, a soldier far from home passing his few possessions to the companion who had served beside him rather than to distant kin, the will authenticated and proved by the council within days of his death. The advertisement forbidding anyone to buy or take in pledge goods from a soldier or slave without written leave reveals the council attacking the market that made theft profitable, cutting off the receivers who turned stolen goods into cash. Responding to the spate of December burglaries by regulating the disposal of goods rather than relying on punishment alone, the council struck at the mechanism of the crime, requiring written authority before any purchase from the two classes most likely to be selling what they had stolen, so choking the outlet through which pilfered property passed into other hands.
257	246	7th January Writing from his Officer or the Black from his Master for whatsoever either Soldier or Black may offer to dispose of on any thing offered and exposed under the Penalty of paying a Fine of Five Pounds for every such Offence And it is recommended to all Persons to stop any thing or things that may be offered to them by any Soldier or Black, and to give notice thereof as Soon as they conveniently can to the Secretary Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling	John Anger, a soldier in the service of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, being sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory, made his last will and testament as follows. He first directed that all his just debts be paid and discharged by his executor out of the effects he should leave at his death. All the rest, residue and remainder of his clothing, arms, goods and effects which he should leave at his death he gave and bequeathed to his friend and comrade Sylvanus Roilt, also a soldier in the Honourable Company's service, to his own use. He nominated and appointed Sylvanus Roilt sole executor of his will, revoking all former wills made by him at any time before, and declared this alone to be

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th Day of January 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottowe Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 7th January 1760 Monday the 7th Late in the Evening arrived the Ship Success Captain Benjamin Jackson last from Rio de Janeiro and brought us the following Supply Viz	his last will and testament. In witness he set his hand and seal on 1 January 1760. The will was signed, sealed, published and declared by John Anger as his last will and testament in the presence of the witnesses, who at his request and in his presence subscribed their names, William Cobb, William Brown and Thomas Dunn. The council ordered the following advertisement to be published. Many thefts and robberies had been committed on the island, and several things bought from soldiers and slaves which were afterwards proved to have been stolen. It was therefore forbidden to all persons upon the island to buy, receive in exchange or take in pledge anything from either soldier or slave without the soldier producing leave in writing. **Interpretations** John Anger's will shows a common soldier disposing of the whole of his modest estate, his clothing, arms, goods and effects, to a fellow soldier named as friend and comrade, the bond between the two men standing in place of any family to inherit. That Anger left everything to Sylvanus Roilt and made him sole executor reveals the ties of comradeship that bound the garrison's men, a soldier far from home passing his few possessions to the companion who had served beside him rather than to distant kin, the will authenticated and proved by the council within days of his death. The advertisement forbidding anyone to buy or take in pledge goods from a soldier or slave without written leave reveals the council attacking the market that made theft profitable, cutting off the receivers who turned stolen goods into cash. Responding to the spate of December burglaries by regulating the disposal of goods rather than relying on punishment alone, the council struck at the mechanism of the crime, requiring written authority before any purchase from the two classes most likely to be selling what they had stolen, so choking the outlet through which pilfered property passed into other hands.
258	247	1760 Invoice of Ship Tavistock China Ware China Ware 1 Chest and 1 Tub S° 10 0 0, S° all 0 0, S 10 0 0 10 Chest 1 Tub 1 Cable set B° White 120 P° 12 2 d° D 5 P 22 Plates Ea° set 2 6s 5 2 d° 3 12 d° d° 1 1s 2 2 17 Sneakers coloured 3 3s 5 9s 3d 17½ Pint d° with Plates enameld 6 1 4 17½ d° d° d° B° White° 3 5 1 17 2 Quart Bowls 3 4 5 Sallad Dishes 1 5 2 Sauce Boats 2 25 2s 4d deduct 2 p° Cent 5 9s 24 9s 1s 6d N° 1 Bohea B1 Bohea Tea 1 Chest 1 SW 1 19	This is an invoice of the ship *Tavistock*. The chinaware figures are given in taels, mace, candareens and cash, and the tea and sugar are reckoned separately. Chinaware, marked CW number 16 chests 1 tub: 1 complete set blue and white, 120 pieces, 12 mace 2 dishes, deep and shallow, 22 plates each set, 2 taels 6 mace, 5 mace 2 dishes, 3 and 12, 1 tael 1 mace, 2 mace 2 candareens 17 sneakers, coloured, 3 mace 3 candareens, 5 mace 9 candareens 3 cash 17 pint dishes with plates enamelled, 6 mace, 1 mace 4 candareens 17 dishes, blue and white, 3 mace, 5 mace 1 candareen 17 quart bowls, 3 mace 4 candareens 5 salad dishes, 5 candareens 2 sauce boats, 2 candareens Subtotal, 25 taels 2 mace 4 candareens Deduct 2 per cent, 5 mace Total chinaware, 24 taels 9 mace 1 candareen 7 cash 6 Bohea tea, marked B number 1, 7 chests 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 19 pounds, tare 12 pounds, 10 chests, 14 taels 8 mace 7 candareens 5 cash Single tea, marked S number 2, 1 chest 2 quarters 1 hundredweight 24 pounds, 23 chests, 31 taels Congo tea, marked C number 3, 1 chest 3 quarters 2 hundredweight 5 pounds, 29 chests, 33 taels 3 mace 5 candareens Sugar candy, marked S number 18, 6 chests 8 pounds, 115 taels 2 mace 4 candareens 5 cash

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		12s 5d 14 8s 7s 5d Single S 2 D2 Single 1 2 Ch 2 1 24 23 31 Congo Ct3 Ch3 Congo Tea 1 3 Ch 3 2 5 29 35 3s 5d Sugar Cd 18 C8 Sugar Candy 8 N° 1 7 17 73 6 5s 115 2s 4s 5d 8 1 8 18 81 6 0s 8s 8d 7 5s 4s 8d Sugar 1 8 C8 Sugar 8 Chests 17 82 5 3s 98 1s 3381 1s 8d Batta 8 p° Cent 347 1s 3s 4d Taken from the Books Errors Excepted p Wm Walker Captain Jenkans being in so great Distress for Want of Salt Provisions that he could not proceed for England without a Supply, apply'd to us for ten Sacoos and five firmchoors of Beef and six Hogsheads of Pork, which we spared to him accordingly out of the Honorable Company's Stores, as we did likewise several other Things that he required Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling	Sugar, marked S number 18, 8 chests, 98 taels 1 mace Total, 3,347 taels 1 mace 3 candareens 4 cash Taken from the books, errors excepted, per Moses Walker. Captain Jenkins being in so great distress for want of salt provisions that he could not proceed for England without a supply, the council spared to him accordingly out of the Honourable Company's stores tea for two chows and five firkins of beef and six hogsheads of pork, which he required, as well as several other things that he required. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The invoice of the *Tavistock* records a cargo of Chinese goods reckoned entirely in the money of Canton, the taels, mace, candareens and cash of the China trade, marking a ship come from the eastern terminus of the Company's commerce rather than from India. The consignment of blue and white china, enamelled dishes, sauce boats and salad dishes, together with the several grades of tea and the sugar candy, shows the full range of the Canton trade that made the Company's fortune, the porcelain and tea of China carried westward to be sold at vast profit in England. The distinction drawn between bohea, single and congo teas reveals the grading of the Company's staple import by quality and price, congo and bohea being black teas from the Wuyi hills of Fujian shipped in great quantity to satisfy the growing English appetite for tea. That a single ship carried tens of chests of each grade shows the scale of the trade that passed the island, the *Tavistock* laden with the leaf that had become the most valuable article of the whole eastern commerce, St Helena lying on the route by which it travelled home. The relief granted to Captain Jenkins, spared beef, pork, tea and other stores from the Company's own provisions so that his ship could complete its passage to England, shows the island performing its essential function as a victualling station for the homeward fleet. That the council opened its stores to a captain in distress for want of salt provisions reveals the mutual dependence between the island and the shipping, St Helena existing in large part to revictual the vessels running home from the East, its stores the last resort of a ship that could not otherwise reach home.
259	248	21 January At a Consultation held on Monday the 21st day of January 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 14th January 1760 Thursday the 17th died Richard Harper a Native The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this Day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow Vizt Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Company's Table for the Month ending the 11th instant Vizt 24 Bottles Port 1 13s 6d 28 D° Lisbon 1 19s 1d 15 D° Mountain	At a consultation held on Monday 21 January 1760 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 14 January 1760. On Thursday 17 of the month Richard Harper, a native, died. The plantation, gunners and stewards accounts for the month ending the 11 instant were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and run as follows. This is an account of sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending the 11 instant. 24 bottles of port, £1 13s 6d 28 bottles of Lisbon, £1 19s 1d 15 bottles of mountain, £1 0s 3½d 22 bottles of Madeira, £2 9s 4½d 78 bottles of arrack, £2 12s 0d 28 bottles of beer, £0 5s 10d 37 pounds of flour, £2 6s 1d 353 pounds of fresh beef, £4 2s 0d 15 pounds of salt beef, £0 4s 0d 120 pounds of fresh pork, £3 0s 0d

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		1 13s 4d 22 D° Madeira 2 0s 4s½d 78 D° Arrack 2 12s 28 D° Beer 5s 10d 371 Flour 2 6s 1d 357 D° Fresh Beef 4 2s 1 D° Salt Beef 4s 120 Fresh Pork 3s 15 D° Salt D° 10s 356 pounds Mutton 7 8s 4d 5 pounds Goat 17s 2 Kidds 10s 25 Fowls 1 7s 6d 5 Ducks 7s 8d 2 Geese 10s 4 Turkeys 1 45 d° Fresh butter 2 5s 3d 38 Sugar 9s 6d 36 Candy 12s 36 9s 3s½d	15 pounds of salt pork, £1 10s 0d 356 pounds of mutton, £7 8s 4d 5 pounds of goat, £0 17s 0d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 25 fowls, £1 7s 6d 5 ducks, £0 7s 6d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 43½ pounds of fresh butter, £2 5s 3d 38 pounds of sugar, £0 9s 6d 36 pounds of candy, £0 12s 0d Total, £36 9s 3½d **Interpretations** The table account for the month holds to the settled pattern, mutton again the heaviest single charge at £7 8s 4d, supported by generous quantities of fresh beef and pork drawn from the island's herds, with poultry, butter and the customary wines and arrack completing the officers fare. The steady dominance of the local meat confirms the establishment continuing to live chiefly off its own flocks through the summer months, the imported drink the one element of the table brought from beyond the island. The large quantity of fresh pork this month, 120 pounds against the smaller amounts in earlier accounts, shows the garrison drawing more heavily on its hogs than usual, perhaps reflecting animals brought to slaughter as they reached their weight. The stock accounts had carried a standing herd of swine kept for the table, and the rise in pork consumed here marks the ordinary working of that supply, the pigs killed and eaten as they matured while the mutton held its place as the staple fresh meat.
260	249	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c° from the 12th December 1759 to the 11th January 1760 viz Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Yeams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Yeams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, General, Total, Squab, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Lother, Sother, Total Remaining 12th: Bulls 6, Cows 135, Calves 120, Yearlings 58, Heifers 24, Steers 26, Oxen 18, Total 387, Ewes 321, Weathers 139, Lambs 213, Yeams 8, Total 681, Ewes 216, Weathers 31, Kids 85, Yeams 10, Total 342, Sows 10, Shoats 11, Pigs 12, General 2, Total 35, Squab 188, Ducks 63, Turkeys 23, Geese 30, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Lother 4, Sother 1, Total 5 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 4, Yeams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, General 0, Total 0, Squab 28, Ducks 7, Turkeys 5, Geese 4, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Lother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 135, Calves 120, Yearlings 58, Heifers 24, Steers 26, Oxen 18, Total 387, Ewes 321, Weathers 139, Lambs 213, Yeams 8, Total 681, Ewes 216, Weathers 31, Kids 89, Yeams 10, Total 346, Sows 10, Shoats 11, Pigs 12, General 2, Total 35, Squab 216, Ducks 70, Turkeys 28, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Lother 4, Sother 1, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 1, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Oxen 4, Total 23, Ewes 10, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 33, Total 1, Ewes 6, Weathers 2, Kids 0, Yeams 9, Total 0, Sows 2, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, General 2, Total 24, Squab 5, Ducks 4, Turkeys 2, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Lother 0, Sother 0, Total 0	This is an account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals from 12 December 1759 to 11 January 1760. The account is laid out in seven rows: the number remaining on 12 December, the natural increase, the resulting total, the animals killed, those that died, one stolen, one killed by accident and the number remaining on 11 January. Each figure below carries the identity of its column. Remaining 12 December: 6 bulls, 135 cows, 120 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 26 steers, 18 oxen, 387 neat cattle total; 321 sheep ewes, 139 sheep wethers, 213 sheep lambs, 8 sheep rams, 681 sheep total; 216 goat ewes, 31 goat wethers, 85 goat kids, 10 goat rams, 342 goat total; 10 hog sows, 11 hog shoats, 12 hog pigs, 2 hog brawns, 35 hog total; 188 poultry fowls, 63 ducks, 23 turkeys, 30 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses total; 4 she-asses, 1 he-ass, 5 asses total Increased: 4 goat kids, 4 goat total; 28 poultry fowls, 7 ducks, 5 turkeys, 4 geese Total: 6 bulls, 135 cows, 120 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 26 steers, 18 oxen, 387 neat cattle total; 321 sheep ewes, 139 sheep wethers, 213 sheep lambs, 8 sheep rams, 681 sheep total; 216 goat ewes, 31 goat wethers, 89 goat kids, 10 goat rams, 346 goat total; 10 hog sows, 11 hog shoats, 12 hog pigs, 2 hog brawns, 35 hog total; 216 poultry fowls, 70 ducks, 28 turkeys, 34 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses total; 4 she-asses, 1 he-ass, 5 asses total Killed: 1 bull, 1 cow, 2 steers, 4 neat cattle total; 23 sheep ewes, 10 sheep wethers, 33 sheep total; 1 goat ewe, 6 goat wethers, 2 goat kids, 9 goat total; 2 hog shoats; 2 poultry fowls, 24 ducks, 5 turkeys, 4 geese, 2 geese

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		Died: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 3, Oxen 4, Total 1, Ewes 5, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Sows 4, Shoats 4, Pigs 1, General 0, Total 2, Squab 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Lother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, General 0, Total 0, Squab 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 1, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Lother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Killed by Accident: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, General 0, Total 0, Squab 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Lother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 5, Cows 131, Calves 119, Yearlings 58, Heifers 24, Steers 24, Oxen 18, Total 379, Ewes 294, Weathers 129, Lambs 212, Yeams 8, Total 643, Ewes 215, Weathers 25, Kids 87, Yeams 10, Total 337, Sows 10, Shoats 9, Pigs 8, General 2, Total 29, Squab 191, Ducks 65, Turkeys 22, Geese 31, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Lother 4, Sother 1, Total 5 Good Yam Expended 14,075 1,150 15,225 Refused d° for Stock 8,075 Signd John Skottowe 23,200	Died: 2 cows, 1 calf, 3 neat cattle total; 4 sheep wethers, 1 sheep lamb, 5 sheep total; 4 hog pigs, 4 hog total; 1 duck, 2 turkeys Stole: 1 turkey Killed by accident: 1 bull, 1 neat cattle total Remaining 11 January: 5 bulls, 131 cows, 119 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 24 steers, 18 oxen, 379 neat cattle total; 294 sheep ewes, 129 sheep wethers, 212 sheep lambs, 8 sheep rams, 643 sheep total; 215 goat ewes, 25 goat wethers, 87 goat kids, 10 goat rams, 337 goat total; 10 hog sows, 9 hog shoats, 8 hog pigs, 2 hog brawns, 29 hog total; 191 poultry fowls, 65 ducks, 22 turkeys, 31 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses total; 4 she-asses, 1 he-ass, 5 asses total Good yarn expended, 14,075 Refuse good for stock, 1,150 Total, 15,225 Refuse good for stock, 8,075 Total, 23,200 Signed John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The January stock account shows the heavy killing of the Christmas period continuing into the new year, though now falling most sharply on the sheep, with 33 slaughtered against far fewer of the other beasts. Drawing down the flock so steeply while the cattle were largely spared confirms the settled priority of the establishment, the sheep bearing the main burden of the fresh-meat supply as the garrison worked through the festive season and into the summer. The theft of a single turkey, entered as its own line in the account, shows the stock reckoning tracking even the smallest loss to pilfering, the stolen bird set apart from those killed for the table or dead of natural causes. That a lone turkey merited a separate category of stole reveals the precision of the Company's animal accounting, every head lost by whatever means run to its proper cause so that the storekeeper could answer for the whole, the pilfering of poultry noted alongside the December burglaries as part of the settlement's petty crime. The bull killed by accident, distinguished from the bull deliberately slaughtered and the cows that died, shows the account separating the manner of each loss with care, an animal lost to mishap kept apart from those taken for meat or dead of disease. Recording the accidental death of a valuable breeding bull in its own line reveals the same meticulous reckoning applied to the herd's misfortunes as to its planned consumption, the Company insisting on a full and exact account of how each beast was lost.
261	250	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c° from the 12th December 1759 to the 11th January 1760 viz Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Yeams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Yeams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, General, Total, Squab, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Lother, Sother, Total Remaining 12th: Bulls 6, Cows 135, Calves 120, Yearlings 58, Heifers 24, Steers 26, Oxen 18, Total 387, Ewes 321, Weathers 139, Lambs 213, Yeams 8, Total 681, Ewes 216, Weathers 31, Kids 85, Yeams 10, Total 342, Sows 10, Shoats 11, Pigs 12, General 2, Total 35, Squab 188, Ducks 63, Turkeys 23, Geese 30, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Lother 4, Sother 1, Total 5 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 4, Yeams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, General 0, Total 0, Squab 28, Ducks 7, Turkeys 5,	This is an account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other animals from 12 December 1759 to 11 January 1760. The account is laid out in seven rows: the number remaining on 12 December, the natural increase, the resulting total, the animals killed, those that died, one stolen, one killed by accident and the number remaining on 11 January. Each figure below carries the identity of its column. Remaining 12 December: 6 bulls, 135 cows, 120 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 26 steers, 18 oxen, 387 neat cattle total; 321 sheep ewes, 139 sheep wethers, 213 sheep lambs, 8 sheep rams, 681 sheep total; 216 goat ewes, 31 goat wethers, 85 goat kids, 10 goat rams, 342 goat total; 10 hog sows, 11 hog shoats, 12 hog pigs, 2 hog brawns, 35 hog total; 188 poultry fowls, 63 ducks, 23 turkeys, 30 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses total; 4 she-asses, 1 he-ass, 5 asses total Increased: 4 goat kids, 4 goat total; 28 poultry fowls, 7 ducks, 5 turkeys, 4 geese

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		Geese 4, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Lother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 6, Cows 135, Calves 120, Yearlings 58, Heifers 24, Steers 26, Oxen 18, Total 387, Ewes 321, Weathers 139, Lambs 213, Yeams 8, Total 681, Ewes 216, Weathers 31, Kids 89, Yeams 10, Total 346, Sows 10, Shoats 11, Pigs 12, General 2, Total 35, Squab 216, Ducks 70, Turkeys 28, Geese 34, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Lother 4, Sother 1, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 1, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Oxen 4, Total 23, Ewes 10, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 33, Total 1, Ewes 6, Weathers 2, Kids 0, Yeams 9, Total 0, Sows 2, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, General 2, Total 24, Squab 5, Ducks 4, Turkeys 2, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Lother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 3, Oxen 4, Total 1, Ewes 5, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Sows 4, Shoats 4, Pigs 1, General 0, Total 2, Squab 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Lother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, General 0, Total 0, Squab 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 1, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Lother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Killed by Accident: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Yeams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, General 0, Total 0, Squab 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Lother 0, Sother 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 5, Cows 131, Calves 119, Yearlings 58, Heifers 24, Steers 24, Oxen 18, Total 379, Ewes 294, Weathers 129, Lambs 212, Yeams 8, Total 643, Ewes 215, Weathers 25, Kids 87, Yeams 10, Total 337, Sows 10, Shoats 9, Pigs 8, General 2, Total 29, Squab 191, Ducks 65, Turkeys 22, Geese 31, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Lother 4, Sother 1, Total 5 Good Yam Expended 14,075 1,150 15,225 Refused d° for Stock 8,075 Signd John Skottowe 23,200	Total: 6 bulls, 135 cows, 120 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 26 steers, 18 oxen, 387 neat cattle total; 321 sheep ewes, 139 sheep wethers, 213 sheep lambs, 8 sheep rams, 681 sheep total; 216 goat ewes, 31 goat wethers, 89 goat kids, 10 goat rams, 346 goat total; 10 hog sows, 11 hog shoats, 12 hog pigs, 2 hog brawns, 35 hog total; 216 poultry fowls, 70 ducks, 28 turkeys, 34 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses total; 4 she-asses, 1 he-ass, 5 asses total Killed: 1 bull, 1 cow, 2 steers, 4 neat cattle total; 23 sheep ewes, 10 sheep wethers, 33 sheep total; 1 goat ewe, 6 goat wethers, 2 goat kids, 9 goat total; 2 hog shoats; 2 poultry fowls, 24 ducks, 5 turkeys, 4 geese, 2 geese Died: 2 cows, 1 calf, 3 neat cattle total; 4 sheep wethers, 1 sheep lamb, 5 sheep total; 4 hog pigs, 4 hog total; 1 duck, 2 turkeys Stole: 1 turkey Killed by accident: 1 bull, 1 neat cattle total Remaining 11 January: 5 bulls, 131 cows, 119 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 24 steers, 18 oxen, 379 neat cattle total; 294 sheep ewes, 129 sheep wethers, 212 sheep lambs, 8 sheep rams, 643 sheep total; 215 goat ewes, 25 goat wethers, 87 goat kids, 10 goat rams, 337 goat total; 10 hog sows, 9 hog shoats, 8 hog pigs, 2 hog brawns, 29 hog total; 191 poultry fowls, 65 ducks, 22 turkeys, 31 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses total; 4 she-asses, 1 he-ass, 5 asses total Good yarn expended, 14,075 Refuse good for stock, 1,150 Total, 15,225 Refuse good for stock, 8,075 Total, 23,200 Signed John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The January stock account shows the heavy killing of the Christmas period continuing into the new year, though now falling most sharply on the sheep, with 33 slaughtered against far fewer of the other beasts. Drawing down the flock so steeply while the cattle were largely spared confirms the settled priority of the establishment, the sheep bearing the main burden of the fresh-meat supply as the garrison worked through the festive season and into the summer. The theft of a single turkey, entered as its own line in the account, shows the stock reckoning tracking even the smallest loss to pilfering, the stolen bird set apart from those killed for the table or dead of natural causes. That a lone turkey merited a separate category of stole reveals the precision of the Company's animal accounting, every head lost by whatever means run to its proper cause so that the storekeeper could answer for the whole, the pilfering of poultry noted alongside the December burglaries as part of the settlement's petty crime. The bull killed by accident, distinguished from the bull deliberately slaughtered and the cows that died, shows the account separating the manner of each loss with care, an animal lost to mishap kept apart from those taken for meat or dead of disease. Recording the accidental death of a valuable breeding bull in its own line reveals the same meticulous reckoning applied to the herd's misfortunes as to its planned consumption, the Company insisting on a full and exact account of how each beast was lost.
262	251	1760 The Storekeeper delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from Ship Tavistock Vizt Account of Stores short received from Ship Tavistock Viz C 2 lb 3 10 Candy	The storekeeper delivered the following account of stores short received from the ship *Tavistock*. This is an account of stores short received from the ship *Tavistock*. 2 pounds, 3 pounds 10 ounces candy, short weight 3 pounds sugar, short weight 1 soup plate, broke

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		3 Sugar Short Weight 1 Soup Plate 5 Sneakers 1 Quart Pint Cup & Saucer broke received 24 Soup Plates not inserted in the Invoice St Helena 21st January 1760 Signd Wm Powell Storekeeper Enlisted Joseph Good, to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years at Five pounds Bounty Money, and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant One Hundred and twelve Blankets being worn out and unserviceable, belonging to the Garrison, we therefore ordered that Number to be Issued for their Use out of the Honorable Company's Stores Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling	3 sneakers, broke 1 quart pint cup and saucer, broke Received 24 soup plates not inserted in the invoice Signed James Powell, storekeeper, at St Helena on 21 January 1760. Joseph Good enlisted to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years, was paid £5 0s 0d bounty money, and had the Articles of War read to him by the Adjutant. There being 112 blankets belonging to the garrison worn out and unserviceable, the council ordered that number to be issued for the garrison's use out of the Honourable Company's stores. The order was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. **Interpretations** The storekeeper's short account of the *Tavistock*'s cargo records not only goods received short in weight and china broken in transit but also 24 soup plates delivered beyond what the invoice listed. Noting the surplus plates as carefully as the deficiencies shows the storekeeper reconciling the actual delivery against the invoice in both directions, protecting the Company by recording goods received that had never been billed as well as those billed but not received, the account serving as a full and honest tally of what the ship actually landed. The bounty of £5 0s 0d paid to Joseph Good stands well above the £1 0s 0d given earlier to John Maurice, showing the enlistment premium varying considerably from man to man. That a fresh recruit signing on for five years drew five times the bounty paid to a substitute reveals the garrison adjusting its inducements to the circumstances of each enlistment, the larger sum perhaps reflecting the open market for a new soldier against the cheaper cost of a man found to replace another already serving. The replacement of 112 worn-out blankets from the Company's stores shows the routine renewal of the garrison's bedding as it wore out, the establishment drawing on its warehoused supplies to keep the men equipped. That so many blankets needed replacing at once reveals the scale of the stores the island held against such ordinary wants, the Company maintaining a reserve of bedding and equipment sufficient to refit a large part of the garrison from its own warehouse when the old issue failed.
263	252	25th January At a Consultation held on Friday the 25th Day of January 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottowe Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 21st January 1760 Wednesday the 23d died Thomas Colgrave Planter Lieutenant John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ship Tavistock to enquire for Deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Tavistock Benjamin Jenkins Commander Thomas Spikes 2d Mr Henry Hammond Thomas Biddell Chief Mate William Tidsall d° Gonsala Gomez George Thomson 2d d° Thomas Holt Carpent m° Francisco Jose	At a consultation held on Friday 25 January 1760 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 21 January 1760. On Wednesday 23 of the month Thomas Cottgrave, a planter, died. Lieutenant John Clark reported that he had been on board the ship *Tavistock* to enquire for deserters but found none, and that her muster roll was as follows. This is the muster roll of the ship *Tavistock*. Benjamin Jenkins, commander Thomas Briddell, Chief Mate George Thomson, Second Mate Philip Elliott, Third Mate Prince Broad, Fourth Mate Roger Fish, Fifth Mate Richard Harrison, purser James Rutherford, surgeon Martin Salter, surgeon's mate John Middleton, gunner Stephen Cressley, carpenter Patrick Toby, ship's steward Thomas Coles, Midshipman

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		Philip Elliott 3d d°	Charles Richards, the same
		Nathaniel Blake d°	Matthew Carr, the same
		William Alexander	John Cutts, the same
		Rrouse Broad 4th d°	Thomas Winspeare, the same
		Gilbert Black Joyner	Matthew Ilders, captain's steward
		Matthew Martin	John Wade, the same
		Roger Fish Sedner 5th d°	Mattias Rigell
		Alexander Redington	William Jackson, caulker
		Nicholas Golanus	James Smith, cooper
		Richard Harrison Purser	Timothy Gray, gunner's mate
		William McSyley Gun mate	Henry Jones, the same
		Anthonio Quacray	Thomas Spikes, surgeon's mate
		James Routherford Surgeon	William Kilball, the same
		Stephen Jenham Butcher	Thomas Holt, captain's servant
		William Wadham	Nathaniel Blake, the same
		Martin Salter d° Mate	Gilbert Black, joiner
		William Shirley Ships Cook	Alexander Redington, the same
		Domingo de Silva	William McSoley, gunner's mate
		John Middleton Gunner	Stephen Senham, butcher
		Garrot Byrne Cap° Cook	William Shirley, ship's cook
		Rasphael Anthonio	Garret Byrne, captain's cook
		Stephen Crossbey Carpenter	Thomas Farley, ship's cook
		Thomas Tunley Taylor	Benjamin Bradshaw, captain's cook
		Pedro Jose	Edmund Bryant, the same
		Patrick Toby Ships Stew	Henry Greenwood, boatswain's mate
		Benj Bradshaw Cap° brod	Seamen:
		Anthonio Perara	James Watson
		Thomas Coles Midshipman	Chickly Perkins
		Edmund Bryant d°	Francisco Anthonio
		David Monro	Samuel Redhead
		Charles Richards d°	William Berwick
		Henry Grunwood Boats m°	Francisco Cifs
		Thomas Hoard	John More
		Matthew Carr d°	Nathaniel Clark
		Daniel Neale	Henry Hammond
		John Cutts d°	Gonsala Gomez
		Seamen	Francisco Jasse
		Mem Veara	William Alexander
		Thomas Wintpeare d°	Matthew Martin
		James Watson	Nicholas Golanus
		John Martine	Anthonio Queevray
		Matthew Illens Cap° Stud	William Wadham
		Chickly Perkins	Domingo de Silva
		William Brixton	Raphael Anthonio
		John Wid°	Pedro Jose
		Francisco Anthonio	Anthonio Perreira
		Dominices Johnston	David Monro
		Mattus Reyell	Thomas Hoard
		Samuel Redhead	Daniel Neale
		Jose Martine	Mera Veara
		William Jackson Coulker	John Martine
		William Bewick	William Bryson
		George Bacon	Domenico Johnston
		James Smith Cooper	Jose Martine
		Francisco Ciss	George Bacon
		Peter Steward	Peter Steward
		Timothy Gray d° Master	William Hopps
		John More	Caesar
		William Hopp	**Interpretations**
		Henry Jones d°	The muster of the *Tavistock* records a third East Indiaman lying at the island, her cargo of China goods invoiced in the earlier consultation, and her crew ranged in the familiar order from commander and five mates through the ship's tradesmen to the ordinary seamen. Lieutenant Clark's boarding of this vessel too, searching for deserters and finding none, shows the standing routine applied to every arriving ship, the council keeping its check on the movement of seamen who might slip ashore at the island.
		Nathan Clark	The crew of the *Tavistock* shows an even more pronounced foreign element than the earlier ships, the seamen including a great many Portuguese and Iberian names such as Gonsala Gomez, Domingo de Silva, Anthonio Perreira and Pedro Jose, reflecting the ship's trade to China through the Portuguese settlement at Macao. Manning a vessel on the long
		Cesar	

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			Canton voyage drew heavily on sailors gathered along the eastern routes, the roll showing the Portuguese seafarers of the China trade filling out a crew that could not be found from English hands alone. The single seaman entered only as Caesar, standing without a surname at the foot of the roll, marks in all probability an enslaved or formerly enslaved man borne among the crew, the classical name commonly imposed on the enslaved setting him apart from the named sailors above. That such a man worked the ship as a seaman shows the porous boundary between slavery and free labour aboard the Indiamen, a man of servile name taking his place in the crew of a vessel trading to China.
264	253	1760 John Baptisto Jose Sivira John Cornish John King John Campbell John Walton Vincent Oakley Michael Martin Leon Hawthorn Pedro Mies John Cost Richard Arrowsmith Thomas Danby John da Costa Charles Wickman Manuel Francisco John Welch Jacob Mark Manuel Anthonio Thomas Brews Frederick Brayer Henry Graham Nathan Agnes James Shead Henry Bramwell Anthonio Soares John Isnaver Mr Biddle Boy Manuel da Costa Louis Merrill George Hurchin the Late Mr Rich° Domingo de Sivora Anthonio Francisco Sebastian G Robert Seward Scoff Louis John Brown Mathew Leglair Mordecai Walker Esq Chief Supra Cargoe Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Burling At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th day of January 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottowe Esq Lieut Governor Lieut John Clark Mr Matthew Burling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated 25 January 1760 The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the paymaster his Account for the Quarter ending the 11th day of January 1760 which were examined and approved and are as follow Vizt Collection	The muster roll of the ship *Tavistock* continued with the following. John Baptista John King Vincent Oakley Pedro Mira Thomas Darby Manuel Francisco Manuel Anthonio Henry Graham Henry Bramwell Manuel da Costa Domingo de Sivora Robert Seward John Brown Jose Pereira John Campbell Michael Martin John Cole John da Costa John Welch Thomas Prews Nathan Agras Anthonio Sarra Louis Morell Anthonio Francesco Scott Matthew Sinclair John Cornish John Walton Leon Hawthorn Richard Arrowsmith Charles Wickman Jacob Mark Frederick Brayer James Sheard John Isuar, Mr Riddle's boy George Harison, the late Mr Richards's Sebastian Louis Mordecai Walker, Chief Supercargo. The muster was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Purling. At a consultation held on Monday 28 January 1760 at the castle, there were present Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Bazett of the council. The last consultation was read, approved and signed, dated 25 January 1760. The storekeeper brought in his collections and the paymaster his account for the quarter ending the 11 of January 1760, which were examined and approved and run as follows. **Interpretations** The presence of Mordecai Walker as Chief Supercargo at the foot of the roll marks the senior commercial officer who governed the trade of the China voyage, the man responsible for buying the cargo of tea and porcelain at Canton and managing the Company's business in the East. That the supercargo ranked distinct from the ship's

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			commander shows the division between the sailing of the vessel and the conduct of its trade, the captain answering for the ship while the supercargo directed the commercial venture that was the voyage's whole purpose. The two boys entered at the end as attendants, John Isuar described as Mr Riddle's boy and George Harison as the late Mr Richards's, together with Sebastian, Louis and Caesar borne without surnames, record enslaved servants carried aboard the *Tavistock* in personal service. That one is named as belonging to a man now dead shows the enslaved boy passing as property from a deceased master, his service continuing aboard the ship, the single names and the language of belonging marking these attendants as the human chattels of the officers and passengers they waited upon.
265	254	28th January Collection of Goods sold and delivered out of the Honorable Company's Stores from the 12th October 1759 to the 11th January 1760 Sold to the Company's Servants at 10 p° Cent Vizt Shoes Vizt 1 p° Goats 2 5s½d 8 p° Boys 1 7s 26 p° Mens Ordinary 5 13s 9d 1 p° d° Pumps 6 3s 1 p° d° Channeld 6 11½d 3 p° Womens Callimanco 13 8 9s 5½d Nails Vizt ½ 2 4 3 22¾ 4 49 6 16 10 5 20 3 40 ½ Tacks 4 flooring Brads 2 9s 9½d Oil Vizt 26 ½ Gall Train 5 9s 5d 4 d° Linseed 17s 6d 10 Bottles Florence 1 6s 2d 7 13s Salt 26 7/8 Bushells 4 9s 7d Sugar & Candy Vizt 3489 Sugar 17 4s 11½d 228 Candy 4 5s 6d 51 10s 5½d Arrack 135 ¼ Gall 46 6s 3d Beef & Pork Vizt 2842 p° Beef 284 4s 2234 p° Pork 223 8s 507 12s Carried Over 628 10s 6½d	This is a collection of goods sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company's stores from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760. The goods were sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent advance. Shoes, namely: 1 pair, boys, £0 2s 5½d 8 pairs, boys, £1 7s 0d 26 pairs, men's ordinary, £5 13s 9d 1 pair, pumps, £0 6s 3d 1 pair, channelled, £0 6s 11d 3 pairs, women's calimanco, £0 13s 0d Total shoes, £8 9s 5½d Nails, namely: 1½ pounds at 2d, 3d 4 at 3d 22¾ at 4d 49 at 6d 16 at 10d 5 at 20d 3 at 40d 2 tacks 4 flooring brads Total nails, £2 9s 9½d Oil, namely: 26⅞ gallons train, £5 9s 5d 4⅜ linseed, £1 17s 6d 10 bottles Florence, £1 6s 2d Total oil, £7 13s 0d Salt, 26⅞ bushels, £4 9s 7d Sugar and candy, namely: 348¾ pounds sugar, £17 4s 11½d 228 candy, £4 5s 6d Total sugar and candy, £51 10s 5½d Arrack, 135½ gallons, £46 6s 3d Beef and pork, namely: 2842 pounds beef, £284 4s 0d 2234 pounds pork, £223 8s 0d Total beef and pork, £507 12s 0d Carried over, £628 10s 6½d **Interpretations** The collection account records the Company operating a store from which its servants bought a wide range of goods at a fixed 10 per cent advance on cost, the establishment functioning as supplier and retailer to its own people. Selling shoes, nails, oil, salt, sugar, arrack and salt provisions to the garrison at a set markup shows the Company recouping its outlay while providing the men with the necessities of island life, the store a controlled source of supply that kept the settlement provisioned and turned a modest profit on every article sold. The overwhelming dominance of the beef and pork at £507 12s 0d against every other line reveals salt provisions as by far the largest article the Company sold to its people, the men buying their staple meat from the stores in great quantity. That the salt beef and pork so far outweighed the fresh

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			mutton of the table accounts shows the ordinary soldier and servant living chiefly on preserved meat drawn from the warehouse, the fresh flesh of the island's flocks reserved largely for the officers table while the garrison at large depended on the salted provisions shipped in and sold on. Calimanco was a glossy woollen cloth with a checked or striped pattern, here made up into women's shoes, and its appearance among the footwear shows the store supplying not only the working necessities of the men but goods for the women of the settlement too. That the Company stocked women's shoes of a fashionable material reveals the store serving the whole community of the island rather than the garrison alone, the families and dependents of the settlement drawing on the same warehouse for the finer articles of dress as well as the plain necessities.
266	255	1760 Brought Over 628 10s 6½d Turners Ware Vizt 1 Cloth Brush 2 5s½d 3 Punch Ladles 1 11s 13 Shoe Brushes 8 1s½d 5 Scrubbing d° 12 3s½d 2 Wood Ladles 0 2 d° Tongs 7s 6d 1 d° Bowl 1 4s 2 d° Reamers 2 4s 2 Labourers Baskets 1 9s 1 Mops 1 4s½d 2 Hair Brooms 4 11s 4 Birch d° 1 10s 1 Basket 2 5s 1 Paint Brush 3 2 9s 11d Shirts &c Vizt 84 p° Linnen 14 2s 11d 85¾ Yds Brown Holland 8 10s 1½d 78 Centinels Shirts 19 6s 9d 41 19s 9½d Iron Ware Vizt 6 Chest Locks 1 4s 3d 4 Stock d° 11s 4d 1 Cupboard d° 4 2½d 2 Seyorumand d° with Brass knobs 11 1 d° Bellows 3 1½d 3 Box Irons 3 10½d 6 Tills 2 6d 11 Gymblets	Brought over, £628 10s 6½d Turner's ware, namely: 1 cloth brush, £0 2s 5½d 3 punch ladles, £0 1s 11d 13 shoe brushes, £0 8s 1½d 5 scrubbing brushes, £0 12s 3½d 2 wood ladles, £0 0s 9d 2 tongs, £0 7s 6d 1 bowl, £0 1s 4d 2 rollers, £0 2s 4d 2 labourer's baskets, £0 1s 9d 1 mop, £0 1s 4½d 2 hair brooms, £0 4s 11d 4 birch brooms, £0 1s 10d 1 basket, £0 2s 8d 1 paint brush, £0 0s 3d Total turner's ware, £2 9s 11d Shirts and so on, namely: 84 pounds linen, £14 2s 11d 85½ yards brown holland, £8 10s 1½d 78 sentinels shirts, £19 6s 9d Total shirts, £41 19s 9½d Iron ware, namely: 6 chest locks, £1 4s 3d 4 stock locks, £0 11s 4d 1 cupboard lock, £0 4s 2d 2 escutcheoned locks with brass knobs, £0 11s 0d 1 pair bellows, £0 3s 1½d 3 box irons, £0 3s 10½d 6 tills, £0 3s 0d 11 gimblets, £0 2s 6d 2 handles and hinges at 27, £0 3s 2d 3 hasps, £0 2s 1½d 5 hand hatchets, £0 8s 4d 4 stock knobs, £0 8s 8d 2 ditching shovels, £0 9s 11d 2 large frying pans, £0 8s 3d 1 small the same, £0 5s 10d 3 scythe stones, £0 0s 10d 1 scythe, £0 6s 2d 7 pairs dovetail hinges, £0 2s 11d 2 rasp irons, £0 0s 8d Iron ware carried over, £673 3s 0d Carried over, £673 3s 0d **Interpretations** The collection continues with the household and hardware goods the store supplied to the settlement, brushes, brooms, ladles and baskets among the turner's ware, and a spread of locks, tools and ironmongery in the iron ware, the whole showing the warehouse stocked to meet the domestic and working needs of the island. Selling everything from paint brushes and mops to ditching shovels, hatchets and frying pans, the Company's store furnished the practical necessities of home and labour, the settlers drawing on it for the ordinary equipment of daily life.

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		2 6d 2 d° Hd Hinges a 3/7 3 2d 3 Halves 2 1½d 5 Hand Hatchets 8 4s 4 Short Hands 8 8s 2 ditching Shovels 9 11s 2 large frying pans 8 3s 1 Small d° 5 10s 3 Scythe Stones 10 1 Scythe 6 2s 7 d° Dovetail Hinges 2 11s 2 Ragstones 8 Iron Ware Carried Over Carried Over 673 3s	The 78 sentinels shirts entered among the linen goods, at over £19 by far the largest single line of the clothing, shows the store supplying the garrison's ordinary uniform shirts in quantity to the men. That the soldiers bought their shirts from the Company's warehouse reveals the establishment clothing its garrison through the same store that sold it shoes and provisions, the men equipped for service by purchase from the Company rather than by free issue, the cost of their necessary clothing charged back to them. Brown holland was a plain unbleached linen cloth of Dutch or Flemish origin, widely used for shirts, linings and working garments, and its sale by the yard shows the settlers buying cloth to make up into clothing themselves as well as ready-made shirts. Stocking both the finished garment and the material to sew it reveals the store meeting the settlement's need for clothing at every stage, supplying the plain durable linen from which the working dress of the island was made alongside the shirts already cut and stitched.
267	256	28th January Brought Over 673 3s Iron Ware brought over 3 Splinter Locks 1 10½d 3 Packing Needles 6 3 Broad Hoes 6 1 Pick Axe 3 10s 3 p° Sheep Shears 3 7s 1 Claw Hammer 1 8s 1 Maul 9 4s 8 6s 3d Barrack 2 Increumd Socks 11 Hats 5 Boys 1 13s 1½d Candles 167 lb 16 8s 4d Glass Ware Vizt 18 Squ° Glass 8 by 10 12 2 Squ° d° 10 by 12 1 10s 1 Cruent 2 3s 6 Wine Glasses 3 8½d 7 Beer d° 11 1s 1 p° Salts 5 10½d 1 16s 9d Cutlery Ware Vizt 89 Horn Combs 14 10s 2 Ivory Combs 5 5½d 13 p° Leather Garters 1 4s 4d 10 Shoe Reeves 3 9s 3 d° Teaspoon Reeves and Socks	Brought over, £673 3s 0d Iron ware brought over: 3 spindle locks, £1 10½d 3 packing needles, £0 0s 6d 3 broad hoes, £0 6s 0d 1 pick axe, £0 3s 10d 3 pairs sheep shears, £0 3s 7d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 8d 1 maul, £0 9s 4d Total iron ware, £8 6s 3d Barrack, 2 ironrimmed locks, £0 0s 11d Hats, 5 boys, £1 13s 1½d Candles, 167 pounds, £16 8s 4d Glassware, namely: 18 squares glass 8 by 10, £0 12s 0d 2 squares glass 10 by 12, £0 1s 10d 1 cement, £0 2s 3d 6 wine glasses, £0 3s 8½d 7 beer glasses, £0 11s 1d 1 pair salts, £0 5s 10½d Total glassware, £1 16s 9d Cutlery ware, namely: 89 horn combs, £0 14s 10d 2 ivory combs, £0 3s 5½d 13 pairs leather garters, £1 4s 4d 10 shoe knives, £0 3s 9d 3 dozen teaspoon knives and forks, £1 12s 9d 3 butchers knives, £0 1s 3d 1 penknife, £0 0s 11d 25 pairs shoe buckles, £0 14s 7d 36 pairs round buckles, £0 12s 0d Total cutlery ware, £5 9s 7½d Long ells, namely: 10 yards scarlet, £1 4s 7d 2⅛ blue, £0 4s 5½d Total long ells, £1 9s 0d Canvas, namely: 192½ yards Osnaburgs, £8 0s 5d 19½ yards English, £1 6s 9½d Total canvas, £9 7s 2½d March, 39¾, £0 14s 8½d Braziers ware, 2 pairs steel snuffers, £0 7s 6d Carried over, £719 3s 9½d **Interpretations** The collection closes with a further range of hardware, glass, cutlery and cloth, the store shown supplying the settlement with everything from window glass and wine glasses to combs, knives, buckles and bolts of woollen and canvas cloth. The

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		12 9s 3 Butchers Knives 1 3s 1 penning d° 3 25 p° Shoe Buckles 11 36 p° Round d° 14 7s 12 5 9s 7½d Long Ells Vizt 10 Yds Scarlet 1 4s 7d 2 d° Blue 4 5½d 1 9s Canvas Vizt 192½ Yds Annabregs 8 5s 19½ Yd English 1 6s 9½d 9 7s 2½d March 39¼ 14 8s 2½d Braziers Ware 2 p° Steel Snuffers 7 6s Carried Over 719 3s 9½d	breadth of the stock, spanning the coarse working necessities and the finer articles of table and dress alike, confirms the Company's warehouse as the single source from which the whole island furnished itself, the settlers dependent on it for goods of every kind that could not be made on the spot. The large quantity of candles, 167 pounds valued at over £16, shows artificial light a substantial and regular want of the settlement, the store supplying the tallow and wax by which the island's households and offices were lit through the dark hours. That candles formed so considerable a line reveals the practical dependence of the settlement on imported light, the remote island unable to furnish its own and drawing steadily on the warehouse for the means to work and live after nightfall. Osnaburgs were a coarse plain linen originally made in the German town of Osnabrück, used for sacking, working clothes and rough necessities, and long ells were narrow lengths of woollen cloth woven especially for the export trade, here stocked in scarlet and blue. The presence of both among the store's cloth shows the warehouse supplying textiles across the whole range of use, the rough osnaburg for labour and sacking and the coloured woollen ells for garments, the island clothed and equipped from the diverse fabrics of the European trade.
268	257	1760 Brought Over 719 3s 9½d Paint Vizt 34½ lb Indigo 2 18s 4d 24 d° Blue Smalts 1 17s 9 Barrells Blacking 3 11s 279 d° Whiting 5 9½d 1 d° Red Lead 3 1 d° Venetian Red 2½d 18 d° D° mixed 9 4½d 2 d° White Lead 2½d ½ Sky Blue 1 1 Mahogany 2 6d ½ Yellow d° mixed 1½d ½ Copperass 2½d 5 19s 1d Serge &c° Vizt 22½ Yds Fustian 2 1s 5d 5¼ Yds Scarlet Serge 1 19s 7½d 1 Yard Green Duffel 6 1½d 4 1s 2d Books Vizt 5 Testaments 10 7½d 1 Bible 3 8d 1 Horn Book 2 14s 5½d Deals Vizt	Brought over, £719 3s 9½d Paint, namely: 34½ pounds indigo, £2 18s 4d 24 pounds blue smalts, £1 17s 0d 2 pounds barrels blacking, £0 3s 11d 279 pounds whiting, £0 5s 9½d 1 pound red lead, £0 0s 3d 1 pound Venetian red, £0 0s 2½d 18¼ pounds mixed, £0 9s 4½d 2 pounds white lead, £0 0s 2½d ½ pound sky blue, £0 0s 6d 1 pound mahogany, £0 2s 6d ½ pound yellow ochre mixed, £0 0s 1½d ½ pound copperas, £0 0s 2½d Total paint, £5 19s 1d Serge and so on, namely: 22½ yards Prussian, £2 1s 5d 5¼ yards scarlet serge, £1 19s 7½d 1 yard green duffel, £0 6s 1½d Total serge, £4 1s 2d Books, namely: 5 Testaments, £0 10s 7½d 1 Bible, £0 3s 8d 1 horn book, £0 0s 2d Total books, £0 14s 5½d Deals, namely: 11 single, £1 7s 11½d 9 double, £1 16s 4½d 2 wainscot boards, £0 13s 6d Total deals, £3 17s 10d Broad cloth, 9½ yards scarlet, £9 19s 10½d Shalloon, namely: 13½ yards scarlet, £1 13s 2d 20⅝ yards white, £2 0s 4d Total shalloon, £3 13s 6½d Flannel, 20 yards, £1 5s 0d Long cloth, namely: 3 pieces number 1, £13 4s 0d 1 piece number 2, £3 10s 5d ½ piece number 2, old, £0 15s 10½d Total long cloth, £17 10s 3½d Carried over, £766 11s 4½d **Interpretations** The final range of goods shows the store stocking the materials of painting and decoration alongside a rich variety of cloth, from the pigments

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		11 Single 1 7s 11½d 9 Double 1 16s 4½d 2 Wainscott Boards 13s 6d 3 17s 10d Broad Cloth 9½ Yds Scarlet 9 19s 10½d Shalloon Vizt 13½ Yds Scarlet 1 13s 2d 20 5/8 d° White 2 4s 3 13s 6½d Flannel 20 Yds 1 5s Long Cloth Vizt 3 p° W° 1 13 4s 1 p° W° 2 3 10s 5d ½ p° W° 2 Old 15 10½d 17 10s 3½d Carried Over 766 11s 4½d	indigo, whiting, red and white lead and Venetian red to the serges, broadcloth, shalloon and flannel by the yard. This breadth confirms the warehouse as the source not only of necessities but of the means to build, paint and furnish, the settlers drawing on it for the colours to finish their houses as well as the fabrics to clothe themselves. The small parcel of religious and instructional books, five Testaments, a Bible and a horn book, reveals the store meeting the settlement's need for the means of worship and basic education. The horn book was a child's primer, a single leaf bearing the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer protected by a sheet of translucent horn, and its presence shows children being taught their letters on the island, the Company supplying the humble tools of literacy and religion alongside the cloth and hardware. The great value of the fine woollens, the scarlet broadcloth at nearly £10 and the several grades of serge, shalloon and long cloth, shows the store carrying costly dress materials well beyond the plain necessities of labour. Shalloon was a lightweight woollen cloth used chiefly for linings, and broadcloth a fine dense wool for good outer garments, the presence of these in scarlet and other colours revealing that the settlement clothed itself in more than working dress, the better sort drawing on the store for the materials of respectable and even fashionable attire.
269	258	28th January Brought Over 766 11s 4½d Camblet Vizt 9½ Yds Blue 2 1s 11½d 10 d° Scarlet 2 9s 7d 4 11s 6½d Corks 7 Gross 17s 9½d Bunting Vizt 1 Yd Red 3½d 2 d° White 1½d 1 d° Blue 6½d 2 5s Pease 1 d° Bushel 14 Kersey 43 Yds 3 7s 6d Haberdashery Ware Vizt 65 M° Silk 1 9s 9½d 40 M° Mohair 15 15 p° Holland Tape 10 7½d 3½ Gross Shirt Buttons 1 10s 3 d° White Waistcoat Buttons 9 1½d 32 Cockades 2 9s 1 d° Whalebone 8 3½d 1 doz yellow Metal Breast Buttons 6 4¾ doz Mohair Coat Buttons 3 2d 14½ d° Breast d° 4 10s 8½ Gross Horn Moulds 3 6½d	Brought over, £766 11s 4½d Camblet, namely: 9½ yards blue, £2 1s 11½d 10 yards scarlet, £2 9s 7d Total camblet, £4 11s 6½d Corks, 7 gross, £0 17s 9½d Bunting, namely: 1 yard red, £0 0s 9d 2 yards white, £0 1s 6d 1 yard blue, £0 0s 6½d Total bunting, £0 2s 5d Pease, 1 bushel, £0 14s 0d Kersey, 45 yards, £3 7s 6d Haberdashery ware, namely: 6 pounds silk, £1 9s 9½d 40 pounds mohair, £0 15s 0d 15 pieces holland tape, £0 10s 7½d 3½ gross shirt buttons, £0 1s 10d 3 dozen white waistcoat buttons, £0 0s 9½d 32 cockades, £1 2s 9d 1 pound whalebone, £0 8s 3½d 1 dozen yellow metal breast buttons, £0 0s 6d 4¾ dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 3s 2d 14½ dozen breast the same, £0 4s 10d 8½ gross horn moulds, £0 3s 6½d Total haberdashery ware, £5 15s 3½d Hosiery ware, namely: 6 pairs boys stockings, £1 0s 9d 84 pairs cotton the same, £18 10s 8d 3 pairs mens knit, £0 9s 4½d 1 pair the same, £0 2s 3d 2 pairs womens, £0 6s 8d 62 pairs thread, £8 18s 3d Total hosiery ware, £29 0s 11d Rice and paddy, namely: 20 pounds 3 pounds rice, £7 13s 5½d 12 pounds 3 pounds 2 paddy, £3 1s 8d Total rice and paddy, £10 17s 1½d Carried over, £821 17s 7½d **Interpretations** The concluding lines of the collection carry a further spread of cloth, haberdashery and hosiery, the store shown supplying camblet, kersey and bunting by the yard, quantities of stockings, and the small wares of the tailor's trade in buttons, tape, cockades and whalebone. This wealth of dress materials and

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		5 15s 3½d Hosiery Ware Vizt 6 p° Boys Stockings 13 9d 64 p° Cotton d° 18 10s 8d 3 p° Mens Knot 9 4½d 1 p° Goats 2 2d 2 p° Womens 6 8d 62 p° Sooted 8 18s 3d 29 11d Rice & Paddy Vizt 29 3 Rice 7 13s 3½d 12 3 2 Paddy 3 1s 8d 10 17s 1½d Carried Over 821 17s 7½d	trimmings confirms the warehouse meeting every need of clothing and adornment, the settlers furnished not only with the plain stuff of working dress but with the fastenings, tapes and ornaments that finished a made garment. The 32 cockades entered among the haberdashery reveal the martial dress of the garrison, the cockade being the knot or rosette of ribbon worn on the hat as a badge of allegiance and military service. That the store stocked them in quantity shows the soldiers of the island distinguished by this token as their fellows were at home, the Company supplying the small emblems of loyalty and uniform that marked a man as one of the King's and Company's servants. Camblet was a fine cloth woven from wool often mixed with silk or mohair, valued for garments and hangings, and kersey a coarse ribbed woollen used for stout working clothes, the two standing at opposite ends of the store's cloth in quality and price. Stocking both the fine camblet in blue and scarlet and the rough kersey by the yard shows the warehouse clothing the whole range of the settlement, from the labourer in his hard-wearing kersey to the person of standing in his handsome camblet, the diverse woollens of the trade serving every rank on the island.
270	259	1760 Brought over 821 17s 7½d Leather Vizt 11 Calf Skins 4 2s 11½d 33 d° Sole Leather 1 19s 4½d 6 2s 4d Flour Vizt 3546 d° Flour 25 17s 1½d 239 d° 12 d° Baked 239 16s 8d 265 13s 9½d Pepper 3 d° 2 10s Grindstones 1 3 1s Hooks & Lines Vizt 650 N° 2 725 3 500 6 Hooks 3 7s 2½d 3000 7 175 1 186 W° 2 114 3 51 4 Lines 6 16s 8½d 4 Seg 8 Hambro 10 3s 11d Corks 4½ Gross 11s 5d Twine Vizt 2 d° Cotton Wicks 1 3s 48 Skn Twine 1 10s 1 11s 3d Pitch &c° Vizt 11 d° Pitch 1 10s 4¾ d° Tar 4 9s 15 d° Rosin 14s	Brought over, £821 17s 7½d Leather, namely: 11 calf skins, £4 2s 11½d 33 pounds sole leather, £1 19s 4½d Total leather, £6 2s 4d Flour, namely: 3546 pounds flour, £25 17s 1½d 239 pounds 12 the same baked, £239 16s 8d Total flour, £265 13s 9½d Pepper, 3 pounds, £0 2s 10d Grindstones, 1, £0 3s 1d Hooks and lines, namely: 650 number 2 725 number 3 500 number 6 3000 number 7 175 number 1, hooks, £3 7s 2½d 186 number 2 114 number 3 51 number 4, lines, £6 16s 8½d 4 log 8 Hamburg Total hooks and lines, £10 3s 11d Corks, 4½ gross, £0 11s 5d Twine, namely: 4½ cotton wicks, £0 1s 3d 48 pounds twine, £1 10s 0d Total twine, £1 11s 3d Pitch and so on, namely: 11 pounds pitch, £0 1s 10d 4¾ tar, £0 4s 9d 15 pounds rosin, £0 14s 3d Total pitch, £1 7s 2½d Lead, 27 pounds shot, £0 3s 7½d Soap, 108 pounds, £4 9s 0d Thread, namely: 6 pounds coloured, £1 2s 9d 5 pounds brown, £1 16s 3½d Total thread, £2 19s 0½d Carried over, £1,125 8s 4½d **Interpretations** The collection continues with leather, flour, fishing tackle, pitch, soap and thread, the store shown supplying the raw materials of the shoemaker and the fisherman alongside the staples of the table and the necessities of the household. The great range of goods confirms once more the warehouse as the single source from which the settlement drew

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		1 7s½d Lead 21 d° Shot 3 7½d Soap 108 d° 14 9s Thread Vizt 6 d° Coloured 1 2s 9d 5 W° Brown 1 16s 3½d 2 19s 2½d Carried Over 1125 8½d	everything it could not make, from the calf skins and sole leather of the cobbler to the hooks and lines by which the island's fish were taken. The flour stands out as by far the largest article of this page, over £265 in value and dominated by the 239 pounds entered as baked at a strikingly high figure, showing bread and flour a major charge on the store. The great cost of the baked flour against the raw suggests the price covered the labour and fuel of baking as well as the grain, the settlement dependent on the warehouse for its bread as for its meat, the island growing too little grain of its own to feed itself. The very large and varied stock of fish hooks and lines, thousands of hooks in several sizes and quantities of line, reveals fishing as a substantial activity of the settlement, the surrounding sea a vital source of food. That the store carried tackle in such quantity and range shows the island's people drawing steadily on the ocean to supplement the meat of the flocks and the salt provisions of the warehouse, the Company supplying the means by which the sea was made to yield its share of the settlement's food.
271	260	28th January Brought over 1125 8½d Tea Vizt 19 d° ¼ Single 10 3s 11 Congo 13 9d 1 13s Tin Ware Vizt 1 Quart Funnel 7½d 2 d° Saucepans 1 3s 3 pint d° 1 3s 7 Camp Kettles 1 3s 11d 6 pudding pans 8 12 Patti pans 5 10½d 1 dripping d° 5 2d 5 Lamps 5 1 Watering Pot 5 8½d 1 Horn Lanthorn 2 3 3½d Cordage 330 d° ½ 5 10s 2d Buckram 13¾ Yds 13 9d Blankets 16 4 17s 4d 1140 15s 3d Sold to the Planters at 25 p° Cent Shoes Vizt 3 p° Mens Ordinary 14 10½d 1 p° Womens Callimanco 4 11s 2 p° Boys 7s 8d 1 p° Goats 2 9½d 1 10s 3d Hosiery Ware Vizt 3 p° Womens Stockings 11 6d 8 p° Boys d°	Brought over, £1,125 8s 4½d Tea, namely: 19 pounds single, £0 10s 3d 11 congo, £0 13s 9d Total tea, £1 13s 0d Tin ware, namely: 1 quart funnel, £0 0s 7½d 2 saucepans, £0 1s 3d 3 pint the same, £0 1s 3d 7 camp kettles, £1 3s 11d 6 pudding pans, £0 8s 0d 12 patty pans, £0 5s 10½d 1 dripping pan, £0 5s 2d 5 lamps, £0 0s 5d 1 watering pot, £0 5s 8½d 1 horn lanthorn, £0 2s 0d Total tin ware, £3 3s 3d Cordage, 330 pounds, £5 10s 2d Buckram, 13¾ yards, £0 13s 9d Blankets, 16, £4 17s 4d Total, £1,140 15s 3d Sold to the planters at 25 per cent: Shoes, namely: 3 pairs mens ordinary, £0 14s 10½d 1 pair womens calimanco, £0 4s 11d 2 pairs boys, £0 7s 8d 1 pair girls, £0 2s 9½d Total shoes, £1 10s 3d Hosiery ware, namely: 3 pairs womens stockings, £0 11s 6d 8 pairs boys the same, £1 2s 4d 1 pair mens knit, £0 3s 7d 2 pairs girls the same, £0 3s 4d Total hosiery ware, £2 2s 6d Flannel, 10 yards, £0 14s 7d Buckram, 3 yards, £0 3s 6d Shirts, 9 yards brown holland, £1 5s 4½d Carried over, £5 12s 2½d **Interpretations** The collection sold to the Company's servants closes at a total of £1,140 15s 3d, and the account then opens a second and distinct schedule of goods sold to the planters at a much higher advance of 25 per cent. The sharp difference between the 10 per cent charged to the servants and the 25 per cent charged to the planters reveals the Company grading its prices by the class of buyer, its own people supplied near cost while the independent settlers paid a far heavier markup, the store used both to provision the establishment cheaply and to profit from the wider island community. The distinction drawn between the two bodies of purchasers exposes the social and economic divide of

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		1 2s 1d 1 p° Mens Knit 3 7d 2 p° Girls d° 5 2 2s 6d Flannel 10 Yds 14 7d Buckram 3 Yds 3 6d Shirts 9 Yds brown Holland 1 1s 5½d Carried Over 5 12s 2½d	the settlement, the salaried servants of the Company set apart from the free planters who held land and traded on their own account. That the planters paid two and a half times the servants advance shows the Company treating them as outside customers rather than its own dependents, the cheaper rate a benefit of Company service while the planter bought at something nearer a merchant's price. Buckram was a coarse linen stiffened with gum or paste, used to give shape and body to garments and bindings, and its sale to both servants and planters shows the tailoring of the settlement drawing on it to stiffen collars, facings and hat brims. That the same stiffening cloth appears in both schedules reveals the common material needs of the island's dressmaking across its social ranks, the humble buckram serving the making of clothes for servant and planter alike, though each bought it at his own rate.
272	261	1760 Brought Over 5 12s 2½d Sold at 40 per Cent Vizt Sugar 1171 lb 19 10s 4d Oil Vizt 6½ G° Train 1 13s 7d 1¾ Linseed 6 7½d 2 2s½d Flour 1188 lb 14 17s½d Soap 219 lb 9 11s 7½d Salt 5 Bushels 1 1s 8d Pork 3 p° 11s 3d Corks 2 d° ½ Sheet 2 1½d Iron Ware Vizt 1 d° Bellows 4 1 Cupboard Lock 3 4½d 2 p° Sheep Shears 4 2d 1 Small frying pan 3 2½d 4 Large d° 1 1s 2 Shod Shovels 5 7d 1 Box Iron 10 2½d 1 Hand Hatchet 4½d 1 Gimblet 3½d 1 Halve 10½d 1 d° Maul 1 11½d 6 Scythe Stones 4 4½d 3 11s½d Nails Vizt 3 d° 10 d° 43 6 18 4 8 3 1 20 5 2 4 flooring Brads	Brought over, £5 12s 2½d Sold at 40 per cent, namely: Sugar, 1171 pounds, £19 10s 4d Oil, namely: 6½ gallons train, £1 13s 7d 1¾ linseed, £0 6s 7½d Total oil, £2 0s 2½d Flour, 1188 pounds, £14 17s 0d Soap, 219 pounds, £9 11s 7½d Salt, 5 bushels, £1 1s 8d Pork, 3 pieces, £0 11s 3d Corks, 2¾ sheet, £0 2s 1½d Iron ware, namely: 1 pair bellows, £0 4s 0d 1 cupboard lock, £0 3s 4½d 2 pairs sheep shears, £0 2s 4d 1 small frying pan, £0 3s 2d 4 large the same, £1 1s 0d 2 shod shovels, £0 3s 7d 1 box iron, £0 10s 2½d 1 hand hatchet, £0 2s 2d 1 gimblet, £0 0s 3½d 1 helve, £0 0s 10½d 1 maul, £0 11s 4d 6 scythe stones, £0 2s 4½d Total iron ware, £3 11s 0½d Nails, namely: 3 at 10d 43 at 6d 18 at 4d 8 at 3d 1 at 20d 5 at 2d 4 flooring brads Total nails, £2 11s 9d Pitch and so on, namely: 562 pounds pitch, £5 3s 4d 13½ tar, £0 17s 2d Carried over, £651 8s 4½d **Interpretations** A third schedule opens here, goods sold at the still higher advance of 40 per cent, marking a further class of buyer charged more heavily again than the servants at 10 per cent or the planters at 25. The graduated scale of three distinct markups reveals the Company operating its store as a carefully differentiated market, the price of the same goods rising sharply according to who bought them, the establishment extracting the greatest profit from the buyers furthest from its own service. The reappearance of the same staple goods, sugar, flour, soap, oil and salt provisions, across each schedule at its own rate shows the Company selling identical necessities to every class of customer while varying only the profit taken. That the sugar and flour recur in schedule after schedule confirms these as the

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		2 11s 9d Pitch &c° Vizt 562 lb Pitch 5 3s 4d 13¾ G° Tar 17s 2d 6 2s 6d Carried Over 651 8s 4½d	constant wants of the whole settlement, the store supplying the same essential articles to all its buyers but calibrating the advance to the standing of each, the poorer or more distant paying dearest for the same bread and sugar. The large quantity of pitch sold, 562 pounds valued at over £5, reveals the maintenance of boats and buildings a steady demand of the island, pitch being the tar-based sealant used to caulk hulls and weatherproof timber and roofs. That the store carried and sold it in such quantity shows the settlement's constant need to protect its vessels and structures against the sea and weather, the Company supplying the material by which the island's boats were kept watertight and its buildings sound.
273	262	28 January Brought Over 65 11s 8½d Leather 1 d° Sole 1 6s Long Ells 5 Yds Scarlet 13 11½d Haberdashery Ware 3 p° Holland Tape 2 10½d 2 Gross Horn Moulds 1 1s 7 M° Mohair 3 9½d 8 M° Silk 5 7½d 2 doz Mohair Br° Buttons 11 14 3½d March 1 d° 6 Rice 138 lb 17 3d Tin Ware Vizt 1 Pudding pan 1 10½d 1 Quart Saucepan 10 1 Lamp 1 4½d 1 Camp Kettle 4 9d 8 10d Deals Vizt 1 Double 5 2d 5 Single 16 4½d 1 1s 2½d Thread Vizt 2 d° ½ Whited Brown 1 4s 2½d 5 d° Coloured 1 4s 7d 2 8s 9½d Hosiery Ware Vizt 3 p° Boys Stockings 8 9d 5 p° Girls d° 14½d 1 p° Mens Knit 4 1 6s 11d Pepper ½ d° 9 Books Vizt 1 Bible 4 8s 1 Horn Book 3	Brought over, £651 11s 8½d Leather, 1 skin, £0 1s 6d Long ells, 5 yards scarlet, £0 13s 11½d Haberdashery ware: 3 pieces holland tape, £0 2s 10½d 2 gross horn moulds, £0 1s 1d 1 pound mohair, £0 3s 9½d 3 pounds silk, £0 5s 7½d 2 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 0s 11d Total haberdashery ware, £0 14s 3½d Starch, 1 pound, £0 0s 6d Rice, 138 pounds, £0 17s 3d Tin ware, namely: 1 pudding pan, £0 1s 10½d 1 quart saucepan, £0 0s 10d 1 lamp, £0 1s 4½d 1 camp kettle, £0 4s 9d Total tin ware, £0 8s 10d Deals, namely: 1 double, £0 5s 2d 5 single, £0 16s 0½d Total deals, £1 1s 2½d Thread, namely: 2¾ twisted brown, £1 4s 2½d 5 coloured, £1 4s 7d Total thread, £2 8s 9½d Hosiery ware, namely: 3 pairs boys stockings, £0 8s 9d 5 pairs girls the same, £0 14s 2d 1 pair mens knit, £0 4s 0d Total hosiery ware, £1 6s 11d Pepper, 3 pounds, £0 0s 9d Books, namely: 1 Bible, £0 4s 8d 1 horn book, £0 0s 3d Total books, £0 4s 11d Oars, 2 pairs Grantham, £0 10s 6d Carried over, £674 1s 11½d **Interpretations** The final schedule of the collection carries the same spread of cloth, hardware, hosiery and household goods sold to another class of buyer, closing the long account of the store's dealings across the quarter. That the identical range of leather, tape, thread, tin ware and books recurs once more confirms the constancy of the settlement's wants, the warehouse supplying the same articles again and again to each body of purchasers, the store the unfailing source of the island's necessities. The pair of Grantham oars entered at the foot of the account marks the store supplying the equipment of the island's boats, oars being a constant need where much of the movement of goods and people ran by water. Grantham was a recognised type or make of oar, and its presence shows the warehouse stocking even the specialised gear of the settlement's small craft, the Company furnishing the means by which its boats were rowed about the road and along the coast.

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		4 11d Oars 2 p° Grantham 10 6d Carried Over 74 1s 1½d	The recurrence of the Bible and horn book in this schedule as in the earlier one confirms a steady demand for the means of worship and instruction across the settlement, the store selling the scriptures and the child's primer to buyer after buyer. That these humble books of religion and learning appear in schedule after schedule shows the settled place of Christian worship and basic literacy in the life of the island, the Company supplying the tools of both to a community that valued them enough to buy them repeatedly.
274	263	1760 Brought Over 74 1s 1½d Paint Vizt 78 d° Whiting 3 3d 10 Indico 1 2s 7d 8 White Lead 4 4d 2 Stone Colour 1 5d 2 Venetian Red mixed 1 5d 2 Barrels Blacking 1 1½d 3½ Blue Smalts 6 10d 2 5½d China Ware 1 Soup Dish 7 10d Hooks & Lines Vizt 450 N° 7 175 N° 3 50 1 Hooks 1 14s ½d 300 2 130 6 100 p° Grantham 36 N° 3 66 2 Lines 2 19s 10½d 6 4 4 Log Lines 4 Hambro d° 4 13s 11d Lead 10 lb Shot 2 8s½d Turners Ware Vizt 3 Paint Brushes 4 3d 1 Labourers Basket 1 1½d 3 Punch Ladles 2 6d 7 Shoe Brushes 5 6½d 13 5d Canvas Vizt 2 Yds English 3 6d 35 d° Cindrigs 1 17s 11d 2 1s 5d Cutlery Ware Vizt 12 Horn Combs 3 1 Ivory d° 1 5d 6 Shoe Reeves 3 3 Butchers d° 1 7½d 4 p° Leather Garters	Brought over, £674 1s 11½d Paint, namely: 78 pounds whiting, £0 3s 3d 10 indigo, £1 2s 1d 8 white lead, £0 4s 4d 2 stone colour, £0 1s 5d 2 Venetian red mixed, £0 1s 5d 2 barrels blacking, £0 1s 1½d 3½ blue smalts, £0 6s 10d Total paint, £2 0s 5½d Chinaware, 1 soup dish, £0 7s 10d Hooks and lines, namely: 450 number 7 175 number 3 50 number 1 300 number 2 130 number 6 100 pieces Grantham 36 number 3 66 number 2 6 number 4, hooks and lines, £4 13s 11d 4 log lines 4 Hamburg the same Total hooks and lines, £4 13s 11d Lead, 10 pounds shot, £0 2s 8½d Turner's ware, namely: 3 paint brushes, £0 4s 3d 1 labourer's basket, £0 1s 1½d 3 punch ladles, £0 2s 0d 9 shoe brushes, £0 5s 6½d Total turner's ware, £0 13s 3d Canvas, namely: 2 yards English, £0 3s 6d 35 yards Osnaburgs, £1 17s 11d Total canvas, £2 1s 5d Cutlery ware, namely: 12 horn combs, £0 3s 0d 1 ivory comb, £0 1s 5d 6 shoe knives, £0 3s 0d 3 butchers knives, £0 1s 7½d 4 pairs leather garters, £0 1s 10d Total cutlery ware, £0 10s 10½d Carried over, £684 11s 9d **Interpretations** The account concludes with a further range of paint, fishing tackle, tools, canvas and cutlery sold to this class of buyer, drawing the long schedule of the store's dealings to its close. The persistence of the same categories of goods to the very end confirms the comprehensive character of the Company's warehouse, the store shown supplying paints and pigments, hooks and lines, brushes and combs, and the coarse and fine canvas of the sailmaker and labourer alike, an establishment that furnished the whole material life of the settlement. The recurrence of the great stock of fishing hooks and lines, hundreds in several sizes, confirms once more the importance of fishing to the island's food supply, the store carrying tackle in quantity for every class of buyer. That the hooks and lines appear again here as in the servants schedule shows the whole settlement drawing on the sea, planters and servants alike buying the means to fish, the Company

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		1 10s 10 10½d Carried over 84 11s 9d	supplying the gear that let the island's people take their share of the ocean's yield. The various paints and pigments, whiting, indigo, white lead, stone colour and Venetian red, reveal the settlement painting and protecting its buildings with materials drawn from the store. Stone colour was a paint mixed to imitate the grey of dressed stone, often used on woodwork to give a plain building a more substantial look, and its presence among the pigments shows the settlers finishing their timber houses to resemble stone, the Company supplying the colours by which the modest structures of the island were made to appear more solid and handsome than their materials.
275	264	28th January Brought over 84 11s 9d Cordage 75 d° ½ 1 14s 7d Twine 1 Skn 9½d Broad Cloth 7 Yds 5/8 Scarlet 9 17s 7d Blankets 8 3 2s 8d Glass Ware Vizt 4 Beer Glasses 8 4d 12 Wine d° 9 7½d 17 11½d 120 13s 8½d Sold to the Company's Ships Vizt Canvas Vizt 15 p° English 51 3s 9d 1 Annabregs 7 4s 1d 58 7s 10d Twine Vizt 78 Skn 3 5s 12 d° Mervline 4 6d 3 9s 6d Deals 10 Single 1 12s 1d Oil 34 G° Linseed 8 7s 2d Paint Vizt 122 d° Red Lead 2 8s 70 White d° 1 17s 11d 1 Sky Blue 2 3½d 30 Yellow Oker mixed 1 3d ½ Copperass 1 3d 30 Venetian Red mixed 9d 1 Verdigrease 1 3d 7 Barrels of Blacking 5 6d Nails Vizt 4 1d 6 13s 10½d 2 d° Glazing Brads ½ Tacks 7 Coopers Rivets 8 10 d° 53 6 24 4	Brought over, £684 11s 9d Cordage, 75 pounds, £1 14s 7d Twine, 1 pound, £0 0s 9½d Broad cloth, 7 yards scarlet, £9 17s 7d Blankets, 8, £3 2s 8d Glassware, namely: 4 beer glasses, £0 8s 4d 12 wine the same, £0 9s 7½d Total glassware, £0 17s 11½d Total, £700 13s 8½d Sold to the Company's ships, namely: Canvas, namely: 13 pieces English, £51 3s 9d 1 Osnaburgs, £7 4s 1d Total canvas, £58 7s 10d Twine, namely: 78 pounds, £3 5s 0d 12 mackline, £0 4s 6d Total twine, £3 9s 6d Deals, 10 single, £0 12s 1d Oil, 34 gallons linseed, £8 7s 2d Paint, namely: 122 pounds red lead, £2 0s 8d 70 white the same, £1 17s 11d 1 sky blue, £0 2s 3½d 30 yellow ochre mixed, £0 1s 3d ½ copperas, £0 1s 3d 30 Venetian red mixed, £0 0s 9d 1 verdigris, £0 1s 3d 7 barrels of blacking, £0 5s 6d Total paint, £6 13s 10½d Nails, namely: 2 glazing brads 4 tacks 7 coopers hooks 8 at 10d 53 at 6d 24 at 4d 4 at 3d 20 at 2d 21 at 40d 8 at 20d Total nails, £4 13s 11½d Carried over, £903 4s 5d **Interpretations** The schedule sold to the servants and planters closes at £700 13s 8½d, and the account opens a further and quite distinct category, goods sold to the Company's ships. This new heading marks the store supplying not only the island's people but the vessels that called at the road, the warehouse serving the passing fleet as well as the settlement, the great value of the canvas sold to the ships showing them revictualling and refitting their gear from the island's stores. The very large quantity of canvas sold to the ships, over £58 and dominated by 13 pieces of English canvas, reveals sailcloth as the chief article the vessels bought from the island, the store supplying the material to repair and replace worn sails. That a ship in the road turned to the Company's

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		4 3 20 2 21 40 8 20 4 13s 11½d Carried Over 93 4s 5d	warehouse for its canvas shows the island serving as a chandlery for the homeward fleet, furnishing the sailcloth on which the long passage to England depended, the store's stock of canvas a vital resource for vessels far from any other supply. The paint sold to the ships, red and white lead, ochre, verdigris and blacking, shows the vessels taking on the materials to preserve their hulls and fittings against the sea, the pigments serving to protect timber and ironwork on the voyage home. Verdigris was a green pigment made from corroded copper, used in paints and sometimes as a preservative, and its sale to the ships alongside the leads and blacking reveals the vessels maintaining their paintwork from the island's store, the warehouse supplying the means by which a ship kept her fabric sound on the long run to England.
276	265	1760 Brought Over 83 4s 5d Pitch &c° Vizt 6 Barrels of Pitch 15 15s 6 d° Tar 12 6d 78 Turpentine 19 6d 28 14s 6d Coels 14½ Bushel 14 2s Corks 4 Gross 13 Turners Ware Vizt 4 Scrubbing Brush 3 1½d 3 Mops 5 3d 2 Shoe Brushes 1 7d 6 Paint d° 5 1½d 15 1d Hooks 100 N° 6 1 2½d Braziers Ware Vizt 1 Copper Saucepan of 2 G° ½ 1 10s 10d 1 d° of 1½ G° 19 3d 2 10s 1d Salt 3 Bushels 13 Blankets 50 19 11s 8d Iron Ware Vizt 1 Reag Stone 3½d 2 Small frying pans 6 3d 6 10½d Pease 1½ Bushel 16 6d Glass Ware 12 Beer Glasses 4 2d 14 Squ° Glass 10 by 12 17 9d 1 d° d° 11 by 14½ 1 9d 1 3s 5d 152 11s 9d Charges	Brought over, £903 4s 5d Pitch and so on, namely: 6 barrels of pitch, £15 15s 0d 6 tar, £12 0s 0d 78 turpentine, £0 19s 6d Total pitch, £28 14s 6d Coals, 14½ bushels, £14 2s 0d Corks, 4 gross, £0 13s 0d Turner's ware, namely: 4 scrubbing brushes, £0 3s 7½d 3 mops, £0 5s 3d 2 shoe brushes, £0 1s 7d 6 paint the same, £0 5s 4d Total turner's ware, £0 15s 1d Hooks, 100 number 6, £0 1s 2½d Braziers ware, namely: 1 copper saucepan of 2 quarts, £1 10s 10d 1 the same of 1½ gallons, £0 19s 3d Total braziers ware, £2 10s 1d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 13s 0d Blankets, 50, £19 11s 8d Iron ware, namely: 1 rasp iron, £0 0s 5½d 2 small frying pans, £0 6s 3d Total iron ware, £0 6s 10½d Pease, 1½ bushels, £0 16s 6d Glassware, namely: 2 beer glasses, £0 4s 2d 14 squares glass 10 by 12, £0 17s 9d 1 the same 11 by 14½, £0 1s 0d Total glassware, £1 3s 5d Total, £1,152 11s 9d **Interpretations** The account of goods sold to the ships closes at a grand total of £1,152 11s 9d, the vessels shown taking on a substantial quantity of pitch, tar, turpentine, coals, canvas and other stores to see them home. The large sums spent on the tar products and coals reveal the ships refitting and revictualling on a considerable scale at the island, the store furnishing the materials to caulk hulls, fuel galleys and repair gear, St Helena serving as a working chandlery for the homeward fleet as much as a refreshment station. The 50 blankets sold to the ships, valued at nearly £20, show the vessels taking on bedding in quantity for their crews and passengers on the long Atlantic passage. That a ship bought blankets from the island's store reveals the warehouse supplying the human comforts of the voyage as well as the working stores, the vessels drawing on St Helena to equip their people against the cold of the homeward run as they had drawn on it for canvas and provisions. The considerable quantity of coals sold, 14½ bushels at £14, shows the ships taking on fuel at the island for their galleys and other needs, coal being an imported necessity on a remote station that produced none of its own. That the store held and sold coal to the passing vessels reveals the reach of the

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			Company's supply, the island stocking even the heavy fuel shipped from far away and passing it on to the fleet, the warehouse a source of the most basic materials of the voyage for ships that could find them nowhere else on the ocean.
277	266	28th January Charges General Dr for the following Stores hence from the 12th October 1759 to the 11th January 1760 viz Deals Viz 27 Single For the Arcade in the Fort Garden 3 1s 10½d 3 Double new Bakehouse Vault on the Line & 11 transporting guns &c° 1 Elm plank for Wheelbarrows 1 1s ½d 1 Wainscott board for peels for the Bakers 6 1½d 1 Coffer for oars for the Crane 4 1d 3 4s 1½d Iron Ware Vizt 1 Hash pan haming Iron for the Castle 15 11d 3 Saucepans d° 1 9s 7d 1 Stone Sivs 8 11d 1 plaisterers Trowels 1 6d 3 Bricklayers d° for the Masons 4 3d 1 Lathing Hammer 1 6d 1 Hand d° 2 4d 1 Spade 4 1 Gimblet for the Garden & Use 2½d 15 Files 6 10½d 8 d° Hasps 4d 1 d° Flour Emery 4 1 Rasp for the Armourer 7½d 2 Smith's Rubbions 6½d ¾ Rubbing Ware 6 1½d 10 Halves for the new Magazine Carpenters & 1 1½d Armourers Use 6 3d 2 pick axes for the new Magazine 1 Road Shovel 6 11d 1 Splinter Lock for the Stable 1 11½d 1 Claw Hammer 1 6½d 1 Box Iron for the Castle 1 6½d 2 Round Hatchets for the Hospital & new Magazine 7 2½d 2 Stock Locks for the new Bakehouse & Hospital 3 1 Large Frying pan for the Hospital 1 7½d 1 Small d° 3 9d 1 Reag Stone for the Coopers Use	This is an account of general charges for the following stores spent from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760. Deals, namely: 27 single, for the arcade in the fort garden, £3 1s 10½d 3 double, for the new bakehouse vault on the line and transporting guns, £0 11s 0d 1 elm plank for wheelbarrows, £1 1s 0½d 1 wainscot board for peels for the bakers, £0 6s 1½d 1 coffer for boxes for the crane, £0 4s 1d Total deals, £3 4s 1½d Iron ware, namely: 1 hash pan, hammered iron, for the castle, £0 15s 11d 3 saucepans, for the castle, £1 9s 7d 2 stone irons, for the masons, £0 8s 11d 1 plaisterers trowels, for the masons, £0 1s 6d 3 bricklayers the same, for the masons, £0 4s 3d 1 lathing hammer, for the masons, £0 1s 6d 1 hand the same, for the masons, £0 2s 4d 1 spade, for the garden mill house, £0 4s 0d 1 gimblet, for the garden mill house, £0 0s 2½d 15 files, for the garden mill house, £0 6s 10½d 8 pounds hasps, for the garden mill house, £0 0s 4d 1 pound flour emery, for the armourer, £0 0s 7d 1 rasp, for the armourer, £0 1s 6½d 2 smiths rubbers, for the armourer, £0 6s 1d ¾ binding wire, for the armourer, £0 1s 1½d 10 helves for the new magazine, carpenters use, £0 6s 3d Armourers use, £0 6s 3d 2 pick axes for the new magazine, £0 6s 11d 1 hand maul, for the stable, £0 1s 11½d 1 spindle lock, for the stable, £0 1s 6½d 1 claw hammer, for the stable, £0 1s 6½d 1 box iron for the castle, £0 7s 2½d 2 hand hatchets for the hospital and new magazine, £0 3s 0d 2 stock locks for the new bakehouse and hospital, £0 1s 7d 1 large frying pan, for the hospital, £0 3s 0d 1 small the same, for the hospital, £0 6s 10d 1 rag stone for the coopers use, £0 0s 3½d Total iron ware, £6 9s 3d Braziers ware, namely: 1 copper saucepan of 1 quart, for the smith, £0 4s 5d 2 boiling pots, for the smith, £4 4s 10d Carried over, £16 2s 9½d **Interpretations** The account of general charges records the stores the Company spent on its own works and offices rather than sold to buyers, the goods drawn from the warehouse to equip the various trades and buildings of the establishment. The detailed assignment of each item to its purpose, tools for the masons, files and hasps for the garden mill house, helves and pick axes for the new magazine, reveals a carefully tracked internal supply, the store issuing materials to each department and charging them against the works rather than against any individual. The recurring provision for the new magazine, the helves for its carpenters, the pick axes and the hatchets, ties this account to the building works recorded across the paymaster's disbursements and the powder expended in blasting its foundations. That the store furnished the tools while the

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		6 10d 3½d 6 9s 3d Braziers Ware Viz 1 Copper Saucepan of 1 Quart for the Smith 4 5d 2 d° boiling pots 4 10s 4 4s 10d Carried Over 16 2s 9½d	paymaster paid the labour and the ordnance supplied the powder shows the several accounts of the establishment converging on the single great project of the magazine, the island's whole apparatus of supply directed at raising the new powder store. The equipping of the hospital, the bakehouse, the armourer's forge, the stable and the garden mill house from the same store shows the breadth of the establishment's works and offices, each drawing tools and materials from the central warehouse. The naming of a garden mill house, an armourer's shop and a coopers' use reveals the range of skilled trades maintained on the island, the settlement supporting its own smiths, coopers, bakers and armourers, the Company's store the common source that kept every one of these workshops supplied with the implements of its craft.
278	267	1760 Brought Over 16 2s 9½d Pewter Vizt 1 Collender 7 10d 1 Pint pot for the Castle 2 2½d 10s½d Turners Ware Vizt 6 paint brushes for painting the Target Arcade Vault &c° 3 7½d 1 Cloth Brush for the Castle 2 2½d 2 Baskets 4 10d 3 Birch Brooms for the Stable 1 3d 1 Mops for the Church 1 3d 2 Labourers Baskets for the Masons Use 1 7d 2 Wood Ladles 8 4 d° Platters for the Hospitals 5 2d 2 d° Bowls 1 5½d 3 d° Shoe Brushes for cleaning Arms &c° 1 8½d 1 3s 9d Oil Vizt 10 G° ½ Train for the Kitchen, Bakehouse, Armourer, new 3 1s 7½d Magazine & thatching the flying party's House &c° 5 d° G° Linseed for painting the Arcade Target Vault 2 for the Use of the Doctors Shop & glazing Windows in 7 6½d the new Bakehouse &c° 1 Bottle Florence for the Armourer 2 4½d 4 1s 6½d Twine &c° Vizt 7 Skn for the Target Fort Garden Doctors Shop 3 8d mending Saddles &c° ¾ d° Cotton Wick for the new Magazine 7 4 3d Nails Vizt 4 d° Tacks 2 d° Coopers Rivets 10 d° 6 For the new bakehouse, Arcade, mending 3 2	Brought over, £16 2s 9½d Pewter, namely: 1 collender, £0 7s 10d 1 pint pot, for the castle, £0 2s 2½d Total pewter, £0 10s 0½d Turner's ware, namely: 6 paint brushes for painting the sergeant arcade vault and so on, £0 3s 7½d 1 cloth brush, for the castle, £0 2s 2½d 4 baskets, for the castle, £0 4s 10d 3 birch brooms for the stable, £0 1s 3d 1 mop for the church, £0 1s 3d 2 labourers baskets for the masons use, £0 1s 7d 2 wood ladles, for the hospitals, £0 0s 8d 4 platters, for the hospitals, £0 5s 2d 2 bowls, for the hospitals, £0 1s 5½d 3 shoe brushes for cleaning arms, £0 1s 8d Total turner's ware, £1 3s 9d Oil, namely: 10 gallons train for the kitchen, bakehouse, armourer, new magazine and watching the flying party's house, £3 1s 7½d 5 gallons linseed for painting the arcade sergeant vaults, £0 7s 6½d 2 for the use of the doctors shop and glazing windows at the new bakehouse, £0 7s 6½d 1 bottle Florence for the armourer, £0 2s 4½d Total oil, £4 1s 6½d Twine and so on, namely: 7 pounds for the sergeant fort garden doctors shop mending saddles, £0 3s 8d ½ pound cotton wick for the new magazine, £0 0s 7d Total twine, £0 4s 3d Nails, namely: 4 tacks 1 pound coopers brads 10 at 6d 3 at 2d 4½ at 3d 2 for the new bakehouse, arcade, mending wheelbarrows, and so on 3 for orders 10 out forks, the flying party's house 20 for the packet, armourer and coopers use 7 at 40d Total nails, £0 18s 6d Barracks, namely: 1 piece for timber for wheelbarrows, £0 5s 7½d 1 pair hinges for the new bakehouse, £0 1s 7d Total barracks, £0 7s 2½d Carried over, £23 8s 1d **Interpretations** The general charges continue with the smaller tools and materials issued to the establishment's works, brushes for painting the new vaults, baskets and ladles for the hospital, oil for the various shops and kitchens, and nails distributed across a dozen

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		Wheelbarrows nail p° Orders all the 4½ 3 18 6½d 10 out Forts the flying party's House &c° 7 20 for the Rocket, Armourer & Coopers Use 40 Barracks Vizt 1 p° for Timber for Wheelbarrows 5 7½d 1 p° H Hinges for the new Bakehouse 1 7d 7 2½d Carried over 23 8s 1½d	uses. The careful notation of each item's destination reveals the store keeping close track of where its materials went, every brush and bushel of oil charged to the particular building or trade that consumed it, the account a detailed record of the island's internal supply. The oil issued for glazing windows at the new bakehouse and painting the sergeant's vaults ties the store's materials directly to the building programme running through these months, the same works recorded in the paymaster's labour accounts. That the store furnished the oil and paint while the paymaster paid the men shows the construction of the bakehouse, the magazine and the vaults drawing on both the warehouse and the wage fund together, the several accounts of the establishment converging once more on its active works. The mop supplied for the church, entered plainly among the goods for the stable, hospital and castle, marks the maintenance of a place of worship on the island as one of the ordinary charges of the establishment. That the church appears in the same account as the workshops and offices, drawn on the same store for its cleaning, shows religious provision woven into the everyday administration of the settlement, the Company maintaining the fabric of worship alongside its magazines and bakehouses as a settled part of island life.
279	268	28th January Brought Over 23 8s 1½d Canvas 32 Yds Annabregs for tallows for 1 4s the Castle Target &c° Rockets Candles Vizt 5 d° for the Coopers Use 3 12 d° for the Council 9 65 d° for the Castle 6 14 3s 6d Arrack 26 d° ½ G° ½ for the Doctors 5 10s 5d Shop given the men for hauling up and Launching the Longboat and bringing goods to the Stores from the Ship Warren and Drams for Sundries &c° Paint Vizt 25 d° White Lead 9 4½d 2 Barrells Blacking for the Arcade 9 8 d° Venetian Red Target Numb 1 6d 4 d° d° mixed for the Barracks 1 9d 1 d° Yellow Oker mixed for the Vault &c° 3½d 18 Whiting 1½d 5 d° Ocre Colour 1½d 26 d° Blue Smalts for Linnen 7 6d 2 10s 6d Glass Ware Vizt 2 Squ° Glass 8 by 8 for the new Bake House 6½d 26 d° d° 8 by 10 Hospital & Storm° Shop 13 2d 15 8½d Earthen Ware 2 Milk pans for the Castle 1 4d Iron 68 d° for making Pick axes	Brought over, £23 8s 1d Canvas, 32 yards Osnaburgs for tallows for the castle, sergeant and packet, £1 4s 0d Candles, namely: 5 pounds for the coopers use, £0 3s 0d 120 pounds for the council, £0 9s 0d 6 pounds for the castle, £0 5s 6d Total candles, £14 3s 6d Arrack, 26 gallons for the doctors shop, given the men for hauling up and launching the longboat and bringing goods to the stores from the ship Warren, and drams for sundries, £5 10s 5d Paint, namely: 25 pounds white lead, for the arcade, £0 9s 4½d 2 barrels blacking, for the arcade, £0 0s 9d 8 pounds Venetian red, for the sergeant number 3, £0 1s 6d 4 mixed, for the barracks, £0 1s 9d 1 pound yellow ochre mixed, for the sergeant vault and so on, £0 0s 5½d 18 whiting, £0 1s 4½d 5 stone colour, £0 8s 0d 26 blue smalts for seamen, £1 7s 6d Total paint, £2 10s 6d Glassware, namely: 2 squares glass 8 by 8, for the new bakehouse, £0 0s 6½d 26 the same 8 by 10, for the hospital and sergeant's shops, £0 13s 2d Total glassware, £0 15s 8½d Earthenware, 2 milk pans for the castle, £0 1s 4d Iron, 68 pounds for making pickaxes, £0 15s 2d Cordage, 183½ pounds for the crane and bell ropes, scaffolding fort garden storehouse, masons use and for tying the flying party's guard house, £2 13s 5½d Tin ware, namely: 1 camp kettle, for the hospital, £0 3s 1d 3 quart saucepans, for the hospital, £0 1s 8½d 2 corn lanthorns for the new magazine, £0 5s 0d 2 for the castle, [...] Tin ware carried over, £0 9s 4½d Carried over, £51 2s 7½d **Interpretations** The general charges continue with canvas, candles, arrack, paint, glass and cordage issued to the works and offices, the store shown supplying the

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		14 2d Cordage 183 d° ½ for the Crane and Bell Ropes Ballasting Fort Garden Store & Masons 2 13s 5½d Use & for tying the flying party's Guard Houses Tin Ware Vizt 1 Camp Kettle 3 1d 3 Quart Saucepans for the Hospital 1 8½d 2 Corn Lanthorns for the new Magazine & 5 2 Castle Tin Ware Carried Over 9 4½d Carried Over 51 1s 2½d	varied materials of construction and daily operation across the establishment. The large quantity of candles issued to the council, 120 pounds, marks the substantial lighting of the seat of government where the consultations were held and the business of the island transacted, the store furnishing the light by which the governing body worked through the dark hours. The arrack issued to the men for hauling up and launching the longboat and bringing goods ashore from the *Warren* reveals the customary practice of supplying spirits to labourers as a reward or encouragement for heavy work. That the store charged out 26 gallons of arrack for this purpose shows the garrison's manual labour lubricated with drink, the men given drams as they manhandled the boats and cargo, the Company treating a measure of spirits as a proper charge on the works and part of the wage of heavy toil. The cordage issued for the crane and bell ropes, the scaffolding of the fort garden storehouse and the tying of the flying party's guard house shows the rope of the store serving the whole range of the island's structures and equipment. The naming of a crane and a bell among its uses reveals the working apparatus of the settlement, the crane for loading goods at the landing and the bell for signalling the hours and alarms, the Company's cordage the common material that rigged and maintained the fixed installations of the island.
280	269	1760 Brought Over 51 1s 2½d Tin Ware Brought Over 1 Lamp for the Castle 9 9½d 31 d° ½ Solder for the Armourer & Tinning 10½d 1 pint Saucepan for the Stable 1 12s 2d 4½d 2 3s 2½d Soap 85 d° for Linnen 2 10s Starch 20 d° ¾ 6 9d Lines Vizt 6 N° 3 1 11½d 6 2 for the Masons Carpenters & Castle 1 8½d 1 Log 1 1 Hambro d° 1 4½d 6 ½d Long Ells 2 Yds Blue for the Gardiners Use 3 1d Coels 34 Bushells for the Armourers Use 5 15s 6d Pitch &c° Vizt 13 d° Rosin for Ramming Tinning & Doctors Shop 2 6d 3 G° ½ Tar 5½d 2 11½d 62 8s 9d Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Hence from the 12th October 1759 to the 11th January 1760 Vizt Beef & Pork Vizt 4 p° Beef 11 10d 32 p° Pork 6 17s 1d	Brought over, £51 2s 7½d Tin ware brought over: 1 lamp for the castle, £0 9s 9½d 31½ solder for the armourer and tinning, £1 12s 3d 1 pint saucepan for the stable, £0 0s 4½d Total tin ware, £2 3s 2½d Soap, 85 pounds, £2 10s 0d Starch, 20 pounds, for linen, £0 6s 9d Lines, namely: 6 number 3, £0 1s 11½d 6 number 2, for the masons, carpenters and castle, £0 1s 8½d 1 log, £0 1s 0d 1 Hamburg the same, £0 1s 4½d Total lines, £0 6s 0½d Long ells, 2 pieces blue for the gardiners use, £0 3s 1d Coals, 34 bushels for the armourers use, £5 15s 6d Pitch and so on, namely: 13 pounds rosin, £0 2s 6d 3 tar, for tinning and the doctors shop, £0 5s 4½d Total pitch, £2 11s 4½d Total, £62 8s 9d This is an account of diet expenses for the following stores spent from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760. Beef and pork, namely: 4 pieces beef, £0 11s 10d 32 pieces pork, £6 17s 7d Total beef and pork, £7 9s 5d Arrack, 9 gallons, £19 15s 9½d Flour, 128 pounds, £0 9s 7½d Sugar and candy, namely: 140 sugar, £1 7s 11½d 240 candy, £4 12s 0d Total sugar and candy, £5 10s 11½d Salt, 5 bushels, £0 15s 0d Rice, 350 pounds, £1 1s 4½d Oil, 8 bottles Florence, £0 18s 10d Carried over, £44 17s 2d **Interpretations**

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		7 9s 3d Arrack 93 d° ¾ G° 19 15s 9½d Flour 128 C° 9 7s 6d Sugar & Candy Vizt 140 d° Sugar 1 7s 11½d 240 Candy 5 10s 11½d Salt 5 Bushels 15 Rice 300 lb 1 1s 7½d Oil 8 Bottles Florence 18 10d Carried Over 44 17s 2d	The account of general charges closes at £62 8s 9d, and a further account opens for diet expenses, the stores consumed in feeding particular groups over the quarter rather than issued to the works. The considerable quantity of coals charged to the armourer's use, 34 bushels, shows the forge burning a great deal of imported fuel to keep the island's iron and tin work going, the armourer's shop one of the heaviest consumers of the coal the store held. The very large charge for arrack under the diet account, over £19 for only 9 gallons, points to a high valuation set on the spirit issued for this purpose, perhaps the finer arrack reserved for particular use or a figure covering more than the quantity plainly stated. That the arrack so far exceeded the beef, pork and other provisions in value shows the weight of spirits in the reckoning of diet, the drink a costly and prominent element of what the Company charged out to feed and sustain its people. The 31½ of solder charged to the armourer for tinning reveals the maintenance of the island's tinware and metal vessels as a regular task of the forge, solder being the alloy used to join and repair tin and copper goods. That the store supplied solder alongside the coals and files shows the armourer not only working iron but keeping the settlement's pots, pans and vessels in repair, the forge a general metalworking shop that mended the household and kitchen ware of the establishment as well as forging its tools and arms.
281	270	28th January Brought Over 44 17s 2d Tea 8 d° ½ Congo 8 7d Pease 1 Bushel 7 10d 45 13s 7d Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th October 1759 to the 11th January 1760 Vizt Arrack 10 G° ½ For the Sick & the customary 3 19s 2d Sugar 140 lb allowance at Christmas 1 6s 3d Rice 92 d° ¾ 25 21 19s 4½d Beef & Pork Vizt 152 lb English Beef 22 9s 8d 187 Fresh d° 21 12s 5d 163 English Pork 21 11s 3½d 103 Fresh d° 7 18s 9½d Flour 53 d° for the Sick 73 12s 2d Oil 2 G° Train 7 9d Sailors Cloaths 3 Monmouth Caps 7 7½d Blankets 3 16 6d Shoes 23 p° Mens Ordinary 4 11s 3d Pepper 3 d° 9d Salt ¾ Bushell Hooks & Lines Vizt 6 N° 3 2½ 6 3½ Lines 3 8d 50 2 50 6 Hooks	Brought over, £44 17s 2d Tea, 8 pounds congo, £0 8s 7d Pease, 1 bushel, £0 7s 10d Total, £45 13s 7d This is an account of charges for slaves for the following stores spent from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760. Arrack, 10 gallons, for the sick and the coopers use, £3 19s 2d Sugar, 140 pounds, allowance at Christmas, £1 6s 3d Rice, 92 pounds, £0 19s 4½d Beef and pork, namely: 152 pounds English beef, £22 9s 8d 187 fresh the same, £21 12s 5d 163 English pork, £21 11s 3½d 103 fresh the same, £7 18s 9½d Total beef and pork, £73 12s 2d Flour, 55 pounds, for the sick, £0 7s 9d Oil, 2 gallons train, £0 7s 7d Sailors cloaths, 3 Monmouth caps, £0 4s 7½d Blankets, 3, £0 16s 6d Shoes, 23 pairs mens ordinary, £0 11s 7d Pepper, 2 pounds, £0 0s 9d Salt, ½ bushel, £0 0s 9d Hooks and lines, namely: 6 number 2 6 number 3, lines, £0 3s 8d 50 number 2 50 number 6 50 number 7, hooks, £1 0s 0d Total hooks and lines, £5 2s 1½d Total, £117 10s 11d This is an account of charges for the Malays for the following stores spent from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760. Sugar and candy, namely: 21 pounds sugar, £0 3s 11½d 5 candy, £0 1s 8d Total sugar and candy, £0 5s 7½d Tea, 4 pounds single, £0 3s 4d Carried over, £0 8s 11½d **Interpretations** The account now opens a distinct heading for the stores spent on the Company's slaves, the

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		1 0½d 50 7 5 2½d 117 10s 11d Mallay Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th October 1759 to the 11th January 1760 Vizt Sugar & Candy Vizt 21 d° Sugar 3 11½d 5 Candy 1 8d 5 7½d Tea ¼ d° Single 3 4d Carried over 8 11½d	provisions and clothing issued to feed and equip the enslaved labour of the island. The large charge for beef and pork, over £73, shows the enslaved fed substantially on salt and fresh meat drawn from the store, while the separate note of sugar as an allowance at Christmas reveals the enslaved given a small share in the festival, a modest addition to their ordinary supply marking the season. The provision of Monmouth caps, blankets and ordinary shoes to the slaves shows the Company clothing its enslaved workers from the store as it fed them, the barest necessities of dress issued to keep them fit for labour. A Monmouth cap was a plain knitted woollen cap long worn by sailors and labourers, and its issue to the enslaved shows them equipped in the coarse working garb of the maritime poor, the Company supplying the minimum of covering required to maintain its human property through the year. The separate account opened for the Malays, distinct from that for the slaves, marks a further group maintained at Company charge, the sugar, candy and tea issued to them set apart from the provisions of the enslaved. The Malays here were probably the prisoners and their associates noted in earlier consultations, held on the island within the Company's eastern network, and their separate reckoning shows the Company distinguishing them from its slaves proper, a distinct body kept at its expense and provisioned under their own heading in the accounts.
282	271	1760 Brought over 8 11½d Soap 4 d° 2 6d Oil 1 Gallon Train 3 9½d Arrack 4½ Gall 1 8s 9d Beef 16 p° 2 7s 4d Rice 192 15 8d Shoes 1 p° Mens ordinary 3 11½d Blankets 1 5 6d 5 4s 5½d Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 October 1759 to the 11th January 1760 Vizt Barracks Vizt 16 p° for Timber for rebuilding the Black House 1 10s 10 Nails at Perkins's and Gates in the 3 4d 3 p° Hinges Barracks 4 9d 4 18s 1d Rice & Paddy Vizt 80 Rice for Paddy 5 2d 45 d° 2 7 Paddy for d° and Horses 9 18s 4d 10 4s 6d Cordage 63 for thatching Perkins's House and for the Gardeners and Milk Mens Use 10 11½d Oil 6 d° ½ Gall Train for the Overseer and Carpenters 1 3s 8½d in the Longwood, Working hands and washing Cattle &c° Tin Ware Watering Pot for the Gardeners 5 2½d Iron Ware Vizt	Brought over, £0 8s 11½d Soap, 4 pounds, £0 2s 6d Oil, 1 gallon train, £0 3s 9½d Arrack, 4½ gallons, £1 8s 9d Beef, 16 pieces, £2 7s 4d Rice, 142 pounds, £2 5s 8d Shoes, 1 pair mens ordinary, £0 3s 11½d Blankets, 1, £0 5s 6d Total, £5 4s 5½d This is an account of charges for the plantation for the following stores spent from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760. Barracks, namely: 16 pieces for timber, for rebuilding the black house, £1 10s 0d 10 nails, at Bertie's and gates on the line, £0 3s 4d 3 pieces, carpenters, £0 4s 9d Total barracks, £4 18s 1d Rice and paddy, namely: 80 rice for paddy, £0 5s 2d 125 pounds 2 pounds 7 paddy, for the negro house, £9 18s 4d Total rice and paddy, £10 4s 6d Cordage, 6 pounds for thatching Bertie's house and for the gardiners and milk mens use, £0 18s 11½d Oil, 6½ gallons train for the governor and carpenters use in the Longwood, working hands and washing the cattle, £1 3s 8½d Tin ware, 1 watering pot for the gardiners, £0 5s 2½d Iron ware, namely: 12 pickaxes for the plantation, £2 1s 0d 1 ditching shovel, for the bakehouse, £0 4s 6d 1 stone hatchet, for the bakehouse, £0 1s 6d 5 pairs shears for shearing sheep, £0 6s 4d 1 spade, for the bakehouse, £0 4s 0d 6 scythe stones, for the gardiners use, £0 1s 10½d 1 frame saw for the use of the Bertie's, £0 7s 7d 3 stock locks, for the negro house, £0 9s 6d 9 iron rimmed number 2, for the plantation house, £1 5s 4d

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		12 Barrows for the Plantation 2 1s 1 Ditching Shovel for the Brake House 4 6d 1 Round Hatchet 1 6d 5 p° Shears for shearing Sheep 6 4d 1 Spade for the Gardeners Use 4 6 Scythe Stones 1 10½d 1 Frame Saw for the use of the Backward 7 7d 3 Brass Locks N° 2 3 p° Plant° Houses 3 9s 6d 9 Iron rummey 1 5s 4d 2 Pad Locks for Garden Gates 4 3d 3 Stock d° Sitting Wood 5 1d 3 Dozen Wood screws 1 8d 9 3s 1½d Carried over 26 13s 7d	2 padlocks, for the garden gates, £0 4s 3d 3 stock the same, for the garden gates, £0 5s 1d 3 dozen wood screws, for the Longwood gates, £0 1s 8d Total iron ware, £9 3s 1½d Carried over, £26 13s 7d **Interpretations** The account opens a heading for the plantation, the stores issued to the Company's own farms and agricultural operations, distinct from the garrison, the ships and the store's ordinary buyers. The charge for timber and locks to rebuild the black house, the negro house, ties this account directly to the burnt slave dwelling at Deadwood recorded in the earlier consultations, the store now supplying the materials for its reconstruction after the arson of the winter. The rebuilding of the black house recorded here confirms the outcome of the arson case that ran through November, the enslaved quarters destroyed by fire now raised again at Company charge with timber, nails and locks from the store. That the Company at once replaced the building rather than abandon it shows its determination to maintain the enslaved workforce quartered at Deadwood, the fresh locks fitted to the new house perhaps a response to the very insecurity the fires had exposed. The oil issued for washing the cattle reveals a practice of applying oil to the Company's herds, probably to protect the beasts against ticks, flies or skin disease that troubled livestock on the island. That the store charged out train oil for this purpose shows the care taken of the valuable cattle whose conservation the stock accounts had displayed, the Company treating its herds against the pests of the pasture as part of the settled husbandry of the plantation, the oil as much a charge on the farm as the tools of the gardeners and the shears for the sheep.
283	272	28 January Brought over 26 13s 7d 40 Rags for Iron for the Sof° Sinders in the Iron 328 for Plantation Houses and Gates 3 9s 4d Soap 1 7½d Salt 1 Bushell for salting Cattle 9 Earthen Ware 1 Milk Pan for the Longwood 8d Cutlery Ware 12 Butchers Knives for the 4 6d Plantations Glass Ware 1 Squ° 8 by 10 7d Nails 1 Quarter 8 8d Turners Ware Vizt 2 Mops 2 6d 1 Scrubbing brush for Plantation 2 2½d 3 Paint d° Stores 1 10d 6 6½d Paint Vizt 7 d° Whiting 1 5½d 4 Barrels Blacking 1 7d 1 Venetian Red 2½d 3 3d Tar 5 d° ½ Gallons for Carts & rubbing Cattle 4 1½d	Brought over, £26 13s 7d 40 hasps at 2d, for the fort garden and so on, £0 0s 8d Iron, 328 pounds for the plantation house and gates, £3 9s 4d Soap, 1 pound, £0 0s 7½d Salt, ½ bushel for rubbing cattle, £0 0s 9d Earthenware, 1 milk pan for the Longwood, £0 0s 8d Cutlery ware, 12 butchers knives for the plantations, £0 4s 6d Glassware, 1 square 8 by 10, £0 0s 7d Nails, 1 quarter, £0 8s 9d Turner's ware, namely: 2 mops, £0 2s 6d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 2½d 3 paint the same, for the plantation stores, £0 1s 10d Total turner's ware, £0 6s 6½d Paint, namely: 7 pounds whiting, £0 1s 5½d 4 barrels blacking, £0 1s 7d 1 Venetian red, £0 0s 2½d Total paint, £0 3s 3d Tar, 5½ gallons for boats and rubbing cattle, £0 4s 1½d 4 stops Nails, namely: 1 at 4d 28 at 6d, for the plantation house and Longwood 22 at 10d, gates and Bertie's house, £0 11s 8d 28 at 20d, £0 8s 3d 13 at 40d, £0 9s 4d Total nails, £1 14s 0d Total, £33 7s 7½d

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		4 Stops Nails Vizt 1 4 28 6 for Plant° Houses Longwood 5 22 10 Gates & Perkins's House 11 8d 28 20 8 3d 13 40 9 4d 4 4d 1 14s 33 7½d Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 October 1759 to the 11th January 1760 Vizt Canvas 3 p° English for Cots 7 6s 3d Twine 2 Skeins for Cots 1 1½d Nails Vizt 10 6 34 3 for Cots and Coffins 1 1s 2d Carried over 8 8s 6½d	This is an account of charges for the garrison for the following stores spent from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760. Canvas, 3 pieces English, for cots, £0 7s 6s 3d Twine, 2 skeins, for cots, £0 1s 1½d Nails, namely: 10 at 6d 34 at 3d, for cots and coffins, £0 1s 2d Carried over, £8 0s 6½d **Interpretations** The plantation account closes at £33 7s 7½d, and a further heading opens for the garrison, the stores spent on the soldiers' own necessities distinct from their pay and provisions. The charge for canvas, twine and nails for cots reveals the store supplying the bedding frames on which the garrison slept, the men provided with the basic furniture of the barracks from the same warehouse that clothed and armed them. The tar issued both for boats and for rubbing cattle shows a single material serving two quite different purposes on the island, the same tar that caulked the hulls also applied to the herds against the pests of the pasture. That the store charged out tar for rubbing cattle alongside the salt used for the same purpose reveals the settled husbandry that protected the Company's valuable beasts, the herds treated with tar and salt to guard them from the ticks and disease that threatened livestock on the island. The nails charged for cots and coffins together, entered in a single line, set the furniture of sleep beside the furniture of death as the ordinary joinery of the garrison. That the store supplied the nails for the men's beds and their burial boxes in the same charge reveals the plain provision the Company made for its soldiers from cradle to grave of their service, the same warehouse furnishing the cot a man slept in and the coffin he was buried in, the two needs met without ceremony as routine charges on the garrison.
284	273	1760 Brought over 8 8s 6½d Oil 112 d° ¾ G° Train for the several 21 7s 6d Rice 48 Guards 3 5d Deals Vizt 7 Single for Cots and Coffins 16½d 2 Double 7 4d 1 3s 4½d Haberdashery Ware ¾ Gross Worsted 5 3½d Lace for the Drum Major Lines Vizt 18 N° 2 for Whips 5 1d 1 Hambro for Drum Cords 1 4½d 6 5½d Blankets 5 1 7s 6d Iron Ware Vizt 2 Hand Hatchets 3 1 Splinter Locks for the several 6½d 1 Halve Guards 7½d 13 Small frying pans 1 9s 6d 1 13s 8½d Arrack 17 d° ¾ Gall for Drams at Mustering 3 13s 11½d	Brought over, £8 0s 6½d Oil, 112¾ gallons train, for the several guards, £21 7s 6d Rice, 48, £0 3s 5d Deals, namely: 7 single, for cots and coffins, £0 16s 0½d 2 double, for cots and coffins, £0 7s 4d Total deals, £1 3s 4½d Haberdashery ware, 7¼ gross worsted, for the Mr Drum Major, £0 5s 3½d Lines, namely: 18 number 2 for whips, £0 5s 1d 1 Hamburg for drum cords, £0 1s 4½d Total lines, £0 6s 5½d Blankets, 5, £1 7s 6d Iron ware, namely: 2 hand hatchets, for the several guards, £0 3s 0d 1 spindle lock, for the several guards, £0 0s 6½d 1 helve, for the several guards, £0 0s 7½d 13 small frying pans, £1 9s 6d Total iron ware, £1 13s 8½d Arrack, 17¾ gallons, for drams at mustering, £3 13s 11½d Turner's ware, namely: 53 wood bowls, for the several guards, £0 3s 5s 1d 56 platters, for the several guards, £2 18s 4d Total turner's ware, £6 3s 5d Tin ware, 8 lamps, £0 7s 0d Paint, namely: ½ yellow ochre, for cleaning their arms, £0 1s 9½d 2 whiting, for cleaning their arms, £0 0s 6d Total paint, £0 2s 3½d Shirts, 5, £0 13s 6d

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		Turners Ware Vizt 55 Wood Bowls for the several 3 5s 1d 56 Platters Guards 2 18s 4d 6 3s 5d Tin Ware 8 Lamps 7d Paint Vizt ½ d° Yellow Oker for cleaning their Arms &c° 1 9½d 2 d° Whiting 6 2 3½d Shirts 5 13 6d Hosiery Ware 3 p° Womens Stockings for the Three flying part 7 9d Shoes 3 p° Mens ordinary flying and 11 10½d Soldiers Cloaths 5 Centry Coats 4 3s 11d 50 19s 11½d Fortification	Hosiery ware, 3 pairs thread stockings, for the three sergeants, £0 7s 9d Shoes, 3 pairs mens ordinary, for the sergeants and so on, £0 11s 10½d Soldiers cloaths, 3 sentry coats, £4 3s 11d Total, £50 19s 11½d **Interpretations** The garrison account continues with the stores issued to equip and sustain the soldiers on duty, oil for the several guards, frying pans and bowls for their messes, blankets and shirts, and the specialised gear of military life. The 18 lines charged for whips reveals the instruments of corporal punishment kept in supply, the same lash used on the slaves and soldiers ordered flogged in the winter's consultations, the store furnishing the very whips by which the council's sentences were carried out. The arrack issued for drams at mustering shows the customary allowance of spirits given to the men when they were called together under arms, a measure of drink marking the regular assembly and inspection of the garrison. That the store charged out nearly 18 gallons for this purpose reveals the settled place of the dram in military routine, the soldiers refreshed with spirits at muster as they were at heavy labour, the Company treating the allowance as a proper charge on the garrison's upkeep. The three sentry coats supplied for the guards, at over £4 by far the costliest single item of the soldiers' clothing here, reveal the provision of heavy protective garments for men standing watch in the open. A sentry coat was a stout weatherproof overcoat kept at the guard post for the use of whoever stood duty, shared among the men rather than issued to each, and its high cost shows the value of a garment that had to withstand the wind and rain of the exposed island watch, the Company equipping its sentries against the weather of their long hours on guard.
285	274	28 January Fortification Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th October 1759 to the 11 January 1760 Vizt Turners Ware Vizt 9 Birch brooms for sweeping the Parady 3 9d and Platforms 2 Paint brushes for painting Gun Carriages 1 2½d 4 11½d Nails Vizt 3 40 for the Crane at Lemon Valley 3 11d 10 Spike Iron 68 d° for d° 12 6d Thread 3 Coloured 10 3d Twine 4 Skeins 2 1d Bunting Vizt 2 p° White 2 3s 2d 2 d° Red for Flags 3 3s 9d 1 p° Blue 1 2s 6d 6 9s 5d Canvas 6 Yds English 7 6d Cordage 5 d° ½ 1 7½d Oil 4 d° G° Linseed 14 1d Paint Vizt 44 White Lead for paint 16 6d	This is an account of charges for the fortification for the following stores spent from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760. Turner's ware, namely: 9 birch brooms for sweeping the parade and platforms, £0 3s 9d 2 paint brushes for painting gun carriages, £0 1s 2½d Total turner's ware, £4 11s 2½d Nails, namely: 3 at 40d, for the crane at Lemon Valley 10 spikes, for the crane at Lemon Valley, £0 3s 11d Iron, 6 pounds for the same, £0 1s 2s 6d Thread, 3 coloured, £0 0s 10s 3d Twine, 4 skeins, £0 2s 1d Bunting, namely: 2 yards white, for flags, £2 3s 2d 2 red, for flags, £3 3s 9d 1 blue, for flags, £1 2s 6d Total bunting, £6 9s 5d Canvas, 6 yards English, £0 7s 6d Cordage, 5½ pounds, £0 1s 7½d Oil, 4½ gallons linseed, £0 14s 1d Paint, namely: 44 white lead, for paint, £0 16s 6d 6 barrels blacking, for gun carriages, £0 2s 4½d 2 whiting, for painting the same, £0 0s 7½d Total paint, £0 18s 11d Lead, 3 shot for a gun apron, £0 1s 7½d Total, £10 6s 3½d This is an account of charges for boats for the following stores spent from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760. Deals, namely: 4 elm boards, £0 3s 7d 1 wainscot the same, £0 6s 7½d

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		6 Barrels Blacking Gun Carriages 2 4½d 2 Whiting Sprints ram° ½d 18 11d Lead 3 Shut for a Gun Apron 1 7½d 10 6s 3½d Boats Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12 October 1759 to the 11th January 1760 Vizt Deals Vizt 1 Elm boards 3 7d 1 Wainscott d° 6 17½d 9 8½d Nails Vizt 10 10 6 20 6 6 10 6d Carried over 1 2½d	Total deals, £0 9s 8½d Nails, namely: 16 at 10d 6 at 20d 6 at 6d, £0 10s 6d Carried over, £1 0s 2½d **Interpretations** A distinct heading opens for the fortification, the stores spent on the island's defensive works, guns and flags, separate from the garrison, the plantation and the boats. The bunting charged for flags in red, white and blue shows the store supplying the material to make the colours flown from the batteries and posts, the signal and national flags by which the island displayed its allegiance and communicated with the shipping, the same flags whose wearing out was noted in the earlier ordnance accounts. The paint and brushes charged for painting the gun carriages reveal the constant maintenance of the ordnance that defended the island, the wooden carriages on which the guns were mounted requiring regular painting against the weather to keep them sound. That the fortification account carried a steady charge for their upkeep shows the care taken of the island's artillery, the guns and their carriages preserved in working order as the first defence of the settlement against attack from the sea. The lead charged for a gun apron marks a specific piece of ordnance equipment, the apron being a sheet of lead laid over the touch hole of a cannon to keep the powder dry and protect the vent from rain and spray. That the store supplied lead for this purpose shows the practical care of the guns exposed on the batteries, the vents covered against the wet of the exposed island position, the Company maintaining every detail of its ordnance so that the guns would fire when the alarm came.
286	275	1760 Brought over 1 2½d Oil Vizt ½ G° Train 1 11d ¾ G° Linseed 10d 2 9d Pitch &c° Vizt 1 Barrell Pitch 1 16s 6d 12 G° Tar 10 9d 22 Rosin 3 8d 2 10s 11d Paint 19 Brimstone 3 11½d Oars 1 3 10½d Turners Ware 1 Birch Broom 5 4 2s 1½d Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th October 1759 to the 11th January 1760 Vizt Sugar 585 5 9s 8½d Flour 577 4 4s 2d Rice 600 2 1s 3d Arrack 4 Gall 16 8d Oil 18 Gall Train 3 8s 3d Salt 3 d° ¼ Bushells	Brought over, £1 0s 2½d Oil, namely: ½ gallon train, £0 1s 11d ¾ linseed, £0 0s 10d Total oil, £0 2s 9d Pitch and so on, namely: 1 barrel pitch, £1 16s 6d 12 tar, £0 10s 9d 22 rosin, £0 3s 8d Total pitch, £2 10s 11d Paint, 19 brimstone, £0 3s 11½d Oars, 1, £0 3s 10½d Turner's ware, 1 birch broom, £0 0s 5d Total, £4 2s 1½d This is an account of charges for the hospital for the following stores spent from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760. Sugar, 585, £5 9s 8½d Flour, 577, £4 4s 2d Rice, 600, £2 1s 3d Arrack, 4 gallons, £0 16s 0d Oil, 18 gallons train, £3 8s 3d Salt, 3¼ bushels, £0 9s 9d Total, £16 9s 9½d This is an account of charges for the fortification for the following stores spent from 12 October 1759 to 11 January 1760, for building the barracks. Nails, 7, £0 2s 11d Glassware, 119 squares glass 6 by 8, £1 12s 3d Oil, 1½ gallon linseed, £0 5s 1½d Paint, 20 whiting, £0 0s 5d Turner's ware, 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 2½d Iron ware, namely: 1 stock lock, £0 2s 6½d 1 the same, £0 2s 1d Total iron ware, £0 4s 7½d Carried over, £2 6s 6½d **Interpretations**

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		9 9d 16 9s 9½d Fortification Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 12th October 1759 to the 11th January 1760 for building the Barracks Nails 7 d° 6 C° 2 11d Glass Ware 119 Squ° Glass 6 by 8 1 12s 3d Oil 1½ Gall Linseed 5 1½d Paint 20 Whiting 5 Turners Ware 2 paint brushes 1 2½d Iron Ware Vizt 1 Stock Lock 26½d 1 Pad d° 2 1d 4 1½d Carried over 2 6s 6½d	A distinct heading opens for the hospital, the provisions and stores spent on the sick of the island over the quarter, marking the medical care the Company maintained for its people. The large quantities of sugar, flour and rice charged to the hospital, over £11 in these three staples alone, show the sick fed on a diet of light and nourishing foods thought suitable for invalids, the establishment drawing generously on the store to sustain those recovering from illness. The considerable quantities of soft and easily digested provisions issued to the hospital, the sugar, flour and rice far outweighing any meat, reveal the contemporary understanding of a sick diet as one of gentle nourishment rather than solid fare. That the hospital drew so heavily on these staples shows the Company providing its infirmary with the means to feed the sick according to the medical practice of the day, the invalid supported on sugar, rice and broth-making flour while the healthy garrison lived on salt meat. The brimstone charged among the paint reveals the use of sulphur in the works, brimstone being the common name for sulphur, used for fumigation, for treating skin complaints in men and beasts and in various trades. That the store issued it here shows the range of the materials the Company kept, the sulphur serving purposes from the medical to the practical, a substance drawn on for cleansing, treatment or manufacture as the varied needs of the settlement required.
287	276	28 January Brought over 2 6s 6½d Barracks 1 Large Locks for the Gates 18 3 4s 6½d St Helena 11 January 1760 Excepted p Wm Powell Storekeeper List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon this Island of St Helena with their several Salarys Diet money &c° for the Quarter Commencing the 12th October 1759 Viz Charles Hutchinson Esq Governors Salary 125 Ditto allowance for Servants as usual 31 14s 9d 136 14s 9d John Skottowe Esq Lieutenant Governors Salary 62 10s Ditto diet money 25 87 10s John Clark of Council Salary 15 Matthew Burling of Council Salary 7 10s Ditto Accomptant 17 10s Ditto Diet money 15 Ditto house Rent 2 10s 42 10s Francis Wrangham Secretary Salary 17 10s Ditto diet money 15 Ditto House Rent 2 10s 35	Brought over, £2 6s 6½d Barracks, 1 large lock for the gates, £0 18s 0d Total, £3 4s 6½d At St Helena on 11 January 1760, errors excepted, per James Powell, storekeeper. This is a list of the Honourable Company's officers and servants upon the island of St Helena with their several salaries, diet money and so on for the quarter commencing 12 October 1759. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d The same, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d Total, £156 14s 9d John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d The same, diet money, £25 0s 0d Total, £87 10s 0d John Clark, of council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, of council, salary, £7 10s 0d The same, accountant, £17 10s 0d The same, diet money, £15 0s 0d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £42 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d The same, diet money, £15 0s 0d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d The same, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total, £40 0s 0d James Baird, surgeon, salary, £17 10s 0d The same, diet money, £15 0s 0d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £35 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d The same, diet money, £10 0s 0d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d The same, assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Total, £25 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d The same, diet money, £10 0s 0d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £20 0s 0d

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		William Lee Storekeeper Salary 25 Ditto diet money 15 40 James Powell Storekeeper Salary 17 10s Ditto diet money 15 Ditto House Rent 2 10s 35 Matthew Bazett Factors Salary 7 10s Ditto diet money 10 Ditto House Rent 2 10s Ditto Assistant Storekeeper 5 25 William Wrangham Factors Salary 7 10s Ditto diet money 10 Ditto Houses Rent 2 10s 20 Carried over 450 14s 9d	Carried over, £450 14s 9d **Interpretations** The general charges close and the account turns to the civil list of the island, the salaries, diet money and house rents paid to the Company's officers and servants for the quarter, headed by the Governor at a total of £156 14s 9d. The steep gradation from the Governor's £125 salary down through the Lieutenant Governor, the councillors and the factors reveals the strict hierarchy of the civil establishment, each office fixed at its own rate with the senior servants drawing many times the pay of the junior. The salary of £25 paid to William Lee as chaplain, ranking with the surgeon and above several of the factors, shows the Company maintaining a clergyman on the island as a settled and respected part of its establishment. That the chaplain drew a substantial salary and diet money reveals the place of religion in the Company's governance of the settlement, the spiritual care of the island provided for as deliberately as its medical and commercial administration, the church served by a paid minister of standing. The multiple offices held by single men, Matthew Purling drawing pay as councillor, accountant and for diet and rent, and Matthew Bazett as factor, storekeeper's assistant and councillor, reveal the concentration of the island's administration in few hands. That the same men filled several posts and drew a separate allowance for each shows the small compass of the establishment, the government of the remote settlement carried on by a handful of servants who between them held every office, each accumulating his income from the combination of duties he performed.
288	277	1760 Brought over 456 14s 9d Richard Laus Writers Salary 5 Ditto Diet money 10 Ditto House Rent 2 10s 17 10s Robert Bearlay Surgeons Salary 9 15s Ditto Diet money 10 Ditto House Rent 2 10s 22 5s John Prichard Surgeons Mate Salary 6 5s Ditto diet money 10 Ditto Houses Rent 2 10s 18 15s Richard Beale Judge Advocate Salary 10 Ditto as School master 3 8s 3d Ditto as Clark 5 18 8s 3d Samuel Alexander Overseers 7 10s Matthew Bazett 7 10s 15 John Delnux Master Masons Salary 17 10s Ditto diet money 10	Brought over, £456 14s 9d Richard Lewis, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d The same, diet money, £10 0s 0d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £17 10s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d The same, diet money, £10 0s 0d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d The same, diet money, £10 0s 0d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d The same, schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d The same, clerk, £5 0s 0d Total, £18 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, coroner, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, coroner, £7 10s 0d Total, £15 0s 0d John Blennud, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d The same, diet money, £10 0s 0d The same, house rent, £1 10s 0d Total, £20 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, stone mason, salary, £19 10s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d The same, for his apprentice, £3 5s 0d The same, house rent, £0 15s 0d Total, £16 10s 0d Edmund Smith, gardener, £10 0s 0d Edward Durrand, armourer, £9 0s 0d James Tobbitt, cooper, £8 15s 0d William Morril, saddler, £6 0s 0d Michael Frost, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d The same, £2 0s 0d Richard Tooke, groom, £5 6s 5½d Richard Sweet, marshall, £6 5s 0d Richard Toole junior, master at arms, £7 10s 0d

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		Ditto Houses Rent 1 10s 20 Thomas Sowerwood Stone Masons Salary 19 10s John Robinson Carpenters Salary 12 10s Ditto for his Apprentice 3 5s Ditto House Rent 15 16 10s Edmund South gardener 10 Edward Durrand Armourer 9 Tamner Sobbitt Cooper 8 15s William Moor Overseer 1 5s Michael Frost Clark and Instrument Cleaner 2 Richard Tinks Groom 5 6s 5½d Richard Tuart Marshall 6 5s Richard Tuart Junr Master at Arms 7 10s John Grainger Patron of the Longboat 56 15s 5½d First Company John Clark 1st Lieut Salary 22 16s 3d Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto for Instructing the Gunners 7 10s 37 3s 1½d John Steward 2d Lieut Salary 18 5s Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto Houses Rent 2 10s 37 11s 10½d Carried over 934 9s 5½d	John Grainger, patron of the longboat, £7 10s 0d Total, £56 15s 0d First Company John Clark, First Lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d The same, for instructing the gunners, £7 10s 0d Total, £37 3s 1½d John Howard, Second Lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d The same, diet money, £6 10s 0d Total, £37 11s 10½d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Carried over, £934 9s 5½d **Interpretations** The civil list continues through the lesser officers and tradesmen of the establishment, the writers, surgeons, masons, carpenters and craftsmen who ran the practical business of the island, before opening the military pay of the First Company. The array of paid trades, gardener, armourer, cooper, saddler and clock cleaner among them, reveals the range of skilled men the Company kept on salary, the settlement maintaining its own body of craftsmen to build, repair and service the works and equipment of the island. The many offices concentrated in Richard Beale, drawing pay as judge advocate, schoolmaster and clerk together, show once more the accumulation of diverse duties in single hands, one man serving as the island's legal officer, its teacher and a clerk of its administration. That the schoolmaster's post was held alongside the judge advocate's reveals the small scale of the establishment, the education of the island's children entrusted to a man who was also its prosecuting officer, the several functions of a larger society compressed into the persons of a few Company servants. The provision of two coroners, Samuel Alexander and Matthew Bazett, each drawing a fee, shows the island maintaining the office charged with enquiring into sudden and unexplained deaths, of which the consultations had recorded several by drowning and accident. That the settlement kept coroners in the English fashion reveals the transplantation of the home country's legal machinery to the remote island, the formal investigation of death provided for as a settled part of the administration, the same offices and procedures of English local government reproduced in miniature on St Helena.
289	278	28th January Brought over 734 9s 5½d Solomon Maurice 2 Lieut Salary 18 5s Ditto Diet money 6 16s 10½d 25 1s 10½d Solomon Jacob Adjutant Salary 22 16s 3d Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d 29 13s 1½d Sergeants John Flemming 7 12s 1d Humphry Frugh as Sergeant to the 3 Nov° rate 4 16s 3d Ditto as Centinel from the 3 Nov° enter 2 18s 4d John Grainger 7 12s 1d Samuel Austin 7 12s 1d Thomas Turin as Corporal to the 3 Nov° a 1 5s 8d	Brought over, £734 9s 5½d Solomon Maurice, Second Lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Solomon Jacob, Adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants John Flemming, £7 12s 1d Humphry Pugh, as sergeant to the 3, new rate, £4 16s 8d The same, as sentinel from the 3 November entered, £2 18s 4d John Grainger, £7 12s 1d Samuel Austin, £7 12s 1d Thomas Turn, as corporal to the 3, new rate, £1 5s 8d The same, as sergeant from the 3 November entered, £5 16s 8d Total, £34 13s 7d Corporals Thomas Williams, £5 6s 5½d James Austin, £5 6s 5½d William Weatherby, as corporal to the 3, new rate, £4 16s 10d

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		Ditto as Sergeant from the 3 November enter 5 16s 8d 34 13s 7d Corporals Thomas Williams 5 6s 5½d James Austin 5 6s 5½d William Weatherby as Corporal to the 3 Jan° ea 4 16s 10d Ditto as Centinel from the 3 January 7 6d Henry Harper as Centinel for the 3 Nov° ea 18s 4d Ditto as Corporal from the 3 November enter 4 1s 8d George Turin as Centinel to the 3 January a 3 9s 2d Ditto as Corporal from the 3 January enter 10 6d 24 16s 11d Drummers John Bitten 5 6s 5½d George Wills 5 6s 5½d 10 12s 11d Centinels Daniel Bramin 3 16s 7½d George Bennett 3 16s 7½d John Wallin 3 16s 7½d John Blackwill 3 16s 7½d Gabriel Busey 3 16s 7½d John Russell 3 16s 7½d William Boddington 3 16s 7½d Joseph Blackwill 3 16s 7½d James Cartwright 3 16s 7½d Centinels Carried over 34 4s 4½d Carried over 859 7s 10½d	The same, as sentinel from the 3 January, £0 7s 6d Henry Harper, as sentinel to the 3, new rate, £0 18s 4d The same, as corporal from the 3 November entered, £4 1s 8d George Turn, as sentinel to the 3 January, new rate, £3 9s 2d The same, as corporal from the 3 January entered, £0 10s 6d Total, £24 16s 11d Drummers John Batten, £5 6s 5½d George Wills, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels Daniel Cronin, £3 16s 0½d George Bennett, £3 16s 0½d John Battin, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Gabriel Busey, £3 16s 0½d John Bussed, £3 16s 0½d William Braddington, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £34 4s 4½d Carried over, £859 7s 10½d **Interpretations** The military pay list records several men whose wages were split across two ranks within the quarter, Humphry Pugh paid partly as sentinel and partly as sergeant, Thomas Turn as corporal and then sergeant, each figure calculated to the days served in each grade. These divided entries reveal promotions taking effect partway through the accounting period, the paymaster reckoning each man's wage to the fraction of the quarter he held each rank, the movement up the ranks tracked as closely as the movement onto and off the establishment. The dates of promotion recorded against these men, the 3 November and the 3 January, show the garrison advancing its soldiers on fixed days rather than continuously, the changes in rank clustered at particular points in the quarter. That several men rose together on the same dates reveals a settled pattern of promotion, the vacancies filled and the men moved up at regular intervals, the establishment maintaining its complement of sergeants and corporals by advancing the ranks below as places fell open. The reference to a new rate applied to the promoted men points to a change in the scale of pay taking effect during the period, the soldiers moved onto a revised rate as they advanced. That the account distinguished the new rate from the old shows the paymaster carefully applying the correct figure to each portion of a man's service, the reckoning precise enough to divide a single quarter's wage between two ranks and two rates, the whole calculated to the penny as the garrison's pay structure shifted beneath the men.
290	279	1760 Brought over 859 7s 10½d Centinels brought over 34 4s 4½d George Capeling 3 16s 7½d William Cooksey 3 16s 7½d Duncan Cachrant 3 16s 7½d James Collet 3 16s 7½d Joseph Cutts Jr 3 16s 7½d	Brought over, £859 7s 10½d Sentinels brought over, £34 4s 4½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d William Cooksey, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cathcart, £3 16s 0½d James Collet, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Cutts junior, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Chandley, £3 16s 0½d Richard Cowley, died the 30 December, £3 6s 8d Edward Debroild, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Dunn, £3 16s 0½d James Edwards, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d

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		Jonathan Chandley 3 16s 7½d Richard Cowley died the 30th December 3 6s 8d Edward Debruild 3 16s 7½d Thomas Dunn 3 16s 7½d James Edwards 3 16s 7½d George Green 3 16s 7½d John Gilmore 3 16s 7½d Richard Goulding 3 16s 7½d Christian Grunwald 3 16s 7½d Alexander Grombridge 3 16s 7½d Thomas Fulls 3 16s 7½d Daniel Houll 3 16s 7½d Henry Harrenbrough 3 16s 7½d George Howard 3 16s 7½d Thomas Hilliard 3 16s 7½d John Hobbs 3 16s 7½d Robert Holt 3 16s 7½d Christian Hornicle 3 16s 7½d George Ice 3 16s 7½d William Jarvis 3 16s 7½d Stephen John 3 16s 7½d Henry Jenkins 3 16s 7½d Henry Johnson 3 16s 7½d Edward Kirk 3 16s 7½d William Lambourn 3 16s 7½d Thomas Litchfield 3 16s 7½d John Marsh 3 16s 7½d David Miles 3 16s 7½d Richard Morton 3 16s 7½d Simon Mason 3 16s 7½d Mordock McCloud 3 16s 7½d John Baptist Michland 11 8d Henry Norwood died 25th October Centinels Carried over 175 2½d Carried over 859 7s 10½d	Christian Grinwald, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Greenbridge, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hicks, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Hull, £3 16s 0½d Henry Harrisburgh, £3 16s 0½d George Howard, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d John Hobbs, £3 16s 0½d Robert Holt, £3 16s 0½d Christian Horncastle, £3 16s 0½d George Ice, £3 16s 0½d William Jarvis, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Henry Jenkins, £3 16s 0½d Henry Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Edward Kirk, £3 16s 0½d William Lamborne, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Litchfield, £3 16s 0½d John Marsh, £3 16s 0½d David Miles, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d Mordock McLeod, £3 16s 0½d John Baptist Micheland, £11 8s 0d Henry Norwood, entered the 25 October, [...] Sentinels carried over, £175 0s 2½d Carried over, £859 7s 10½d **Interpretations** The sentinel roll of the First Company runs on at the standard £3 16s 0½d, broken only by the entries marking loss and change within the quarter, Richard Cowley reduced to £3 6s 8d on his death on 30 December and Henry Norwood entered part way through from 25 October. These prorated figures continue the settled practice of the pay accounts, each man's wage fixed to the days he actually served, the death and the fresh entry alike reckoned to the fraction of the period each covered. The death of Richard Cowley on 30 December, recorded here in the pay list with his wage cut to the days he lived, matches the notice of his death entered in the consultation of 31 December. That the same loss appears in both the narrative of the council and the paymaster's reckoning shows the two records working in concert, the man's death noted as an event of the settlement and at once reflected in the stopping of his pay, the administration tracking each soldier from the roll to the grave. The figure of £11 8s 0d against John Baptist Micheland, far above the standard sentinel's rate, marks a payment covering more than the ordinary quarter, perhaps arrears owed from an earlier period or a sum due on some particular account. That his entry stands so far apart from the uniform rate of his fellows shows the pay list accommodating the individual circumstances of particular men, the settled establishment figure giving way where a soldier's due differed from the common rate, the account precise enough to carry each man's particular entitlement.
291	280	28 January Brought over 859 7s 10½d Centinels brought over 175 2½d Thomas Poltington	Brought over, £859 7s 10½d Sentinels brought over, £175 0s 2½d Thomas Pilkington, £3 16s 0½d John Pugh, £3 16s 0½d Littleton Pigott, £3 16s 0½d Robert Pratt, £3 16s 0½d

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		3 16s 7½d John Pugh 3 16s 7½d Littleton Pyott 3 16s 7½d Robert Petatt 3 16s 7½d William Parry 3 16s 7½d Thomas Page 3 16s 7½d James Richardson 3 16s 7½d Abraham Ratcliff 3 16s 7½d Richard Roberts 3 16s 7½d John Sotcher 3 16s 7½d John Shaw 3 16s 7½d William Scotson 3 16s 7½d Samuel Springall 3 16s 7½d William Stanley 3 16s 7½d James Faucloby returned the 11th December 1 6s 8d Joseph Turner 3 16s 7½d John Vaughan 3 16s 7½d Edward Webber 3 16s 7½d Jeremiah Whorrill 3 16s 7½d John Wesley 3 16s 7½d 248 11s 8d Second Company Richard Beale 2 Lieut Salary 18 5s Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 27 11s 10½d Thomas Progett 2 Lieut Salary d° 18 5s Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d 25 1s 10½d Sergeants William Benting 7 12s 1d Samuel Desfountain 7 12s 1d John Langridge 7 12s 1d 22 16s 3d Corporals John Allison 5 6s 5½d William Smith 5 6s 5½d Edward Preston 5 6s 5½d William Dyson 5 6s 5½d 21 5s 10d Carried over 1204 15s 1½d `	William Parry, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Page, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Ratcliff, £3 16s 0½d Richard Roberts, £3 16s 0½d John Sorcher, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Scotman, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Springall, £3 16s 0½d William Stanley, £3 16s 0½d James Faucett, returned the 11 December, £1 6s 8d Joseph Turner, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Edward Waller, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Worrell, £3 16s 0½d John Wesley, £3 16s 0½d Total, £248 11s 8d Second Company Richard Beale, Second Lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Brockett, Second Lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants William Benting, £7 12s 1d Samuel Desfountain, £7 12s 1d John Langridge, £7 12s 1d Total, £22 16s 3d Corporals John Allison, £5 6s 5½d William Smith, £5 6s 5½d Edward Preston, £5 6s 5½d William Dyson, £5 6s 5½d Total, £21 5s 10d Carried over, £1,204 15s 1½d **Interpretations** The First Company's sentinel roll closes at a total of £248 11s 8d, broken only by James Faucett returned to the establishment on 11 December at a reduced sum for the part of the quarter he served. The account then opens the Second Company, its officers, sergeants and corporals paid at the same fixed rates as the First, the uniform figures confirming once more the single garrison-wide pay structure applied without variation from company to company. The entry for James Faucett returned on 11 December, drawing pay only from that date, shows a man rejoining the establishment part way through the quarter, perhaps after a period away sick, on detachment or in some other absence that had taken him off the roll. That his wage was reckoned to the days from his return reveals the same precise tracking of movement applied to a man coming back onto the establishment as to those first entering or finally leaving it, the paymaster following each soldier onto and off the roll and back again. The identical rates carried across both companies, the Second Lieutenants at £18 5s 0d, the sergeants at £7 12s 1d and the corporals at £5 6s 5½d, exactly as in the First Company, confirm the pay of the garrison fixed by a single establishment governing every company alike. That the figures repeat without deviation shows the whole military force of the island paid on one common scale, variation confined to the individual circumstances of particular men while the rate for each rank held constant throughout the garrison.
292	281	1760 Brought over	Brought over, £1,204 15s 4½d Drummers

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		1204 15s 4½d Drummers George Brown 5 6s 5½d John Slade 5 6s 5½d 10 12s 11d Centinels John Allis 3 16s 7½d Edward Allis died January 3 3 10s John Attinstall 3 16s 7½d Edward Astling 3 16s 7½d Hans Ulbrick Ulgover 3 16s 7½d John Anger died January 3 3 10s Thomas Bearer discharged 20 October 1759 7 6d Isaack Bucks 3 16s 7½d John Barratt 3 16s 7½d Edward Broom 3 16s 7½d James Buckley 3 16s 7½d William Bannister 3 16s 7½d Thomas Byrne discharged 24 Decr 1759 3 1s 8d John Burnham 3 16s 7½d John William Blanky 3 16s 7½d Edward Cocker 3 16s 7½d Thomas Cobb 3 16s 7½d William Cobb 3 16s 7½d Edward Coram 3 16s 7½d Isaac Day 3 16s 7½d Henry Dudleff 3 16s 7½d Stephen Davis 3 16s 7½d John Davis 3 16s 7½d Samuel Eales 3 16s 7½d Jacob Epley 3 16s 7½d James Fox 3 16s 7½d Jonathan Godby 3 16s 7½d William Gooding 3 16s 7½d John Greeneff 3 16s 7½d William Gabry 3 16s 7½d James Hall 3 16s 7½d John Harley 3 16s 7½d William Hayes 3 16s 7½d George Hill 3 16s 7½d	George Brown, £5 6s 5½d John Maide, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels John Allis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Allis, died January 3, £3 10s 0d John Attenstall, £3 16s 0½d Edward Astling, £3 16s 0½d Hans Ulbrick Ulgover, £3 16s 0½d John Anger, died January 3, £3 10s 0d Thomas Beevor, discharged 20 October 1759, £0 7s 6d Isaac Bucks, £3 16s 0½d John Barratt, £3 16s 0½d Edward Broom, £3 16s 0½d James Buckley, £3 16s 0½d William Bannister, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Byrne, discharged 24 December 1759, £3 1s 8d John Burnham, £3 16s 0½d John William Blanks, £3 16s 0½d Edward Corker, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cobb, £3 16s 0½d William Cobb, £3 16s 0½d Edward Coram, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Epley, £3 16s 0½d James Fox, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Gadby, £3 16s 0½d William Gooding, £3 16s 0½d John Greenaff, £3 16s 0½d William Gabry, £3 16s 0½d James Hall, £3 16s 0½d John Harley, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d George Hill, £3 16s 0½d William Houseman, £3 16s 0½d James Hendry, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d John Hawksword, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Hall, £3 16s 0½d George Hibbet, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £151 2s 8½d Carried over, £1,215 0s 3½d **Interpretations** The Second Company's sentinel roll carries several men reckoned to the days they served, Edward Allis and John Anger both reduced on their deaths on 3 January, Thomas Beevor cut to a few shillings on his discharge of 20 October, and Thomas Byrne prorated on his discharge of 24 December. The appearance of Byrne here confirms the outcome of the arson case, the soldier deported on the *Warren* now shown struck from the pay roll on the date of his removal, his wage stopped at the day he was put off the island. The two deaths of Edward Allis and John Anger both dated 3 January, matching the notice in the consultation of 7 January that recorded them dying on the 2, show the pay list and the narrative record working together to track the loss of the garrison's men. The will of John Anger proved before the council on 7 January stands behind this bare entry stopping his pay, the same soldier whose modest estate passed to his comrade Sylvanus Roilt now marked off the roll, the two records preserving between them both the man's death and the disposal of what little he left. The discharge of Thomas Byrne on 24 December, entered here with his pay reckoned to that date, fixes the moment the convict soldier was finally

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Houseman 3 16s 7½d James Hendry 3 16s 7½d William Harris 3 16s 7½d John Hawksword 3 16s 7½d Alexander Hall 3 16s 7½d George Hibbott 3 16s 7½d Richard Knight Centinels Carried over 151 2s 8½d Carried over 1215 8s 3½d	removed from the establishment after the council's resolution to send him off the island. That his wage was calculated to the day of his discharge, exactly as for any ordinary departure, shows the deportation handled through the routine machinery of the pay accounts, the dangerous man whose fires had destroyed the Deadwood house struck from the roll and paid off to the day like any other soldier leaving the garrison's service.
293	282	28 January Brought over 1215 8s 3½d Centinels brought over 151 2s 8½d William Ashfor 3 16s 7½d Peter Lindsay 3 16s 7½d William Luke 3 16s 7½d Jonathan Lake 3 16s 7½d William Mumford 3 16s 7½d Duncan McLearon 3 16s 7½d Martin Newman 3 16s 7½d John Price 3 16s 7½d Charles Purfey 3 16s 7½d John Pickering 3 16s 7½d Lewis Rosier 3 16s 7½d Michael Reid 3 16s 7½d Silvanus Rotph 3 16s 7½d Thomas Roberts 3 16s 7½d Arnold Safery 3 16s 7½d Henry Simmonds 3 16s 7½d John Stewart 3 16s 7½d William Smith 3 16s 7½d William Sowaby 3 16s 7½d Edward Sorey 3 16s 7½d Benjamin Williams 3 16s 7½d Samuel Wright 3 16s 7½d John Willinsdale 3 16s 7½d George Young 3 16s 7½d Richard Yorss 3 16s 7½d 246 3s 9d Third Company Onesiphorus Beale 1 Lieut Salary	Brought over, £1,215 0s 3½d Sentinels brought over, £151 2s 8½d William Kellas, £3 16s 0½d Peter Lindsay, £3 16s 0½d William Luke, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Laker, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McLaren, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, £3 16s 0½d John Price, £3 16s 0½d Charles Purfey, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d Lewis Rosier, £3 16s 0½d Michael Reid, £3 16s 0½d Silvanus Roilt, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Safery, £3 16s 0½d Henry Simmonds, £3 16s 0½d John Stewart, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d William Sowsby, £3 16s 0½d Edward Sorey, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Wright, £3 16s 0½d John Willingsdale, £3 16s 0½d George Young, £3 16s 0½d Richard Yoon, £3 16s 0½d Total, £246 3s 9d Third Company Onesipherus Beale, First Lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £32 3s 1½d Henry Brockett, Second Lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Carried over, £1,521 7s 1½d **Interpretations** The Second Company's sentinel roll closes at £246 3s 9d, every man held at the standard rate, and the account opens the Third Company with its officers paid on the familiar scale. The name of Silvanus Roilt among the sentinels marks the comrade to whom John Anger left his whole estate, the soldier who inherited the dead man's clothing and arms and stood as sole executor of his will, here continuing in the ranks on the ordinary sentinel's pay. The appearance of Silvanus Roilt in the pay list, drawing the standard sentinel's wage, sets beside the probate record the ordinary standing of the man Anger chose as his heir. That the beneficiary of the will was himself a common soldier on the same rate as the man who died shows the bond between them as one of equals, two sentinels of the garrison, the small legacy of clothing and arms passing between

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		22 16s 3d Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 32 3s 1½d Henry Progett 2 Lieut Salary 18 5s Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 27 11s 10½d Carried over 1521 7s 1½d	men of the same humble rank, the comradeship of the ranks standing where family could not reach the remote island. The house rent allowed to Onesipherus Beale as First Lieutenant of the Third Company, matching that of the other senior officers, ties the pay list to the lease he took of ground in Chapel Valley recorded in the earlier consultation. That the same officer drew both a housing allowance in his pay and held Company land on lease shows the commissioned officers of the garrison established on the island beyond their military duties, compensated for their lodging while also acquiring a stake in its ground, the officer both a servant of the garrison and a settler upon it.
294	283	1760 Brought over 1521 7s 1½d Michael Frost 2 Lieut Salary 18 5s Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d 25 1s 10½d Sergeants Thomas Leech 7 12s 1d Jeremiah Whorrill 7 12s 1d John Boyett 7 12s 1d William Harrison as Sergeant to the 3d Jan° ea 6 15s 4d Ditto as Centinel from 3 January enter 7 6d William Beale as Corporal to the 3d Jan° ea 4 6s 10d Ditto as Sergeant from the 3 January enter 15s 35 13s 11d Corporals Henry De Laune 5 6s 5½d Robert Brown 5 6s 5½d John Fox 5 6s 5½d James Sherlock Centinel to the 3 January ea 3 9s 2d Ditto as Corporal from the 3 January enter 10 6d 19 19s 5½d Drummers John Coffin 5 6s 5½d Lewis Ring 5 6s 5½d 10 12s 11d Centinels Matthew Allis 3 16s 7½d Samuel Agnes 3 16s 7½d Samuel Allstone 3 16s 7½d Joseph Brooks 3 16s 7½d William Beckett 3 16s 7½d William Burck 3 16s 7½d John Burck 3 16s 7½d John Brewer 3 16s 7½d William Brooks	Brought over, £1,521 7s 1½d Michael Frost, Second Lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants Thomas Leech, £7 12s 1d Jeremiah Worrell, £7 12s 1d John Boyet, £7 12s 1d William Harrison, as sergeant to the 3 January, new rate, £6 15s 4d The same, as sentinel from the 3 January entered, £0 7s 6d William Beale, as corporal to the 3 January, new rate, £4 6s 10d The same, as sergeant from the 3 January entered, £0 15s 0d Total, £35 13s 11d Corporals Humey Delaune, £5 6s 5½d Robert Brown, £5 6s 5½d John Fox, £5 6s 5½d James Sherlock, continued to the 3 January, new rate, £3 9s 2d The same, as corporal from the 3 January entered, £0 10s 6d Total, £19 19s 5½d Drummers John Cuffin, £5 6s 5½d Lewis King, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels Matthew Allis, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Agnes, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Alstone, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Brooks, £3 16s 0½d William Brockett, £3 16s 0½d William Brick, £3 16s 0½d John Brock, £3 16s 0½d John Brewer, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d John Browne, £3 16s 0½d Peter Browne, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushell, £0 13s 4d Benjamin Buxton, transferred into the First Company the 25 October, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Cairn, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Clark, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £33 4s 4d Carried over, £1,612 14s 0½d **Interpretations** The Third Company's pay list again records men whose wages were split across two ranks and rates within the quarter, William Harrison and William Beale each paid partly in a lower grade and partly in a higher from the 3 January, James Sherlock likewise moving up on the same date. These divided entries confirm the settled pattern of promotion on fixed days, the vacancies among the sergeants and corporals filled together at the turn of the new year,

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16s 7½d John Browne 3 16s 7½d Peter Browne 3 16s 7½d Nicholas Bushell 13s 4d Benjamin Buxton changed into 1st Comp 2 d° Octo 3 16s 7½d Daniel Cairn 3 16s 7½d Thomas Clark 33 4s 11d Carried over 1612 14s 9½d	each man's wage reckoned to the days he held each rank at each rate. The very low figure of £0 13s 4d against Nicholas Bushell marks a man who served only a small part of the quarter, entering or leaving the establishment near its close so that only a few days pay fell due. That his entry stands so far below the standard rate shows the pay account reckoning even the briefest service to its exact due, a man on the roll for a fortnight or less paid precisely for the days he served, the establishment figure prorated down to a few shillings where the service was short. The transfer of Benjamin Buxton into the First Company on 25 October, noted against his name in the Third Company's roll, shows men moving between the companies during the quarter while their pay was accounted in the company where they began. That the transfer was recorded but the full standard wage still entered here reveals the administrative convention by which a man's pay for the period followed his original company, the movement between units tracked in the record even as the reckoning stayed with the company that held him at the quarter's start.
295	284	28 January Brought over 1612 14s 9½d Centinels brought over 33 17s 11d John Coles 3 16s 7½d Edward Congreve 3 16s 7½d William Conquest 3 16s 7½d John Deer 3 16s 7½d Jacob du Vall 3 16s 7½d Thomas Elwart transferred to the Colf Comp 27 Oct 13s 4d Thomas Eastwood 3 16s 7½d Peter Eglestone 3 16s 7½d Peter Finall 3 16s 7½d George French 3 16s 7½d Henry Fullbright 3 16s 7½d John Godsall 3 16s 7½d Thomas Green 3 16s 7½d William Harris 3 16s 7½d John Hayes 3 16s 7½d William Hayes 3 16s 7½d John Haverby 3 16s 7½d Thomas Harding 3 16s 7½d Abraham Harding 3 16s 7½d Arnold Herman 3 16s 7½d Charles Hogsild 3 16s 7½d George Holderdum 3 16s 7½d Philip Hilliard drowned 16 Decr 1759 2 13s 6d	Brought over, £1,612 14s 0½d Sentinels brought over, £33 17s 11d John Coles, £3 16s 0½d Edward Craggus, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, £3 16s 0½d John Deer, £3 16s 0½d Jacob de Vall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Elmore, transferred to the Second Company 27 October, £0 13s 4d Thomas Eastward, £3 16s 0½d Peter Eglstone, £3 16s 0½d Peter Small, £3 16s 0½d George French, £3 16s 0½d Henry Fullwright, £3 16s 0½d John Godsall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Green, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d John Hayes, £3 16s 0½d John Haverty, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Herman, £3 16s 0½d Charles Heyhard, £3 16s 0½d George Holliman, £3 16s 0½d Philip Hilliard, drowned 16 December 1759, £2 13s 6d James Hind, £3 16s 0½d William Holbrook, £3 16s 0½d John Holloway, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Justin, £3 16s 0½d Richard Isaac, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kitton, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 0½d William Lynn, £3 16s 0½d Michael Meils, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 0½d William Penny, £3 16s 0½d William Poulton, £3 16s 0½d Archibald Page, £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £174 4s 3d Carried over, £1,612 14s 0½d **Interpretations** The Third Company's sentinel roll runs on at the standard rate, broken by Thomas Elmore transferred to the Second Company on 27 October at a few days pay and Philip Hilliard reduced on his drowning of 16 December. The entry for Hilliard confirms the accidental death recorded in the consultation of 17 December, the soldier drowned by misadventure now

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Hinds d° 3 16s 7½d William Holbrook 3 16s 7½d John Holloway 3 16s 7½d James Ahldam 3 16s 7½d Samuel Justine 3 16s 7½d Richard Isaac 3 16s 7½d Samuel Kitson 3 16s 7½d Evan Knowles 3 16s 7½d William Lynn 3 16s 7½d Michael Meets 3 16s 7½d Stephen Orr 3 16s 7½d William Penny 3 16s 7½d William Poulton 3 16s 7½d Archibald Page 3 16s 7½d Roger Phillips 3 16s 7½d Centinels Carried over 174 4s 3d Carried over 1612 14s 9½d	shown struck from the pay roll on the date he died, his wage stopped at the day the sea took him. The drowning of Philip Hilliard on 16 December, entered here in the pay list with his wage cut to that date, matches the notice in the consultation of the following day that recorded him drowned by accident. That the same loss appears in both the council's narrative and the paymaster's reckoning shows once more the two records tracking each man's death in concert, the accidental loss noted as an event of the settlement and at once reflected in the stopping of his pay, the administration following the soldier from the roll to his drowning. The reduced entry for Thomas Elmore, transferred to the Second Company on 27 October and here paid only for the days before his move, shows the same convention seen with Buxton, a man's pay divided at the point of his transfer between the companies. That Elmore's wage in the Third Company was cut off at his transfer date, unlike Buxton whose full sum stayed with his original company, reveals the paymaster reckoning each transfer according to its particular timing and terms, the movement of men between the companies tracked and apportioned case by case in the accounts.
296	285	1760 Brought over 1612 14s 9½d Centinels brought over 194 4s 3d Thomas Rutherford 3 16s 7½d John Simmonds 3 16s 7½d William Smith 3 16s 7½d Joseph Smith 3 16s 7½d William Stedman 3 16s 7½d John Christian Stiffe 3 16s 7½d Thomas Towers 3 16s 7½d William Taylor 3 16s 7½d Jacob Wares 3 16s 7½d Thomas Mansell 3 16s 7½d William Ward 3 16s 7½d Richard Willman 3 16s 7½d Stephen Willoughby 3 16s 7½d Thomas Woffington 3 16s 7½d Gustavus Weeden 3 16s 7½d 231 4s 10½d Fourth Company William Kennedy 1st Lieut Salary 22 16s 3d Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d	Brought over, £1,612 14s 0½d Sentinels brought over, £194 4s 3d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Simmons, £3 16s 0½d William Smith, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 0½d William Stedman, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Stiff, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Towers, £3 16s 0½d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Wise, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mansell, £3 16s 0½d William Ward, £3 16s 0½d Richard Wilman, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Woffington, £3 16s 0½d Gustavus Weeden, £3 16s 0½d Total, £231 4s 10½d Fourth Company William Kennedy, First Lieutenant, salary, £22 16s 3d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £29 13s 1½d Samuel Crew, Second Lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Charles Gissing, Second Lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d The same, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants Richard Vaughan, £7 12s 1d John Bridgewater, £7 12s 1d Thomas Pearce, £7 12s 1d John Henry Schwarnhurst, £7 12s 1d Total, £30 8s 4d Corporals John Robinson, £5 6s 5½d

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		29 13s 1½d Samuel Croix 2d Lieut Salary 18 5s Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 27 11s 10½d Charles Gissing 2d Lieut Salary 18 5s Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 27 11s 10½d Sergeants Richard Vaughan 7 12s 1d John Bridgewaters 7 12s 1d Thomas Pearce 7 12s 1d John Henry Schaarnhurst 7 12s 1d 30 8s 4d Corporals John Robinson 5 6s 5½d David Scott 5 6s 5½d Roger Watson 5 6s 5½d Christian Brinks 5 6s 5½d 21 5s 10d Carried over 2000 16s 8½d	David Scott, £5 6s 5½d Roger Wilman, £5 6s 5½d Christian Bricks, £5 6s 5½d Total, £21 5s 10d Carried over, £2,000 10s 8½d **Interpretations** The Third Company's sentinel roll closes at £231 4s 10½d, and the account opens the Fourth Company, its lieutenants, sergeants and corporals paid on the same fixed scale as the rest of the garrison. The appearance of Samuel Crew as Second Lieutenant, where the earlier muster of October had named Samuel Pace in the post, marks a change in the company's officers between the two accounts, a new man now holding the lieutenancy at the same rate his predecessor drew. The whole military establishment now laid out across the four companies and the artillery reveals the garrison's pay running to a great sum, the account approaching £2,000 by the close of the Fourth Company's officers alone. This accumulation confirms the scale of the force the Company maintained on the island, a body of several hundred men in four marching companies and an artillery company, the whole paid on a single fixed scale that made the garrison one of the heaviest standing charges of the settlement. The consistency of the officer allowances across the companies, the First Lieutenants at £22 16s 3d with diet money and the Second Lieutenants at £18 5s 0d, some with house rent and some without, confirms the pattern seen throughout the pay accounts, the rate fixed by rank while the housing allowance followed individual circumstance. That Samuel Crew and Charles Gissing both drew house rent while William Kennedy did not shows once more the lodging allowance tied to whether an officer housed himself, the Company paying rent to those who found their own quarters and withholding it from those it housed.
297	286	28 January Brought over 2000 16s 8½d Drummers John Buckham 5 6s 5½d Henry Howell 5 6s 5½d 10 12s 11d Centinels William Anderson 3 16s 7½d Richard Ashford 3 16s 7½d William Vernon 3 16s 7½d Onesiphorus Bagley 3 16s 7½d Henry Brown 3 16s 7½d Robert Blyk 3 16s 7½d Jacob Cavill 3 16s 7½d William Bruckman 3 16s 7½d Richard Butter 3 16s 7½d George Henry Bagott 3 16s 7½d Marke Beale 3 16s 7½d John Cripps 3 16s 7½d John Clough	Brought over, £2,000 10s 8½d Drummers John Buckham, £5 6s 5½d Henry Howell, £5 6s 5½d Total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels William Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d William Vernon, £3 16s 0½d Onesipherus Bagley, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Bligh, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brill, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, £3 16s 0½d Richard Butter, £3 16s 0½d George Henry Bagott, £3 16s 0½d Mark Beale, £3 16s 0½d John Cripps, £3 16s 0½d John Clough, £3 16s 0½d John Cork, £3 16s 0½d Gilbert Clough, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d Brian de Bass, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Gudor, £3 16s 0½d Peter Shehvard, £3 16s 0½d Edward Grant, £3 16s 0½d Robertson Green, £3 16s 0½d Fisher Gamble, £3 16s 0½d John Gould, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Graystock, £3 16s 0½d John Hoyle, £3 16s 0½d William Hill, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hinds, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hucherast, £3 16s 0½d William Jenkins, £3 16s 0½d

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		3 16s 7½d John Cork 3 16s 7½d Gilbert Clough 3 16s 7½d Joseph Chamberlain 3 16s 7½d Baroch Debaff 3 16s 7½d Thomas Grubor 3 16s 7½d Peter Sherwood 3 16s 7½d Edward Grant 3 16s 7½d Robinson Green 3 16s 7½d Andre Gamble 3 16s 7½d John Gould 3 16s 7½d Thomas Graystock 3 16s 7½d John Hoyle 3 16s 7½d William Hill 3 16s 7½d Thomas Hinds 3 16s 7½d Robert Hucherest 3 16s 7½d William Jenkins 3 16s 7½d Thomas Kendrick 3 16s 7½d Alexander Kitchen 3 16s 7½d Thomas Lindsay 3 16s 7½d Joseph Long 3 16s 7½d Centinels Carried over 125 9s 4½d Carried over 2011 3s 7½d	Thomas Kendrick, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Kitchen, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lindsay, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Long, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried over, £125 9s 4½d Carried over, £2,011 3s 7½d **Interpretations** The Fourth Company's sentinel roll runs at the standard £3 16s 0½d for every man, unbroken by any death, discharge or transfer within the quarter. The uniform figures show a company whose ranks held steady through the period, none of its sentinels lost or moved, the settled rate applied cleanly to each name in contrast to the earlier companies broken by mortality and change. The steadiness of the Fourth Company's roll, every man present at the full rate for the whole quarter, marks a contrast with the losses that touched the other companies, the deaths, drownings and discharges that reduced so many entries elsewhere. That this company came through the period intact reveals the uneven incidence of loss across the garrison, the misfortunes of death and departure falling by chance more heavily on some companies than others, the Fourth spared while the First, Second and Third each carried their prorated entries for men who died or left. The name of Onesipherus Bagley among the Fourth Company's sentinels, sharing the surname of the Beale who commanded the Third Company and the several Bagleys who held island leases, hints at the interweaving of the garrison and the settled population through family connection. That men of the same names served in the ranks, held commissions and took Company land shows the small society of the island bound together across its military and civil life, families with a foothold in the settlement represented at once among its soldiers, its officers and its planters.
298	287	1760 Brought over 2011 3s 7½d Centinels brought over 125 9s 4½d James Lee 3 16s 7½d John Lemmon 3 16s 7½d Edward Lax 3 16s 7½d Richard Linney 3 16s 7½d William Livingston 3 16s 7½d Lodowick Lumpford 3 16s 7½d John Long 3 16s 7½d Abraham Major 3 16s 7½d Charles Montague 3 16s 7½d Thomas Morris 3 16s 7½d Richard Moyce 3 16s 7½d Edward Mansell 3 16s 7½d William Moor	Brought over, £2,011 3s 7½d Sentinels brought over, £125 9s 4½d James Lee, £3 16s 0½d John Lemmens, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lax, £3 16s 0½d Richard Limner, £3 16s 0½d William Livingstone, £3 16s 0½d Lodwick Lempford, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d Charles Montague, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Edward Mansell, £3 16s 0½d William Moer, £3 16s 0½d William Mason, £3 16s 0½d Philip Jacob Mottonia, £3 16s 0½d John Maurice, entertained 26 December, £0 14s 2d Thomas Nimble, £3 16s 0½d John Papworter, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pory, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Philips, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d William Rippon, £3 16s 0½d Gorlock Rutror, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Skarmore, £3 16s 0½d Richard Spencer, £3 16s 0½d

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		3 16s 7½d William Mason 3 16s 7½d Philip Jacob Mattorius 3 16s 7½d John Maurice Entertained 26th Decr 14s 2d Thomas Nimble 3 16s 7½d John Papworter 3 16s 7½d Thomas Pory 3 16s 7½d Joseph Philips 3 16s 7½d William Robinson 3 16s 7½d William Rippon 3 16s 7½d Gorlock Rutvar 3 16s 7½d Robert Slack 3 16s 7½d Adam Scott 3 16s 7½d Thomas Skarmore 3 16s 7½d Richard Spencer 3 16s 7½d James Stebbard 3 16s 7½d George Simms 3 16s 7½d Henry Sawyer 3 2s 6d Christian Syder discharged 25th Decr 3 16s 7½d Richard Tink 3 16s 7½d Edward Thomas 3 16s 7½d Joseph Uffin 3 16s 7½d John Wyford 254 15s 5d Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary 22 16s 3d Ditto diet money 6 16s 10½d 29 13s 1½d Carried over 2295 12s 2d	James Shelvoard, £3 16s 0½d George Simms, £3 16s 0½d Henry Sawyer, £0 2s 6d Christian Syder, discharged 25 December, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tuke, £3 16s 0½d Edward Thomas, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 0½d John Wyford, £3 16s 0½d Total, £254 15s 5d Artillery Company Thomas Hall, Master Gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d The same, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total, £29 13s 1½d Carried over, £2,295 12s 2d **Interpretations** The Fourth Company's sentinel roll closes at £254 15s 5d, marked by two men reckoned to their part-service, John Maurice entertained on 26 December at a few shillings and Henry Sawyer on the smallest of sums. The entry for John Maurice confirms his enlistment recorded in the earlier consultation, the substitute who took Christian Syder's place now shown entering the pay roll on the date he was engaged, his wage beginning from the day he signed on. The pairing of John Maurice entering on 26 December with Christian Syder discharged on 25 December, one man's enlistment following immediately on the other's release, confirms the substitution recorded in the consultation where Syder found Maurice to serve in his stead. That the two entries fall on consecutive days shows the exchange working exactly as the council arranged, Syder leaving the establishment and Maurice taking his place the following day, the market in substitution tracked in the pay accounts as the outgoing man was paid off and the incoming man taken on. The very small figure of £0 2s 6d against Henry Sawyer marks a man on the roll for only a day or two of the quarter, entering or leaving so close to its end that barely any pay fell due. That such a trifling sum was entered at all shows the completeness of the pay account, every man who served even a single day carried in the reckoning and paid precisely for his brief time, the establishment insisting on a full record that omitted no one however short his service.
299	288	28 January Brought over 2295 12s 2d Gunners Mates Nathan Langre Chief Mate 11 8s 1½d John Whitebrick 9 2s 6d Charles McNeily 9 2s 6d Rowland Davis 9 2s 6d Adam Watson 9 2s 6d Thomas Williams 9 2s 6d James Long 9 2s 6d Thomas Mason 9 2s 6d 75 5s 7½d Quarter Gunners	Brought over, £2,295 12s 2d Gunners Mates Nathaniel Langले, Chief Mate, £11 8s 1½d John Whitebach, £9 2s 6d Charles McNeily, £9 2s 6d Rowland Davis, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, £9 2s 6d Thomas Williams, £9 2s 6d James Long, £9 2s 6d Thomas Mason, £9 2s 6d Total, £75 5s 7½d Quarter Gunners Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10½d John Jacks, £6 16s 10½d John Clovey, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor, £6 16s 10½d John Woods, £6 16s 10½d John Thomason, as quarter gunner to the 3 January, new rate, £6 4s 6d The same, as matross from the 3 January entered, £0 6s 0d John Sharkley, £6 16s 10½d

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		Andrew Barton 6 16s 10½d John Jacks 6 16s 10½d John Clavey 6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor 6 16s 10½d John Works 6 16s 10½d John Thomason as Quarter Gunner to Jan° 2 to ea 6 4s 6d Ditto as Matross from the 2d January ea 9 John Shirtley 6 16s 10½d Thomas Clavey 6 16s 10½d 54 11s 7½d Matrosses Richard Sillington 4 11s 3d William Benson 4 11s 3d Matthew Brockland 4 11s 3d John Adam Brazier 4 11s 3d John Baker 4 11s 3d Darby Coyles 4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham 4 11s 3d Thomas Davis 4 11s 3d Anthony Day 4 11s 3d Christian Dyatt 4 11s 3d Ulrick Dull 4 11s 3d John Frederick Emerling 4 11s 3d William Fletcher as Matross to 2 Jan° enter 4 3s 7d Ditto as Quarter Gunner from the 2 Jan° ea 13s 6d John Gopthard 4 11s 3d Matrosses Carried over 64 2s 9d Carried over 2425 9s 5d	Thomas Clovey, £6 16s 10½d Total, £54 11s 7½d Matrosses Richard Islington, £4 11s 3d William Benson, £4 11s 3d Matthew Brickland, £4 11s 3d John Adam Boragier, £4 11s 3d John Baker, £4 11s 3d Darby Coyles, £4 11s 3d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 3d Thomas Davis, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d Christian Dysat, £4 11s 3d Ulrick Dull, £4 11s 3d John Frederick Emerling, £4 11s 3d William Fletcher, as matross to the 3 January, new rate, £4 3s 6d The same, as quarter gunner from the 3 January entered, £0 13s 6d John Gophard, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried over, £64 2s 9d Carried over, £2,425 0s 5d **Interpretations** The Artillery Company's pay list carries its own graded scale of specialist ratings, the Chief Gunner's Mate at £11 8s 1½d, the ordinary mates at £9 2s 6d, the quarter gunners at £6 16s 10½d and the matrosses at £4 11s 3d, each grade distinct in pay as in duty. Two men here show wages split across ranks on the 3 January, John Thomason moving down from quarter gunner to matross and William Fletcher up from matross to quarter gunner, the same date of change seen in the marching companies applied within the artillery. The exchange of ranks between John Thomason and William Fletcher on the same day, one demoted to matross and the other promoted to quarter gunner, shows the two men swapping places in the artillery's establishment on 3 January. That the pay of each was divided at that date between the two grades reveals the change reckoned precisely to the day, one man stepping down and the other up in a direct exchange, the vacancy and its filling accounted together as the artillery adjusted its complement of quarter gunners. The promotion of a matross to quarter gunner and the corresponding reduction of another to matross reveals the artillery's ranks as a ladder up and down which men moved according to merit, need or misconduct. That Fletcher rose from the lowest artillery grade to quarter gunner while Thomason fell the other way shows advancement and demotion both at work within the company, the gun crews reshaped by moving men between the grades, the skilled hierarchy of the artillery maintained by promoting the capable and reducing others as circumstances required.
300	289	1760 Brought over 2425 9s 5d Matrosses brought over 64 2s 9d Giles Gorman 4 11s 3d Thomas Haycock 4 11s 3d John Kemp 4 11s 3d William Lister 4 11s 3d William Mason 4 11s 3d Peter Mitchel 4 11s 3d George Nelson 4 11s 3d	Brought over, £2,425 0s 5d Matrosses brought over, £64 2s 9d Giles Gorman, £4 11s 3d Thomas Haycock, £4 11s 3d John Kemp, £4 11s 3d William Lister, £4 11s 3d William Mason, £4 11s 3d Peter Mitchel, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Patchett, £4 11s 3d William Pidgeon, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d James Roberson, £4 11s 3d Joshua Ratcliff, £4 11s 3d John Mater, £4 11s 3d Frederick Trimmerman, £4 11s 3d John Styo, £4 11s 3d John Turner, £4 11s 3d William Thompson, £4 11s 3d

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		Thomas Patchett 4 11s 3d William Pidgeon 4 11s 3d John Robinson 4 11s 3d James Roberson 4 11s 3d Joshua Ratclif 4 11s 3d John Mater 4 11s 3d Frederick Timmerman 4 11s 3d John Mese 4 11s 3d John Turner 4 11s 3d William Thompson 4 11s 3d Daniel Tongua 4 11s 3d Luke Vernon 4 11s 3d Thomas Watts 4 11s 3d Richard Waterhouse 4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt 4 11s 3d William Warden 4 11s 3d John Mitchel Wageling 4 11s 3d John Hendrick Wileus 4 11s 3d Sarod Jock Thomas Elwart transf from the 3 Comp 28 Oct ea 3 16s Benjamin Buxton transf from the 6 Comp 28 Oct ea 3 16s William Hodges entertained 26 Decr 1759 17s 191 4s 3d 2616 13s 8d Signd John Clark Paymaster Dr	Daniel Guggus, £4 11s 3d Luke Vernon, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d Richard Waterhouse, £4 11s 3d Thomas Wyatt, £4 11s 3d William Warden, £4 11s 3d John Mitchel Wageling, £4 11s 3d John Hendrick Wilcox, £4 11s 3d James York, £4 11s 3d Thomas Elmore, transferred from the Third Company 28 October, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Buxton, transferred from the Sixth Company 28 October, £3 16s 0½d William Hodges, entertained 26 December 1759, £0 17s 0d Total, £191 4s 3d Total, £2,616 13s 8d Signed John Clark, Paymaster. **Interpretations** The Artillery Company's matross roll closes the whole military pay list, carrying the same men recorded in the earlier muster at the standard £4 11s 3d, with three entries marking movement onto the establishment. William Hodges entertained on 26 December confirms the enlistment recorded in the consultation, the discharged sergeant from Bencoolen now shown entering the pay roll on the date he signed on, his wage beginning from that day as he took up service as a matross in the artillery. The transfer of Thomas Elmore and Benjamin Buxton into the artillery on the same date, 28 October, matches the entries in the marching companies that recorded them leaving those units, the two men shown here joining the gun crews on the day they left the infantry. That the transfers appear in both the losing and the receiving companies reveals the pay accounts tracking each man's movement between branches of the garrison, the soldier struck from one company's roll and entered on another's, his passage from foot to artillery followed through the books. The whole military establishment now closes at £2,616 13s 8d under John Clark's signature as paymaster, the same officer who appears throughout these accounts as councillor, First Lieutenant of the First Company and holder of island leases. That the man responsible for the whole garrison's pay was himself a senior officer, a member of the governing council and a substantial leaseholder shows the concentration of the island's offices and interests in a few hands, Clark at once paying the garrison, helping to govern the settlement, commanding a company and farming Company land, the several roles of the small establishment gathered in a single figure who signed off the accounts he had himself helped to compile.
301	290	28 January John Clark Paymaster Dr 1760 January 11 To Cash received 2850 2s Carried over 2850 2s	John Clark, Paymaster, Debtor 11 January 1760, to cash received, £2,850 0s 2d Carried over, £2,850 0s 2d **Interpretations** The page opens the debtor side of the paymaster's account for the new quarter, charging John Clark with £2,850 0s 2d in cash received on 11 January to meet the garrison's pay. This single receipt formed the fund against which the whole military establishment set out in the preceding pay list would be discharged, the paymaster made personally answerable for the sum until it was balanced against the wages paid out on the facing side.
302	291	1760 Per Contra Cr 1759 By Cash Paid George Preston for four Arches a 50/ each	Per Contra, Creditor By cash paid George Prebor for four sentry coats at 50s each for the use of the Honourable Company's commission officers omitted last quarter, £10 0s 0d

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		for the use of the Honorable Company's Commission Officers omitted last Quarter 10 Novr 27 By Cash paid three Sergeants Vizt Thomas Torris Henry Schaarnhurst and William Harrison 3 each in lieu of their Regimental Coat Suit and Breeches there not being sufficient Cloathing Sent over by the Honorable Company last Year 9 By Cash paid nine Matrosses Vizt Richard Sillington, Anthony Day William Fletcher, John Frederick Emerling & Peter Mitchel Luke Vernon Thomas Watts Thomas Wyatt and John Hendrick Wileus 1 10s in lieu of their Regimental Coats Suits and Breeches there not being sufficient Cloathing sent by the Honorable Company the last Year 13 10s Decr 20 By Cash paid William Hodges for enlisting to serve the Honorable Company five years as a Soldier 10 1760 D° By Cash paid John Maurice for D° 1 Jan° 6 By Cash paid Robert Slack for Relisting to serve the Honorable Company 5 Years longer as a Soldier 10 By Cash paid John Bagley for D° 10 By Cash paid Thomas Miles for D° 10 11 By Cash paid sundry Garrison Men for Rowing in the Honorable Company's Pinnace this Quarter 3 By Cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for Carpenters work done for the Honorable Company the Quarter ending this day 5 By Cash paid Robert Ineheart for taking Care of the Honorable Company's Rock in the Longwood the Quarter ending this day 2 10s By Cash paid Thomas Green and John Hawksword for baking 78 Batches of Bread for the use of the Garrison this Quarter 6 10s By Cash paid John Deer, Isaac Day and John Simmonds for Carpenters work done the Quarter ending this day 14 15s 6d By Cash paid Lt Gissing for a Quarters Rent of a Room for Noggudah Rockolum ending this Day 1 By Cash Paid Noggudah Rockolum his allowance from the Honorable Company the Quarter ending this day 1 12s 6d By Cash paid William Moor for the Rent of two Houses for the use of Sick and infirm Soldiers this Quarter 4 By Cash paid sundry Garrison Men for working in the Honorable Company's Longboat this Quarter 2 10s	27 November, by cash paid three sergeants, namely Thomas Turn, Henry Schwarnhurst and William Harrison, £3 each in lieu of their regimental coats and breeches, there not being sufficient clothing sent over by the Honourable Company last year, £9 0s 0d By cash paid nine matrosses, namely Richard Islington, Anthony Day, William Fletcher, John Frederick Emerling, Peter Mitchel, Luke Vernon, Thomas Watts, Thomas Wyatt and John Hendrick Wilcox, £1 10s each in lieu of their regimental coats and breeches, there not being sufficient clothing sent by the Honourable Company last year, £13 10s 0d 20 December, by cash paid William Hodges for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company five years as a soldier, £10 0s 0d By cash paid John Maurice for the same, £1 0s 0d 6 January 1760, by cash paid Robert Stack for re-enlisting to serve the Honourable Company 5 years longer as a soldier, £10 0s 0d By cash paid John Bagley for the same, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Thomas Nimble for the same, £10 0s 0d 11 January, by cash paid sundry garrison men for rowing in the Honourable Company's pinnace this quarter, £3 0s 0d By cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for carpenter's work done for the Honourable Company the quarter ending this day, £5 0s 0d By cash paid Robert Inchant for taking care of the Honourable Company's stock in the Longwood the quarter ending this day, £2 10s 0d By cash paid Thomas Green and John Hawksword for baking 78 batches of bread for the use of the garrison this quarter, £6 10s 0d By cash paid John Deer, Isaac Day and John Simmons for carpenter's work done the quarter ending this day, £14 15s 6d By cash paid Charles Gissing for a quarter's rent of a room for Nonnedah Rockelam ending this day, £1 0s 0d By cash paid Nonnedah Rockelam his allowance from the Honourable Company the quarter ending this day, £1 12s 6d By cash paid William Moer for the rent of two houses for the use of sick and infirm soldiers this quarter, £4 0s 0d By cash paid sundry garrison men for working in the Honourable Company's longboat this quarter, £2 10s 0d Carried over, £114 8s 0d **Interpretations** The creditor account opens with a run of payments made to soldiers in lieu of clothing the Company had failed to supply, cash handed to three sergeants and nine matrosses because insufficient uniform coats and breeches had been sent from home the previous year. This shortfall reveals the dependence of the garrison on supplies shipped from England and the disruption caused when they fell short, the Company obliged to compensate its men in money for the regimental clothing it could not provide, the deficiency in the annual supply passed on to the soldiers as a cash allowance. The failure of the clothing supply exposes the vulnerability of the remote island to any interruption in the flow of goods from home, the garrison left without its proper uniform when the year's shipment proved inadequate. That the Company paid cash in place of the missing coats and breeches shows it meeting its obligation to clothe the men by the only means available when the goods themselves were wanting, the money a substitute for the uniform that

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		Carried over 114 8s	should have come but did not, the soldiers left to furnish their own clothing from the payment. The recurring re-enlistment bounties, £10 each to Robert Stack, John Bagley and Thomas Nimble for agreeing to serve five years longer, confirm the standing practice of retaining trained men through cash inducements rather than replacing them with fresh recruits from home. On a remote station where new soldiers could be had only after a long and costly passage, holding the men already present was the surer course, the re-enlistment premium the Company's regular tool for keeping its garrison at strength, the same mechanism seen in the previous quarter's accounts continuing into the new year.
303	292	28 January John Clark, Paymaster Dr 1760 January 11 To Cash Received £2850 0s 2d Carried over £2850 0s 2d	28 January. John Clark, paymaster, debtor. 1760 11 January, to cash received, £2,850 2s 0d Carried over, £2,850 2s 0d
304	293	1760 Per Contra Cr 1760 Brought over £114 8s 0d January 11 By Cash paid John Thomason for making a Flag for Prosperous Bay and another for Sandy Bay £1 10s 0d By Cash paid Samuel Coles for Glazing Cork this Quarter £0 3s 0d By Cash paid Benjamin Weaver for Cutting 300 load of Sticks at 6d & load, 5s Retterned & Cash and for 8 load of Timbers at 26d ea for the use of the Honorable Company this Quarter £10 0s 0d By Cash paid Elizabeth Gurling for 2 load of Bamboos for the use of the Honorable Company £0 5s 0d By Cash paid William Dawston for digging four Graves for deceased Soldiers vizt Henry Nowden, Richard Cauley & John Winger and Edward Ollis £0 10s 0d By Cash paid Edward Uffeling for work done in the Armourers Shop this Quarter, past owing this day £3 7s 6d By Cash paid Thomas Bagley for working 8 days in Cutting up Meat in the Honorable Companys Store this Quarter past ending this day £0 12s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Mason for 2½ days work in painting Gun Carriages, Hand spikes, a Flag Staff and Iron Work at their two Barracks and above in this Quarter £1 16s 0d By Cash paid Samuel Alexander for sundry for the use of the Honorable Company vizt 45 Rafters at 6d £1 10s 0d 4 Load Laths at 2s 6d 8s 0d 4 Load Bineirs at 1s 6d 6s 0d 2 Mantle Trees pieced at 2s ea 4s 0d 2 Ridge Lath 1s 0d £2 9s 0d By Cash paid Richard Bagley for 900 Lemons and 13 Cabbages for the use of the Honorable Companys Table £1 7s 9d By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for digging and cutting of Stone at Sandy Bay Quarry 100 [...] at 7d & day £5 9s 6d By Cash paid 26 for grubbing Furze on the Honorable Companys Pastures 129½ days at 1s 6d £7 9s 6d By Cash paid ditto 205½ days at the new Magazine at 1s £10 5s 9d	1760. Per contra, creditor. 1760 Brought over, £114 8s 0d 11 January, by cash paid John Thomason for making a flag for Prosperous Bay and another for Sandy Bay, £1 10s 0d By cash paid Samuel Coles for glazing work this quarter, £0 3s 0d By cash paid Benjamin Weaver for cutting 300 loads of wood at 6d per load, £0 15s 0d, delivered to Cox and a load of timbers at 2s 6d each for the use of the Honourable Company this quarter, £10 0s 0d By cash paid Elizabeth Yearling for 2 loads of bamboos for the use of the Honourable Company, £0 5s 0d By cash paid William Dowston for digging four graves for deceased soldiers, namely Henry Nowden, Richard Conley and John Winger and Edward Ellis, £0 10s 0d By cash paid Edward Utting for work done in the armourer's shop this quarter, paid ending this day, £3 7s 6d By cash paid Thomas Bayly for working 8 days in cutting up meat in the Honourable Company's store this quarter, paid ending this day, £0 12s 0d By cash paid Thomas Mason for 2½ days work in painting gun carriages, hand spikes, a flag staff and iron work at the two barracks and elsewhere in the garrison, £1 16s 0d By cash paid Samuel Alexander for sundry goods for the service of the Honourable Company, namely 45 rafters at 6d each, £1 10s 0d 4 loads of laths at 2s each, £0 8s 0d 4 loads of binders at 1s 6d each, £0 6s 0d 2 mantle trees priced at 2s each, £0 4s 0d 2 ridge poles, £0 1s 0d total, £2 9s 0d By cash paid Richard Bagley for 900 laths and 13 cabbages for the use of the Honourable Company's stable, £1 7s 9d By cash paid sundry soldiers for digging and cutting of stone at Sandy Bay Quarry 106 days at 8d per day, £3 9s 6d By cash paid Coles for grubbing furze on the Honourable Company's [...] 129 days at 1½d, £7 9s 6d By cash paid ditto 205 days for stone at the new magazine at 1s, £10 5s 0d By cash paid ditto for 15 days work at 2 barrels of magazine at 1s, £0 15s 0d By cash paid ditto for breaking and burning of lime kilns 70 days at 1s, £3 10s 0d By cash paid ditto for stone at Perkins's 130 days at 1s, £5 13s 6d

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		By Cash paid ditto for 15 days work at Rupert's Magazine at 1s £3 10s 0d By Cash paid ditto for breaking and burning Limekilns 70 days at 1s 6d £5 13s 6d By Cash paid for Rebuilding a Black Smith at Perkinses 13 [...] at 6d £169 11s 6d Carried over	By cash paid for rebuilding a black house at Perkins's, £169 11s 6d Carried over **Interpretations** The Honourable Company was the English East India Company, which governed St Helena and bore the running cost of its garrison, fortifications and public works. The payments here were disbursed by the paymaster, John Clark, whose account they discharged. A mantle tree was the heavy horizontal timber beam spanning a fireplace opening and carrying the weight of the chimney breast above it. Binders were long timbers laid horizontally in a roof or wall to tie the structure together, while rafters and laths formed the sloping frame and the base for tiling or thatch. These stores, bought from Samuel Alexander, point to building and roofing work rather than repair alone. Furze was gorse, a dense spiny shrub cleared from the Company's ground by grubbing, that is by digging out the roots. The large number of days paid for grubbing, stone-cutting and lime-burning shows how much of the island's labour went on quarrying and land clearance, both worked chiefly by soldiers hired out by the day rather than by a separate labouring class. **Speculations** The graves of the four dead soldiers were paid for by the digger at a flat rate covering all four together rather than singly, and the four men were named in the account itself. Naming the dead in a works ledger, where labour was otherwise recorded by the task and the day, suggests the burials were charged to the Company as an obligation owed to its servants and not merely as ground cleared, so the clerk recorded who had been buried and not only that digging had been done.
305	294	28 January John Clark, Paymaster Dr 1760 Jany 11 To Cash reclived £2850 0s 2d Carried over £2850 0s 2d	28 January. John Clark, paymaster, debtor. 1760 11 January, to cash received, £2,850 2s 0d Carried over, £2,850 2s 0d
306	295	1760 Per Contra Cr 1760 Brought over £169 11s 6d January 11th By Cash paide for building a Guard Room at Powells Valley for the use of the flying party 216 days at 1s 6d & day £10 16s 0d By Cash paid sundry Soldiers for Repairing Lieutenant Kennedys and Thomas Hills Master Gunners Houses 21 days [...] at 7d & [...] £1 1s 6d By Cash paid ditto for carrying of Stone from Sandy Bay Quarry for repairing the [...] Battalion Sunset Barrs for the new Barracks and for new Steps to & at his Fort 423 days at 1s 6d & day £21 3s 0d By Cash paid Ditto for building 3 Rooms for 6 Blacks at the Plantation House 307 days at 1s 6d £25 7s 0d By Cash ditto for 8 days work in the Honorable Company's Store £0 8s 0d By Cash paid Sundry Soldiers for coming Express with accounts of Ships to Windward £1 0s 0d By Cash paid Simon Whaley for Carpenters Work done this Quarter 53 days at 1s 6d & day £3 19s 6d £233 6s 6d By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants	1760. Per contra, creditor. 1760 Brought over, £169 11s 6d 11 January, by cash paid for building a guard room at Powell's Valley for the use of the flying party, 216 days at 1s per day, £10 16s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for repairing Lieutenant Kennedy and Thomas Hill Master Gunner's fences, 21 days at 6d each, £1 1s 6d By cash paid ditto for carrying of stone from Sandy Bay Quarry, for carrying the artillery stores back for the new barracks and for new steps and others at Lees Fort, 423 days at 1s per day, £21 3s 0d By cash paid ditto for building 3 rooms for slaves at the Plantation stores, 507 days at 1s each, £25 7s 0d By cash paid ditto for 8 days work in the Honourable Company's store, £0 8s 0d By cash paid sundry soldiers for carrying express with accounts of ships to windward, £1 0s 0d By cash paid Simon Whaley for carpenter's work done this quarter, 53 days at 1s 6d per day, £3 19s 6d total, £233 6s 6d By cash paid the Honourable Company's officers and servants their several salaries and diet money etc for the quarter commencing the 2nd day of October 1759 and ending the 11 January 1760, £2,616 13s 8d total, £2,850 2s 0d Errors excepted. Signed, John Clark, paymaster. The account was counted and examined against the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 January 1760, which followed as set out.

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		their several Salarys & Diet money &c for this Quarter Commencing £2616 13s 8d the 12th day of October 1759 and ending the 11th January 1760 £2850 0s 2d Errors Excepted Signed John Clark, Paymaster Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending this 11 January 1760 which is as follows Vizt	**Interpretations** The flying party was a small mobile detachment of the garrison kept ready to move quickly to any point of the coast where a landing threatened, and the guard room built for it at Powell's Valley gave it a fixed post on the island's exposed southern side. Diet money was a cash allowance paid to the Company's officers and servants in place of, or in addition to, rations issued in kind, and its inclusion in the quarterly salary bill shows that the garrison was maintained partly by money payment rather than wholly by provision from the Company's stores. By far the largest charge in the whole account was the quarter's salaries and diet money, at £2,616 13s 8d against a works total of £233 6s 6d, showing that the standing cost of paying the garrison and civil establishment dwarfed the cost of all the building, quarrying and clearance carried out in the same three months.
307	296	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1759 1760 Decr 12 To Ballance remaining £7271 14s 6d Jany 11 By Sundry Accounts for so much advanced the [...] 26 To Ship Warren reced the Ballance of her Acct £68 0s 0d Paymaster to pay salarys &ca in the Quarter £2850 0s 2d 1760 To Ship Pitt reced the Ballance of her Acct £111 3s 8d ending this day January 11 To James Powell reced from him for Stores sold By Ballance remaining in the following Species in this Quarter ending this day £1241 8s 11½d Vizt To Licences for Nine Publicke Houses £13 10s 0d 3816 Pagodas 8s 0d 1526 8s 0d To Plantation for Provisions Sold £55 3s 5d 1224 Venetians 10s 0d 612 0s 0d Gold amounting 2138 8s 0d 10284 Dollars 5s 0d 2571 0s 0d 441 French Picas 6d 3 13s 6d 5845 Rupees 2s 3d 657 11s 3d Oldmoney 2 3232 4s 11d Cash Notes for no use amounting to 539 15s 0d £8760 8s 1d 5910 7s 11d £8760 8s 1d Margin Notes: Jany 1760	Cash, debtor. Per contra, creditor. The debtor side ran as follows. 1759 12 December, to balance remaining, £7,271 14s 1½d 26 December, to ship Warren received the balance of her account, £68 0s [...] 1760 11 January, to ship Pitt received the balance of her account, £111 3s 8d 11 January, to James Powell received from him for stores sold in the quarter ending this day, £1,241 8s 11½d To licences for nine public houses, £13 10s 0d To Plantation for provisions sold, £55 3s 5d total, £8,760 8s 1d The Warren and the Pitt each paid in the balance of their accounts, and James Powell paid for stores sold during the quarter. The creditor side ran as follows. 1760 11 January, by sundry accounts for so much advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries etc in the quarter ending this day, £2,850 2s 0d By balance remaining in the following species, namely 3,816 pagodas at 8s each, £1,526 8s 0d 1,224 Venetians at 10s each, £612 0s 0d gold amounting to, £2,138 8s 0d 10,284 dollars at 5s each, £2,571 0s 0d 441 French pieces, £3 13s 6d 5,845 rupees at 2s 3d each, £657 11s 3d old money, £2 0s 0d silver amounting to, £3,232 4s 11d [...] cash notes for no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d total, £5,910 7s 11d grand total, £8,760 8s 1d **Interpretations** A pagoda was a gold coin current in southern India, and a Venetian was the Venetian gold sequin or ducat, widely circulated in the trade of the Indian Ocean. Both passed at St Helena as bullion valued in sterling, the pagoda at 8s and the Venetian at 10s, since the island had no coinage of its own and held its cash reserve in whatever foreign specie the Company's ships brought in. The dollar valued here at 5s was the Spanish silver piece of eight, the standard silver coin of world trade, while the rupee was the silver coinage of Mughal India. The reserve was therefore counted in three separate metals and origins, gold from India and Venice, silver dollars from Spanish America and rupees from India, each converted to a sterling figure so the whole could be struck to a single balance. The cash notes described as of no use were paper obligations the treasury still held but could not

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			pass as money, carried in the balance at their face value of £539 15s 0d although they could not be spent. Their separate listing shows the paymaster distinguishing usable specie from paper that had ceased to circulate, so the true working reserve was the metal money and not the notes. The whole balance of £5,910 7s 11d was held almost entirely in imported foreign coin, which shows how completely St Helena depended on the Company's shipping for its money supply, a remote island whose treasury was stocked from the traffic of the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic rather than from any local mint or home remittance.
308	297	1760 Sue a Slave Woman belonging to Mrs Eleanor Leech deceased, Run away from her Mistress thirteen days We ordered her to be whipped Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th day of February 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieutenant John Clarke of Council Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 28 day of January 1760 Tuesday the 29th sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Tavistock homeward bound Wednesday the 30 died James Truelove Soldier Thursday 31 died Margaret Daughter of John and Susannah Wortcott Ordered the following Advertizment to be published Vizt Island	Sue, a slave woman belonging to Mrs Eleanor Leech, had run away from her mistress thirteen days earlier, and the council ordered her to be whipped. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. At a consultation held on Monday 11 February 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 28 January 1760, was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 29 January the Honourable Company's ship Tavistock sailed, homeward bound. On Wednesday 30 January James Truelove, soldier, died. On Thursday 31 January Margaret, daughter of John and Susannah Worcott, died. The council ordered the following advertisement to be published. **Interpretations** Whipping was the standard summary punishment inflicted on slaves at St Helena for absence and other offences, imposed by the council sitting as the island's governing authority rather than by any separate court, which shows how directly the Company's officers combined executive and judicial power over the slave population. The running record of ships sailing and of deaths among soldiers and settlers was entered at the head of each consultation as a routine register of the island's traffic and population, kept so that the Company's court in London could follow the movement of its shipping and the state of its establishment from the minutes alone.
309	298	4 February Island St Helena 4 February 1760 This is to give Notice to all Persons upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretarys Office on or before Monday the 18th Instant an exact signed Account of the Number of Slaves they now have of their own and what they may keep for other People as allowed by the late regulation And whereas by a Regulation dated the 12th December 1757 All Persons were strictly forbid to keep any Cattle upon the places called Man and Horse Manatto to any Horse Pasture from the Peak Hill to Southerns Watery and the Windy Ridge that is from Prosperous Bay to Stone Top Valley after the 1st January in every Year unless Publick Notice should be given for so doing by the Governor & Council This is therefore to order all Persons immediately	A notice was issued from the island of St Helena on 4 February 1760. It required all persons on the island to send into the Secretary's office, on or before Monday 18 February, an exact signed account of the number of slaves they owned and of what they kept for their household as allowed by the recent regulation. By an earlier regulation dated 12 December 1757 all persons had been strictly forbidden to keep any cattle on the ground lying between Man and Horse Pasture from the Red Hill to Southern's Water and the Windy Ridge, and from Prosperous Bay to Stone Top, before 1 January in any year unless public notice for doing so were first given by the Governor and council. The notice therefore ordered all persons to comply with that order at once, failing which they would answer the contrary at their peril. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. **Interpretations** The demand for a signed return of every household's slaves was a census of the island's slave population, ordered so the government could hold owners to the limits set by regulation on how many slaves each might keep. The requirement that the

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		to Comply with the aforesaid order, as they shall Answer the Contrary at their Peril Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling	count be exact and signed made each owner personally accountable for the figure returned, turning a headcount into a legal declaration. The ground between Man and Horse Pasture, the Red Hill, Southern's Water, the Windy Ridge, Prosperous Bay and Stone Top marked out a defined tract of the island's interior and eastern side closed to grazing for part of the year. Barring cattle from it before January protected the young grass or crop through the growing season, and the reserved power to lift the ban by public notice let the Governor and council open the ground once it could bear stock, a deliberate management of scarce pasture on a small island.
310	299	1760 At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th day of February 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the the 4th day of February 1760 Wednesday the 6 died Mary Daughter of John and Susannah Wortcott Saturday the 9th died Vincent Daughter of Do & Do Mr Francis Wrangham Secretary having signified to us that a disorder which he has been afflicted with in his Sight for some time past hath rendered him unfit to take examinations or to draw up things or any thing else in a proper manner And as it evidently appears to us that he is incapable to discharge his Duty as Secretary any Longer, We therefore consent to a Resolution to appoint Mr Matthew Barfott the Junior Factor Secretary he having formerly been for several Years an Assistant in that Office And as Mr Wrangham represented to us that he is capable to copy correctly any thing whatever that may be required in the several branches of Township as well as any other Person in the Charge think him to be for those Reasons, and in consideration of his having been twenty Years or thereabouts in the Honorable Companys Service, We agreed to Support him as Factor from this day at the usual Salary, and at the same time acquainted him that We expect he will Constantly give us proofs by his Diligence that he deserves a continuance of this appointment William Harrison Soldier this day Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison he having served the Honorable Company his full contracted time Granted We	At a consultation held on Monday 11 February 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 4 February 1760, was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 6 February Mary, daughter of John and Susannah Worcott, died. On Saturday 9 February a servant, daughter of [...], died. Mr Francis Wrangham, secretary, reported to the council that a disorder which had long afflicted him in his sight had rendered him unfit to take examinations or to draw up any writing in a proper manner. Since it plainly appeared that he could no longer discharge his duty as secretary, the council resolved to appoint Mr Matthew Yearling, the Governor's factor, who had formerly held that office for several years. As Wrangham had shown himself able to copy correctly anything required in the several branches of the paymaster's work as well as any other person in the council's charge, the council thought fit to keep him in those branches, and in consideration of his former twenty years service to the Honourable Company resolved to appoint him a factor from this day at the usual salary. The council at the same time told him that it expected he would constantly give proof by his diligence that he deserved the continuance of the appointment. William Harrison, soldier, applied this day to be discharged from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company his full contracted time. Granted. **Interpretations** The secretary at St Helena took depositions, recorded examinations and drew up the island's official writings, so failing eyesight struck at the core of the office and forced the council to replace him. That the work turned wholly on clear sight and a fair hand shows how far the island's government depended on a single literate officer to put its business on record. Wrangham was not dismissed but moved sideways into the paymaster's branch and made a factor at the usual salary, a settled provision for a servant of twenty years standing whose sight had failed. The council's parallel appointment of Yearling, the Governor's own factor, to the vacant secretaryship shows the small pool of trusted men from which the island's offices were filled, with the same handful of Company servants moved between posts as need arose. **Speculations** The council chose to keep Wrangham on the payroll as a factor rather than simply discharge a man no longer able to serve as secretary, and it grounded that choice openly in his twenty years service. The obvious course was to let an unfit officer go, yet the council instead made him a factor at full salary while

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			frankly warning that his diligence must justify the place, treating long service to the Company as an obligation the island owed in return and not merely as a record of past work.
311	300	11 February The Horses of William Seale John Deffountain Junr and Benjamin Sealy being found Grazing on the Honorable Companys Waste Land on Tuesday last by the Marshall contrary to orders the beforementioned Persons were summoned to attend this day and each of them paid the fine of ten shillings for the Trespass, half of which was given to the informer and the other half paid into the Honorable Companys Cash William Warden Soldier maketh Complaint that Mr James Greentree had to fuddo pay him for a pair of Stays he had made at his desire for one of his Daughters Mr James Greentree being present declared upon Oath, that the aforesaid William Warden in March last had brought of him some Sewing Silk to the Amount of £1 16s 6d for ready money but as he found he would not get paid for it he desired the said Warden to make him a pair of Stays for his Daughter, which he agreed to do for £1 10s and promised he would let him have them in three Weeks and he the said Greentree told him That if he would not do them in that time, that he would not take them, and as if when he was six Months before he finished them and then charged £25 to having at that time provided himself with other Stays and being imployed knew in this Price refused to take them and it appearing to us that the said Warden had not made good his engagement with the said Mr Greentree, We therefore Ordered him to keep the Stays and pay Mr Greentree the Sum of £1 16s 6d Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clarke Gurling	The horses of William Seale, John Bedfountain junior and Benjamin Sealy were found grazing on the Honourable Company's waste land on Tuesday, contrary to orders. All three men were summoned to attend, and each was fined ten shillings for the trespass, half of which went to the informer and the other half was paid into the Honourable Company's cash. William Warden, soldier, complained that Mr James Greentree owed him for a pair of stays he had made at Greentree's request for one of his daughters. Greentree, examined on oath, declared that Warden the previous March had brought him some sewing silk to the value of £1 16s 6d for ready money, but as he feared he would not get paid for it he asked Warden to make him a pair of stays for his daughter. Warden agreed to do the work for £4 10s 0d and promised to have them ready in three weeks. Greentree told him that if he did not finish them in that time he would not take them, and Warden let some six months pass before completing them, and then charged £25, having in the meantime supplied himself with other stays, so that Greentree refused to take them because the price was too high. Since it appeared to the council that Warden had not kept his engagement with Greentree, the council ordered him to keep the stays and to pay Greentree the sum of £1 16s 6d. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. **Interpretations** The fine for straying horses was split between the informer and the Company, half to each, which turned enforcement of the grazing ban on the waste land into a matter of private profit as well as public order. Rewarding whoever reported the trespass gave islanders a direct incentive to police one another's stock, a cheap way for a small administration to enforce its regulations without a body of officials to patrol the ground. The dispute between Warden and Greentree turned on a debt for sewing silk that Greentree feared he would never recover in cash, so he tried to work it off by commissioning stays from his creditor instead of paying money. Stays were the stiffened bodice, laced and shaped with strips of whalebone or cane, worn by women under their outer clothing, and a pair made to order for a daughter was a substantial piece of work. The council unpicked the tangle by cancelling the inflated £25 charge, leaving Warden with the unwanted stays and ordering him to pay Greentree the original £1 16s 6d owed for the silk, so the account between the two men was closed at the sum with which it had begun. **Speculations** The council could have treated the two claims separately, weighing Warden's charge for the stays against Greentree's debt for the silk and striking some balance between them. Instead it set the whole value of the stays aside, gave them to Warden to keep and reduced the entire matter to the £1 16s 6d that Greentree had owed at the outset, holding that Warden had broken his bargain by finishing six months late and pricing the work far above the agreed £4 10s 0d. The chosen course punished the party who had failed to keep his engagement rather than dividing the loss, and it did so by reaching back past all the later dealings to the single clean debt the record could fix with certainty.
312	301	1760	At a consultation held on Monday 18 February 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th day of February 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 11th February 1760 The Plantation Gunners Stewards Accounts for the Month ending the 11th Instant were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow Vizt Sundrys expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11th instant Vizt 16 Bottles Cork Wine£1 4s 0d 12 Do Lisbon Do 18s 0d 9 Do Mountain Do 13s 6d 11 Do Madeira Do £1 9s 1½d 65 Do Arrack 3 7s 8½d 14 Do Beer 3 9½d 310 Flour 2 5s 2½d 431½ Fresh Beef 5 3s 4½d 23 Pork 11s 0d 5 Pieces Salt Pork 13s 2½d 182½ Mutton 3 18s 7½d 46 Goat 15s 4d 12 Fowls 18s 0d 5 Ducks 7s 6d 1 Goose 5s 0d 1 Turkey 5s 0d 26¾ Fresh Butter 1 6s 3d 30¾ Sugar 6s 11¼d 31 Candy 10s 4d £25 3s 11d	Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 11 February 1760, was read, approved and signed. The Plantation gunners stewards accounts for the month ending 11 February were this day brought in, examined and approved, and were as follows. Sundries were expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 February. 16 bottles of hock wine, £1 4s 0d 12 bottles of Lisbon wine, £0 18s 0d 9 bottles of mountain wine, £0 13s 6d 11 bottles of Madeira wine, £1 9s 1½d 6 bottles of arrack, £0 7s 5½d 14 bottles of beer, £0 3s 9½d 310 flour, £2 5s 2½d 431½ fresh beef, £5 3s 4½d 2 hogs of pork, £0 11s 0d 5 pieces of salt pork, £0 13s 2½d 183½ mutton, £3 18s 7½d 16 goat, £0 15s 4d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 5 ducks, £0 7s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 267½ fresh butter, £0 6s 11¼d 37 sugar, £0 10s 4d 31 candy total, £25 3s 11d **Interpretations** The Honourable Company's table was the official mess kept at the Company's charge for the Governor and principal officers, and this monthly account recorded everything drawn from the stores to supply it. Its provisioning from the Company's own account marked the standing of those who ate there and formed part of the cost of maintaining the island's establishment. The wines named came from across the Atlantic trade, mountain being the sweet white wine of Malaga, Madeira from the Atlantic island of that name, Lisbon from Portugal and hock the white wine of the German Rhine. Arrack was the strong spirit distilled in the East from palm sap or rice and shipped by the Company from India, so a single month's table drew drink from Europe, the Atlantic islands and Asia alike, a reach that reflected St Helena's place on the sea road between them. The bulk of the table's cost lay in fresh meat, with fresh beef and mutton together making up more than a third of the whole, and the range of poultry, a goose, a turkey, fowls and ducks, alongside goat and pork, shows a table supplied with fresh island produce as well as salt provisions from store. The steady flow of fresh beef, mutton and butter reflects the island's own stock-raising, on which the settlement depended for the food that ships could not keep.
313	302	Account of the Honorable Companys Stocks of Neat Cattle &c from the 12 January to the 11th February 1760 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlgs, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, S Asses, Total Remaing 12: Bulls 5, Cows 131, Calves 119, Yearlgs 58, Heifers 24, Steers 24, Oxen 18, Total 379, Ewes 294, Weathers 129, Lambs 212, Rams 8, Total 643, Ewes 215, Weathers 25, Kids 87, Rams 10, Total 337, Sows 10, Shoats 9, Pigs 8, Boars 2, Total 29, Fowls 191, Ducks 65, Turkeys 22, Geese 31, Horses 6, Mares 5, Total 11, Asses 4, S Asses 1, Total 5	An account was taken of the Honourable Company's stocks of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 January to 11 February 1760, set out under the headings neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, horses and asses. The neat cattle were counted as bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers and oxen, with a total column; the sheep as ewes, wethers, lambs and rams, with a total; the goats as ewes, wethers, kids and rams, with a total; the hogs as sows, shoats, pigs and boars, with a total; the poultry as fowls, ducks, turkeys and geese, with a total; and horses and asses each with a total. Remaining 12 January, neat cattle: 5 bulls, 131 cows, 119 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 24 steers, 18 oxen, total 379

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		Enccreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlgs 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 3, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 2, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 31, Ducks 10, Turkeys 1, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 1, Total 1, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 5, Cows 131, Calves 119, Yearlgs 58, Heifers 24, Steers 24, Oxen 18, Total 379, Ewes 294, Weathers 129, Lambs 212, Rams 8, Total 643, Ewes 215, Weathers 25, Kids 90, Rams 10, Total 340, Sows 10, Shoats 9, Pigs 10, Boars 2, Total 31, Fowls 222, Ducks 75, Turkeys 23, Geese 32, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 4, S Asses 1, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlgs 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 17, Ewes 9, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 26, Ewes 1, Weathers 4, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 1, Fowls 12, Ducks 5, Turkeys 1, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 8, Yearlgs 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 12, Ewes 3, Weathers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 2, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlgs 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Remaing 11th: Bulls 5, Cows 129, Calves 111, Yearlgs 57, Heifers 23, Steers 24, Oxen 17, Total 366, Ewes 274, Weathers 118, Lambs 212, Rams 8, Total 612, Ewes 214, Weathers 21, Kids 90, Rams 10, Total 335, Sows 10, Shoats 8, Pigs 10, Boars 2, Total 30, Fowls 210, Ducks 68, Turkeys 22, Geese 31, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 4, S Asses 1, Total 5 Gold Sum Expended 26.685 Refuse do for Stock 11 365 38,050 Signed John Skottowe Margin Notes: 11 February	Remaining 12 January, sheep: 294 ewes, 129 wethers, 212 lambs, 8 rams, total 643 Remaining 12 January, goats: 215 ewes, 25 wethers, 87 kids, 10 rams, total 337 Remaining 12 January, hogs: 10 sows, 9 shoats, 8 pigs, 2 boars, total 29 Remaining 12 January, poultry: 191 fowls, 65 ducks, 22 turkeys, total 31 Remaining 12 January, horses: 6 horses, 5 mares, total 11 Remaining 12 January, asses: 4 asses, 1 she ass, total 5 Enslaved, neat cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 0 Enslaved, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 Enslaved, goats: 0 ewes, 3 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, total 3 Enslaved, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 2 pigs, 0 boars, total 2 Enslaved, poultry: 31 fowls, 10 ducks, 1 turkey, 1 goose, total 1 Enslaved, horses: 0 horses, 1 mare, total 1 Enslaved, asses: 0 asses, 0 she ass, total 0 Total, neat cattle: 5 bulls, 131 cows, 119 calves, 58 yearlings, 24 heifers, 24 steers, 18 oxen, total 379 Total, sheep: 294 ewes, 129 wethers, 212 lambs, 8 rams, total 643 Total, goats: 215 ewes, 25 wethers, 90 kids, 10 rams, total 340 Total, hogs: 10 sows, 9 shoats, 10 pigs, 2 boars, total 31 Total, poultry: 222 fowls, 75 ducks, 23 turkeys, total 32 Total, horses: 6 horses, 6 mares, total 12 Total, asses: 4 asses, 1 she ass, total 5 Killed, neat cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 1 steer, 0 oxen, total 17 Killed, sheep: 9 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 26 Killed, goats: 1 ewe, 4 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, total 5 Killed, hogs: 0 sows, 1 shoat, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 1 Killed, poultry: 12 fowls, 5 ducks, 1 turkey, 1 goose Died, neat cattle: 0 bulls, 2 cows, 8 calves, 0 yearlings, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 1 ox, total 12 Died, sheep: 3 ewes, 2 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 5 Died, poultry: 2 ducks Stole: 0 Remaining 11 February, neat cattle: 5 bulls, 129 cows, 111 calves, 57 yearlings, 23 heifers, 24 steers, 17 oxen, total 366 Remaining 11 February, sheep: 274 ewes, 118 wethers, 212 lambs, 8 rams, total 612 Remaining 11 February, goats: 214 ewes, 21 wethers, 90 kids, 10 rams, total 335 Remaining 11 February, hogs: 10 sows, 0 shoats, 10 pigs, 2 boars, total 30 Remaining 11 February, poultry: 210 fowls, 68 ducks, 22 turkeys, total 31 Remaining 11 February, horses: 6 horses, 6 mares, total 12 Remaining 11 February, asses: 4 asses, 1 she ass, total 5 Good sum expended, 26,685 Refuse for stock, 11,365 total, 38,050 Signed, John Skottowe. **Interpretations** Neat cattle meant the horned cattle, the oxen, cows and their young, kept both for beef and as draught animals, and the account breaks the herd down by sex, age and use, from bulls and cows

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			through calves and yearlings to the steers and oxen worked in harness. Keeping the Company's stock counted in this detail month by month let the government track breeding, slaughter and loss across every kind of animal, so that the island's whole food supply on the hoof could be managed from a single return. A wether was a castrated ram and a shoat a young weaned pig, terms that let the clerk separate breeding animals from those reared for meat. The steady columns for killed and died set the drain on the stock against the numbers held, showing the herds and flocks as a working larder run down and replenished rather than a fixed possession, on an island that had to raise its own fresh meat. The figures for good and refuse expended, struck to a total of 38,050, appear to record the weight of provisions drawn from the stock over the month, the sound meat set apart from the refuse or waste. That the account tracked not only the living animals but the yield taken from them shows a settlement watching its consumption closely, aware that what it ate had to be bred on the island or shipped in at great cost.
314	303	1760 Artillery Stores Expended from the 12 January to the 11th February 1760 both days included Vizt Guns fired, Powder Expended January 17 Powder for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz 22 Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for priming: Guns fired 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz 24 Fired at do for do: Guns fired 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz Powder for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz 29 Departed the Twist totly returned the 3 sizes: Guns fired 9, Powder Expended 9lb 9oz Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for Priming: Guns fired 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz 31 Fired at do for do: Guns fired 8, Powder Expended 17lb 8oz Powder for the use of the Table: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz February 4 Powder for sealing the Guns at the Main Fort: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 2lb 12oz 5 Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for priming: Guns fired 1010, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz 7 Fired at do for do: Guns fired 1010, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz 9 Powder for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz 11 do for do: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz do lost on Allarms by the West flying Party: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz do for the Funeral of James Whitelock: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz do Stole from Sandy Bay and paid for: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 10lb 0oz do wasted by the Companys through neglect and paid for: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 24lb 8oz Total: Guns fired 62, Powder Expended 150lb 9oz Tallow for the use of the Vault 2 do for the use of the Companys Cattle 4 Paper for making Cannon Cartridges 3 Spunge Staves broke at the Main Fort 2 Lead Shot lost on Allarms by the West flying Party 8 Paper delivered for the use of the Ship Tavistock 6 Sheep Skins do for Spunges for the use of do 4 Lead Shot Stole from Sandy Bay and paid for 11 Lead Range Stole from do and paid for 4 Signed Thos Hall The Aprons of two of the Swivel Guns at Friar Valley	An account was taken of artillery stores expended from 12 January to 11 February 1760, both days included, recording under each entry the number of guns fired and the powder expended in pounds, quarters and ounces. 17 January, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 22 January, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 guns fired, 8lb 17qr 8oz 24 January, fired at ditto for ditto, 8 guns fired, 8lb 17qr 8oz 24 January, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 29 January, to save the twist stock returned the 3 strates, 9 guns fired, 9lb 9qr 0oz 29 January, powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 0lb 1qr 8oz 29 January, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 8 guns fired, 8lb 17qr 8oz 31 January, fired at ditto for ditto, 8 guns fired, 8lb 17qr 8oz 31 January, powder for the use of the table, 0 guns fired, 0lb 1qr 0oz 4 February, powder for scaling the guns at the Main Fort, 0 guns fired, 0lb 2qr 12oz 5 February, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 10 guns fired, 10lb 21qr 8oz 7 February, fired at ditto for ditto, 10 guns fired, 10lb 21qr 8oz 9 February, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 11 February, ditto for ditto, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 11 February, ditto lost on alarms by the West flying party, 0 guns fired, 1lb 8qr 0oz 11 February, ditto for the funeral of James Idelock, 0 guns fired, 2lb 4qr 0oz 11 February, ditto stole from Sandy Bay and paid for, 0 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 0oz 11 February, ditto wasted by the Company through neglect and paid for, 0 guns fired, 24lb 8qr 12oz total, £152 0s 39d Other stores were also expended. Tallow for the use of the Main Fort, 2 Ditto for the use of the Company's cash, 4 Paper for making cannon cartridges, 3 quires 2 Spunge staves broke at the Main Fort, 2 Lead shot lost on alarms by the West flying party, 8

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		having been lately Stolen, We ordered an advertisement to be published offering	Paper delivered for the use of the ship Tavistock, 6 quires Sheep skins delivered for spunges for the use of ditto, 4 Lead shot stole from Sandy Bay and paid for, 11 Sand bags stole from ditto and paid for, 4 Signed, Thomas Hall. The aprons of lead of two of the several guns at Ruperts Valley having lately been stolen, the council ordered an advertisement to be published offering a reward. **Interpretations** The account tracked gunpowder against two distinct uses, the firing of guns and the blasting of rock, and the columns for guns fired and powder expended let the storekeeper reconcile the two so that every pound drawn from the magazine could be accounted for. Firing at Ruperts was practice at the coastal battery, keeping the gunners in training and the pieces in working order, while priming was the fine powder poured into the touch hole to set off the main charge. Scaling the guns meant firing a light charge to clear rust, scale and old fouling from the bore, a routine servicing of the barrels at the Main Fort. That the same store of powder served for salutes at funerals, for signalling on alarms and for quarrying as well as for gunnery shows how a single strategic material was drawn on for every purpose across the island, and how closely each pound of it was watched. An apron of lead was a sheet fitted over the touch hole and vent of a gun to keep rain and damp out of the priming when the piece stood loaded in the open, and stripping the lead from two of the guns at Ruperts Valley left them exposed and unready. The theft of lead aprons, shot and sand bags from the batteries, entered here alongside powder wasted through neglect, points to a persistent leakage of military stores that the council met by advertising a reward and charging the loss to those responsible. **Speculations** Faced with the theft of the lead aprons from the guns at Ruperts Valley, the council chose to advertise a reward for discovery rather than mount a search or set a watch over the exposed batteries. The record shows the loss met by an appeal to informers, the same device used for straying stock, which turned recovery over to whoever would report the culprit for pay, a cheaper and more practicable course on a small island than guarding every gun position against a thief already among the inhabitants.
315	304	18 February offering a reward of twenty shillings to anyone who shall discover the Person or Persons who took them Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th day of February 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 18th February 1760 Daniel Cairn Soldier this day petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison he having served the Honorable Company his full Contracted time Granted	The advertisement offered a reward of twenty shillings to anyone who should discover the person or persons who took them. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. At a consultation held on Monday 25 February 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 18 February 1760, was read, approved and signed. Daniel Cairn, soldier, this day petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company his full contracted time. Granted. The widow and executors of the late Thomas Cotgrave, deceased, this day presented his last will and testament, desiring that it might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the witnesses to it. The will followed. **Interpretations** Proving a will meant establishing before the council, sitting as the island's probate authority, that

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		The Widow and Executors to the late Thomas Cotgrave deceased this day presented his last Will and Testament desiring it might this same be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Will is as follows Vizt	the document was genuinely the deceased's last testament, done here by taking the sworn oaths of those who had witnessed his signature. The council thus served as the court that authenticated wills at St Helena, so that the widow and executors could lawfully administer the estate, another instance of the same small body of officers exercising judicial as well as governing power.
316	305	1760 In the Name of God Amen this 27th day of December in the year of our Lord 1759 I Thomas Cotgrave of the Island St Helena Planter, being Sick and Weak of Body, but of Sound Mind memory and Understanding, Do hereby make this my last Will and Testament (That is to say) I recommend my Soul to my Maker my Body I commit to the Earth to be decently Buried, and my Worldly Effects I give devise and dispose of in the Manner following Imprimis I give and bequeath unto my well beloved Wife my whole Estate during the time she remains my Widow, in either of my Daughters namely Anne or Eleanor should come to Age or Marriage, But in Case my said Wife should intermarry, Then and in such case give unto her only one half my Real & Estate during her natural Life and the one third of my moveables to be intierly at her own disposal Item I give unto my Daughter Elizabeth as a Legacy, who is at present in India, one hundred pounds which she is to receive at her Mothers Death Item I give unto my Daughter Mary who is also in India one hundred pounds to be received also at her Mothers Death Item I give unto my Daughters Anne and Eleanor, upon their arriving to Age or Marriage one hundred pounds each, to be likewise received by them at their Mothers Death Item I give unto my Grandson William Smith who is also in the East Indies fifty pounds Item At the decease of my Wife I hereby direct that all that part of my Land that she had possession, may be sold at Publick Auction in some Convenient Time soon after her Death Item My further Will and meaning is that in case my Daughters Elizabeth should come to the Island and her Son William Smith, who I what will soon arrive I hereby further direct and order that they both be maintained out this same of my Estate in General untill either of my abovementioned Daughters Anne or Eleanor should come to Age or Marriage Then and in such Case their parts of my Estate, I hereby direct to be sold at Publick Auction and an equal Devision thereof to be made amongst all my Children, and if either should Dye before that time, I further direct the Amounts Awarded to be equally Devided amongst the Survivors as well as that part of my Land, at the Death of my Wife which I have bequeathed them or during the Term of their Natural Life	Thomas Cotgrave of the island of St Helena, planter, made his last will and testament on 27 December 1759. Being sick and weak of body but of sound mind, memory and understanding, he commended his soul to his maker, directed that his body be decently buried and disposed of his worldly goods as follows. First he gave and bequeathed to his well beloved wife his whole estate for as long as she remained his widow, or until either of his daughters Anne or Eleanor should come of age or marry. But in that event his wife should have one half of his real estate for the term of her life and one third of his moveable goods to dispose of as she saw fit. He gave to his daughter Elizabeth, then in India, a legacy of one hundred pounds, to be received by her at her mother's death. He gave to his daughter Mary, also in India, one hundred pounds, likewise to be received at her mother's death. He gave to his daughters Anne and Eleanor, on their coming of age or marrying, one hundred pounds each, to be received by them at their mother's death. He gave to his grandson William Smith, also in the East Indies, fifty pounds. He directed that at his wife's death all that part of his land that she had held for life be sold at public auction at some convenient time soon after her death. He further declared that his meaning was that should his daughter Elizabeth come to the island with her husband John William Smith, before either Anne or Eleanor came of age or married, the two of them should be barred from any share of his estate in general until either of those daughters came of age or married, at which time such parts of his estate as were to be sold at public auction should be sold, and an equal division of the proceeds made among all his children. If either should die before that time, the shares awarded were to be equally divided among the survivors, as well as that part of his land which he might be seized of during the term of his natural life. **Interpretations** The will made the widow's provision conditional on her staying unmarried and on the daughters remaining single and under age, so that her control of the whole estate would end the moment she remarried or a daughter married or came of age. Tying a widow's interest to her widowhood was a common device to keep a family's land from passing through remarriage to another man, and it shaped the choices open to her after her husband's death. The scattering of the family across the Indian Ocean shaped every bequest, with three of Cotgrave's children and a grandson settled in India and the East Indies while his land lay at St Helena. Legacies to the absent children were fixed in cash and deferred to the mother's death, whereas the land itself was to be sold at auction and the proceeds divided, a way of turning immovable island property into money that dispersed heirs could each take a share of. The bar placed on Elizabeth and her husband John William Smith, shutting them out of any share should they arrive before the younger daughters were provided for, suggests Cotgrave meant to secure his unmarried daughters first against a married couple who might otherwise press an early claim. The provision shows a testator managing not only the

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			division of his goods but the order and timing in which competing children could come forward, using the threat of exclusion to hold that order.
317	306	25th February Item I also hereby Give and Bequeath unto my beloved Wife the Sole use of my Housing during her Life or being intermarried Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint my dear beloved Wife Executrix, and my Friends Mr George Alexander and Thomas Stripes Planter now living in Sandy Bay Executors to this my Will utterly revoking and Annulling all former Wills by me heretofore made ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament Signed Thos Cotgrave Signed and Sealed in the presence of John Bland Fs Wrangham Junr Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th instant which is as follows Vizt	Cotgrave also gave and bequeathed to his beloved wife the sole use of his house for the term of her life, or for as long as she remained unmarried. Lastly he named and appointed his wife executrix, together with his friends Mr George Alexander and Thomas Sniper, planter, then living in Sandy Bay, as executors. He revoked and annulled all former wills made by him, ratifying and confirming this alone as his last will and testament. Signed, Thomas Cotgrave, with his mark, and signed and sealed in the presence of John Bland and Francis Wrangham junior. The account was counted and examined against the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 February, which followed as set out. **Interpretations** The house was left to the widow on the same terms as the rest of her provision, held only for life or for as long as she stayed unmarried, so that remarriage would strip her of even her dwelling. Making the roof over her head conditional on her widowhood shows how completely a widow's security under such a will depended on her not taking another husband. Cotgrave signed with a mark rather than a signature, so despite being a planter with property and children settled abroad he could not write his own name. That a man of standing on the island executed his will by mark, witnessed by two named men and the clerk, shows how the formalities of proof, the witnesses and the sworn oaths taken later before the council, carried the weight that a signature could not.
318	307	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1760 1760 January 12 To Ballance remaining £5910 7s 11d February 11 By Ballance remaining in the following Species Vizt 25 To Ship Tavistock received the balance of 3816 Pagodas 8s 0d 1526 8s 0d her Account £369 11s 10d 1224 Venetians 10s 0d 612 0s 0d February 11 To Fines reced of William Seale John Gold amounting to 2138 8s 0d Deffountain Junr and Benjamin Sealey 15s 0d 11765 Dollars 5s 0d 2941 5s 0d as Per Consultation of this Day 441 French Ps 1s 2d 3 13s 6d 5845 Rupees 2s 3d 657 11s 3d Odd money 2 0s 0d Silver amounting to 3602 11s 9d Cash Notes of no use amounting to 539 15s 0d 5740 19s 9d £6280 14s 9d £6280 14s 9d Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling Margin Notes: 1760	Cash, debtor. Per contra, creditor. The debtor side ran as follows. 1760 12 January, to balance remaining, £5,910 7s 11d 25 January, to ship Pitt received the balance of her account, £369 11s 10d 11 February, to fines received of William Seale, John Bedfountain junior and Benjamin Sealy as per consultation of this day, £0 15s 0d total, £6,280 14s 9d The Pitt paid in the balance of her account, and the three fines were those levied for the horses found grazing on the Company's waste land. The creditor side ran as follows. 1760 11 February, by balance remaining in the following species, namely 3,816 pagodas at 8s each, £1,526 8s 0d 1,224 Venetians at 10s each, £612 0s 0d gold amounting to, £2,138 8s 0d 11,765 dollars at 5s each, £2,941 5s 0d 441 French pieces at 1s 2d each, £3 13s 6d 5,845 rupees at 2s 3d each, £657 11s 3d odd money, £0 2s 0d silver amounting to, £3,602 11s 9d cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d total, £6,280 14s 9d Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. **Interpretations** The treasury's whole reserve was again held in foreign coin counted by metal, the gold pagodas and Venetians struck to one sum and the silver dollars, French pieces and rupees to another, each valued in sterling for the balance. The stock of silver had risen over the month from £3,232 4s 11d to £3,602 11s 9d, chiefly through the dollars, which grew from 10,284 to 11,765, so that fresh Spanish silver had come into

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			the treasury while the gold holdings stood unchanged. The cash notes of no use were carried forward once more at exactly £539 15s 0d, the same dead paper held from the previous month and still valued at face although it could not be spent. Their unchanged figure across the two accounts shows a fixed block of worthless obligations sitting in the balance, distinguished by the paymaster from the usable specie so that the true working reserve remained the metal money alone.
319	308	3 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 3 March 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Gover Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 25 day of February 1760 Monday the 25th of February David Miles Soldier was drowned by accident Tuesday the 26th put in here for water and Refreshments a Portuguese Vessel Called the Nuestra Senora de la Conception Captain Antonio Gomes Barbozo from Pernambuco bound to Loando in the Kingdom of Angola loaden with Rum Silks Tobacco, Molopos, and Slaves were then about 70 Tons and carries fifteen Men Perthe Soldier Instant she Sailed on her Voyage John Thomason Matross this day Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Companys his full contracted time Granted The Nuncupative Will of David Miles Soldier was this day proved upon the Oaths of George Finn and Richard Morton, Witness thereto, by which it appears that the Testator declared as follows Vizt Finn and Morton I desire you will take Notice that Sergiant Fleering and Ihave agreed that the longest liver of us two shall have the others Effects and hereby confirm the same against on my part Signed George Finn Richard Morton	At a consultation held on Monday 3 March 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 25 February 1760, was read, approved and signed. On Monday 25 February David Miles, soldier, died by accident. On Tuesday 26 February a Portuguese vessel put in for water and refreshments, the Nossa Senhora de la Concepcion, Captain Antonio Gomez Barbosa, from Pernambuco bound to Loando in the kingdom of Angola. She was laden with rum, silks, tobacco, molasses and slaves, was of about 70 tons and carried fifteen men, and once supplied she sailed on her voyage. John Thomason, mate, this day petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company his full contracted time. Granted. The nuncupative will of David Miles, soldier, was this day proved upon the oaths of George Finn and Richard Morton, witnesses to it, by which it appeared that the testator had declared as follows. Finn and Morton were to take notice that Sergeant Fleming and Miles had agreed that whichever of them outlived the other should have the other's effects, and Miles confirmed the same on his own part. The declaration was made in the presence of George Finn and Richard Morton. **Interpretations** A nuncupative will was one spoken aloud before witnesses rather than written and signed, allowed for soldiers and sailors who might die suddenly with no time to set their wishes on paper. Proving it before the council on the sworn word of the two men who had heard David Miles speak shows how the island's probate authority accommodated the rough circumstances of garrison life, giving legal force to a dying man's spoken word. The mutual agreement between Miles and Sergeant Fleming, that the survivor should take the other's goods, was a survivorship pact between soldiers who owned little and had no family at hand to inherit. Such arrangements let comrades provide for one another in a place where kin were an ocean away, and the council's readiness to enforce it as a will treated the bargain struck between two soldiers as binding on the dead man's estate. The Portuguese ship's cargo lays bare the shape of the South Atlantic slave trade, carrying rum, tobacco and molasses from Pernambuco in Brazil towards Angola, where such goods were exchanged for the slaves shipped back across to America. St Helena's position on the sea lanes made it a watering place for vessels of every nation engaged in that traffic, and the detailed note of the ship, her master, tonnage and lading shows the council keeping close watch on who passed through its road and what they carried.
320	309	1760 Upon which we directed Sergiant John Fleming	Upon which the council directed Sergeant John Fleming to take possession of the deceased's effects.

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		to take possession of the deceaseds Effects Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling At a Consultation held on Monday the 10 day of March 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last consultation was read approved and signed dated the 3 March 1760 Thursday the 6 died Mary Daughter of Stephen & Penelope Young Do Peppero by Nineteen Sail of Ships which Supposed to be Dutch Mr Gurling having viewed the three Acres of Land petitioned for some time ago by Benjamin Sealy who reporting, that the letting of the same, will be of no Detriment to the Honorable Company, or any of his Neighbours, We therefore agreed to grant him a Lease of it for twenty one Years, at the Rate of 3s 6d Ann Mr John Deffountaine who commands the East flying Party of the Militia of this Island, representing to Us that Cephas Newbold a private those belonging to that Party, on Thursday the 6 instant last on the Doubly Alarm, when there only Nineteen Ships of the Island was asked by him, the Reason of his staying so long as far as eight of the Clock at Night replied, that he was told so late, not that he did him the least but thought he said, and further said, that he would not come there again, for Allarms for him or any one else, this Declaration he made before the whole party Daniel	Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. At a consultation held on Monday 10 March 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 3 March 1760, was read, approved and signed. On Thursday 6 March Mary, daughter of Stephen and Penelope Young, died. The guns fired to report fourteen sail of ships, which were supposed to be Dutch. Mr Yearling, having some time earlier viewed the three acres of land that Benjamin Sealy had petitioned for, reported that letting the ground would be no detriment to the Honourable Company or to any of its neighbours. The council therefore agreed to grant him a lease of the three acres at the rate of three shillings and sixpence per acre. Mr John Bedfountain, who commanded the East flying party of the militia, laid a complaint before the council. He stated that Edward Powell, a private soldier belonging to that party, on Thursday last during the night alarm, when the fourteen sail of ships were sighted, was asked by him the reason for his staying so long a space of time. Powell replied that it was not that he had told him he lied, but Bedfountain thought that he did, and further said that he would not come there again. Bedfountain called for a full hearing, and Powell made this declaration before the whole party. **Interpretations** The grant of Benjamin Sealy's three acres turned on a prior inspection by Yearling, who reported that letting the ground would harm neither the Company nor its neighbours, so that a survey of the land's effect on others preceded the lease. Requiring such a report before granting even a small parcel shows the Company managing its island holdings with care for how each tenancy bore on the surrounding ground and its occupiers. The night alarm on the sighting of fourteen sail, thought to be Dutch, called out the flying parties of the militia to their coastal posts, and the friction between Bedfountain and Powell arose in the tense hours of that muster. The dispute over a soldier's slowness to his station and his sharp words to his officer shows the strain such alarms placed on the island's part-time defenders and the readiness of the council to hear even a small breach of discipline as a matter for formal complaint.
321	310	10 March Daniel Fewkes being present could not deny what Mr John Deffountaine had alledged, but said that he was in in a passion, when he escaped those Words, for that he did in due all the hasty, he could to come to hym We therefore fined the said Daniel Fewkes for this misdemeanor, the Sum of five pounds, to the Honorable Companys Cash, and ordered him to ask Mr John Deffountains pardon before us, and likewise before all the Persons, at the East flying Party when they next assembled William Mory maketh Complaint That Mr Richards Law on Friday last, abused him in a very gross manner, by calling him a Black Guard scoundrel, and other approbrious Names, without any Provocation, Mr Law being beforementioned	Daniel Fowkes, being present, could not deny what Mr John Bedfountain had alleged, but said that he was in a passion when he spoke those words, for that he was in a doubt and all the hastier to compel to come to him. The council therefore fined Daniel Fowkes the sum of five pounds to the Honourable Company's cash, and ordered him to ask Mr John Bedfountain's pardon before the council, and likewise before all the persons of the East flying party when they next assembled. William Mory complained that Mr Richard Law on Friday last had abused him in a very gross manner, by calling him a blackguard scoundrel, and other opprobrious names, without any provocation. Law being present acknowledged that he did make use of the beforementioned improper words. Since the council found that Law had abused William Mory in the manner described without any just cause, it fined him the sum of ten shillings to the Honourable Company's cash. The council, having been informed that Mary Herbert, widow and relict of Lieutenant Ogden

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		present acknowledgeg that he did make use of the improprious that As we find, the said Mr Richard Law abused William Mory in the Manner above related without any just cause. We fined him in the Sum of ten shillings to the Honorable Companys Cash We having been informed, that Mary Herbert Widow and Relict of Lieutenant Ogden Herbert, who died on the Seventeenth of August 1757, had borne two Children, since his decease the first about the middle of November 1758, and the other about the begining of February last, and that both of them were suddenly broke, soon after they came into the World, From these odd some other Circumstances, that being great Reasons to suspect, that the Children had been disposed of their lives, either from the want of a due care, or from a Jet greater and more unnatural Act of Cruelty, We therefore thought it incumbent upon us, to have this affair fully enquired into, And this day examined the following persons Vizt Betty a Slave Woman, belonging to Mr Henry Easthope, brother to the aforesaid Mary Herbert, being examined declares, that about fifteen or sixteen Months ago, Mr Mary Herbert came to her Masters House, and that some time after, early in a morning Ellen a Daughter of the said Examinants, told her, that Mrs Herbert was very	Herbert, who had died on 17 August 1757, had borne two children since his death, the first about the middle of November 1758 and the other about the beginning of February last, and that both of them had come suddenly into the world and as suddenly left it, from these and some other circumstances there was great reason to suspect that the children had been made away with, whether from the want of a due care or from yet more unnatural acts of cruelty. The council thought it incumbent upon it to have the affair fully inquired into, and this day examined the following persons. Betty, a slave woman belonging to Mr Henry Easthope, brother to the late Mary Herbert, being examined, declared that fifteen or sixteen months earlier Mary Herbert came to her master's house, and that some time after, early one morning, Ellen, a daughter of the examinants, told her that Mary Herbert was [...]. **Interpretations** The council punished harsh words as offences against public order, fining Fowkes five pounds for telling a militia officer he lied and Law ten shillings for abusing William Mory, and it made Fowkes beg pardon publicly before the whole flying party. Treating insult and abusive language as finable matters, with the penalty set by the standing of the person wronged and the setting of the offence, shows the council policing the daily conduct and speech of the inhabitants as closely as it policed their stock and their property. The inquiry into Mary Herbert opened a suspected case of infanticide, the two children born to a widow after her husband's death and both dead almost as soon as born, which the council resolved to examine fully by taking sworn testimony. The gathering of witnesses to establish whether the infants had died of neglect or been deliberately killed shows the council acting as a court of criminal investigation, reaching into the most private circumstances of a household to determine whether a capital crime had been committed. **Speculations** The council could have let the deaths of Mary Herbert's two infants pass as the misfortunes they outwardly appeared, private losses in a single household with no complainant pressing the matter. Instead it judged the pattern of two children born and dying suddenly enough to raise a suspicion of infanticide, and chose to open a formal inquiry on its own motion, examining slaves and others on oath. The decision to investigate a possible hidden crime where no accuser had come forward, rather than leave a widow's private griefs alone, shows the council treating the suspected killing of infants as too grave to ignore even at the cost of prying into a family's affairs.
322	311	1760 very Ill, and desired she would go up Stairs to her, which she accordingly did, and found her, in the Bed, very bad, but there side down by her, and asked her how she did, that Mrs Herbert replied she was very unfortunate, that Betty viewing down the Bed Cloaths found a Male Child dead, and covered up in the Bed with some of Mr Herberts Petticoats, and the Bed Cloaths over it, the Child was laying on its Cradle and the nappero, as it was quite perfect, that it might be about two Months, But cannot say whether it was born, a live or no, She then took and wrapped it up in some Cloths and carried it down Stairs and shewed the Child to her	Betty declared that Mary Herbert was very ill, and desired her to go up the stairs to her, which she accordingly did, and found her in the bed very bad. Mary Herbert then sat down by her and asked her how she did, and Betty replied that she was very unfortunate. She then, taking the bed clothes, found a male child dead and covered up in the bed with some of Mary Herbert's petticoats, and the bed clothes over it. The child was lying on its cradle, and she supposed, as it was quite perfect, that it might be about four months old, but she could not say whether it was born alive or not. She then took and wrapped it up in some clothes and carried it down the stairs and showed the child to her master, and some time after buried it behind her master's house. The examinant further said that Mary Herbert bade her take a vial and go to Mr Buchan's, who was then at the Fort, for some cordial water, which she

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		Master, and some time after, buried it behind her Masters House, She Examinant further says, that Mrs Herbert bid her take a Vial, and go to Mr Buchans, who was then at the Fort for some Cordial Water which she accordingly did, and carried a Vial which she has from her, with something in it to Mrs Herbert She Betty further declares, that about five or Six Weeks ago, the said Mrs Herbert came again to her Masters House, and that some time after, one morning about daybreak her said Daughter Ellen acquainted, that Mrs Herbert was very Ill, one that she heard a comical noise last night, like the crying of Crickets, and desired she would go up and see what was the matter with Mrs Herbert, She immediately went, and found her in Bed, delivered of a Boy, that lay behind her dead, and covered with the Bed Cloaths and Mrs Herberts Petticoats, She likewise thinks this Child might be about thy Months and further says, that about seven or eight, of the Clock, on Saturday morning She buried the same behind her Masters House, and as she was Carrying the Child away, She asked Mrs Herbert for something to wrap it up in, who told her to take it away as it was, and bury it Hannah a Slave Woman, belonging to Mrs Mary Herbert, being examined, declares, that about five or six weeks ago She asked Betty whether she knew, that her Mistress had miscarried, and mentioned the Child, upon which Betty called her Fool, and it a be a Fool her Tongue, the further declares, that She rubbed Mistrys several times, take Physick and that Mr John Buchan the Surgeons Mate, brought it to her, And her Husband was frequently at the House, in the Valley, where she lived, the Examinant says, that She was told by Mr Jacob Leal informed her, that Mrs Herbert, who brought to bed, and had murdered the Childe, between two Pillows, Hannah being asked whether her Daughter Betty told her any thing, about hearing a Child Cry, says that she did tell her, that she heard something very like a Child, once, mow once	accordingly did, and carried a vial, which she had from him with something in it, to Mary Herbert. Betty further declared that about five or six weeks earlier Mary Herbert came again to her master's house, and that one morning about daybreak her daughter Ellen acquainted her that Mary Herbert was very ill. She found that she had heard a comical noise last night, like the crying of crickets, and desired she would go up and see what was the matter with Mary Herbert. She immediately went, and found her in bed, delivered of a boy that lay behind her dead, and covered with the bed clothes and Mary Herbert's petticoats. She thought this child might be about six months old, and further said that about seven or eight of the clock on Saturday morning she buried the child behind her master's house, and as she was carrying the child away she asked Mary Herbert for something to wrap it up in, who told her to take it away as it was, and bury it. Hannah, a slave woman belonging to Mrs Mary Herbert, being examined, declared that about five or six weeks earlier she asked Betty whether she knew that her mistress had miscarried and murdered the child, upon which Betty called her a fool, and it also had her tongue. She further declared that she suspected her mistress several times, taking physic, and that Mr John Buchan, the surgeon's mate, brought it to her. Mr Easthope was frequently at the house in the valley where she lived. The examinant said that she was told by Mr Jacob Leech that Mary Herbert had murdered her child between two pillows. Hannah, being asked whether her daughter Betty told her anything about hearing a child cry, said that she could not tell her, but that she had heard something very like a child once or twice. **Interpretations** The two burials described by Betty lay at the heart of the case, both infants covered in the mother's petticoats and put secretly into the ground behind the house, with no coffin, no minister and no entry in any register. That the disposal fell to a slave woman acting on her mistress's word, told simply to take the body away and bury it as it was, shows how the concealment turned on the labour of the household's slaves, whose testimony the council now used to reconstruct what had been hidden. The cordial water fetched from the surgeon's mate John Buchan, and Hannah's account of her mistress repeatedly taking physic supplied by him, pointed the inquiry towards deliberate means, whether to induce miscarriage or otherwise. The council's careful recording of who had procured and carried the medicines shows it building a chain of evidence around the suspected acts, tracing the drugs from the Fort to the sickbed as it would trace any material fact in a criminal cause. The evidence gathered here was hearsay heaped on suspicion, Hannah repeating what Jacob Leech had said and what she thought she had heard, while Betty gave direct testimony of the bodies she had buried. The mixing of firsthand account with rumour and inference shows the difficulty of proving a hidden domestic crime, where the only witnesses were the slaves of the household and the evidence lay in whispers, half-heard noises and the word of one servant against the doubts of another.
323	312	10 March Patty a Slave Girl of Mrs Herberts, aged about twelve being examined says, that she Slept in the Room with her Mistress, about five weeks ago, and that one Friday Night She heard something like a Child cry twice than once, and told her Mother of it, when she came down to	Patty, a slave girl of Mrs Herbert, aged about twelve, testified that she had slept in her mistress's room roughly five weeks before. On a Friday night she heard what sounded like an infant crying several times, and mentioned it to her mother once she came down to the valley. After that she fell asleep again and slept through till morning, then went down to the kitchen and came back shortly afterwards. She saw

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		the Valley, She further says, that She went to Sleep again, and did not wake until day, and then went down Stairs, into the Kitchen, and returned presently after, and that She saw Betty go and whisper to her Mistress, but did not hear, what passed between them Being informed by Mr Salomon Jacob, that Mrs Elizabeth Kennedy, knew something of this affair, We sent for her, who appearing, declares, that sometime last year, Betty a Slave Woman of Mr Henry Easthopes, told her, that Mrs Herbert, one Morning, was very Ill as her Daughter Ellen informed her that she then went up Stairs, and found Mrs Herbert Ill in Bed She then called a boy, to send to Mrs Greentree, to let her know Mrs Herbert was very much out of order, but that Mrs Herbert hearing her call the boy forbid her sending to Mrs Greentree, She then desired Betty then went to Mrs Herbert, and seeing the Bed Cloaths lying on one side, bid her Daughter, take them up, but she refused to Sort, saying there was something more there than Cloths, upon which She Betty went to Bed, and found a Male Child there Dead, She then wrapped it up in some Cloths, and carried it down Stairs, and shewed to her Master In order to know whether any Child, or Children has been buried, as Betty above declared, We directed Mr Thomas Greentree Churchwarden, and Mr Robert Barclay Surgeon, to go early to Morrow Morning to open above spots of ground, and to report to us what they discovered there Adjourned until to Morrow, ten OClock Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling	Betty go over and murmur something to her mistress but caught none of it. Solomon Jacob told the council that Elizabeth Kennedy knew something of the matter, so it summoned her. She said that earlier that year Betty, owned by Henry Easthope, had described finding Mrs Herbert gravely unwell one morning, having been alerted by her daughter Ellen. Betty had gone upstairs and found the woman sick in bed, then called a boy to carry word to Mrs Greentree that Mrs Herbert was badly out of sorts. Hearing this, Mrs Herbert stopped her from sending the message. Betty, noticing the bedding pushed to one side, told her daughter to lift it, but the girl would not, insisting more than cloth lay beneath. Betty reached in herself and found a dead male infant, which she bundled into some garments, carried downstairs and showed to her master. To settle whether infants had in fact been buried where Betty described, the council instructed Thomas Greentree, churchwarden, and Robert Barclay, surgeon, to attend the place first thing the next day, examine the ground and report back on what they uncovered. The consultation adjourned until ten the following morning. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. **Interpretations** When Betty tried to fetch help by sending for Mrs Greentree, the mistress stopped her, and the council read this as an attempt to keep the birth hidden and witnesses at a distance. That she blocked a neighbour being summoned gave the inquiry its clearest sign of deliberate concealment, marking the event off from an ordinary delivery in which assistance would have been welcomed. By ordering the churchwarden and a surgeon to open the ground where the bodies were said to lie, the council shifted its inquiry from what witnesses claimed to what could be physically shown. Pairing the parish officer who oversaw burials with a medical examiner reveals a body assembling both official and expert proof, treating the exhumation as the step that would decide whether any crime had occurred. **Speculations** The council might have leaned on the servants' accounts alone, which were full enough to carry the matter forward. Instead it sent men to unearth the infants and have a surgeon inspect them, judging that a suspicion of infanticide called for bodily evidence before any charge could stand. Choosing to dig rather than rely on reported cries and whispered exchanges shows a council reluctant to build so serious a case on hearsay when the earth could furnish something surer.
324	313	1760 At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 11th day of March 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed, dated the 10 March 1760 We then proceeded to examine, the following Persons vizt Ellen a Slave Woman, belonging to Mr James Easthope Brother to the said Mary Herbert, who declares, that on Friday Night, about five Weeks ago, She Ellen was lying in the same Bed with, Mary Herbert Widow of the late Lieutenant Stephen Herbert at the House of Mr Henry	At a consultation held on Tuesday 11 March 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 10 March 1760, was read, approved and signed. The council then went on to examine the following persons. Ellen, a slave woman belonging to Mr James Easthope, brother to Mary Herbert, gave her account. Roughly five weeks earlier, on a Friday night, she had been lying in the same bed as Mary Herbert, widow of the late Lieutenant Stephen Herbert, at the house of Henry Easthope, planter. Around two in the morning Mary Herbert woke her and said she was badly out of order, sending Ellen to fetch a light. On returning with it, Ellen was told to go back to bed, and Mary Herbert gave her a little warm bamboo drink she had made ready. Mary Herbert then

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		Easthope, planter, and Brother to her said, Mary Herbert, that about eight of the Clock in the Morning she awoke her, the said Ellen, and told her, that she was very much out of order, and bad her go down Stairs and bring up a Light, as she did accordingly that when She returned with it, Mrs Herbert bid her go down again, and fetch her, a little warm Bamboo, which she carried to her, and how Mrs Herbert told her to go down Stairs, as she did into the Parlour, under the said Chamber where Mrs Herbert lay, and rose down by the fire, and did not go up to her again, until about 6 o Clock in the Morning, and says she is very sure that Nobody went up to her, between those Stairs, She being awake the whole time, that a little after Six oClock, She went up of her own accord to ask, Mrs Herbert how She did, who replied, She was very much out of order, She then went down to acquaint her Mother with it, Who when immediately to Mrs Herbert, that about an Hour after, her Mother called her up, and asked She went in the Room, she saw her Mother, sitting down by Mrs Herbert Bed Sic, upon her going Father into the Room, her Mother got up, and was going out of the Chamber, but Mrs Herbert called her back, and said to her, that She saw a very unfortunate Woman, and told her the Examinant to go down Stairs again, and as she was going, saw her Mother go in another Room, upon the same Floor, with that in which Mrs Herbert was, and something in a Cloth, but she could not then tell what it was, that about a Quarter of an hour after, she went up Stairs again, and stood a little while, at the Door of the Room, into which her Mother went, her Mother then asked her, if she would come in, which Mrs Herbert hearing called to her, and forbid her going into that Chamber, She Seivingly Slept, that another opening the moved part of the Bed of a Petticoat, laying on the Floor, partly wrapped up in a Cloth, that she then went down into the Kitchen, where the Blacks lay	directed her to go downstairs, which she did, into the parlour beneath the bedchamber, where she settled by the fire and did not go back up. At about six that morning she said she was certain no one had gone up to Mary Herbert between the stairs, since she had lain awake the whole time. A little after six Mary Herbert called for her and asked how she did, to which Ellen replied that she seemed very unwell. Ellen then went down to tell her mother, who went straight up to Mary Herbert. Around an hour later her mother came back and sat down by Mary Herbert's bedside, and as she was about to leave the chamber Mary Herbert called her back and said she was a very unfortunate woman, telling the examinant's mother to go downstairs again. As she was leaving, she saw her mother enter another room on the same floor, the one where Mary Herbert was, and could not then say what happened. About a quarter of an hour afterwards she went back up and stood a little while at the door of the room where her mother was. Her mother then asked whether she would come in, and Mrs Herbert, hearing herself called to, forbade it. Betty presently took part of the bedclothes and something lying on the floor, wrapped up in a cloth, and then went down into the kitchen where the blacks lay. **Interpretations** Ellen's insistence that she lay awake through the whole night and that no one climbed the stairs to Mary Herbert was pressed by the council to establish that the mistress had been alone when the child was born and died. Fixing whether anyone else had access to the chamber went to the core of the charge, for if Mary Herbert was unattended then responsibility for whatever happened to the infant rested with her alone. The warm bamboo drink Mary Herbert had prepared and pressed on Ellen before sending her down to the parlour was read by the council as a means of getting the slave out of the room and keeping her below during the birth. The small domestic detail of a drink made ready in advance suggested calculation rather than the confusion of a sudden illness, feeding the suspicion that the concealment had been planned.
325	314	11 March that lay, and about, six o Clock the same morning, the Examinant, went with her Parlour, below Stairs, and was talking there, with her Mother Mrs Herbert her called her to come to her, she went accordingly, and Mrs Herbert told her, she had Miscarried, Being asked whether Betty the Daughter of Hannah, was then in the Room, she says she believes she was not, and did not see her that, but owns, she was in the Country, and thinks she lay that night in the Vall, Betty being now, before, replies, I was in the Room, and lay by Mrs Mistrys Bed sic, and heard something cry like a Child more than once Mr Henry Easthope Planter also and, Brother, to the said Mary Herbert being Sworn, deposeth,	About six o'clock that same morning the examinant went to her master in the parlour below the stairs, and while she was talking there with her mother Mary Herbert called her, and when she came to her told her that she had miscarried. Being asked whether Betty, the daughter of Hannah, was then in the room, she said she believed she was not, but could not be sure of that, though she thought they were in the country, and reckoned she lay that night at the Hall. Betty, being now brought before the council, replied that she was in the room and lay by her mistress's bedside, and heard something cry like a child more than once. Mr Henry Easthope, planter, also brother to Mary Herbert, being sworn, testified that on a Thursday morning about six o'clock in November last, as he was going to inspect the people working on the highways, being overseer of them that year, Betty, a slave woman of his, ran to meet him and, pointing to his sister, said, look what your sister is guilty of. At the same time she showed him the body of a child wrapped up in a cloth, and immediately made off with it. Being asked whether he did not know that his sister had borne a child about five or six weeks

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		that in November last, was a thelvy month, one Tuesday morning about six o Clock, awoke was going to inspect the People, that were working at the Highways, he being Overseer of them that Year, Betty a Slave Woman of his, past him as he was going to mount his Mare and said, look what your Sister is Guilty of, shewing him at the same time, the Face of a Child that was wrapped upon a Cloth upon which he immediately Rode away, Being asked if he did not know, that his Sister had a Child, above five or six weeks ago, declares that he did not know any thing of it, This deponent further saith his Sister Mrs Herbert told him, one morning, that the Father of the Child, was Lieutenant Richard Bagley We then sent an Order to Mrs Mary Herbert to attend us to morrow morning at 9 o Clock, to which time We Adjourned Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling	earlier, he declared that he knew nothing of it. He further testified that his sister Mary Herbert had told him one morning that the father of the child was Lieutenant Richard Bagley. The council then ordered Mary Herbert to attend the next morning at nine o'clock, at which time it adjourned. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. **Interpretations** The direct clash between the two accounts, Ellen swearing no one had gone up and that Betty was away in the country, against Betty's own claim to have lain by the bed and heard a child cry more than once, left the council to weigh one slave's word against another. The whole question of whether the infant had been born alive turned on these conflicting testimonies, since a cry heard was evidence of live birth and so of a death that had to be explained. Henry Easthope's sworn ignorance of his own sister's condition, though she lodged in his household and his own slave had thrust the dead infant before him on the highway, shows how far the birth had been kept even from the family under whose roof it happened. His naming of Lieutenant Richard Bagley as the father supplied the council with the circumstance behind the concealment, an illegitimate child born to a widow, whose birth carried the shame that gave a motive for hiding it.
326	315	1760 At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 12 day of March 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Gover Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 11th March 1760 Agreably to our Directions, Mr Thomas Greentree and Mr Robert Barclay this day attend us, and delivered the following Report vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor & Council Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Pursuant to your order we whose names are hereunto subscribed went to a piece of Ground, of Henry Easthopes attended by William Dutston Suatons and Black Woman, named Betty, belonging to the said Henry Easthope, and were shewn the Places where were She, the she had buried two Children of Mrs Mary Herbert the Sexton at our Queen, opened the Grave, where she said she had buried the first Child, and therein were found, several pieces of the Scull of a Child, and some other small Bones, at the Bottom of this Grave, there was a beard which we suppose the Child had been buried upon At a little distance from this Place, Betty shewed us, where she had buried another Child of the said Mary Herberts, upon the Sextons opening that Grave, there was found a Child, Mrs Six Trunk, and Extremity to all very perfect. Given under our hand this 12 day March 1760 Signed Thomas Greentree Churchwarden Robert Barclay Surgeon	At a consultation held on Wednesday 12 March 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 11 March 1760, was read, approved and signed. In accordance with the council's order, Mr Thomas Greentree and Mr Robert Barclay attended this day and delivered the following report. Addressed to Governor Hutchinson and the council, the report set out that, following the council's order, the two men whose names were subscribed had gone to a piece of ground belonging to Henry Easthope. Guided by William Dowston, sexton, and a slave woman named Betty belonging to Easthope, who showed them the place where she had buried the children, they opened the grave in which she said she had buried the first child. There they found several pieces of the skull of a child and some other small bones, and at the bottom of the grave lay a board, which they supposed the child had been buried upon. A little distance from this first grave Betty showed them where she had buried a second child of Mary Herbert's, and on opening that grave they found a child with its head, trunk and extremities all very perfect. Given under the hands of Thomas Greentree, churchwarden, and Robert Barclay, surgeon, on 12 March 1760. Barclay further declared that the second child appeared to be a boy, which might have been brought into the world about two months before the usual time of a woman's delivery. Sworn in consultation on 12 March 1760 before Governor Hutchinson. **Interpretations** The exhumation confirmed the substance of Betty's testimony, the two graves lying where she had pointed and each holding the remains of an infant, so that the physical evidence now stood behind the spoken account the council had gathered over the preceding days. Turning up the bones and the second nearly whole body gave the inquiry the bodily proof it had sent the churchwarden and surgeon to find, moving the case from suspicion resting on slaves'

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		The said Robert Barclay, do further Declare, that the beforementioned Child, was a Boy which might be brought into the World about two Months before the usual time of a Womans delivery Signed Robert Barclay Sworn in Consultation this 12th day March 1760 before me Signed Chas Hutchinson	words to a matter established by what lay in the ground. Barclay's judgement that the second child was born roughly two months premature bore directly on the charge, for a markedly early birth might point to a miscarriage rather than the killing of a child born at full term. The surgeon's opinion on the stage of the pregnancy was the kind of expert reading the council had brought him in to give, and it introduced a doubt that cut against a finding of deliberate murder, since a child too early to live could not so easily be said to have been made away with.
327	316	12 March Mrs Mary Herbert attending pursuant to the order, Yesterday sent her, We acquainted her, with what We had been informed of, and had the respective foregoing Examinations read to her, the several Examinants being present, and then asked her what she had to offer in her purification, She acknowledged that She had been Guilty of a very great Crime, by having borne two Children, but utterly denies either of that She had made use of any indirect, or unlawfull means, to destroy them they both being born, Dead as she declared, She was further asked, if she had made any Preparation for Clothing the said Children, when they might have been brought into the World, and whether she had sent for any assistance, when she found herself in Labour, To which she replies that she had not made any Child but Linnen, as she had them so much work, in her hands, but intended to have done it, And as she was taken suddenly Ill, She did not send for any a pattume being unwilling to trouble her Neighbours, Being again asked, which of the two Childrens Saint Richards Bagly was Father of, Replied, it was Father of Both, She likewise declares, that on the Eighth of May, one thousand seven hundred and fifty nine the she said Richard Bagly told her, if any thing should happen to hurt her Character, that he would either Marry her, or Settle fifty pounds a Year upon her Upon which We sent for Lieutenant Richard Bagly and acquainted him with what Mrs Herbert had alledged, He utterly denied the accusation, and said he could not swear it to be false, being asked whether he had ever any carnal Knowledge of Mrs Herbert, he owned he had, but that the first time was on the first day of January, One thousand seven hundred and fifty nine, which was some time after, She was delivered of the first Child, and to the best of his knowledge, the last time he lay with her, was the latter End of May, or begining of June last, and utterly denies that he ever promised her marriage, or to Settle fifty pounds a Year upon her, said, going that it was not very probable, for her Character, was Notoriously known She then said, was informed, that Mrs Herbert, or She knew herself, to be with Childe by him, had not informed of it, To which she replied, She had wrote to	Mary Herbert attended in accordance with the council's order of the previous day. The council told her that it had been informed of the matter, with the several examinants present, and read their examinations to her. It then asked what she had to offer in her defence. She admitted that she had been guilty of a very great crime in having borne two children, but flatly denied having used any indirect or unlawful means to destroy them, insisting that both were born dead. Asked further whether she had made any preparation to clothe the children against their birth, and whether she had sought any assistance, she owned that she had not, saying only that she had made no clothing for the child but linen, and even that she had had little time to prepare, being taken suddenly and unwilling to trouble her neighbours. Asked again which of the two children Lieutenant Richard Bagley was father to, she declared he was father to both. She also stated that on 8 May 1759 Bagley had told her that if anything should happen to her he would either marry her or settle fifty pounds a year upon her. The council then sent for Lieutenant Richard Bagley and put to him what Mary Herbert had alleged. He flatly denied the accusation and said it could not be true, being asked whether he had ever had any carnal knowledge of Mary Herbert. He admitted he had, but that the first time was on 1 January 1759, which was some time after she was delivered of the first child, and to the best of his knowledge his last time lying with her was about the latter end of May or the beginning of June last. He utterly denied that he had ever promised her marriage or to make her an allowance of fifty pounds a year, saying that it was not very probable, as her character was notoriously bad. He then said he was surprised that Mary Herbert had named him, having never been informed of it, to which she replied that she had acquainted him more than once, but never had any answer to her letters. Lieutenant Richard Bagley denied that he had received any letters from her. Mary Herbert, being asked by whom she had sent the letters, said that Ann Warren, a servant who was called in, had carried a letter from her mistress to Lieutenant Richard Bagley. Ann Warren, asked whether she had carried a letter from her mistress to Lieutenant Richard Bagley, answered that she had carried three, and delivered them to Bagley. Bagley then acknowledged that he recollected receiving two or three letters from Mary Herbert, and produced the [...] of one of them. **Interpretations** Mary Herbert's admission that she had prepared no clothing but linen and had sought no help at the birth was drawn out by the council because the want of preparation was itself treated as evidence of a concealed and unwanted birth. Under the law a mother who made no provision for a coming child and hid the delivery could be presumed to have intended its death, so her own answers on this point bore heavily against her defence that the infants were stillborn.

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		him once than once, but never had received any answer to her Letters Lieutenant Richard Bagle denies, that he ever received any Letters from her, Mrs Herbert being asked by whom she had sent those Letters, to her Anny Waman Hannah, who was called in, and asked whether She had ever carried a Letter from her Mistress, to Lieutenant Richard Bagle, She avows she had carried three, and delivered them to Lieutenant Richard Bagle, He two or three of these Letters, from Mrs Herbert, the purport of one of which was	The clash over Bagley's promise, she claiming he had pledged marriage or fifty pounds a year and he denying it while calling her character notoriously bad, went to the motive and the paternity behind the two births. His attempt to distance himself, disputing the dates and impugning her reputation, shows a man who had fathered illegitimate children on a widow now seeking to shield himself, while the council pressed both parties on the exact chronology as the means of testing which of the conflicting accounts could stand. The production of the letters, carried by the servant Ann Warren and at last admitted by Bagley after his flat denial, caught him in a falsehood and lent weight to Mary Herbert's version of their dealings. That the council traced the correspondence through the servant who delivered it, and confronted Bagley with the fact until he owned it, shows the same method of building proof from the testimony of dependents and the physical evidence of documents that had marked the whole inquiry. **Speculations** Faced with Bagley's outright denial that any letters had passed, the council could have left his word against Mary Herbert's and gone no further on the point. Instead it asked her who had carried the letters, summoned the servant Ann Warren to be examined, and used her account of delivering three letters to force Bagley into admitting he had received them. The choice to run the question down through the messenger rather than accept the denial shows the council determined to test each contested claim against an independent witness, and in doing so it exposed the falsehood of a man who had thought his bare denial would hold.
328	317	1760 was to send her some money, but not upon the Subject She mentioned Mrs Herbert being farther asked if She could tell when Lieutenant Richard Bealy first had carnal knowledge of her answered she could not ascertain the time, but that the last was to the best of her knowledge about the Months of June or July last, and that she was positive Lieut Richard Berle, was the Father of both they Children, and desiring to take her Oath to truth of what she has, She was sworn accordingly Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling At a Consultation held on Monday the 17 Day of March 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 12 March 1760 Lieutenant John Clark this day presented a Mortgage which he desired might be Registered Granted Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling	The letter was to send her some money but said nothing upon the subject she had mentioned. Mary Herbert, being further asked whether she could tell when Lieutenant Richard Bagley first had carnal knowledge of her, answered that she could not fix the time, but that the last was to the best of her knowledge about the month of June or July last. She positively insisted that Richard Bagley was the father of both children, and being willing to swear to the truth of what she had said, she was sworn accordingly. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. At a consultation held on Monday 17 March 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 12 March 1760, was read, approved and signed. Lieutenant John Clark this day produced a mortgage which he desired might be registered. Granted. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. **Interpretations** Mary Herbert's willingness to be sworn to her account, staking her oath on her claim that Bagley fathered both children and that they were born dead, marked the point at which she committed her defence to the record under the sanction of an oath. The council's administering that oath shows it giving her the same footing as any witness, letting her denial of unlawful means stand as sworn testimony to be weighed against the rest even in a matter that touched her own life. The registration of Lieutenant Clark's mortgage records the council in its everyday role as the island's registry of property, keeping the public record of charges laid on land so that titles and encumbrances could be proved. That such routine business followed straight after the gravest of criminal inquiries shows

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			the same small body turning from a question of life and death to the ordinary administration of the island without pause, the whole range of government resting in its hands.
329	318	24 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th Day of March 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 17th March 1760 Tuesday the 18 Abraham Ratcliff Soldier was drowned by accident Wednesday the 19th passed by a Ship at a great distance Friday the 21st arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Earl of Holdernesse Captn Brooke from Bencoolen Yesterday arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Crown Prince of Denmark Captain Jorgen Dixon burthen about 700 Tuns carries 34 Guns & 110 Men laden with Tea And China Ware bound to Copenhagen Supply Vizt The Ship Earl of Holdernesse brought us the following Invoice of Ship Earl of Holdernesse Sugar 35 Baskets Gross 121 3s 10d Tare 6 1s 0d Nett 115 1s 10d Decwt 97 114d & 132 at 4s 2d & Cwt 140 16s 0d Charges Merchandize Shore Labor Shipping off & 3s 0d Boat hire Do 10s 0d 18s 0d & 453 16s 0d Fort Marlborough 9 January 1760 Errors Excepted Signed Stephen Donston Pro Account	At a consultation held on Monday 24 March 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 17 March 1760, was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 18 March Abraham Ratcliff, soldier, died by accident. On Wednesday 19 March a ship passed by at a great distance. On Friday 21 March the Honourable Company's ship Earl of Holdernesse arrived, Captain Brooke, from Bencoolen. The previous day a Danish ship arrived from China, the Crown Prince of Denmark, Captain Jorgen Dixon, of about 700 tons, carrying 24 guns and 110 men, laden with tea and china ware, bound for Copenhagen. The Earl of Holdernesse brought the following invoice. The invoice of the Earl of Holdernesse was as follows. Sugar, 35 baskets weighing gross 121cwt 3qr 10lb tare, 6cwt 1qr 0lb net, 115cwt 1qr 10lb decrease 97lb 14oz of 132 at £4 2s 0d per cwt, £140 1s 6d Charges merchandise shroff's labour, shipping off, £0 0s 3d boat hire, ditto, £0 0s 10d total charges, £0 0s 13d total, £453 1s 6d Dated Fort Marlborough, 3 January 1760. Errors excepted. Signed, Stephen Dowston, per account. **Interpretations** Bencoolen, from where the Earl of Holdernesse came, was the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, its factory there called Fort Marlborough, where the invoice was drawn up. The arrival of a homeward Company ship touching at St Helena from the East Indian stations shows the island's place as the regular call on the long route between the Company's Asian settlements and England, where such vessels watered and refreshed before the last leg home. A shroff was a money changer or assayer employed in the Company's eastern factories to test and weigh coin and bullion, and the charge here for shroff's labour in shipping off the sugar reflects the Indian and Malay commercial vocabulary the Company carried across its whole trading world. The tare deducted from the gross weight was the allowance for the baskets themselves, so that duty and price fell only on the sugar and not its packing, a standard mercantile reckoning applied here to a cargo shipped from Sumatra. The Danish East Indiaman bound from China to Copenhagen, laden with tea and porcelain, shows St Helena serving as a watering place for the ships of rival European companies as well as the English Company's own. That vessels of Denmark and Portugal put in alongside the Company's ships marks the island as a shared landfall in the South Atlantic, valuable to every nation trading round the Cape, and gave the council its running interest in noting the force and lading of each foreign ship that passed.
330	319	1760	The stewards, Plantation and gunners accounts for the month ending 11 March were this day

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		The Stewards, Plantation, and Gunners accounts for the Month ending 11th Instant were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow Vizt Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11th March 1760 vizt To 13 Bottles Port 19s 6d To 11 Do Lisbon 16s 6d To 10 Do Mountain 15s 0d To 8 Do Madeira £1 1s 2d To 61 Do Arrack 3 3s 6½d To 16 Do Beer 4s 4d To 288 Flour 2 2s 0d To 199 Beef 2 9s 9d To 1 Do Salt Beef 2s 11½d To 6 Do Salt Pork 15s 10½d To 291¾ of Mutton 6 1s 4¾d To 67 Goat £1 2s 4d To 18 Fowls £1 7s 0d To 6 Ducks 9s 0d To 2 Geese 10s 0d To 19¾ Fresh Butter 19s 9d To 39¾ Candy 13s 0d To 36 Sugar 6s 9d £23 19s 9¾d	brought in, examined and approved, and were as follows. Sundries were expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 March 1760. 13 bottles of port, £0 19s 6d 11 bottles of Lisbon wine, £0 16s 6d 10 bottles of mountain wine, £0 15s 0d 8 bottles of Madeira wine, £1 1s 2d 61 bottles of arrack, £3 3s 6½d 16 bottles of beer, £0 4s 4d 288 flour, £2 2s 0d 199 beef, £2 9s 9d 1 salt beef, £0 2s 11½d 6 salt pork, £0 15s 10½d 291¼ mutton, £6 1s 4d 67 goat, £1 2s 4d 18 fowls, £1 7s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 19¼ fresh butter, £0 19s 9d 39 candy, £0 13s 0d 36 sugar, £0 6s 9d total, £23 19s 9¾d **Interpretations** The Honourable Company's table drew again on the same range of imported wines and island produce as the month before, its cost falling chiefly on fresh meat, with beef, mutton and goat together making up well over half the whole. The steady monthly reckoning of the official mess shows the standing charge of maintaining the Governor and principal officers as a fixed and recurring item in the island's accounts. Arrack rose sharply this month to 61 bottles against the 6 of the month before, a marked jump in the strong Indian spirit consumed at the table, perhaps drawn from stores freshly landed by the ships lately arrived from the East. The other provisions moved little, so the surge in arrack stands out as the one real change in the table's supply across the two months, reflecting how the arrival of Company shipping replenished the island's stock of eastern goods. Candy here was sugar candy, the hard crystallised sugar boiled and set from cane syrup, distinct from the loaf or moist sugar also listed, and its appearance alongside plain sugar shows both refined and crystallised forms kept at the table. Mountain was the sweet Malaga wine and arrack the eastern palm or rice spirit, the drink of the mess spanning European, Atlantic and Asian sources as before, a reach that reflected St Helena's position on the sea road linking all three.
331	320	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c from the 12th February to the 11th March 1760 vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, S Asses, Total Remaing 12th: Bulls 5, Cows 129, Calves 111, Yearlings 57, Heifers 23, Steers 24, Oxen 17, Total 366, Ewes 274, Weathers 118, Lambs 212, Rams 8, Total 612, Ewes 214, Weathers 21, Kids 90, Rams 10, Total 335, Sows 10, Shoats 8, Pigs 10, Boars 2, Total 30, Fowls 210, Ducks 68, Turkeys 22, Geese 31, Horses 6, Mares 6, Total 12, Asses 4, S Asses 1, Total 5 Enccreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 3, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 6, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 6, Fowls 6, Ducks 7, Turkeys 0, Geese 3, Horses 1, Mares 0, Total 1, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0	An account was taken of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 February to 11 March 1760, set out under the headings neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, horses and asses. The neat cattle were counted as bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers and oxen, with a total; the sheep as ewes, wethers, lambs and rams, with a total; the goats as ewes, wethers, kids and rams, with a total; the hogs as sows, shoats, pigs and boars, with a total; the poultry as fowls, ducks, turkeys and geese, with a total; and horses and asses each with a total. Remaining 12 February, neat cattle: 5 bulls, 129 cows, 111 calves, 57 yearlings, 23 heifers, 24 steers, 17 oxen, total 366 Remaining 12 February, sheep: 274 ewes, 118 wethers, 212 lambs, 8 rams, total 612 Remaining 12 February, goats: 214 ewes, 21 wethers, 90 kids, 10 rams, total 335 Remaining 12 February, hogs: 10 sows, 8 shoats, 10 pigs, 2 boars, total 30

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		Total: Bulls 5, Cows 129, Calves 111, Yearlings 57, Heifers 23, Steers 24, Oxen 17, Total 366, Ewes 274, Weathers 118, Lambs 212, Rams 8, Total 612, Ewes 214, Weathers 21, Kids 93, Rams 10, Total 338, Sows 10, Shoats 8, Pigs 16, Boars 2, Total 36, Fowls 216, Ducks 75, Turkeys 22, Geese 34, Horses 7, Mares 6, Total 13, Asses 4, S Asses 1, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 6, Ewes 12, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 18, Ewes 3, Weathers 9, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 12, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 18, Ducks 6, Turkeys 0, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 5, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 8, Ewes 3, Weathers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 1, Turkeys 2, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 1, Total 1, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 11th: Bulls 5, Cows 127, Calves 106, Yearlings 57, Heifers 22, Steers 24, Oxen 16, Total 357, Ewes 265, Weathers 104, Lambs 212, Rams 8, Total 589, Ewes 211, Weathers 12, Kids 93, Rams 10, Total 326, Sows 10, Shoats 8, Pigs 16, Boars 2, Total 36, Fowls 197, Ducks 67, Turkeys 22, Geese 32, Horses 7, Mares 5, Total 12, Asses 4, S Asses 1, Total 5 Good Sum Expended 20.165 Refuse do for Stock 9.380 29.545 Signed John Skottowe Margin Notes: 24th March	Remaining 12 February, poultry: 210 fowls, 68 ducks, 22 turkeys, total 31 Remaining 12 February, horses: 6 horses, 6 mares, total 12 Remaining 12 February, asses: 4 asses, 1 she ass, total 5 Enslaved, neat cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 0 Enslaved, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 Enslaved, goats: 0 ewes, 3 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, total 3 Enslaved, hogs: 0 sows, 6 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 6 Enslaved, poultry: 6 fowls, 7 ducks, 0 turkeys, total 3 Enslaved, horses: 1 horse, 0 mares, total 1 Enslaved, asses: 0 asses, 0 she ass, total 0 Total, neat cattle: 5 bulls, 129 cows, 111 calves, 57 yearlings, 23 heifers, 24 steers, 17 oxen, total 366 Total, sheep: 274 ewes, 118 wethers, 212 lambs, 8 rams, total 612 Total, goats: 214 ewes, 21 wethers, 93 kids, 10 rams, total 338 Total, hogs: 10 sows, 8 shoats, 16 pigs, 2 boars, total 36 Total, poultry: 216 fowls, 75 ducks, 22 turkeys, total 34 Total, horses: 7 horses, 6 mares, total 13 Total, asses: 4 asses, 1 she ass, total 5 Killed, neat cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 1 steer, 6 oxen, total 12 Killed, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 18 lambs, 3 rams, total 9 Killed, goats: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 12 kids, 0 rams, total 12 Killed, poultry: 18 fowls, 6 ducks, 0 turkeys, total 2 Died, neat cattle: 0 bulls, 2 cows, 5 calves, 0 yearlings, 1 heifer, 8 steers, 3 oxen, total 2 Died, poultry: 1 fowl, 2 ducks Died, horses: 0 horses, 1 mare, total 1 Stole: 0 Remaining 11 March, neat cattle: 5 bulls, 127 cows, 106 calves, 57 yearlings, 22 heifers, 24 steers, 16 oxen, total 357 Remaining 11 March, sheep: 265 ewes, 104 wethers, 212 lambs, 8 rams, total 589 Remaining 11 March, goats: 211 ewes, 12 wethers, 93 kids, 10 rams, total 326 Remaining 11 March, hogs: 10 sows, 8 shoats, 16 pigs, 2 boars, total 36 Remaining 11 March, poultry: 197 fowls, 67 ducks, 22 turkeys, total 32 Remaining 11 March, horses: 7 horses, 5 mares, total 12 Remaining 11 March, asses: 4 asses, 1 she ass, total 5 Good sum expended, 20,165 Refuse for stock, 9,380 total, 29,545 Signed, John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The month's slaughter fell heavily on the oxen, six killed against one or none in most other classes, which points to the working cattle being drawn down for beef more than the breeding stock. Killing the oxen rather than the cows and calves preserved the herd's capacity to reproduce while still supplying the table and the garrison, a choice that shows the island managing its cattle to keep the future stock intact. The provisions expended, struck to a total of 29,545, fell against the 38,050 of the month before, a drop of roughly a fifth in the weight of meat drawn from the stock. The lighter draught reflects the smaller slaughter recorded in the killed columns, and

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			shows consumption easing after the heavier expenditure of the previous month, the account tracking the rise and fall of the island's larder from one reckoning to the next.
332	321	1760 Artillery Stores Expended from the 12th Febry to the 11th March 1760 both days included Vizt Guns fired, Powder Expended Febry 12 Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for Priming: Guns fired 1010, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz 14 Fired at Do for Do: Guns fired 1010, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz Do Powder for sealing the Guns at Banks: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 49lb 8oz 16 do for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz 19 Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for Priming: Guns fired 1010, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz 21 Fired at Do for Do: Guns fired 1010, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz 25 An Alarm at Banks: Guns fired 22, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Do An Alarm at Prosperous Bay for the same Vessell: Guns fired 6222, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz 26 Arrived a Portugue Vessel, Powder for priming in order to have returned Salute: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 28 Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for Priming: Guns fired 1010, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz March 3 Powder for shooting wild Cats: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 8oz 4 Fired at Ruperts for Practice and for Priming: Guns fired 1010, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz 6 Fired at Do for Do: Guns fired 1010, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz Do A Double Alarm for 19 Ships: Guns fired 15663, Powder Expended 33lb 0oz 7 Fired to dismiss the Alarm: Guns fired 1, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 11 Fired at Rupert for Practice and for Priming: Guns fired 1010, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz Powder for Exercising the East flying Party: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 8lb 8oz 6 Do for Signals: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 8oz Total: Guns fired 104, Powder Expended 288lb 8oz Tallow for the use of the Companys Cattle 4 Paper for the use of Secretarys Office 1 Do for making Cannon Cartridges 15 Needles broke in the sewing Do 15 Match burnt at Ruperts from the 11th June 1759 6 Iron Shod Trucks for four Pounders broke at Ruperts 2 Signd Thomas Hall Wednesday the 26th Instant We Retained John Thomason to serve the Honorable Company five Years as a Soldier at four Pounds twenty money	An account was taken of artillery stores expended from 12 February to 11 March 1760, both days included, recording under each entry the number of guns fired and the powder expended in pounds, quarters and ounces. 12 February, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 14 February, fired at ditto for ditto, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 14 February, powder for scaling the guns at Bank's, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 0oz 49oz 8dr 16 February, ditto for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 19 February, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 21 February, fired at ditto for ditto, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 25 February, an alarm at Bank's, 2 guns fired, 2lb 0qr 0oz 9oz 25 February, an alarm at Prosperous Bay for the same vessel, 6 guns fired, 2lb 2qr 2oz 12dr 26 February, arrived a Portuguese vessel, powder for priming in order to have returned a salute, 0 guns fired, 0lb 1qr 8oz 28 February, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 3 March, powder for shooting wild cats, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 8oz 4 March, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 6 March, fired at ditto for ditto, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 6 March, at double alarm for 19 ships, 15 guns fired, 6lb 6qr 3oz 33dr 7 March, fired to dismiss the alarm, 1 gun fired, 1lb 0qr 1oz 8dr 11 March, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 11 March, powder for exercising the East flying party, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 8oz 11 March, ditto for signals, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 8oz total, 104 guns fired, 2qr 88lb 8oz 6dr 29oz Other stores were also expended. Tallow for the use of the Company's cattle, 4 Paper for the use of the Secretary's office, 1 quire Ditto for making cannon cartridges, 15 Needles broke in the sewing ditto, 15 Match burnt at Ruperts from 11 June 1759, 6 Iron shod trucks for four pounders broke at Ruperts, 2 Signed, Thomas Hall. On Thursday 20 March the council discharged John Thomason, who had served the Honourable Company five years as a soldier, at five pounds twenty money. **Interpretations** The double alarm on 6 March for nineteen ships called out the whole coastal defence and consumed the heaviest single charge of powder in the month, fifteen guns fired at once, before a single gun on 7 March signalled the alarm's end. The scale of the response to a large body of sail shows how seriously the council took the threat of a hostile squadron, since nineteen ships together might be an enemy fleet rather than passing traders, and the standing signal system let the batteries raise and stand down the whole island at need. The powder charged for shooting wild cats records the destruction of feral cats that preyed on the island's poultry and young stock, vermin

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			descended from ships' cats gone loose and multiplied. That gunpowder from the Company's magazine was drawn even for pest control shows how a remote settlement had to meet every need from its own limited stores, the same material serving for coastal defence, quarrying, salutes and the killing of animals that threatened its food supply. Match burnt at Ruperts was the slow match, a length of treated cord kept smouldering to fire the guns, and the charge here reckoned its consumption over the many months since June of the previous year. The keeping of a battery in constant readiness required this steady burn of match so that the guns could be fired at a moment's notice, a hidden running cost of holding the coast that the storekeeper tracked alongside the powder and shot.
333	322	24 March We this day Executed a Lease for three Acres of Land unto Benjamin Sealy as granted Per Consultation of the 3 instant The Serieant and Men that were on Guard at Sandy Bay last Week, make Complaint, that William and George Seales, had taken Six Loads of Wood belonging to them, which they refused to Return, or make them any satisfaction for, One of the Soldiers further Complains, that George Sealy pushed, and threatned to strike him, when they went to Demand the Wood The said William & George Seale, being present, acknowledged that they took three Loads of Wood, but did not know that it belonged to the Guard, at the time they carried it away, As it appears to us that the said Seales had unjustifiably taken the above Wood, We ordered them to return Six Loads to the Guard, or to make them satisfaction for the same in money, And fined William Sealy in the Sum of Five Shillings, Which We gave amongst the Soldiers, and George Seale ten shillings, to the Honorable Companys Cash On Thursday Night last, a Room in the Castle was broke into, and Chest broke open in the Room, and Forty nine pounds, odd money taken out of it, Upon enquiry We found that George was a Slave Man belonging to the Honorable Company had Committed this theft and Bagley, he having confessed the Fact, & provided the Money he had stolen, We ordered him to be severely Whipd Having been informed that William Hayes had for sometime past retailed spirituous Liquor without a Licence, We ordered him before Us and charging him with the same, confessed that he had sold by Retail and Bired many Gallons, both to Whites and Blacks, for Eight shillings & Gallon, Being asked where he had the Liquor, he so retailed saith he had all from the House of Thomas Harper late Marshal As this Practice is attended with the bad Consequences of encouraging Drunkenness amongst the Blacks, as well as detrimental to the Publicans who pay for their Licence, and are by these means undersold, We fined the said William Hayes in the Sum of Five Pounds for this offence to the Honorable	The council this day executed a lease for three acres of land to Benjamin Sealy, granted at the consultation of 10 March. The sergeant and men on guard at Sandy Bay the previous week complained that William and George Seale had taken six loads of wood belonging to the guard, which they refused to return or to make any satisfaction for. One of the soldiers further complained that George Seale had pushed him and threatened to strike him when he went to demand the wood. William and George Seale, being present, acknowledged that they had taken three loads of wood, but said they did not know it belonged to the guard, having been carried away by the time they arrived. Since it appeared to the council that the Seales had unjustly taken the wood, it ordered them either to return six loads to the guard or to make satisfaction for it in money. It fined William Seale the sum of five shillings, which it gave among the soldiers, and George Seale ten shillings, paid into the Honourable Company's cash. On Thursday night last a room in the Castle was broken into, and a chest broken open in the room and forty nine pounds in money taken out of it. On inquiry the council found that George, a slave man belonging to the Honourable Company, had committed the theft, and he having confessed the fact, the council provided that the money he had stolen be repaid and ordered him to be severely whipped. The council, having been informed that William Hayes had for some time past retailed spirituous liquors without a licence, sent for him and, charging him with the same, he confessed that he had sold both rum and beer, and how many gallons both to whites and blacks, at eighteen shillings the gallon. Asked where he had the liquor, he answered readily that he had it all from the house of Thomas Harper, late Marshal. Since this practice was attended with the bad consequences of encouraging drunkenness among the blacks, as well as being harmful to the victuallers who paid for their licences and who by these means were undersold, the council fined William Hayes the sum of five pounds for the offence, paid into the Honourable Company's cash. **Interpretations** The theft from the chest in the Castle was met with the whip, the standard summary punishment for slaves, once George confessed and the stolen forty nine pounds was ordered repaid. That a slave who broke into a secured room and took a large sum was flogged rather than tried and hanged, as a free man might have been for so grave a theft, shows the separate and summary justice the council dealt to the slave population, where corporal punishment stood in place of the capital process applied to others. The prosecution of William Hayes for retailing drink without a licence protected the revenue and the

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		Companys Cash	licensed victuallers alike, since unlicensed sellers paid nothing for the privilege and undercut those who did. The council's concern that cheap illicit liquor encouraged drunkenness among the slaves reveals the licensing system as a tool of social control as much as of revenue, regulating who might sell drink and to whom in order to keep order among the island's labouring population. That Hayes had drawn all his liquor from the house of Thomas Harper, the former Marshal, points to the drink passing from a man lately in office into unlicensed sale, a leakage the council traced to its source in questioning him. The readiness with which the council followed the supply back shows it treating the unlicensed trade not as a single offence but as a chain to be exposed, the same investigative method it applied to stolen stores and to hidden crime. **Speculations** The council could have punished the two Seale brothers alike for taking the guard's wood, but it fined William five shillings and George ten, and gave William's fine to the soldiers while paying George's into the Company's cash. The heavier penalty on George answered the added offence of his having pushed and threatened the soldier who came to demand the wood, so the council weighed not merely the taking but the violence that went with it, and marked the difference in both the size of the fine and where the money went.
334	323	1760 We were acquainted sometime ago, that Thomas Harper the late Marshal, had purchased a large Quantity of Arrack, from the Ships last Year, Upon which We sent for him in September last, and Demanded an Account of the Quantity he bought, as also what part of it he had remaining at that time, he told us he had sold part of and had then Left Eight hundred Gallons, Being apprehensive that so large a Quantity of Arrack, in the hands of such a Person, might be retailed in a Clandestine manner to the Prejudice of the Licenced Houses, as well as to the injury of the lower Sort of People, who Blacks, by promoting drunkenness amongst them, and by that means, encouraging them to Steal, in order to buy strong Liquors, this as his purchasing the same contrary to the Companys orders, made known, and published, wherein they positively forbid every Inhabitant from buying any more Arrack, than is requesite for their own Consumption, We therefore for these Reasons Ordered the said Harper not upon any pretence to sell any Part of the said Arrack, and thought it necessary to Republish the Honorable Companys Orders, relative to the purchasing of spirituous Liquors, which was accordingly then done, as entered in our Consultation of the 24th September last Notwithstanding which, We were lately informed, that the said Thomas Harper, have disposed of large Quantitys of Arrack, We this day ordered him before us, and askew him how much he had left, he replied none, being farther asked how, and to whom he had sold it, Answered he had not sold a Drop to any Person Since We forbad him, but had used it in his Family which consist only of himself Wife and two Young Children, since September	The council had been told some time earlier that Thomas Harper, the late Marshal, had bought a large quantity of arrack from the ships the previous year. It sent for him in September last and demanded an account of the quantity he had bought, and of what part of it he still had by him at that time. He owned that he had then left eight hundred gallons. Since it appeared to the council that so large a quantity of arrack in the hands of one person might be retailed in a clandestine manner to the prejudice of the licensed houses, as well as to the injury of the poorer sort of people and the blacks, by promoting drunkenness among them and encouraging them to steal in order to buy strong liquor, the council, while he was purchasing the same contrary to its orders, made known and published that it strictly forbade every inhabitant from buying any more arrack than was required for their own consumption. It therefore ordered Harper not, upon any pretence, to sell any part of what he had by him, and thought it necessary to republish the Honourable Company's orders relating to the purchasing of spirituous liquors, which was accordingly done and entered in the consultation of 24 September last. Notwithstanding this, the council was lately informed that Thomas Harper had disposed of large quantities of arrack. It this day ordered him before it, and asked how much he had left. He owned none, being further asked to whom he had sold it. He answered that he had not sold a drop to any person since the council forbade it, but had used it in his family, which consisted only of himself, his wife and two young children, since September last. This assertion the council held to be a notorious falsehood, since it was impossible for so small a family to consume that quantity of spirituous liquor in so short a time. It appearing from the confession of William Hayes, who was this day fined for retailing liquors without a licence, that he had all the liquors he retailed from Harper's house, the council, for this his disobedience of the Honourable Company's orders and contempt of its authority, fined Thomas Harper five pounds, and at the same time told him that if he did not more punctually obey the council's orders in future it would order a reasonable fining of

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		last, this speaking of his, We are Convinced is a notorious falsity, as it is impossible for his family to consume that Quantity of spirituous Liquor, in so Short a time, and it appearing by the Confession of William Hayes, who was this day fined for retailing Liquors without a Licence, that he had all his Liquors he so retailed from the said Harpers House, We therefore for this his disobedience of the Honorable Companys orders, and Contempt of their Authority, fined him the said Thomas Harper Six pounds to this Honorable Companys Cash, And at the same time told him, that if he did not more punctually obey their commands in future, We should be Under a necessity of sending him off the Island Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling	him off the island. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. **Interpretations** Harper's defence, that a family of four had drunk eight hundred gallons of arrack in six months, was dismissed by the council as an obvious lie, and it was the confession of Hayes that exposed him, tracing the retailed drink back to Harper's house. The council thus convicted him not on his own admission but on the evidence of the man he had supplied, the two prosecutions locking together so that Hayes's account of where he got his liquor overturned Harper's denial of having sold any. The threat to fine Harper off the island marked the ultimate sanction the council held over a troublesome inhabitant, the power to expel him from St Helena altogether if he persisted in defying its orders. That banishment could follow mere disobedience in the drink trade shows how far the council's authority reached over those who lived under the Company's government, its control of who might remain on the island giving it a hold over conduct that no mere fine could match. **Speculations** The council had already forbidden Harper in September to sell any of his eight hundred gallons and republished its orders against the trade, yet when it caught him selling anyway it fined him only five pounds rather than expelling him at once. Holding the power to fine him off the island, it chose instead to warn him that expulsion would follow any further disobedience, giving a man who had already flouted its orders one more chance to conform. The decision to threaten rather than banish shows the council reserving its heaviest sanction, preferring to secure obedience by the standing menace of expulsion than to lose an inhabitant outright for an offence it could still hope to curb.
335	324	28 March At a Consultation held on Friday the 28th day of March 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 24th March 1760 This day arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Triton Captain Francis Hearne from England, by whom We received a Packet from their Honors, which We Opened, and Read their Orders to us William Cobb, William Lyon, Thomas Cobb, and Thomas Litchfield, Soldiers this day petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison, having served their Honorable Company thirteen years & times Granted Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling	At a consultation held on Friday 28 March 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 24 March 1760, was read, approved and signed. This day the Honourable Company's ship Triton arrived, Captain Francis Reeves, from England, bringing a packet from the court, which the council opened and read its orders. William Cobb, William Lyon, Thomas Cobb and Thomas Litchfield, soldiers, this day petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Honourable Company thirteen years and more. Granted. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. **Interpretations** The packet brought from England by the Triton carried the court's orders to its officers at St Helena, the channel through which the Company in London directed the government of its remote island. The council's opening and reading of the despatch on the ship's arrival marks the long and irregular line of communication on which the island depended, its policy set by a body months away and reaching it only when a homeward or outward Indiaman touched at the road.
336	325	31 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 31 day of March 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council	At a consultation held on Monday 31 March 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Captain John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 28 March 1760, was read, approved and signed.

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		The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 28th day of March 1760 Friday the 28th sailed the Dany Ship Crown prince of Denmark for Copenhagen James Austin Soldier this day presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor & Council The humble Petition of James Austin Corporal in the Company commanded by Captain John Clark Sheweth That your Petitioner by reasons of a very great cold, he got in November last, which fell into his Eyes, he hath sensibly lost the sight of them both, and cannot now be of any service, but Cost and Charge to the Honorable Companys and as the Surgeon told him he is not likely to get any Ease here, so that he the Surgeon purposed to do his endeavours to get your Petitioner sent to England, where perhaps some relief might be had, But your Petitioner is as Likely not being able to pay his passage to England, if he was there hath not friends to give him a small bit to any Hospital, or Outlaid for above Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that as your Petitioner was got such misfortune in the Honorable Companys Service Your Worship and Council will pleased send your Petitioner home by first opportunity with such recommendation to their Honors as your Worship and Council each please, in order to get your Petitioner admitted to some Hospital, or place of leave in England, where if it may be hoped he may be restored to his sight again, and be enabled to serve their Honors either in this Island or some other Place And your petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray Agreed to discharge him and recommend his Care to the Honorable Company Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th instant which is as follows vizt Cash	On Friday 28 March the Danish ship Crown Prince of Denmark sailed for Copenhagen. James Austin, soldier, this day presented a petition addressed to Governor Hutchinson and the council. Austin, a corporal in the company commanded by Captain John Clark, set out that by reason of a very great cold he had caught in November last, which had settled in his eyes, he had almost lost the sight of both, and could now do the Company little or no service. He had been a charge to the Honourable Company, and the surgeon told him he was not likely to get any relief so long as he remained. He therefore asked to be discharged and sent to England, where perhaps some cure might be found, being unable to pay his passage himself or, if left on the island, to provide for himself in any hospital or otherwise. He humbly prayed that the council would be pleased to send his petition home by the first opportunity, with such recommendation to the court as it saw fit, so that he might be admitted to a hospital in place of leave in England, and if by that means he recovered be able to serve again, or else be enabled to serve at St Helena or some other place. The council agreed to discharge Austin and to recommend his case to the Honourable Company. The account was counted and examined against the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending 11 March, which followed as set out. **Interpretations** Austin's petition set out the plight of a soldier disabled in the Company's service, his eyesight failing beyond any cure the island could offer, seeking passage home in the hope of a hospital and eventual recovery. The council could not itself provide for him but could forward his case to the court with a recommendation, so his fate rested on the Company in London, the same distant authority that governed every other matter beyond the island's own means. The plea to be admitted to a hospital in England, where the surgeon at St Helena could do nothing for his eyes, shows the limits of the medical care available on the island, which had a surgeon and his mate but no institution for the long treatment of the sick. A man past the help the garrison could give had no recourse but to be shipped the length of the Atlantic to the resources of the mother country, the isolation of the settlement bearing hardest on those it could no longer keep in service.
337	326	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1760 1760 Febry 12th To ballance remaining £6280 14s 9d March 11th By ballance remaining in the following Species Vizt March 10th To Fines Received from Daniel Fewkes 3816 Pagodas 8s 0d 1526 8s 0d and Richard Law as Per Consultation 5 10s 0d 1224 Venetians 10s 0d 612 0s 0d of this Day Gold amounting 2138 8s 0d 11787 Dollars 5s 0d 2946 15s 0d 441 French Ps 1s 2d 3 13s 6d 5845 Rupees 2s 3d 657 11s 3d Odd money 2 0s 0d Silver amounting 3608 19s 0d Cash Notes of no use amounting to 539 15s 0d 5746 9s 9d £6286 4s 9d £6286 4s 9d **Margin Notes:** 31 March	Cash, debtor. Per contra, creditor. The debtor side ran as follows. 1760 12 February, to balance remaining, £6,280 14s 9d 10 March, to fines received from Daniel Fowkes and Richard Law as per consultation of this day, £5 10s 0d total, £6,286 4s 9d The fines were those levied on Daniel Fowkes for insulting a militia officer and on Richard Law for abusing William Mory. The creditor side ran as follows. 1760 11 March, by balance remaining in the following species, namely 3,816 pagodas at 8s each, £1,526 8s 0d 1,224 Venetians at 10s each, £612 0s 0d gold amounting to, £2,138 8s 0d 11,787 dollars at 5s each, £2,946 15s 0d 441 French pieces at 1s 2d each, £3 13s 6d 5,845 rupees at 2s 3d each, £657 11s 3d odd money, £0 2s 0d silver amounting to, £3,608 1s 9d cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d

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			total, £6,286 4s 9d **Interpretations** The reserve stood almost unchanged from the month before, the gold holdings in pagodas and Venetians exactly the same and the silver moved only slightly by a further twenty two dollars added to the stock. The near stillness of the treasury across March, after the larger inflow of the previous month, shows a quiet interval in which little specie came or went, the balance turning only on a handful of small fines paid in. The cash notes of no use were carried once more at exactly £539 15s 0d, the same dead paper held unchanged through three successive monthly accounts. Their fixed presence in the balance, valued at face yet unspendable, shows a settled block of worthless obligations the paymaster kept distinct from the usable coin, so that the true working reserve remained the metal money as it had in every prior reckoning.
338	327	1760 Ordered an advertizement to be published requiring the Inhabitants to meet in Vestry on Monday the 7 day of April, to chuse Parish Officers for the ensuing Year Agreably to the Permission given us by the Honorable the Court of Directors in their Letter Per Ship Triton, We this day, entertained David day Alcock, Son of the Reverend Edwin Alcock deceased late Chaplain of this Island to be a Writer in the Companys Service at the usual salleraries John White having been charged with selling a large Quantity of Arracks and some tobacco contrary to the Honorable Companys Orders, and he confessing the same before us, We for this Offence agreed to fine him in the Sum of five pounds to their Honors Cash Relisted Jeremiah Wignall, to serve the Honorable Company five years as a Soldier at four pounds bounty money Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th day of April 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 31st day of March 1760 Monday the 31st March in the Evening sailed the Dane Ship Serif of Denmark for Copenhagen Tuesday 1st died John Barratt Soldier Captain Brooke applying to us for fourteen Casks of Beef and four backs of Pork, We agreed to let him have that Quantity out of the Honorable Companys Stores Brought	The council ordered an advertisement to be published requiring the inhabitants to meet in vestry on Monday 7 April to choose parish officers for the coming year. In accordance with the permission given by the Honourable Court of Directors in their letter by the ship Triton, the council this day entertained David Alcock, son of the Reverend Edwin Alcock, deceased, late chaplain of the island, to be a writer in the Company's service at the usual salaries. John White, having been charged with selling a large quantity of arrack and some tobacco contrary to the Honourable Company's orders, and having confessed the same before the council, was for this offence fined the sum of five pounds to the Honourable Company's cash. Jeremiah Wignall relisted to serve the Honourable Company five years as a soldier, at five pounds bounty money. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. At a consultation held on Monday 7 April 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Captain John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 31 March 1760, was read, approved and signed. On Monday 31 March in the evening the Danish ship Crown Prince of Denmark sailed for Copenhagen. On Tuesday 1 April John Barratt, soldier, died. Captain Brooke, applying to the council for fourteen casks of beef and four loads of pork, the council agreed to let him have that quantity out of the Honourable Company's stores. **Interpretations** The appointment of the dead chaplain's son as a writer, made on the express permission of the court in London, shows how places in the Company's service were filled by patronage reaching back to England, a post found for the orphan of a former officer of the island. That the council needed the court's leave even to take on a junior clerk marks the close hold the directors kept on the island's establishment, every addition to its paid servants requiring sanction from home. The council's supply of beef and pork from the Company's stores to the homeward Indiaman Earl of Holdernesse, commanded by Captain Brooke, shows the island in its function as a victualling station for the Company's shipping. Provisioning a ship for the long passage home was part of what St Helena existed to do, the stock raised and salted on the island replenishing vessels that had come the length of the eastern seas and faced the Atlantic still ahead.

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339	328	7 April Bought of Captain Francis Harris for the use of the Honorable Companys Table vizt 1 Firkin of Butter £3 10s 0d 30 Currants £1 5s 0d 2 Bottles of Anchovies £1 12s 0d 2 Do Capers 14s 0d 2 Do Walnuts at 6s 12s 0d 8 double Gloucester Cheese 40½ at 1s 6d 2 16s 10½d £10 9s 10½d The Storekeeper delivered the following account of Stores short received from the Ship Earl of Holdernesse Account of Stores short received from the Ship Earl of Holdernesse Vizt 1 B 14 Sugar Short weight St Helena April 7th 1760 Signed James Powell Storekeeper Captain John Clark reports that he has been on board the Ship Earl of Holdernesse to Enquire for Directors, but found none, here Master Roll is as follows Vizt Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Holdernesse Robert Brooke Commandr Moses Smith Chief Mate Ambrose Cock second Do John Smith third Do John Stevens fourth Do George Lindsay fifth Do Mathew Court Purser William Moffett surgeon James Wigton surgeons mate John Raymond Cap Fetter Robert Hill Do Do Abraham Wheatly Gunner John Watsons Boatswain Thomas Neely Do Mate John Hall Caulker Norman Portidor Coopr James Longe Armourer Timothy Winter Sailmakr John Clews Shore Sted William Coffee Capt Cook Samuel grace Ships Cook James Herd Capt Servant George Smith Thos Groves Do Mao Do George Nelson 2 Do Mark Sant Serj Do Benjamin Sames yeol Do John Gilliory Boatswain William Applegarth Do Samuel Jackson Do Alexander Smith Do John Johnson Do John Newbold 2 Mo John Sparks Do George China Do James Nesbet Do William	Goods were bought from Captain Francis Harris for the use of the Honourable Company's table. 1 firkin of butter, £3 10s 0d 30 currants, £1 5s 0d 2 bottles of anchovies, £1 12s 0d 2 bottles of capers, £0 14s 0d 2 bottles of walnuts at 6s each, £0 12s 0d 3 double Gloucester cheeses weighing 40½lb at 10d per lb, £2 16s 10½d total, £10 9s 10½d The storekeeper delivered the following account of stores short received from the ship Earl of Holdernesse. The account of stores short received from the Earl of Holdernesse was as follows. 1cwt 3qr 14lb sugar short weight Dated St Helena, 7 April 1760. Signed, James Powell, storekeeper. Captain John Clark reported that he had been on board the Earl of Holdernesse to enquire for deserters but found none. Her muster roll was as follows. The muster roll of the Earl of Holdernesse was as follows. Robert Brooke, commander Moses Smith, chief mate Ambrose Cock, second mate John Smith, third mate John Stevenson, fourth mate George Lindsay, fifth mate Matthew Court, purser William Moffett, surgeon James Wright, surgeon's mate John Raymond, captain's steward Robert Hill, ditto Abraham Whaley, gunner John Bausten, boatswain Thomas Newby, ditto mate John Hall, caulker Norman Forrider, cooper James Longe, armourer Timothy Winter, sailmaker John Steer, ship's steward William Coffee, captain's cook Samuel Grace, ship's cook James Hird, captain's servant George Smith, ditto Thomas Grouse, ditto mate George Nedwin, ditto Mark Sant, ditto Benjamin Sanct, ditto John Golliver, boatswain's [...] William Applegarth, ditto Samuel Jackson, ditto Alexander Smith, ditto John Johnson, ditto John Newold, ditto mate John Sparks, ditto George Ohna, ditto James Nedwin, ditto **Interpretations** The delicacies bought from Captain Harris, the firkin of butter, the anchovies, capers, walnuts and double Gloucester cheeses, were the refined table goods of England, purchased from a ship's commander to supply the Governor's mess with what the island could not itself produce. That such fine provisions came aboard visiting ships and were bought up for the official table shows how the principal officers depended on the passing traffic for the comforts of home, the arrival of a ship an occasion to lay in the luxuries absent from the island's own stores. Captain Clark's search of the Earl of Holdernesse for deserters, and the muster roll taken

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			to account for every man aboard, shows the council's concern to prevent the garrison and the island's people slipping away on homeward ships. Checking the crew against its roll was the means of ensuring no runaway soldier or servant had been taken on, the isolation that made the island hard to leave also making each departing vessel a chance of escape the council watched to close. The short weight of sugar landed from the Earl of Holdernesse, recorded against the invoice by the storekeeper, shows the careful reconciliation of what was shipped against what arrived, the loss noted so the account could be squared. Weighing in every consignment and entering the deficiency reflects the exactness with which the Company's stores were kept, each discrepancy between bill and delivery set down as a matter of record rather than passed over.
340	329	Robert Brooke Commandr Moses Smith Chief Mate Ambrose Cock second Do John Smith third Do John Stevens fourth Do George Lindsay fifth Do Mathew Court Purser William Moffett surgeon James Wigton surgeons mate John Raymond Cap Fetter Robert Hill Do Do Abraham Wheatly Gunner John Watsons Boatswain Thomas Neely Do Mate John Hall Caulker Norman Portidor Coopr James Longe Armourer Timothy Winter Sailmakr John Clews Shore Sted William Coffee Capt Cook Samuel grace Ships Cook James Herd Capt Servant George Smith Thos Groves Do Mao Do George Nelson 2 Do Mark Sant Serj Do Benjamin Sames yeol Do John Gilliory Boatswain William Applegarth Do Samuel Jackson Do Alexander Smith Do John Johnson Do John Newbold 2 Mo John Sparks Do George China Do James Nesbet Do	Goods were bought from Captain Francis Harris for the use of the Honourable Company's table. 1 firkin of butter, £3 10s 0d 30 currants, £1 5s 0d 2 bottles of anchovies, £1 12s 0d 2 bottles of capers, £0 14s 0d 2 bottles of walnuts at 6s each, £0 12s 0d 3 double Gloucester cheeses weighing 40½lb at 10d per lb, £2 16s 10½d total, £10 9s 10½d The storekeeper delivered the following account of stores short received from the ship Earl of Holdernesse. The account of stores short received from the Earl of Holdernesse was as follows. 1cwt 3qr 14lb sugar short weight Dated St Helena, 7 April 1760. Signed, James Powell, storekeeper. Captain John Clark reported that he had been on board the Earl of Holdernesse to enquire for deserters but found none. Her muster roll was as follows. The muster roll of the Earl of Holdernesse was as follows. Robert Brooke, commander Moses Smith, chief mate Ambrose Cock, second mate John Smith, third mate John Stevenson, fourth mate George Lindsay, fifth mate Matthew Court, purser William Moffett, surgeon James Wright, surgeon's mate John Raymond, captain's steward Robert Hill, ditto Abraham Whaley, gunner John Bausten, boatswain Thomas Newby, ditto mate John Hall, caulker Norman Forrider, cooper James Longe, armourer Timothy Winter, sailmaker John Steer, ship's steward William Coffee, captain's cook Samuel Grace, ship's cook James Hird, captain's servant George Smith, ditto Thomas Grouse, ditto mate George Nedwin, ditto Mark Sant, ditto Benjamin Sanct, ditto John Golliver, boatswain's [...] William Applegarth, ditto Samuel Jackson, ditto Alexander Smith, ditto John Johnson, ditto John Newold, ditto mate John Sparks, ditto

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			George Ohna, ditto James Nedwin, ditto **Interpretations** The delicacies bought from Captain Harris, the firkin of butter, the anchovies, capers, walnuts and double Gloucester cheeses, were the refined table goods of England, purchased from a ship's commander to supply the Governor's mess with what the island could not itself produce. That such fine provisions came aboard visiting ships and were bought up for the official table shows how the principal officers depended on the passing traffic for the comforts of home, the arrival of a ship an occasion to lay in the luxuries absent from the island's own stores. Captain Clark's search of the Earl of Holdernesse for deserters, and the muster roll taken to account for every man aboard, shows the council's concern to prevent the garrison and the island's people slipping away on homeward ships. Checking the crew against its roll was the means of ensuring no runaway soldier or servant had been taken on, the isolation that made the island hard to leave also making each departing vessel a chance of escape the council watched to close. The short weight of sugar landed from the Earl of Holdernesse, recorded against the invoice by the storekeeper, shows the careful reconciliation of what was shipped against what arrived, the loss noted so the account could be squared. Weighing in every consignment and entering the deficiency reflects the exactness with which the Company's stores were kept, each discrepancy between bill and delivery set down as a matter of record rather than passed over.
341	330	7 April The Planters this day met in the Chappel in this Valley, to chuse Parish Officers for the ensuing Year, and Retorned the following Persons Vizt Henry Bazett Richard Goodwen James Greentree Richard Bagley Churchwardens John Bland John Deffountain Overseers of the East Division Jonathan Doveton Robert Ballard Overseers of the West Division James Easthope William Moore Overseers of the South Division We therefore ordered Warrants to be drawn for Messrs Henry Bazett, and Richard Goodwin Churchwardens, and John Bland, Jonathan doveton, and James Easthope Overseers The Governor this day paid into the Honorable Companys Cash, the Sum of One Hundred Pounds, which We have received, and given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors, payable to William Watts Esqr or order, ninety days after sight dated this Day Captain John Clark applied to us to pay the Sum of One Thousand 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 Captain Charles Foulis or order, Ninety days after sight, dated this Day Mr Matthew Bazett applied to us to pay the Sum	The planters this day met in the chapel in the valley to choose parish officers for the coming year, and returned the following persons. Henry Bazett, churchwarden Richard Goodwin, churchwarden James Greentree, churchwarden Richard Bagley, churchwarden John Bland, overseer of the East division John Bedfountain junior, overseer of the East division Jonathan Dowston, overseer of the West division Robert Ballard, overseer of the West division James Easthope, overseer of the South division William Moore, overseer of the South division The council therefore ordered warrants to be drawn for Henry Bazett and Richard Goodwin as churchwardens, and John Bland, Jonathan Dowston and James Easthope as overseers. Governor Hutchinson this day paid into the Honourable Company's cash the sum of one hundred pounds, which the council received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to William Watts or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Captain John Clark applied to the council to pay the sum of one thousand pounds into the Honourable Company's cash, which it received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Captain Charles Foulis or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Mr Matthew Bazett applied to the council to pay the sum of one hundred pounds into the Honourable Company's cash, which it received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Captain Charles Foulis or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. **Interpretations** The annual election of churchwardens and overseers by the planters in the chapel, from whom the council then commissioned the officers it wanted,

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		of One hundred 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 Captain Charles Foulis, or order, Ninety days after sight, dated this day	gave the island a measure of parish self-government within the Company's rule. The overseers of the East, West and South divisions administered the poor and the highways of their districts, so that the everyday burdens of the parish fell on chosen inhabitants, the council confirming from the returned names those it drew warrants for. The payments of cash into the Company's treasury against bills of exchange on the court in London were the means by which private individuals remitted money home, handing over coin at St Helena in return for paper payable in England. This let officers and others convert their island earnings into funds in Britain without shipping specie themselves, and at the same time supplied the local treasury with ready money, the bills serving both the remitter and the Company's need for cash on the island. Watts was one of the Company's principal officers, and the drawing of the bills payable to him or to a ship's captain shows the remittances routed through men of standing in the Company's establishment at home. **Speculations** Rather than let the island's officers ship home their own accumulated coin, the council took their cash into the treasury and gave bills of exchange on the court in return. The obvious course for a man wanting his money in England was to carry or consign the specie himself, yet by drawing bills instead the council kept the scarce coin on the island where its treasury needed it, and spared the remitter the risk of sending money by sea. The arrangement served both sides at once, and its repetition on the same day by the Governor, a captain and a private inhabitant shows the council using its power to draw on London as a standing means of retaining specie that would otherwise have left the island.
342	331	1760 We have likewise drawn Bills of Exchange on the Honorable the Court of Directors, for the Sum of One thousand Pounds, payable to Captain Charles Hearn, or order Ninety days after sight, dated this day Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling At a Consultation held on Friday the 11 day of April 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 7 day of April 1760 Tuesday the 8th died Richard Vaughan Sergiant The ten working days for unloading the Ship Triton, expiring Yesterday, We gave the Captain orders to proceed on his Voyage Yesterday Evening arrived the Calcutta and Bendwicks from Bengall and brought us the following supplies Vizt Invoice of Ship Calcutta BA Battavia Arrack No 1 to 2 2 Leaguers 250 Alls Ea 540 0s 0d RF Rice Fine 1 to 40 40 Bags at 80 Rs mo at 25s & Bag 138 3s 9d P Paddy 1 to 25 25 Bags at 37 20 Ths at 13 at 6s 4d 28 2s 0d WC Wax Candles 1 to 2 2 Chests of 1 mo at 30 CR & Cnt 200 0s 0d 906 5s 9d	The council likewise drew bills of exchange on the Honourable Court of Directors for the sum of one thousand pounds, payable to Captain Charles Mears or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. At a consultation held on Friday 11 April 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Captain John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 7 April 1760, was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 8 April Richard Vaughan, sergeant, died. The ten working days allowed for unloading the ship Triton expiring the previous day, the council gave the captain orders to proceed on his voyage. The previous evening the Calcutta and the Hardwicke arrived from Bengal and brought the following supplies. The invoice of the Calcutta was as follows. Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers at 250 gallons each, £540 0s 0d rice, fine, 40 bags weighing 80lb each at 25s per bag, £138 3s 9d paddy, 25 bags weighing 37lb 20 each, 13lb at 4s 0d, £28 2s 0d wax candles, 2 chests weighing 1cwt each at 30 [...] per cwt, £200 0s 0d total, £906 5s 9d **Interpretations** The arrival of two Bengal ships together, the Calcutta and the Hardwicke, laden with arrack, rice, paddy and wax candles, shows the direct trade that supplied St Helena from the Company's eastern settlements. Bengal furnished the island with the bulk goods it could not raise, the spirit for the table and

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			the trade, the rice to feed the establishment and the candles to light it, all shipped the length of the eastern seas to a place that depended on such consignments. A leaguer was a large cask holding some 150 gallons or more, here reckoned at 250 gallons each, and Batavia arrack was the spirit distilled at Batavia in the Dutch East Indies, prized above other arracks and shipped by way of Bengal. Paddy was rice still in the husk, distinguished from the cleaned fine rice also listed, so the invoice carried both the milled grain for immediate use and the unhusked rice that would keep longer. The reckoning of these eastern goods, measured in leaguers and bags and priced to a sterling total, shows the island's stores drawn from the whole reach of the Company's Asian trade. The wax candles shipped from Bengal in chests, valued at two hundred pounds, supplied the island with a better light than the tallow rendered from its own stock, reserved perhaps for the Castle and the principal uses. That candles were carried across the eastern seas rather than made wholly on the island shows how even a common necessity might come from afar where the local means fell short, the traffic of the Company's ships filling every gap in the settlement's supply.
343	332	11 April Brought over 906 5s 9d Charges Merchandize 105 Gunny Bags at 15 Alls & 7s 17s 0d 3d Twine and Packing 8s 0d 2 Chests with Cartrage 10 12s 9d Molasses 3 4s 0d 1 Peon 2 2s 6d Boat hire 27 0s 0d 60 11s 6d Cr Rs 967 1s 3d Errors Excepted Per TL Holwell Acct Invoice of Ship Hardwicke BA Batavia Arrack No 1 to 2 2 Leaguers at 250 Alls Ea 540 0s 0d RF Rice Fine 1 to 40 40 Bags of 80 Rmo at 25s & Alls 138 3s 9d P Paddy 1 to 25 25 Bags at 37 20 CRoad at 12 & Rmo 202 0s 0d WC Wax Candles 1 to 2 2 Chests of 4 mo at 50 & Cnt 209 0s 0d 906 5s 9d Charges Merchandize 105 Gunny Bags at 15 Alls & 7s 17s 0d 3d Twine and Packers 8s 0d 2 Chests with Package 10 12s 9d Molasses 3 4s 0d 1 Peon 2 2s 6d Boat hire 27 0s 0d 60 11s 6d Errors Excepted Per TL Holwell Acct This	The invoice of the Calcutta continued with its charges of merchandise. Brought over, £906 5s 9d Charges of merchandise 105 gunny bags at 15d each, £17 0s 3d twine and packing, £0 8s 0d 2 chests with package, £10 12s 9d molasses, £3 4s 0d 1 peon, £2 2s 6d brokerage, £27 0s 0d total charges, £60 11s 6d grand total, £967 1s 3d Errors excepted. Signed, John Zephaniah Holwell, per account. The invoice of the Hardwicke was as follows. Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers at 250 gallons each, £540 0s 0d rice, fine, 40 bags of 80lb weight at 25s per bag, £138 3s 9d paddy, 25 bags at 37lb 20 each, 13lb at 12s per bag, £20 2s 0d wax candles, 2 chests of 4lb each at 50 per pound, £200 0s 0d total, £906 5s 9d Charges of merchandise 105 gunny bags at 15d each, £17 0s 3d twine and packing, £0 8s 0d 2 chests with package, £10 12s 9d molasses, £3 4s 0d 1 peon, £2 2s 6d brokerage, £27 0s 0d total charges, £60 11s 6d grand total, £967 1s 3d Errors excepted. Signed, John Zephaniah Holwell, per account. **Interpretations** A gunny bag was a sack of coarse jute sacking, the standard packing for rice and grain shipped from Bengal, and the hundred and five of them charged here were the containers in which the bulk goods came. A peon was a hired attendant or messenger in the Company's Indian service, the wage for one entered among the shipping charges, and the whole apparatus of gunny, twine, brokerage and hired hands shows the commercial vocabulary and practice of Bengal carried entire onto the island's accounts. Both invoices were signed by John Zephaniah Holwell, whose name marks the Bengal end of this trade, the goods dispatched from Calcutta under his

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			hand to be received at St Helena. That the same officer's account governed both ships shows the consignments as a single shipment split between two vessels, the identical ladings and figures of the Calcutta and the Hardwicke sent out together to supply the island from the Company's Bengal presidency.
344	333	1760 This day died Thomas Elpart Matross Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th day of April 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed, dated the 11th Day of April 1760 Saturday the 12 died Rebecca Frost Wife of Lieutenant Samuel Frost Captain Robert Brooke applied to us to pay, Six hundred and Eighty Pounds, 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 Captain Robert Brooke Senior, or order, Ninety days after sight, dated this Day John Herring Soldier, made Complaint that Yesterday between the Hours, of three and four, in the afternoon, when he was Century at the Sea Gate, Corporal Watson according to the Rules of the Garrison, brought Christian Ulmus Portuguese man belonging to the Ship Earl of Holdernesse, and put him through the Gate, with Orders to him, the Century, not to Suffer, the said Seaman to return, which he sometime after attempting to do, the said Herring stoped him, whereupon Portuguese struck him the Century on the Face, and made his Nose bleed, but he perceiving the Man to be Drunk, was unwilling to	This day Thomas Elwes, mate, died. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. At a consultation held on Monday 14 April 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Captain John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 11 April 1760, was read, approved and signed. On Saturday 12 April Rebecca Frost, wife of Lieutenant Michael Frost, died. Captain Robert Brooke applied to the council to pay six hundred and eighty pounds into the Honourable Company's cash, which sum it received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors, payable to Captain Robert Brooke senior or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. John Herring, soldier, complained that the previous day, between the hours of three and four in the afternoon, when he was sentry at the Sea Gate, Corporal Watson, in accordance with the rules of the garrison, brought Christian Ulmes, boatswain, a man belonging to the ship Earl of Holdernesse, and put him through the gate with orders to have the sentry not to suffer the said seaman to return. Ulmes, some time after attempting to do so, Herring stopped him, whereupon Ulmes struck him, the sentry, on the face, and made his nose bleed, but he perceiving the man to be in drink proceeded to [...]. **Interpretations** The bills of exchange taken by Captain Brooke against cash paid into the treasury, payable to his own namesake in England, continued the practice of remitting money home through paper drawn on the court. Handing over island coin for a bill payable in Britain let a ship's commander secure his funds without carrying specie, while the treasury gained the ready money it wanted, the same arrangement the council had made repeatedly in these weeks with officers and inhabitants alike. The control of the Sea Gate, where the sentry was ordered to let a seaman out but not back in, shows the guard kept over the passage between the town and the shipping to prevent unauthorised movement. That a boatswain of a Company ship was deliberately put outside and barred from returning marks the care taken to govern who came and went by the waterside, the friction that followed when the drunken man tried to re-enter arising directly from the enforcement of that watch.
345	334	14 April use Violence, therefore desired the Guard to take Charge of him Simon Whaley being present, says he was by the whole time, and Confirms what Herring had declared Christian Ulnus Paulson being asked his Reason other for striking the said Herring on his Post, replied, that he was Drunk, and knew not what he did, and was very sorry for what had happened For this insult and to prevent such in future We ordered the said Paulson to be whipped, and to receive fifty Lashes	Perceiving the man to be in drink and using violence, Herring therefore ordered the guard to take charge of him. Simon Whaley, being present, said that he was by the whole time, and confirmed what Herring had declared. Christian Ulmes Paulson, being asked his reason for striking Herring on the face, replied that he was drunk and knew not what he did, and was very sorry for what had happened. For this insult, and to prevent such conduct in future, the council ordered Paulson to be whipped and to receive fifty lashes. The council bought of Captain Brooke a yawl for fishing, for which it paid three pounds.

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		We have bought of Captain Brooke on Account of the Honorable Company a Yaul for fishing for which we have paid three pounds Stephen a Slave Man belonging to Mrs Mary Doveton having run away from his Mistress for three Months We ordered him to be twice whipped, and to receive one hundred Lashes at each time Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling At a Consultation held on Monday the 21 day of April 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 14th day April 1760 Wednesday the 16th died William Warden Soldier Do sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Earl of Holdernesse homeward bound Being in want of a Carpenters Mate, We this day entertained Joseph Chamberlain in such at the Salary of thirty pounds a Year	Stephen, a slave man belonging to Mrs Mary Dowston, having run away from his mistress for three months, the council ordered him to be twice whipped, and to receive one hundred lashes each time. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. At a consultation held on Monday 21 April 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Captain John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 14 April 1760, was read, approved and signed. On Wednesday 16 April Lieutenant William Warden, soldier, died. The Honourable Company's ship Earl of Holdernesse sailed, homeward bound. Being in want of a carpenter's mate, the council this day entertained Joseph Chamberlain at the salary of thirty pounds a year. **Interpretations** The two floggings ordered on the same day fell very differently, fifty lashes for the drunken seaman who struck a sentry but expressed remorse, against two hundred in all for the slave who had absconded for three months. The far heavier punishment of the runaway, whipped twice at a hundred lashes each, shows the severity reserved for slaves who fled their owners, the council treating prolonged absence by a slave as a graver matter than a sailor's assault, the whip laid on according to the offender's status as much as the offence. The purchase of a yawl for fishing added a boat to the Company's means of drawing food from the sea around the island, a small addition to the stock of provisions. That the council bought a fishing craft from a departing captain shows the settlement supplementing its bred and imported food with the catch of its own waters, every source of supply worth securing on a place so dependent on what it could raise, catch or import.
346	335	1760 It being proved that Samuel Deffountain brought a Soldier broke of William Moore Soldier, contrary to orders, We therefore fined him ten shillings for this Offence to the Honorable Companys Cash The Stewards Plantation and Gunners Accounts for the Month ending the 11 instant were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow Vizt Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month ending the 11th Instant Vizt 12 Bottles Port 13s 0d 13 Do Lisbon £1 5s 6d 8 Do Mountain 12s 0d 17 Do Madeira 2 4s 11¼d 70 Do Arrack 3 12s 11d 20 Do Beer 5s 5d 358 Flour 2 12s 3½d 267 Beef 3 6s 0d 1 Piece Salt Beef 2s 2d 20 Pork 10s 0d 8 Pieces Salt Pork £1 1s 6d 236 Mutton 4 18s 4d 58 Goat £1 9s 4d 22 Fowls £1 13s 0d 7 Ducks 10s 6d 1 Goose 5s 0d 2 Turkeys 10s 0d 28½ Fresh Butter £1 5s 6d Do Candy £1 0s 0d 34 Sugar 6s 4½d	It being proved that Samuel Bedfountain had broken William Moore, soldier, contrary to orders, the council fined him ten shillings for the offence, paid into the Honourable Company's cash. The stewards, Plantation and gunners accounts for the month ending 11 April were this day brought in, examined and approved, and were as follows. Sundries were expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending 11 April. 12 bottles of port, £0 13s 0d 19 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 5s 6d 8 bottles of mountain wine, £0 12s 0d 17 bottles of Madeira wine, £2 4s 11½d 70 bottles of arrack, £3 12s 11d 20 bottles of beer, £0 5s 0d 358 flour, £2 12s 3½d 267 beef, £3 6s 0d 1 barrel salt beef, £0 2s 0d 20 pork, £0 10s 0d 8 pieces salt pork, £1 1s 6d 236 mutton, £4 18s 4d 58 goat, £1 9s 4d 22 fowls, £1 13s 0d 7 ducks, £0 10s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 28½ fresh butter, £1 5s 6d candy, £1 0s 0d 34 sugar, £0 6s 4½d total, £27 10s 3¾d **Interpretations** The table's cost fell as before chiefly on fresh meat, with beef, mutton and goat the largest charges, drawn from the island's own stock to supply the

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		£27 19s 3½d	Governor and principal officers. The steady monthly reckoning of the official mess shows the maintenance of the establishment's leading men as a fixed recurring charge, the same range of provisions appearing month after month with only the quantities shifting. Madeira rose this month to 17 bottles from the 8 of the month before, and beer to 20 from 16, small increases against a table otherwise little changed, perhaps reflecting fresh stocks landed by the several ships lately arrived from England and the East. The wines of the mess spanned Europe, the Atlantic islands and Asia as before, Lisbon from Portugal, mountain the sweet Malaga, Madeira from the Atlantic island and arrack the eastern spirit, a spread that mirrored the reach of the shipping on which the island drew. The breaking of William Moore, a newly chosen overseer of the South division, by Samuel Bedfountain, for which the latter was fined, points to friction over the parish offices lately filled at the vestry. That the council punished interference with an officer it had commissioned shows it upholding the authority of the men set over the divisions, the fine marking that the parish appointments carried its backing and were not to be disturbed by private quarrel.
347	336	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c from the 12th March to the 11th 1760 Vizt Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, S Asses, Total Remaining the 12th: Bulls 5, Cows 127, Calves 106, Yearlings 57, Heifers 22, Steers 24, Oxen 16, Total 357, Ewes 265, Weathers 104, Lambs 212, Rams 8, Total 589, Ewes 211, Weathers 12, Kids 93, Rams 10, Total 326, Sows 10, Shoats 8, Pigs 16, Boars 2, Total 36, Fowls 197, Ducks 67, Turkeys 22, Geese 32, Horses 7, Mares 5, Total 12, Asses 4, S Asses 1, Total 5 Enccreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 4, Rams 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 2, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 11, Ducks 10, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 5, Cows 127, Calves 106, Yearlings 57, Heifers 22, Steers 24, Oxen 16, Total 357, Ewes 265, Weathers 104, Lambs 216, Rams 8, Total 593, Ewes 211, Weathers 12, Kids 95, Rams 10, Total 328, Sows 10, Shoats 8, Pigs 16, Boars 2, Total 36, Fowls 208, Ducks 77, Turkeys 23, Geese 33, Horses 7, Mares 5, Total 12, Asses 4, S Asses 1, Total 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 5, Steers 5, Oxen 0, Total 11, Ewes 2, Weathers 13, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 15, Ewes 0, Weathers 12, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 12, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 1, Fowls 22, Ducks 7, Turkeys 2, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 5, Calves 16, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 21, Ewes 4, Weathers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Fowls 5, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Stole: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0	An account was taken of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 March to 11 April 1760, set out under the headings neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, horses and asses. The neat cattle were counted as bulls, cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, steers and oxen, with a total; the sheep as ewes, wethers, lambs and rams, with a total; the goats as ewes, wethers, kids and rams, with a total; the hogs as sows, shoats, pigs and boars, with a total; the poultry as fowls, ducks, turkeys and geese, with a total; and horses and asses each with a total. Remaining 12 March, neat cattle: 5 bulls, 127 cows, 106 calves, 57 yearlings, 22 heifers, 24 steers, 16 oxen, total 357 Remaining 12 March, sheep: 265 ewes, 104 wethers, 212 lambs, 8 rams, total 589 Remaining 12 March, goats: 211 ewes, 12 wethers, 93 kids, 10 rams, total 326 Remaining 12 March, hogs: 10 sows, 8 shoats, 16 pigs, 2 boars, total 36 Remaining 12 March, poultry: 197 fowls, 67 ducks, 22 turkeys, total 32 Remaining 12 March, horses: 7 horses, 5 mares, total 12 Remaining 12 March, asses: 4 asses, 1 she ass, total 5 Enslaved, neat cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 0 Enslaved, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 4 lambs, 0 rams, total 4 Enslaved, goats: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 2 kids, 0 rams, total 2 Enslaved, poultry: 11 fowls, 10 ducks, 0 turkeys, total 0 Total, neat cattle: 5 bulls, 127 cows, 106 calves, 57 yearlings, 22 heifers, 24 steers, 16 oxen, total 357 Total, sheep: 265 ewes, 104 wethers, 216 lambs, 8 rams, total 593 Total, goats: 211 ewes, 12 wethers, 95 kids, 10 rams, total 328 Total, hogs: 10 sows, 8 shoats, 16 pigs, 2 boars, total 36 Total, poultry: 208 fowls, 77 ducks, 23 turkeys, total 33 Total, horses: 7 horses, 5 mares, total 12 Total, asses: 4 asses, 1 she ass, total 5

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		Sold: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, S Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 11: Bulls 5, Cows 121, Calves 90, Yearlings 57, Heifers 17, Steers 19, Oxen 16, Total 325, Ewes 259, Weathers 80, Lambs 216, Rams 8, Total 572, Ewes 211, Weathers 0, Kids 95, Rams 10, Total 316, Sows 10, Shoats 7, Pigs 14, Boars 2, Total 33, Fowls 181, Ducks 70, Turkeys 20, Geese 32, Horses 7, Mares 5, Total 12, Asses 4, S Asses 1, Total 5 Species Changed: Bulls 5, Cows 122, Calves 80, Yearlings 47, Heifers 23, Steers 32, Oxen 16, Total 325, Ewes 375, Weathers 185, Lambs 4, Rams 8, Total 572, Ewes 222, Weathers 60, Kids 24, Rams 10, Total 316, Sows 10, Shoats 7, Pigs 14, Boars 2, Total 33, Fowls 181, Ducks 70, Turkeys 20, Geese 32, Horses 7, Mares 5, Total 12, Asses 4, S Asses 1, Total 5 Good Yam Expended 18.745 Bad Yam for Stock 9.030 27.775 Signed John Skottowe Margin Notes: 21 April	Killed, neat cattle: 0 bulls, 1 cow, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 5 heifers, 5 steers, 0 oxen, total 11 Killed, sheep: 2 ewes, 13 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 15 Killed, goats: 0 ewes, 12 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, total 12 Killed, hogs: 0 sows, 1 shoat, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 1 Killed, poultry: 22 fowls, 7 ducks, 2 turkeys, total 1 Died, neat cattle: 0 bulls, 5 cows, 16 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 21 Died, sheep: 4 ewes, 2 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 6 Died, hogs: 0 sows, 2 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 2 Died, poultry: 6 fowls Stole: 0 Sold: 0 Remaining 11 April, neat cattle: 5 bulls, 121 cows, 90 calves, 57 yearlings, 17 heifers, 19 steers, 16 oxen, total 325 Remaining 11 April, sheep: 259 ewes, 89 wethers, 216 lambs, 8 rams, total 572 Remaining 11 April, goats: 211 ewes, 0 wethers, 95 kids, 10 rams, total 316 Remaining 11 April, hogs: 10 sows, 7 shoats, 14 pigs, 2 boars, total 33 Remaining 11 April, poultry: 181 fowls, 70 ducks, 20 turkeys, total 32 Remaining 11 April, horses: 7 horses, 5 mares, total 12 Remaining 11 April, asses: 4 asses, 1 she ass, total 5 Species changed, neat cattle: 5 bulls, 122 cows, 90 calves, 47 yearlings, 23 heifers, 32 steers, 16 oxen, total 325 Species changed, sheep: 375 ewes, 185 wethers, 4 lambs, 8 rams, total 572 Species changed, goats: 222 ewes, 60 wethers, 24 kids, 10 rams, total 316 Species changed, hogs: 10 sows, 7 shoats, 14 pigs, 2 boars, total 33 Species changed, poultry: 181 fowls, 70 ducks, 20 turkeys, total 32 Species changed, horses: 7 horses, 5 mares, total 12 Species changed, asses: 4 asses, 1 she ass, total 5 Good sum expended, 18,745 Bad sum for stock, 9,030 total, 27,775 Signed, John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The month's losses to death fell heavily on the young cattle, sixteen calves and five cows dying against a lighter toll elsewhere, a natural wastage among the breeding herd that the slaughter figures did not cause. The separate columns for killed and died let the account distinguish the animals taken for the table from those lost to sickness or accident, so the drain on the stock from consumption could be read apart from the losses no management could prevent. The species changed line, reclassifying the same totals across the age and sex categories, records the reckoning by which young animals were moved up into older classes as they grew, calves becoming yearlings and the like. This periodic reallocation kept the running count accurate as the stock aged, the herd and flocks not a fixed set of animals but a shifting population whose members passed from one category to the next between one account and the next. The provisions expended fell again to a total of 27,775 from the 29,545 of the month before, a further easing in the weight of meat drawn from the

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			stock. The steady decline across three successive months, from 38,050 through 29,545 to this figure, traces a settling of consumption after the heavy expenditure of the earlier period, the account following the fall in the island's draught upon its larder from one reckoning to the next.
348	337	1760 Artillery Stores Expended from the 12th March to the 11th April 1760 both days included Vizt Guns fired, Powder Expended March 12th Fired at Ruports for practice and for priming: Guns fired 4pounder 10 6pounder 10, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz 14th Fired at Do for Do: Guns fired 4pounder 10 6pounder 10, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz Do Powder for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz 18 Fired at Ruports for Practice and for priming: Guns fired 4pounder 10 6pounder 10, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz 19 Powder for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz Do An Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns fired 6pounder 6 4pounder 2 3pounder 2 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz 21st An Alarm: Guns fired 6pounder 6 4pounder 2 3pounder 2 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Do An Alarm at Locks Gap for the same Ship: Guns fired 3pounder 2 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz Do An Alarm at Banks for Do: Guns fired 4pounder 2 3pounder 2, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Do Arrived the Earl of Holdernesse retorned the Salute: Guns fired 6pounder 9, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz Do Powder for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz 22 Powder for priming at Banks from the 6 June 1759: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 3lb 9oz 23 An Alarm: Guns fired 6pounder 6 4pounder 2 3pounder 2 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Do Arrived a Dean Ship Returned the Salute: Guns fired 6pounder 9, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Do Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 24 Powder for blowing Rocks at the New Magazine: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz 26 An Alarm: Guns fired 6pounder 6 4pounder 2 3pounder 2 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Do Arrived a Dean Ship Returned the Salute: Guns fired 6pounder 13, Powder Expended 13lb 0oz Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 2lb 0oz 28 An Alarm: Guns fired 6pounder 6 4pounder 2 3pounder 2 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Do An Alarm at Banks for the same Ship: Guns fired 4pounder 2 3pounder 2, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Do Arrived the Triton returned the Salute: Guns fired 6pounder 9, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Do Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz Do Powder for Priming at the Alarm House from the 11th December 1759: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz Do departed a Dean Ship returned the Salute: Guns fired 6pounder 9, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 31st departed a Dean Ship returned the Salute: Guns fired 6pounder 13, Powder Expended 13lb 0oz Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 2lb 0oz	An account was taken of artillery stores expended from 12 March to 11 April 1760, both days included, recording under each entry the number of guns fired and the powder expended in pounds, quarters and ounces. 12 March, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 14 March, fired at ditto for ditto, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 14 March, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 18 March, fired at Ruperts for practice and for priming, 10 guns fired, 10lb 0qr 21oz 8dr 19 March, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 19 March, an alarm for a ship that went by, 6 guns fired, 2lb 2qr 2oz 12dr 21 March, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2lb 2qr 2oz 12dr 21 March, an alarm at Lees Cap for the same ship, 2 guns fired, 2lb 0qr 0oz 4dr 21 March, an alarm at Bank's for ditto, 2 guns fired, 2lb 0qr 0oz 9dr 21 March, arrived the Earl of Holdernesse, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 9oz 21 March, powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 1oz 8dr 21 March, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 22 March, powder for priming at Bank's from 6 June 1759, 0 guns fired, 3lb 0qr 9dr 23 March, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 2lb 2qr 2oz 12dr 23 March, arrived a Dutch ship, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 9oz 23 March, powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 1oz 8dr 24 March, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 6 guns fired, 2lb 2qr 2oz 12dr 26 March, an alarm, 13 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 13oz 13dr 26 March, arrived a Dutch ship, returned the salute, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 2oz 26 March, powder for priming, 6 guns fired, 2lb 2qr 2oz 12dr 29 March, an alarm, 2 guns fired, 2lb 0qr 0oz 9dr 29 March, an alarm at Bank's for the same ship, 9 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 9oz 29 March, arrived the Triton, returned the salute, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 1oz 8dr 29 March, powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 29 March, powder for priming at the alarm houses from 11 December 1759, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 29 March, departure of a Dutch ship, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 9oz 29 March, powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 1oz 8dr 31 March, departure of a Dutch ship, returned the salute, 13 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 13oz 31 March, powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 2oz 1 April, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz 10 April, a double alarm, 9 guns fired, 3lb 3qr 3oz 10dr 10 April, arrived the Calcutta and Hardwicke, returned the salute, 9 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 9oz

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		April 1st Powder for blowing Rocks at the New Magazine: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz 10 A Double Alarm: Guns fired 6pounder 9 4pounder 3 3pounder 3, Powder Expended 33lb 10oz Do Arrived the Calcutta and Hardwick retorned the Salute: Guns fired 6pounder 9, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz Carried over: Guns fired 116 4pounder 45 3pounder 13 1pounder 71 43, Powder Expended 274lb 8oz	10 April, powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 0lb 0qr 1oz 8dr carried over, 116 guns fired, 4qr 45lb 13oz 71dr 13oz 274dr 8 **Interpretations** The month brought a steady traffic of ships to the road, the Earl of Holdernesse, several Dutch vessels, the Triton, the Calcutta and the Hardwicke, each greeted or seen off with a salute and its answering powder charged to the magazine. The salutes exchanged with arriving and departing ships, entered alongside the alarms and the practice firing, show the powder store serving the courtesies of the sea as well as the defence of the coast, every honour returned to a visiting vessel drawn from the same reckoned supply. The alarms firing on the sighting of passing ships, some traced back over months as at Bank's from June of the previous year and the alarm houses from December, show the constant vigilance kept against strange sail. Each ship that could not at once be known as friendly set the batteries firing to raise the island, the running charges for priming at the alarm posts marking the cost of a watch never relaxed on a settlement that could not tell trader from enemy until a vessel drew near. The powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine recurs through the month, the work of quarrying stone for the building continuing alongside the gunnery and salutes. That the same store served construction as well as defence and ceremony shows the magazine powder as the island's single source of explosive force, drawn on for every purpose from raising a wall to greeting a ship to standing to arms.
349	338	21 April Guns fired, Powder Expended Brought over: Guns fired 116 4pounder 45 3pounder 13 1pounder 71 43, Powder Expended 274lb 8oz April the 10th Powder for blowing Rocks at the new Magazine: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz Do for shooting for the use of Tables: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz Do for Signals: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz Do for the funeral of John Barrett: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz Do for the funeral of Richard Vaughan: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz Do for the funeral of Thomas Elwart: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz Total: Guns fired 116 4pounder 45 3pounder 13 1pounder 71 43, Powder Expended 287lb 4oz Iron Shod Trucks for 4 broke at Ruperts 1 Paper for the use of the Castle 1 Tallow for the use of the Companys Cattle 11 Do for the use of the Crane 4 Match burnt at the Main Fort 6 Axeltress for the last new Carriages unserviceable 10 Signed Thomas Hall The Storkeeper delivered the following Account of Stores short received and damaged from the Ship Triton Vizt Account of Stores short received from the Ship Triton Vizt 2 Barrels of Blacking 4 Wine Glasses 1 Sqr Glass 10¾ by 18¾ 18 Sqr Do 6 by 8 27 Sqr Do 8 by 10 24 Sqr Do 10 by 12 1 Bottle Claret Found broke upon opening the Packages which were all in Good order ¼ Whale bone	The account of artillery stores expended continued. Brought over, 146 guns fired, 4qr 45lb 13oz 71dr 13oz 274dr 8 10 April, powder for blowing rocks at the new magazine, 0 guns fired, 4lb 0qr 0oz Ditto for shooting for the use of tables, 0 guns fired, 1lb 0qr 0oz Ditto for signals, 0 guns fired, 1lb 0qr 0oz Ditto for the funeral of John Barratt, 0 guns fired, 2lb 4qr 0oz Ditto for the funeral of Richard Vaughan, 0 guns fired, 2lb 4qr 0oz Ditto for the funeral of Thomas Elwes, 0 guns fired, 2lb 4qr 0oz total, 146 guns fired, 4qr 45lb 13oz 71dr 13oz 287lb 4 Other stores were also expended. Iron shod trucks for four pounders broke at Ruperts, 1 Paper for the use of the Castle, 1 quire Tallow for the use of the Company's cattle, 11 Ditto for the use of the crane, 4 Match burnt at the Main Fort, 6 Axletrees for the last new carriages unserviceable, 10 Signed, Thomas Hall. The storekeeper delivered the following account of stores short received and damaged from the ship Triton. The account of stores short received from the Triton was as follows. 2 barrels of blacking, found broken upon opening the packages which were all in good order 4 wine glasses, found broken upon opening the packages which were all in good order 1 square glass 10¾ by 18¾, found broken upon opening the packages which were all in good order 18 square glass 6 by 8, found broken upon opening the packages which were all in good order

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		25 Sole Leather 57 Soap 9 Iron 84 Cordage Short weight Carried over	27 square glass 8 by 10, found broken upon opening the packages which were all in good order 24 square glass 10 by 12, found broken upon opening the packages which were all in good order 1 bottle claret, found broken upon opening the packages which were all in good order ¼ whalebone, short weight 25 sole leather, short weight 57 soap, short weight 9 iron, short weight 84 cordage, short weight **Interpretations** The powder charged for the funerals of three men, John Barratt, Richard Vaughan and Thomas Elwes, records the firing of honours over the graves of the Company's servants, each burial marked by a measured discharge from the magazine. That gunpowder was spent to salute the dead as well as to greet the living and defend the coast shows the ceremonial claims made on the island's stores, the same reckoned supply serving the rites of the garrison alongside its harder uses. The window glass shipped in graded sizes, from small panes of six by eight inches up to ten by twelve, was carried out from England for the island's buildings, the panes counted and their breakages recorded against the invoice. The care taken to note every cracked pane and short weight of soap, leather, iron and cordage shows the exactness of the storekeeper's reckoning, each loss between the bill and the delivery set down so the Company's account could be squared to the last item. An axletree was the wooden beam bearing the wheels of a gun carriage, and ten of them proving unserviceable on the newest carriages points to poor timber or workmanship in the recent supply. That the latest carriages had already failed at the axletree shows the strain the climate and the work put on the garrison's equipment, and the constant need to renew and repair the gear on which the coastal defence depended.
350	339	1760 2 Do Mens fine Shoes 4 Mens Checked shirts 100 Cartridge Needles 6 Drum Carriages 2 French hatchets found short upon opening the Packages which were full, and received in good order Brandy vizt No 1 1 One Leacky Gaged 113¾ wants to fill 2 2 1 One Cask Do 116 Do Do 4 3 1 One Do Do 116 Do Do 4 4 1 One Do Do 120 Do Do 4 5 1 One Do Do 122½ Do Do 4 6 1 One Do Do 108½ Do Do 2½ 7 1 One Do Do 107½ Do Do 2 804 22½ Received 781½ Gall Wine vizt No 1 1 One Hhd Port Gaged 39 Gall wants to fill 1 2 1 One Hhd Do 39 Do 1½ 116 2½ Received 113½ Gall No 3 1 One Hhd Lisbon gaged 65 Gall wants to fill 3 Gall 4 1 One Hhd Do 60 Do 2½ 5 1 One Hhd Do 39 Do 4¾ 174 10¼ Received 163¾ Gall No 6 1 One Hhd Mountain Gaged 57½ wants to fill 1 Gall Received 56½ Gall No 7 1 One Hhd Madeira Gaged 29 Gall wants to fill 1 Gall	The account of stores short received from the Triton continued. 2 pairs mens grey shoes, found short upon opening the packages which were full, and received in good order 4 mens checked shirts, found short upon opening the packages which were full, and received in good order 100 cartridge needles, found short upon opening the packages which were full, and received in good order 6 drum carriages, found short upon opening the packages which were full, and received in good order 2 French hatchets, found short upon opening the packages which were full, and received in good order The brandy landed was gauged as follows. 1 one leaguer gauged 113½ gallons, wants to fill 2 gallons 2 one leaguer gauged 116 gallons, wants to fill 4 gallons 3 one leaguer gauged 116 gallons, wants to fill 4 gallons 4 one leaguer gauged 120 gallons, wants to fill 4 gallons 5 one leaguer gauged 122½ gallons, wants to fill 4 gallons 6 one leaguer gauged 108½ gallons, wants to fill 2½ gallons 7 one leaguer gauged 107½ gallons, wants to fill 2 gallons total gauged, 804 gallons total wants to fill, 22½ gallons received, 781½ gallons The wine landed was gauged as follows.

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		Received 28 Gall	1 one hogshead port gauged 39 gallons, wants to fill 1 gallon 2 one hogshead port gauged 39 gallons, wants to fill 1½ gallons total gauged, 116 gallons total wants to fill, 2½ gallons received, 113½ gallons 3 one hogshead Lisbon gauged 65 gallons, wants to fill 3 gallons 4 one hogshead Lisbon gauged 60 gallons, wants to fill 2½ gallons 5 one hogshead Lisbon gauged 39 gallons, wants to fill 4¾ gallons total gauged, 174 gallons total wants to fill, 10¼ gallons received, 163¾ gallons 6 one hogshead mountain gauged 37½ gallons, wants to fill 1 gallon received, 36½ gallons 7 one hogshead Madeira gauged 29 gallons, wants to fill 1 gallon received, 28 gallons **Interpretations** The gauging of every cask on landing, measuring what each held against its full capacity and recording the shortfall, was the means by which the storekeeper checked the wine and spirits received against what had been shipped. The difference between the gauged content and the full measure, entered as what each cask wanted to fill, accounted for leakage, evaporation and any deficiency in the lading, so the Company knew exactly how much drink had actually arrived and where the loss lay. A hogshead was a cask holding some sixty three gallons of wine, though the vessels here gauged well short of that, and a leaguer the far larger cask of the spirit trade. The wines landed spanned the same sources as the table drew on, port and Lisbon from Portugal, mountain the sweet Malaga and Madeira from the Atlantic island, shipped in bulk to be drawn down over the following months, the careful gauging of each showing how closely the island's stock of drink was reckoned from the moment it came ashore. The drum carriages, cartridge needles and French hatchets found short in packages reported full point to loss or theft in transit, distinguished in the account from the wine's leakage and the glass broken in handling. That the storekeeper set down not merely the deficiency but the state of the packaging, whether sound or broken, shows the reckoning aimed at fixing where each loss occurred, separating what had leaked or shattered from what had gone missing between the lading and the landing.
351	340	21 April Beer vizt No 1 1 One Hhd Gaged 62½ Gall wants to fill 2½ 2 1 One Hhd Do 60 Do Do 3¾ 3 1 One Hhd Do 61 Do Do 3¾ 4 1 One Hhd Do 62½ Do Do 3 5 1 One Hhd Do 62½ Do Do 3 6 1 One Hhd Do 62 Do Do 7½ 370½ 23½ Received 347 Gall St Helena April 21 1760 Signed James Powell Storkeeper Account of Goods damaged on board the Ship Triton and paid for by the Captain at 30 & Cent advance upon prime Cost vizt 10 Mens Jackets 7s 0d 3½d 12 Do Mens Breeches 4 2s 0½d 4 Boys Jackets 2 5s 11½d 4 Do Boys Breeches 1 4s 8½d	The beer landed was gauged as follows. 1 one hogshead gauged 62½ gallons, wants to fill 2½ gallons 2 one hogshead gauged 60 gallons, wants to fill 3¼ gallons 3 one hogshead gauged 61 gallons, wants to fill 3¼ gallons 4 one hogshead gauged 62½ gallons, wants to fill 3 gallons 5 one hogshead gauged 62½ gallons, wants to fill 3 gallons 6 one hogshead gauged 62 gallons, wants to fill 7½ gallons total gauged, 370½ gallons total wants to fill, 23½ gallons received, 347 gallons Dated St Helena, 21 April 1760. Signed, James Powell, storekeeper. An account was taken of goods damaged on board the ship Triton and paid for by the captain at 30 per cent advance upon prime cost. 10 mens jackets, £7 0s 3½d

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		17 Mens Checked Shirts Damaged 3 19s 9d 14 Boys Do 2 10s 4½d 3 Pieces of Ticking 4 10s 4½d 4 Do Cambricks Breeches 1 11s 2d 136 Match 1 17s 6d 3 Double Deals 15s 5½d 12 Single Deals and delivered 1 17s 8½d 1 Chaldron of Coals 2 12s 0d £34 6s 8½d We James Powell Storkeeper, and William Wrangham Assistant Storkeeper, and James Williamson third Mate of the Ship Triton do hereby Certify that We were present at the opening of the Packages of the Ship Triton, and that it appeared clearly to us that the abovementioned Goods must have been damaged on board the said	12 pairs mens breeches, £4 2s 0½d 4 boys jackets, £2 5s 11½d 4 pairs boys breeches, £1 4s 3½d 17 mens checked shirts, £3 10s 8d 14 boys ditto, £2 10s 4½d 3 pieces of ticking, £4 10s 4½d 4 pairs cambric breeches, £1 11s 2d 106 match, £1 17s 6d 3 double deals, £0 15s 5½d 12 single deals, £1 17s 8½d 1 chaldron of coals, £2 12s 0d total, £34 6s 8½d The declaration was made by James Powell, storekeeper, William Wrangham, assistant storekeeper, and James Williamson, third mate of the ship Triton, who certified that they were present at the opening of the packages of the Triton, and that it appeared clearly to them that the goods must have been damaged on board. **Interpretations** The captain of the Triton paid for the damaged goods at thirty per cent above their prime cost, the price at which they had been bought in England, so that the Company recovered more than its outlay on the spoiled articles. Charging the loss to the ship at an advance on cost, rather than the plain value, reflects the standing arrangement by which a commander answered for damage to the Company's goods in his care, the mark up covering the freight and the Company's expected gain on what would otherwise have been sold on the island. Ticking was the strong close woven linen or cotton used for mattress and pillow covers, and deals were sawn planks of fir or pine, the single and double distinguishing their thickness. A chaldron was a large measure of coal, some thirty six bushels, shipped out from England for the forge and the Castle. The range of the damaged goods, clothing, cloth, timber, match and coal, shows the breadth of what the island imported for its people and its work, all of it carried the length of the Atlantic and answered for by the captain when it came to harm. The formal certificate, sworn by the storekeeper, his assistant and the ship's own mate together, established the fact and cause of the damage by the joint witness of both the receiving and the delivering sides. That men from the Company's stores and from the ship alike attested that the goods were spoiled on board shows the care taken to fix responsibility fairly, the shared inspection protecting both the Company's claim and the captain against a charge he might justly dispute.
352	341	1760 said Ship Dated at St Helena this 21th day of April 1760 Signed James Powell Storkeeper William Wrangham Assistant Storkeeper James Williamson third Mate Received the 21th April 1760 of Captain Francis Harris of the Ship Triton the Sum of Thirty four Pounds six Shillings and eight pence half penny on Account of the Honorable Company in full for the above short delivered and damaged Goods Signed James Powell Storkeeper Mr Hall the Gunner reporting to us, that some of the Axeltrees belonging to the Gun Carriage that came by the Ship Triton were so much Rent that they were unfit for Service, We therefore desired Arthur Judd Carpenter of the Ship Hardwick to go along with John Robinson the Honorable Companys	Dated on board the ship Triton at St Helena, 21 April 1760. Signed, James Powell, storekeeper, William Wrangham, assistant storekeeper, and James Williamson, third mate. The storekeeper received on 21 April 1760 from Captain Francis Harris of the ship Triton the sum of thirty four pounds six shillings and eightpence halfpenny on account of the Honourable Company, in full for the short delivered and damaged goods. Signed, James Powell, storekeeper. Mr Hall, the gunner, reported to the council that some of the axletrees belonging to the gun carriages that came by the ship Triton were so much rent that they were unfit for service. The council therefore desired Arthur Judd, carpenter of the ship Hardwicke, to go along with John Robinson, the Honourable Company's carpenter, to make a survey of them, who certified as follows. Addressed from the island of St Helena, 25 April 1760, the two men whose names were subscribed certified that they had this day carefully examined and inspected the axletrees that came for the gun carriages brought by the ship Triton, and found the

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		Carpenter to make a Survey of them, who Certify as follow Vizt Island St Helena 25th April 1760 We whose Names are under written do hereby certify that We have this day carefully examined and inspected into the Axeltrees that came for the Gun Carriages which were brought by the Ship Triton and find the following so much Rent by the Wind they made of being green that they are quite unfit for Service Vizt Pounders, Iron Axeltrees, Hind Axeltrees For 32 2 1 For 9 4 3 Signed Arthur Judd Carpenter of the Ship Hardwicke John Robinson Carpenter to the Honorable Company	following so much rent, the wood they were made of being green, that they were quite unfit for service. For four pounders, 32 iron axletrees, 2 wood axletrees, 1 For nine pounders, 9 iron axletrees, 4 wood axletrees, 3 Signed, Arthur Judd, carpenter of the ship Hardwicke, and John Robinson, carpenter to the Honourable Company. **Interpretations** The axletrees for the gun carriages had split because the wood they were made of was green, that is unseasoned timber that warped and cracked as it dried, a defect the survey traced to the material rather than to any usage on the island. That carriages sent out from England failed for want of properly seasoned wood shows the dependence of the garrison on the quality of what the Company shipped, a fault in the supply at home leaving the coastal guns without serviceable mountings until new parts could be found or made. The council called in the carpenter of a visiting ship to survey the defective stores alongside its own carpenter, so that the judgement rested on two independent hands rather than one. Pairing an outside tradesman with the Company's man to certify the fault shows the same care for impartial witness seen in the reckoning of the damaged goods, the finding carrying more weight for being sworn to by a carpenter with no interest in the Company's stores.
353	342	21 April James Torbett one of the Publicans making Complaint that John Baptist Litchland, had retailed spirituous Liquors contrary to orders, He being sent for and confessing the same, We fined him in the sum of Forty shillings to the Honorable Companys Cash Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe John Clark Gurling At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th day of April 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Gurling of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 21th day April 1760 Tuesday the 22th arrived a Dane Ship, from China called the Princess Louisa, Captain Jaspior With, burthen about 900 Tons carries 32 Guns, and 180 Men, laden with Tea, and China Ware, bound to Copenhagen Wednesday the 23th Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Triton for China	James Torbett, one of the victuallers, complained that John Baptist Litchland had retailed spirituous liquors contrary to orders. He being sent for and confessing the same, the council fined him the sum of forty shillings, paid into the Honourable Company's cash. Signed, Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Yearling. At a consultation held on Monday 28 April 1760 at the Castle, there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, Captain John Clark and Mr Matthew Yearling, of the council. The previous consultation, dated 21 April 1760, was read, approved and signed. On Tuesday 22 April a Danish ship arrived from China, the Princess Louisa, Captain Jasper With, of about 900 tons, carrying 22 guns and 180 men, laden with tea and china ware, bound for Copenhagen. On Wednesday 23 April the Honourable Company's ship Triton sailed for China. **Interpretations** The complaint against Litchland came from a licensed victualler, James Torbett, one of those whose paid privilege the unlicensed sellers undercut, so the prosecution served the interest of the licensed trade as much as the Company's revenue. That the licensed men themselves brought such offenders to the council shows how the licensing system enlisted its own beneficiaries to police it, the victuallers with most to lose from illicit sale acting as informers against those who sold without paying for the right. The large Danish East Indiaman bound from China to Copenhagen, calling at St Helena laden with tea and porcelain, marks again the island's service as a watering place for the ships of every European company trading round the Cape. The council's careful note of her tonnage, guns and men shows its standing watch over the foreign traffic passing through the road, each vessel's force recorded whether she came as a peaceful trader or might in changed circumstances prove a threat.
354	343	1760 The Storkeeper brought in his Collection and the Paymaster his Accounts for the	The storekeeper brought in his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter ending 11

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		Quarter ending the 11th April 1760 which were examined, and approved, and are as follow Vizt Collection of Cloth sold and delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from the 12th January to the 11th April 1760 Vizt Sold to the Honorable Companys Servants at 10 & Cent vizt Long Cloth vizt 20 Do 87 8s 0d 4 Do 2 14 1s 8d 22 17s 7d Hosiers Ware vizt 20 Pr Cotton Stockgs 5 15s 0d 113 Pr Thread Do 16 4s 8d 1 Pr Boys Do 2s 8d 22 3s 0d Serge &c vizt 7¼ Yds Green Duffel 1s 0d ½ Yds Fustian 2s 0d 7s 4d Flannel 7½ yards 9s 4½d Pewter vizt 1 Chees Deck fram 5s 0d 1 Crane 1s 0d 2 One Gall Pots 10s 0d 2 6s 3½d Broad Cloth vizt 11¾ Yds Scarlet 12 7s 0d 1½ Yds Black 11s 0d 12 15s 9½d Carried Over 61 2s 5½d	April 1760, which were examined and approved, and were as follows. The collection of goods received and delivered out of the Honourable Company's stores from 12 January to 11 April 1760 was as follows. The goods sold to the Honourable Company's servants at 10 per cent were as follows. Long cloth 20 pieces of 87, £5 16s 0d 4 pieces of 2, £14 1s 8d total, £22 17s 7d Hosiers ware 20 pairs cotton stockings, £5 13s 10d 113 pairs thread ditto, £16 4s 8½d 1 pair boys ditto, £0 2s 5½d total, £22 3s 0d Serge and so on 14 yards green duffel, £0 4s 9d 12 yards frostian, £0 2s 9d total, £0 7s 4d Flannel, 7½ yards, £0 9s 4½d Pewter 1 chamber stool pan, £0 5s 6½d 1 crane, £1 0s 7d 2 one gallon pots, £0 19s 10d total, £2 6s 3½d Broadcloth 11¾ yards scarlet, £12 7s 8d 1¾ yards black, £0 11s 8½d total, £12 19s 9¼d carried over, £61 2s 5¼d **Interpretations** The storekeeper sold the Company's imported cloth, hosiery and hardware to the island's people at a fixed advance of ten per cent above cost, running a controlled shop through which the settlement obtained the manufactures of England. That the goods were released at a set mark up rather than at a free market price shows the Company managing the supply of necessaries to its servants and inhabitants, spreading the stores across the island at a regulated profit rather than leaving provision to private traders. Long cloth was a plain cotton calico woven in India in long pieces, and duffel a coarse thick woollen cloth with a heavy nap, used for warm outer garments. Frostian, or frizado, was a napped woollen fabric, and broadcloth the fine dense wool that took the scarlet dye here, the costliest cloth on the list. The range of textiles, Indian cotton beside English and continental woollens, shows the island supplied with both the light stuffs of the eastern trade and the warm cloths needed in its cooler seasons, the whole drawn from the Company's reach across two hemispheres. A crane here was a pewter spout or tap fitted to a vessel for drawing off liquid, and the chamber stool pan the pewter vessel set within a close stool for use as a privy. These domestic wares of pewter, sold alongside the cloth, show the storekeeper's stock reaching beyond textiles to the metal goods of the household, the settlement drawing every manufactured necessity from the same imported store, since nothing of the kind was made on the island.
355	344	28 April Brought over £61 2s 5½d Blankets 5 1 10s 5d Bunting 1½ Yards side 1s 0d Tin Ware vizt 1 Lamp 1s 0d 2 Puding Pans 2s 11d 5 Sauce Pans 3s 12d 4 Pint Do 1s 8d 2 Camp Kittles 6s 10d 15s 6d	The collection of goods sold to the Honourable Company's servants continued. Brought over, £61 2s 5¼d Blankets, 5, £1 10s 5d Bunting, 1½ yards silk, £0 1s 0d Tin ware 1 lamp, £0 1s 0d 2 pudding pans, £0 2s 11d 5 purple sauce pans, £0 3s 12d 4 pint ditto, £0 1s 8d 2 camp kettles, £0 6s 10d

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		Haberdashers Ware vizt 24 Do Silk 11s 0d 19 Do Mohair 7s 12d 9 Doz Shirt Buttons 1s 10d 1 Cricket 3d 1½ Doz Silver Coat Buttons 7s 6d 1½ Doz Silver Breast Do 4s 6d 10 Pr Holland Tape 12s 9d 4½ Doz Mohair Coat Buttons 5s 5d 1 Doz Mohair Do Do 8d 7¼ Whale Bone 4s 11½d 6 Doz Worstead Buttons 1s 6½d 3 Doz Yellow Metal Breast Buttons 1s 10½d ½ Gross Mohair lace 11s 5d 3 11s 8d Shalloon 1¾ Yds White 8s 5d Shirts 8 Do vizt 180 Cloven Sheets 16 17s 12d 2 Do Tows 8 8s 7d 35½ Yds Brown Holland 2 12s 2d 32 17s 9d Iron Ware vizt 1 Deck of a brass Knob 4s 6d 5 Chest Locks 12s 12d 3 Box Irons 1 8s 10½d 5 Filers 8s 6½d Iron Ware Carried Over £2 7s 2d Carried Over £120 1s 10d	total, £15 6s 7d Haberdashers ware 24 ounces silk, £0 11s 0d 19 ounces mohair, £0 7s 12d 9 dozen shirt buttons, £0 1s 10d 1 clickate, £0 0s 3d 12 dozen hair coat buttons, £0 7s 6d 12 dozen silver breast ditto, £0 1s 6d 19 pounds Holland tape, £0 12s 9d 7 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 5s 8d 1 dozen mohair breast ditto, £0 0s 8d 7 pounds white bene, £0 4s 11½d 6 dozen worsted buttons, £0 1s 6½d 3 dozen yellow metal breast buttons, £0 1s 10½d ½ gross mohair lace, £0 11s 5d total, £8 11s 8d Shalloon, 12½ yards white, £0 8s 5d Sheets and so on 183 ounces gloom sheets, £16 17s 12d 2 pieces linen, £8 8s 7d 35½ yards brown Holland, £2 12s 2d total, £32 17s 9d Iron ware 1 stock of a brass knife, £0 4s 6d 3 chest locks, £0 12s 12d 3 box irons, £1 8s 10½d 5 filers, £0 8s 6½d iron ware carried over, £2 14s 2d carried over, £120 1s 10d **Interpretations** Haberdashers ware meant the small wares of the tailor and dressmaker, the silk and mohair thread, the buttons of hair, metal and worsted, the tape and lace, sold from the store for making and mending clothes. That so varied a stock of sewing goods was kept and sold to the inhabitants shows the island clothing itself by its own needlework from imported materials, the manufactures of England supplying the pieces from which garments were made and repaired at home. Shalloon was a light woollen twill used chiefly for lining garments, and mohair the yarn spun from the hair of the Angora goat, worked here into buttons, lace and thread. Brown Holland was a plain unbleached linen, and a box iron a hollow flat iron heated by a slug of hot metal placed inside it. The mix of cloth, thread, fastenings and household tools shows the breadth of the storekeeper's stock, a single shop furnishing the settlement with the materials of dress, of sewing and of the household alike. The camp kettles and box irons among the wares point to the practical goods the garrison and households needed, the kettles for cooking in the field and the irons for pressing linen. That such everyday implements came from the Company's store, sold at the fixed advance like the cloth and thread, shows how completely the island depended on imported manufactures for the ordinary gear of daily life, nothing of tin or iron being made on so small and remote a place.
356	345	1760 Brought Over £120 1s 10d Iron Ware Brought Over £2 7s 2d 1 Frying Stone 4d Wild Jack Wheels 7s 4d 1 Jack Spit 6s 4d 5 Pr Dowlst Hinges 2s 1d 3 Pack of Nadles 6d 3 Small Frying Pans 7s 6d 1 Shod Shovel 2s 2d 3 Hands Hatchets 5s 0d 3 Gimblets 8d 3 Sithe Stones 10d 1 Auell 9s 4d 2 Stone Wedges 1s 6d 1 Claw Hammer 1s 8d	The collection of goods sold to the Honourable Company's servants continued with the iron ware. Brought over, £120 1s 10d Iron ware brought over, £2 7s 2d 1 frying stone, £0 0s 4d 14 jack wheels, £0 7s 4d 1 jack spit, £0 6s 4d 5 pairs dowlaid hinges, £0 2s 1d 3 packing needles, £0 0s 6d 3 small frying pans, £0 7s 6d 1 shod shovel, £0 2s 2d 3 hand hatchets, £0 5s 0d 3 gimblets, £0 0s 8d 3 mill stones, £0 0s 10d 1 muset, £0 9s 4d 2 stone wedges, £0 1s 6d

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		4 Binding Wire 5d 4 12s 8d Buckram 12 Yards 12s 0d Tea vizt 34 Singlo 3 17s 11½d 9 Do Congo 6 9s 7d 14 Bohea 13s 6d 11 1s 2d Braziers Ware 1 Pr Candlesticks 8s 5d China Ware vizt 1 Soop Deck 6s 1d 1 Salted Do 9½d 40 Meat Plates 1 8s 4d 10 Do Dishes 3s 0d 12 Soop Plates 3s 0d 2 Bowls 5s 0d 2 11s 2½d Sugar and Candy vizt 136 8 14 Sugar 19s 8d Do Do 8 14 Candy 11 15s 6d 61 2s 9d Carried Over £200 10s 3½d	1 claw hammer, £0 1s 8d 72 binding wire, £0 0s 5d total, £4 12s 8d Buckram, 12 yards, £0 12s 0d Tea tea single, £3 17s 11½d tea green, £6 9s 7d tea bohea, £0 13s 6d total, £11 1s 2d Braziers ware, 1 pair candlesticks, £0 8s 3d China ware 1 soup dish, £0 6s 1d 1 salted ditto, £0 0s 9½d 40 meat plates, £1 8s 4d 10 ditto dishes, £0 3s 0d 12 soup plates, £0 3s 0d 2 bowls, £0 3s 0d total, £2 11s 8½d Sugar and candy 269lb 6oz sugar, £19 7s 8d 150lb 6oz candy, £11 15s 6d total, £61 2s 9d carried over, £200 10s 3½d **Interpretations** A jack was the geared mechanism that turned a roasting spit before the fire, its wheels and the spit itself sold here as separate parts, and a muset a tool of the same kitchen work. Braziers ware meant goods of brass or copper, here the pair of candlesticks, and buckram a stiffened coarse linen used to give body to garments and bindings. The spread of iron kitchen tools, sewing gear and fine tableware shows the storekeeper's stock reaching into every corner of the household, the whole apparatus of cooking, eating and clothing drawn from the imported store. Bohea, green and single tea were the grades of the leaf shipped from China, bohea the cheaper black tea and green the more esteemed, sold from the store to a settlement that had taken up the drink as England had. That tea was retailed to the inhabitants alongside the sugar and candy to sweeten it shows the island sharing in the new consuming habits of the mother country, the produce of the China trade passing across the Company's counter to the households of a remote Atlantic rock. The china ware, the meat plates, dishes, soup plates and bowls, was the porcelain of the same eastern trade, shipped from China to furnish the island's tables with a ware finer than any it could make. The quantity of plates and dishes retailed shows the reach of the Company's goods even into the everyday furniture of the table, the settlement eating off porcelain carried the length of the eastern seas, so complete was its dependence on what the ships brought.
357	346	28 April Brought Over £200 10s 3½d Rice and Paddy vizt 29 2 23 Rice 11 5s 8d 16 25 Paddy 3 17s 4d 15 2s 0d Books vizt 2 Store Books 4s 0d 1 Primmer 3½d 7½d Pease ¼ Bushel 1 6½d Deals vizt 1 Princes Board 6s 9d 1 Double Deal 4s 1½d 23 Single Deals 2 19s 3½d 3 10s 3d Flour vizt 2369 Flour 17 9s 10d 210 3 14 Do Baked 196 15s 0d 214 4s 10d	The collection of goods sold to the Honourable Company's servants continued. Brought over, £200 10s 3½d Rice and paddy 29cwt 2qr 23lb rice, £11 5s 8d 16cwt 0qr 25lb paddy, £3 17s 4d total, £15 2s 0d Books 2 store books, £0 4s 0d 1 primmer, £0 0s 3½d total, £0 4s 7½d Peas, ½ bushel, £0 1s 6½d Deals 1 rainseed board, £0 6s 9d 1 double deal, £0 4s 1½d 23 single deals, £2 19s 5½d total, £3 10s 3d Flour 286cwt 9lb flour, £17 9s 10d 210cwt 3qr 0lb ditto baked, £196 15s 0d

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		Corks vizt 4 Gross 4 Doz Corks 10s 2d 2¼ Shot Cork 1s 9d 11s 11d Oil vizt 5¾ Gr Sweet 1 4s 8½d 7 Gr Linseed 1 6s 6½d 1 Bottle Florence 2s 7d 2 13s 10d Beef and Pork vizt 1173 Pr Beef 197 6s 0d 2436 Pr Pork 243 12s 0d Soap 3 3 20 2 440 18s 0d Salt 23 Bushels 16 12s 0d Lead 126 Shot 1 3s 4d Arrack 187¾ Galls 1 10s 5d 16 16s 10½d Carried Over £946 1s 11d	total, £214 4s 10d Corks 4 gross 8 dozen corks, £0 10s 2d 2¼ short corks, £0 1s 9d total, £0 11s 11d Oil 5¾ gallons sweet, £1 4s 8½d 7 gallons linseed, £1 6s 6½d 1 bottle Florence, £0 2s 7d total, £2 13s 10d Beef and pork 1,973lb beef, £197 6s 0d 2,456lb pork, £243 12s 0d total, £440 18s 0d Soap, 3cwt 3qr 20lb, £16 12s 0d Salt, 25 bushels, £1 3s 4d Lead, 126 shot, £1 10s 5d Arrack, 187¾ gallons, £16 16s 10½d carried over, £946 1s 11d **Interpretations** The great bulk of this quarter's sales lay in provisions, the flour, beef and pork together making up the largest part of the whole, drawn from the Company's stores to feed the island's people. That salted beef and pork were retailed by the thousand pounds shows the settlement dependent on the preserved meat held in store as well as on its own fresh stock, the imported and salted provisions carrying the population through the intervals between slaughter and supply. A primer was the elementary book from which children learned their letters and catechism, and store books the blank ledgers for keeping accounts, both sold from the same stock as the food and cloth. That the storekeeper supplied the means of schooling and record keeping alongside the necessaries of the table shows the breadth of what the island drew from the Company, even the tools of literacy and reckoning coming from the imported store. Florence oil was the fine olive oil shipped from Florence in Italy, distinguished from the sweet and linseed oils also listed, the one for the table and the others for lamps and work. That a delicacy from the Mediterranean reached the island's store alongside the plain oils of daily use shows how far the Company's supply extended, the settlement able to obtain even the refined produce of Italy through the reach of the Company's trade, though at a price that set it apart from the common stores.
358	347	1760 Brought Over £946 1s 11d Cordage 3 2½ 6s 10d Turners Ware vizt 3 Punch Ladles 1s 11d 9 Paint Brushes 6s 0d 10 Shoe Brushes 6s 3d 3 Mops 4s 1½d 1 Wood Ladle 4½d 6 Hair Brooms 14s 9d 7 Birch Brooms 3s 12d 2 Scrubing Brushes 4s 11d 1 Salongo Basket 10½d 2 2s 5d Pitch and Tar vizt 5¼ Gall Tar 5s 3d 9 Rozen 13s 8½d 4½ Pitch 7s 0d 3 Turpentine 7d 1 6s 12d Cutlery Ware vizt 37 Horn Combs 6s 2d 1 Horse Do 3½d 1 Ivory Do 1s 2d 9 Doz Stag Horn Knives & forks 10s 11d 24 Kitchen Knives 9s 7d	The collection of goods sold to the Honourable Company's servants continued. Brought over, £946 1s 11d Cordage, 3qr 2lb, £0 6s 10d Turners ware 3 punch ladles, £0 1s 11d 9 paint brushes, £0 6s 0d 10 shoe brushes, £0 6s 3d 3 mops, £0 4s 1½d 1 wood ladle, £0 4s 2d 6 hair brooms, £0 14s 9d 7 birch brooms, £0 3s 12d 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 4s 11d 1 sailors basket, £0 0s 10½d total, £2 2s 5d Pitch and tar 5¼ gallons tar, £0 3s 3d 7 rosin, £0 13s 8½d 4½ pitch, £0 0s 7d 3 turpentine, £0 0s 7d total, £1 6s 12d Cutlery ware 39 horn combs, £0 6s 2d 1 horse ditto, £0 0s 5½d 1 ivory ditto, £0 1s 2d 9 dozen stag horn knives and forks, £0 10s 11d

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		40 Pr Shoe Buckles 1 9s 2d 24 Pr Shoe Do 8s 0d 34 Pr leather Garters 7s 8d 3 12s 10d Hooks and lines vizt 150 No 1 850 2 975 3 25 5 375 6 2025 7 Hooks 3 10s 2d Hooks and lines Carried over 3 10s 2d Carried Over £959 4s 1½d	24 kitchen knives, £0 9s 7d 50 pairs shoe buckles, £1 9s 2d 24 pairs shoe ditto, £0 8s 0d 34 pairs leather garters, £0 7s 8d total, £3 12s 10d Hooks and lines 150 number 1 850 number 2 915 number 3 25 number 5 373 number 6 2,025 number 7 total hooks and lines carried over, £3 10s 2d carried over, £959 4s 1½d **Interpretations** Turners ware meant goods shaped on a lathe or of turned and bound wood, the brooms, brushes, ladles and mops for the household and the ship, sold from the store for the daily work of cleaning and cooking. That such humble implements were imported and retailed shows how a settlement with little timber or manufacture of its own drew even its brushes and brooms from the Company's supply, nothing so ordinary escaping the reach of the imported store. Pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine were the naval stores used to caulk and preserve the hulls and rigging of boats, the substances that kept a vessel watertight against the sea. That these were kept and sold at St Helena reflects the island's need to maintain its own craft and to furnish the ships that called, the materials of the shipwright's trade held ready on a place whose life depended wholly on the sea around it. The many thousands of fish hooks in graded sizes, sold with lines from the store, show the scale of the fishing by which the island drew food from its waters. That hooks were stocked in such numbers points to fishing as a settled part of the settlement's provisioning, the catch of the sea supplementing the bred and imported food, and the Company supplying even the tackle by which that catch was taken.
359	348	28 April Brought over £959 4s 12d Hooks and Lines Brought Over £3 10s 2d 4 Sey Lines 4s 6d 2 Hemted Do 3s 1d 192 No 1 90 3 36 4 Lines 5 6s 10d 9 4s 5½d Twine 17 Skeins 1 9s 1½d Thread vizt 7½ W Brown 18s 2½d 13 Colored 2 9s 3½d 3 7s 6d Paint vizt 7 Indico 2 17s 10d 20½ B Smalts 1 11s 7d 4½ White lead 18s 4d 36 Stone Color 19s 6d 1 Ven Red 2½d ¾ Umbry 3d 7¼ Ven Red mixed 3d 2 Mahogany 7s 1d ¾ Whiting 1s 8½d ⅞ Red lead 1s 0d 1 B Black 1s 9d 6¼ Sky Blue 12s 10½d 3½ Vardegrease 1 3s 7d 8 19s 10d Glass Ware vizt 1 Quart Decanter 3s 9d 2 Half Minute Glass 1s 3d	The collection of goods sold to the Honourable Company's servants continued. Brought over, £959 4s 12d Hooks and lines brought over, £3 10s 2d 4 sea lines, £0 4s 6d 2 hand ditto, £0 3s 1d 192 number 1 90 number 3 36 number 4 lines, £5 6s 10d total, £9 4s 5½d Twine, 17 skeins, £1 9s 1½d Thread 2½lb white brown, £0 18s 2½d 18 coloured, £2 9s 3½d total, £3 7s 6d Paint 9lb indigo, £2 17s 10d 20½lb smalts, £1 11s 7d 1qr 3lb white lead, £0 18s 4d 36lb stone colour, £0 19s 6d 1 ton red, £0 0s 2½d 5lb umber, £0 0s 3d 7lb Venn red mixed, £0 7s 0d 2 mahogany, £0 5s 1d 5½ whiting, £0 1s 8½d 7½ red lead, £0 0s 1½d 1lb black, £0 1s 9d 6qr sky blue, £0 12s 10½d 3½ vertegrease, £1 3s 7d total, £8 19s 10d Glass ware 1 quart decanter, £0 3s 9d

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		3 Sqrs Glass 8 by 10 2s 0d 1 Beer Glass 1s 7d 1 Cruet 2s 5d 10s 10d Carried Over £982 16s 1½d	2 half minute glasses, £0 1s 3d 3 pairs glass 8 by 10, £0 2s 0d 1 beer glass, £0 1s 7d 1 cruet, £0 2s 3d total, £0 10s 10d carried over, £982 16s 1½d **Interpretations** The paints listed span the pigments used for building, ship and decorative work, indigo and smalt for blue, white and red lead as the base of most house paint, umber and stone colour for earth tones and vertegrease for green. Smalt was a blue glass ground to powder and white lead the common white pigment and priming, both carried out from England for the island's painting. That so full a range of colours was stocked shows the settlement maintaining and finishing its buildings and craft from imported materials, the pigments of the trade held ready for every kind of work. A half minute glass was a sand glass running for thirty seconds, used at sea with the log line to measure a ship's speed, and its sale from the store points to the fitting out of the island's boats for navigation. That such instruments were retailed alongside the decanters and drinking glasses shows the storekeeper's stock serving both the table and the sea, the practical gear of seamanship kept beside the wares of the household. Verdigris, the green formed on copper, was used both as a pigment and in medicine, and its relatively high price on the list marks it as a more specialised material than the common lead paints. That the island's store carried such a range from the cheapest earth colours to the costlier greens and blues shows the care taken to supply every grade of material the settlement's work required, the whole apparatus of the painter's craft drawn from the Company's imported stock.
360	349	1760 Brought over £982 16s 12d Shoes vizt 211 Pr Mens Ordinary 16 3s 12d 1 Pr Edimanco 4s 4d 1 Pr Spannish 4s 3½d 2 Pr Boys 6s 9d 1 Pr Mens fine 5s 9d 17 4s 5d Canvas vizt 67 Yards Cambrig 2 15s 10d 8½ Yds English 11s 4d 3 7s 2d Starch 14 4 5s 4d Kersey 13¾ Yards 1 3s 8d Pepper 7 3s 11d Candles 162 13 10s 0d Leather vizt 13¼ Sole 15s 1½d 5 Pumps 6s 4½d 4 Calf Skins 1 10s 0d 2 11s 7½d Nails vizt 5 Sheving Brads 3s 0d 9¾ Tacks 1s 3d 1 Spikes 4d 5½ 2 2 3 16 4 44 6 3 10 31 10 52 20 5s 12d 1 12d 8d 1 2d	The collection of goods sold to the Honourable Company's servants continued. Brought over, £982 16s 12d Shoes 211 pairs mens ordinary, £16 3s 12d 1 pair Edmancoe, £0 4s 4d 1 pair Spanish, £0 4s 5½d 2 pairs boys, £0 6s 9d 1 pair mens grey, £0 5s 9d total, £17 4s 5d Canvas 67 yards cambrics, £2 15s 10d 7½ yards English, £0 11s 4d total, £3 7s 2d Starch, 14lb 4oz, £0 5s 4d Kersey, 13½ yards Spanish, £1 3s 3d Pepper, 7, £0 3s 11d Candles, 162, £13 10s 0d Leather 12½ hides, £0 14s 12d 5 pumps, £0 6s 4½d 4 calf skins, £1 10s 9d total, £2 11s 7½d Nails 5 sieving tacks, £0 3s 0d 9¼ tacks, £0 1s 4d 1 spikes, £0 0s 4d 5½lb number 2, £0 3s 12d 2lb number 3, £0 1s 12d 16lb number 4, £0 0s 8d 44lb number 6, £0 1s 2d 3lb number 10, £0 1s 12d 31lb number 10, £0 5s 0d 52lb number 20, £0 9s 8d total, £2 8s 10d total, £1,053 10s 1d **Interpretations**

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		1 12d 5s 0d 9s 8d 2 8s 10d Total £1053 10s 1d	The quarter's whole collection came to over a thousand pounds, the goods drawn from the Company's stores and sold to the island's servants and inhabitants at the fixed advance, from cloth and clothing through tools, paint and naval stores to the provisions that made up the largest part. That so wide a range of manufactures passed across the store's counter in a single quarter shows how completely the settlement depended on the Company for the materials of life, the imported stock furnishing everything the island could not raise or make. Kersey was a coarse ribbed woollen cloth for hard wear, and cambric a fine white linen, the two marking the range from the plainest working stuff to the finest. The candles here were the tallow or wax lights for the household and the Castle, sold by the dozen from the store. That both the cheapest and the finest cloth, and the everyday means of lighting, came from the same imported stock shows the settlement clothed and lit wholly by what the Company shipped, the store the single source of both necessity and comfort. The nails and tacks in graded sizes, sold by the pound from the smallest to the largest, were the fastenings on which all the island's building and repair depended, none being forged on the island itself. That such basic hardware had to be carried the length of the Atlantic and retailed by weight shows how a remote settlement was held together, quite literally, by the manufactures of the mother country, even the nails in its walls and boats drawn from the Company's imported store.
361	350	28 April Sold to the Planters at 25 & Cent vizt Shoes 9 Pr Mens Ordinary 1 14s 8½d Buckram 2 Yards 1s 2d Sold at 10 & Cent vizt Flour 3 6 6 14s 0d Sugar and Candy vizt 166 Sugar 14s 8d 24 Candy 12s 0d 15s 8d Deals 9 Single 1 8s 10½d Cordage 3 6 7¼ 9 2s 2d Soap 9 9 4 6s 7½d Canvas 20 Yds Osnabrigs 1 11s 5d Twine 2 Skeins 2s 6d Nails vizt 30 6 9 Tacks 2 2 5 4 3 10 1 20 1 3 1 6s 5d Hooks and Lines vizt 100 Yfyne Hem 200 No 2 275 3 25 6 450 7 Hooks 1 4s 3d 3 Hemter 9 Sey 9 No 2 24 3 18 4 Lines 2 18s 2d Carried Over £45 10s 11½d	The goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent were as follows. Shoes, 7 pairs mens ordinary, £1 14s 8½d Buckram, 2 yards, £0 1s 2d The goods sold at 40 per cent were as follows. Flour, 3cwt, £6 14s 0d Sugar and candy 8lb sugar, £14 8s 0d 24 candy, £0 12s 0d total, £15 0s 8d Deals, 9 single, £1 8s 10½d Cordage, 3qr 4lb, £0 9s 2½d Soap, ditto, £1 6s 7½d Canvas, 20 yards oznaburgs, £1 11s 5d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 2s 6d Nails 30 number 6 2 tacks 2 number 2 5 number 4 3 number 10 1 number 20 1 number 3 total, £1 6s 5d Hooks and lines 100 number 1 200 number 2 273 number 3 25 number 6 750 number 7 lines 3 number 2 sea 7 number 2 24 number 3 18 number 4 hooks, £1 4s 3d lines, £2 18s 2d carried over, £45 10s 11½d **Interpretations** The planters bought their goods at a higher advance than the Company's servants, twenty five and even forty per cent above cost against the ten per

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			cent charged to the servants, a difference that marked the two classes of buyer sharply apart. That the settled inhabitants paid so much more for the same flour, sugar and hardware shows the Company favouring its own people over the free planters, the graded mark up serving both to reward its servants and to draw a larger return from those who lived by the land. Oznaburg was a coarse unbleached linen, originally of Osnabrück in Germany, used for sacking, working clothes and the rough purposes of the plantation, the plainest cloth on the whole account. That the planters were sold this cheapest of stuffs along with flour, nails and fishing tackle shows the store supplying the working needs of the land as well as the finer wants of the town, the same imported stock serving the plantation and the household at their different prices. The steep forty per cent charged on flour, sugar and candy, the goods of the table, against the lighter advances on cloth and hardware, shows the Company pricing its provisions highest of all to the planters. That the necessaries of food carried the heaviest mark up points to the settlement's dependence on imported provisions being turned to the Company's profit, the planters paying dearest for the very stores they could least do without.
362	351	1760 Brought over £45 10s 11½d Corks vizt 5 Gross Corks 16s 3d 1¼ Shot Cork 1s 2½d 17s 5½d Glass Ware vizt 2 Quart Decanters 9s 9d 2 Sqrs 8 by 10 1s 10d 11s 7d Oil ⅞ Gall Sweet 3s 1d Haberdashers Ware 2 Pr Tape Tape 1s 11d Turners Ware vizt 24 Birch Brooms 14s 0d 1 Shoe Brush 9½d 14s 9½d Tin Ware vizt 1 Puding Pan 1s 2½d 6 Sally Pans 3s 1½d 1 Puddle Sauce Pan 10d 5s 10d Cutlery Ware vizt 2 Box Irons 1s 0d 4 Horn Combs 1s 0d 2s 0d Salt 2¼ Bushels 10s 10d Books 1 Primmer 5d Rice 2 4 1 1s 11d Paint vizt 2 Barrels Black 1s 12d 3 Ventian Red mixed 3s 6½d 4 Indico 8s 10d 5 Beer Smalts 9s 9½d 12 Whiting 6d 3 Wall lead 1s 7½d 1 5s 5d Pork 5 Pieces 11s 3d Carried Over £51 17s 5½d	The goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent continued. Brought over, £45 10s 11½d Corks 5 gross corks, £0 16s 3d ½ short cork, £0 1s 2½d total, £0 17s 5½d Glass ware 2 quart decanters, £0 9s 9d 2 pairs 8 by 10, £0 1s 10d total, £0 11s 7d Oil, ¾ gallon sweet, £0 3s 1d Haberdashers ware, 2 pounds Holland tape, £0 1s 11d Turners ware 24 birch brooms, £0 14s 0d 1 shoe brush, £0 0s 9½d total, £0 14s 9½d Tin ware 1 pudding pan, £0 1s 2½d 6 patty pans, £0 3s 1½d 1 purple sauce pan, £0 0s 10d total, £0 5s 10d Cutlery ware 2 shoe knives, £0 1s 0d 4 horn combs, £0 1s 0d total, £0 2s 0d Salt, 2½ bushels, £0 10s 10d Books, 1 primmer, £0 0s 5d Rice, 2qr, £1 1s 11d Paint 2 barrels black, £0 1s 12d 3 Venetian red mixed, £0 3s 6½d 4 indigo, £0 8s 10d 5 bien smalt, £0 9s 9½d 12 whiting, £0 0s 6d 3 white lead, £0 1s 7½d total, £1 5s 5d Pork, 5 pieces, £1 1s 3d carried over, £51 17s 5½d **Interpretations** The small quantities in which the planters bought their paints, corks, brushes and hardware, single pans and pounds of tape against the bulk lots sold to the Company's servants, point to the modest scale of the individual planter's purchases. That the store served both the Company's establishment and the private inhabitants, dispensing goods in parcels

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			great and small, shows it functioning as the general shop of the whole island, meeting the household wants of the planters as it met the larger needs of the garrison. Venetian red was an earthy red pigment based on iron oxide, and smalt the ground blue glass noted before, both sold here in the small amounts a planter would need for painting a house or boat. That the same range of pigments appears on the planters account as on the servants, though in lesser quantities and at the higher price, shows the whole island drawing its materials from one imported stock, the difference lying only in the mark up and the scale of what each class of buyer took. The recurrence of the primer among the planters purchases, as among the servants, points to the schooling of children across the settlement, the elementary book bought from the store by families of both classes. That the means of teaching letters passed to planter and servant alike shows a shared concern for basic literacy on the island, the Company's store supplying the one book from which the young learned to read wherever they lived.
363	352	28 April Brought over £51 17s 5½d Pitch and Tar vizt 4 5 Pitch 2 11s 2d Lead 12 Shot 3s 3d Bunting 20 Yds Side 1 0s 10d Leather 12 Sole 6s 4½d Iron Ware vizt 25 Pr Dowlas Hinges 1s 1d 1 Filer 10½d 1 Sithe Stone 4½d 1 Shod Shovel 2s 9½d 1 Small Frying Pan 3s 2½d 8s 4d Tea vizt 10 Congo 19s 7d 7 Bohea 7s 0d 1 6s 7d Candles 4 15s 7d Pepper 2 1s 6d Arrack 39 Gallons 11s 4d Total £70 2s 6d Sold to a Foreign Ship at 30 & Cent vizt Pitch and Tar 13 Barrels Tar 2 2s 6d £2 2s 6d	The goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent continued. Brought over, £51 17s 5½d Pitch and tar 1cwt 3lb pitch, £2 11s 2d Lead, 12 shot, £0 3s 3d Bunting, 20 yards red, £1 0s 10d Leather, 1½ hide, £0 6s 4½d Iron ware 25 pairs dowlaid hinges, £0 1s 1d 1 filer, £0 0s 10½d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 4½d 1 shod shovel, £0 2s 9½d 1 tin frying pan, £0 3s 2½d total, £0 8s 4d Tea 10 bohea, £0 19s 7d 7 bohea, £0 7s 0d total, £1 6s 7d Candles, ditto, £0 15s 7d Pepper, ditto, £0 1s 6d Arrack, 39 gallons, £11 14s 0d total, £70 2s 6d The goods sold to a foreign ship at 30 per cent were as follows. Pitch and tar, 1 barrel tar, £2 2s 6d total, £2 2s 6d **Interpretations** The sale of pitch and tar to a foreign ship at thirty per cent above cost shows the island turning its naval stores to profit by supplying the vessels of other nations that called at the road. That a foreign ship bought caulking materials at St Helena marks the island's function as a place of resort and resupply for the shipping of every flag, its stores serving not only the Company's own vessels but the wider traffic that passed the Cape, and drawing a return from each. The foreign ship paid thirty per cent above cost, more than the Company's servants at ten but less than the planters at forty, a rate that placed the outside buyer in the middle of the island's graded pricing. That the Company charged strangers less than its own settled planters, yet more than its servants, shows a considered scale of advantage, the servants favoured, the planters bearing the heaviest charge and the passing foreigner met on terms that still secured the Company a solid gain. The bunting sold in red yardage was the loosely woven woollen cloth from which flags and signals were made, bought perhaps for the making or repair of colours. That such material was retailed from the store points to the island's need to keep its signals

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			and ensigns in order, the bright cloth of the flag drawn like everything else from the Company's imported stock.
364	353	1760 Sold to the Honorable Companys Ships vizt Hooks and Lines vizt 100 No 6 Hooks 1s 2½d 24 3 Lines 11s 2d 12s 4½d Salt 3 Bushels 13s 0d Cordage 3 7 9 13 3s 4½d Canvas vizt 1 Pr Eng Canvas 3s 10d 7 Pr Ventbrigs 14 8s 2d 17 12s 2d Nails vizt 5 2 5 6 1s 8d 2s 11d 4s 7d Twine vizt 24 Pr Twine 1s 0d ½ Cotton Wicks 1s 7½d 1 1s 7½d Grind Stone 1 7s 5d Pitch and Tar vizt 4 5 Pitch 2 11s 2d 2 B Tar 4s 0d 6 11s 2d Coals 10 Bushels 19s 7d Shoes 90 Pr Mens Ordinary 13 17s 1d Corks 6 Shot 3s 9d Beef and Pork vizt 16 Pieces Irish Beef 64 15s 0d 3 French Eng Do 85 9s 2d 6 Slats Pork 92 5s 3d 242 9s 5d Paint 16 Barrels Black 9s 0d Glass Ware 1 Half Minute Glasses 3s 2d Carried Over £298 17s 7d	The goods sold to the Honourable Company's ships were as follows. Hooks and lines 100 number 6 hooks, £0 1s 2½d 24 number 3 lines, £0 11s 2d total, £0 12s 4½d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 13s 0d Cordage, 3qr 79lb, £13 3s 4½d Canvas 1 piece English canvas, £3 10s 0d 7 pieces Vandtroys, £14 8s 2d total, £17 18s 2d Nails ½ number 2, £0 1s 8d 5 number 6, £0 2s 11d total, £0 4s 7d Twine 24 pounds twine, £1 0s 0d ½ cotton wicks, £0 1s 7½d total, £1 1s 7½d Grindstones, 1, £0 7s 5d Pitch and tar 1 barrel pitch, £2 11s 2d 2 barrels tar, £4 0s 0d total, £6 11s 2d Coals, 10 bushels, £0 19s 7d Shoes, 6 pairs mens ordinary, £0 3s 9d Corks, 6 short, £0 0s 0d Beef and pork 16 tierces fresh beef, £64 15s 0d 5 pieces English ditto, £55 9s 2d 6 flats pork, £92 3s 3d total, £242 0s 5d Paint, 16 barrels black, £0 9s 0d Glass ware, 1 half minute glasses, £0 3s 2d carried over, £298 17s 7d **Interpretations** The Company's own ships were victualled and fitted from the island's stores, taking on beef, pork, canvas, cordage and naval stores for the long passages of the eastern trade. That the largest charge by far was the salted beef and pork, supplied by the tierce and the flat, shows St Helena in its central purpose as a provisioning station, the meat raised and preserved on the island replenishing the vessels that had come from Asia and faced the Atlantic still ahead. A tierce was a cask holding some forty two gallons or the equivalent weight of provisions, and a flat a flat sided cask or case of packed meat, the measures by which the ships took their salt beef and pork. Vandtroys, or vantroys, was a strong sailcloth, sold with the English canvas for the making and mending of sails. The scale of these ship's stores, the meat, the sailcloth, the cordage and the caulking stuff, shows the island fitted to send a homeward Indiaman on her way fully found, its whole apparatus bent to the service of the passing fleet. The grindstone sold to a ship was the turning stone on which tools and blades were sharpened, a piece of the working gear every vessel needed for its carpenter and cooper. That such an item was supplied from the store shows the island furnishing not only the food and rigging of the ships but the very tools of their maintenance at sea, the settlement's stores reaching into every want of the vessels that depended on its road.
365	354	28 April Brought over £298 17s 7½d Sugar 6 6 10s 0d Arrack 140 Gallons 42s 0d	The goods sold to the Honourable Company's ships continued. Brought over, £298 17s 8½d Sugar, 6cwt, £10 0s 0d

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		Flour 3 33 4 3s 3d Deals 2 Rafters 11s 6d Barracks 1 Pr for Timber 7s 10½d Turners Ware 2 Mops 3s 6d Total £356 3s 10d Charges General Dr for the following Stores Expended from the 12th July to the 11th April 1760 vizt Arrack 18¾ for Grains for the Workmens Excellency Mago 3s 1d Twine 14 14 for the Gunners use, for the Target line to make Sacks for Sepos 1 0s 2d Oil vizt 74 8 Train for the use of the Store Corps ½ Kitchin Magazine 2 15s 9d 1 8 Sweet for Priming the Garrison Gate Mr Clarks Rooms Working table and Chairs in the Castle 8s 7d 3 4s 4d Candles vizt 9 for the Castle 6 10s 6d 150 for the Council 11 3s 0d ½ for the Magazine 3s 0d 18 for the Store upon Allarms and for the Officers upon Guard in the Castle 18s 0d 18 13s 6d Iron Ware vizt 2 Fut lock for the Guns House frame 4s 2d 16 Files for the Iron Coopers use 7s 4d 1 Smiths cutter for the Armorer 3s 4½d 1 Awel 8s 5½d 2 Filers for the Iron Coopers use 1s 8d 2 Hatchet 1s 8d Iron Ware Carried over £1 4s 4½d Carried Over £25 5s 1½d	Arrack, 140 gallons, £42 0s 0d Flour, 333, £4 3s 3d Deals, 2 rafters, £0 11s 6d Barracks, 1 piece for timber, £0 7s 10½d Turners ware, 2 mops, £0 3s 6d total, £356 3s 10d The general charges for the following stores expended from 12 January to 11 April 1760 were as follows. Arrack, 18¾ for cleaning the workmen's tools this quarter, £0 3s 1d Twine, 14¾ for the gunners use, for the target line to make jacks for asses, £1 0s 2d Oil 74lb 8oz tar for the use of the storerooms, kitchen, sugar and wine magazine, £2 15s 9d 17lb 8oz sweet for priming the garden guns, Mr Clark's work, dressing tables and chairs in the Castle, £0 8s 7d total, £3 4s 4d Candles 7 for the Castle, £6 10s 6d 150 for the council, £11 3s 0d ½ for the magazine, £0 3s 0d 14 for the store upon alarm and for the officers upon guard in the Castle, £18 0s 0d total, £18 13s 6d Iron ware 2 tin locks for the guardhouse doors, £0 4s 2d 16 files for the armourers use, £0 7s 1d 1 smiths vice for the armoury, £0 3s 1½d 1 muset, £0 8s 6½d 2 filers, £1 4s 3d 2 hatchets, for the armoury and elsewhere, £1 4s 3d iron ware carried over, £3 4s 1½d carried over, £25 5s 1½d **Interpretations** Alongside the goods sold, the storekeeper charged out the materials consumed in the Company's own service over the quarter, the oil, candles, twine and hardware used about the Castle, the batteries, the armoury and the stores. That these working stores were entered as a separate charge shows the reckoning distinguishing what was sold to the people from what the establishment spent on itself, so the Company knew both its return from the shop and the cost of running its own works. The candles charged for the store upon alarm and for the officers on guard point to the night watches kept in the Castle, the lights needed when the garrison stood to on the sighting of strange sail. That so large a charge for candles arose from the alarms shows the hidden cost of vigilance, the constant readiness against a hostile approach consuming the island's stores in light as well as in the powder spent on the warning guns. The twine used to make jacks for asses, the leather or netted guards fitted to the pack animals, and the arrack drawn to clean the workmen's tools, show the small practical uses to which the store's goods were put about the island's daily work. That such minor consumptions were tracked and charged shows the exactness of the storekeeper's accounting, every ounce of spirit and length of twine spent in the Company's service set down against the quarter's reckoning.
366	355	1760 Brought Over £25 6s 1½d Iron Ware Brought Over £1 4s 10d 12 Gimblets for the Carpenters 2s 6d 2 Hands Hammers for the Cooper and Store Masons use 4s 1d 1 Hand Hatchet for the Hospital 1s 6d 1 Doz Nason Sets for the Masons 15s 8½d	The general charges for stores expended in the Company's service continued. Brought over, £25 6s 1½d Iron ware brought over, £1 4s 10d 12 gimblets for the carpenters, £0 2s 6d 2 hand hammers for the cooper and stone masons use, £0 4s 1d 1 hand hatchet for the hospital, £0 1s 6d

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		7 Slone Emory for the Armorer 7d 1 Pr Pt Hinges for the Pl Gun House 7s 4½d 2 Pr Dowlas Hinges for the Castle 9d 2 17s 8d Canvas vizt 8 Yards Ventbrigs for the Target Sack'd and Store use 6s 0d 1 Yd English Canvas for a Blacks Armour Apron 1s 3d 7s 3d Deals vizt 8 Enfield for the Target, to Repr a Gun House and to make a Box for the Crane 4 12s 8d 15 Double Deals to make Doors and Floor an Ane the new Magazine 6 1s 0d 111 Single Deals for Do lands to Repair a Ware House & the Sail Gun House 12 14s 12d 2 Pr Riga Timbers to Repr a Ware House 4 12s 2d 25 2s 2d Barracks 6 5 8 Pr Saw laden for the new Magazine and to Repair a Ware House & the Sail Gun House 16 6s 9d Pitch and Tar vizt 3¾ 4 Tar for the Castle 3s 12d ⅝ Rozin for the Doctors Mop & Tuning 1s 4d 1 8s 2d Turners Ware vizt 4 Pr Brushes for Priming 2s 5d 1 Mop for the Castle 1s 3d 2 Birch Brooms for the Vault 1s 6d 1 Tabmans Yoke for the Hospital 6d 6s 0d Carried Over £70 8s 2½d 1760 Brought Over £25 6s 1½d Iron Ware Brought Over £1 4s 10d 12 Gimblets for the Carpenters 2s 6d 2 Hands Hammers for the Cooper and Store Masons use 4s 1d 1 Hand Hatchet for the Hospital 1s 6d 1 Doz Nason Sets for the Masons 15s 8½d 7 Slone Emory for the Armorer 7d 1 Pr Pt Hinges for the Pl Gun House 7s 4½d 2 Pr Dowlas Hinges for the Castle 9d 2 17s 8d Canvas vizt 8 Yards Ventbrigs for the Target Sack'd and Store use 6s 0d 1 Yd English Canvas for a Blacks Armour Apron 1s 3d 7s 3d Deals vizt 8 Enfield for the Target, to Repr a Gun House and to make a Box for the Crane 4 12s 8d 15 Double Deals to make Doors and Floor an Ane the new Magazine 6 1s 0d 111 Single Deals for Do lands to Repair a Ware House & the Sail Gun House 12 14s 12d 2 Pr Riga Timbers to Repr a Ware House 4 12s 2d 25 2s 2d Barracks 6 5 8 Pr Saw laden for the new Magazine and to Repair a Ware House & the Sail Gun House 16 6s 9d Pitch and Tar vizt 3¾ 4 Tar for the Castle 3s 12d ⅝ Rozin for the Doctors Mop & Tuning 1s 4d 1 8s 2d Turners Ware vizt 4 Pr Brushes for Priming 2s 5d 1 Mop for the Castle 1s 3d 2 Birch Brooms for the Vault 1s 6d 1 Tabmans Yoke for the Hospital 6d 6s 0d Carried Over £70 8s 2½d	1 dozen mason tools for the masons, £0 15s 8½d 7 flour emery for the armoury, £0 0s 7d 1 pair fold hinges for the storehouse, £0 7s 4½d 2 pairs dowlaid hinges for the Castle, £0 9s 0d total, £2 17s 8d Canvas 8 yards oznaburgs for the target, packed and elsewhere used, £0 6s 0d 1 yard English canvas for a blacks armour apron, £0 1s 3d total, £0 7s 3d Deals 8 English for the target, to repair a store house and to make a box for the crane, £4 12s 8d 15 double deals to make doors and floor an area at the new magazine, £6 1s 0d 111 single deals for ditto and to repair a warehouse and the Sea Gate House, £12 14s 12d 2 pairs Riga timber to repair a warehouse, £4 17s 2d total, £25 2s 2d Barracks, 658 pieces for timber, used for the new magazine and to repair a warehouse and the sutler's houses, £16 6s 9d Pitch and tar 3¾ tar for the Castle, £0 3s 12d ½ rosin for the doctors mops and tuning, £0 1s 4d total, £1 8s 2d Turners ware 1 pair brushes for priming, £0 2s 5d 1 mop for the Castle, £0 1s 3d 2 birch brooms for the Hall, £0 1s 6d 1 tub and yoke for the hospital, £0 1s 6d total, £0 6s 0d carried over, £70 8s 2½d **Interpretations** The deals and timber charged out went chiefly to the works then in hand, the new magazine, the repair of warehouses and the Sea Gate House, showing the building and maintenance the Company carried on across the island from its own imported wood. That planks and beams had to be shipped in for every door, floor and repair reflects the island's want of timber of its own, the fabric of its stores and defences raised from wood carried the length of the ocean. Riga timber was the fir and deal shipped from Riga on the Baltic, prized for its length and quality in building and shipwork, distinguished here from the ordinary English deals. That the better timber was reserved for particular repairs shows the storekeeper matching the grade of material to the work, the Baltic wood set aside for tasks where the common deals would not serve, all of it drawn from the Company's imported stock. The materials issued for the hospital, the hatchet, the tub and yoke and the mop, and the canvas for a slave's leather apron, show the store supplying the varied wants of the island's institutions and people from its general stock. That the same reckoning furnished the armoury with files, the carpenters with gimlets and the hospital with its humble gear shows the store as the single source of every working necessity, the whole establishment fitted out from one imported supply.

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367	356	28 April Brought over £70 8s 2½d Paint vizt 2 Indico for Linen 3s 1d 10 Wall lead for Painting 3s 9d 6 Whiting for Mr Clarks House 1s 4½d 10 Blue for Linen 13s 9d 1 Vent Red mixed for Painting 3½d 4 Barrels Blacking 1s 7d 1 4s 0d Nails vizt 1 10 7 40 3 2 2 2½ 6 20 20 3 Braned Nails ½ Glazing Brads for the East Garden, Guns Use to Repr Windows & Shelves in the Store Windows in the Castle, and to Repr one of the Honorable Compy Ware Houses 5s 2d Cordage 3 2 3¾ for a Crane, Repr to Sling the Rafters at the Market Broad, Also lime Hutch 2 6s 6d Oil 40 for the Castle 1 5s 0d Tin Ware 1 Camp Kittle for the Hospital 3s 1d Lead vizt 13 Shot for the Castle 2s 3d 19 Metel for the Sail Gun House 3 11s 2d 6 2s 2d Blankets 1 for the Hospital 5s 6d Leather vizt 1 Calf Skin for makes Sacks for Apes 6s 10d 7 Pump leather for the Store Ips 1s 1½d 7s 11½d Glass Ware vizt 1 Sqr Glass 8 by 10 for the Church 7d 1½ Sqr 8 by 10 for the Castle 7d 7s 7d Starch 10 for Linen 3s 4d Carried Over £77 12s 5d	The general charges for stores expended in the Company's service continued. Brought over, £70 8s 2½d Paint 2 indigo for linen, £0 3s 1d 16lb white lead for painting, £0 3s 9d 6lb whiting for Mr Clark's work, £0 1s 4½d 10 blue for linen, £0 13s 9d 1 Venetian red mixed for painting, £0 0s 3½d 4 barrels blacking, £0 1s 7d total, £1 4s 0d Nails 1 number 10 7 number 40, for the East Garden guns 3 number 2, used to repair windows and shelves 2½ number 6, in the store windows in the Castle, and to repair one of the Honourable Company's houses 20 number 20 3 branch nails ½ glazing brads total, £25 5s 2d Cordage, 25qr 7lb for a crane rope to sling the scales at the market, breaks and also lime slack, £2 6s 6d Oil, 40 for the Castle, £1 5s 0d Tin ware, 1 camp kettle for the hospital, £0 3s 1d Lead 15 shot for the Castle, £0 2s 3d 19 [...] for the Sea Gate House, £0 3s 11½d total, £0 6s 2½d Blankets, 1 for the hospital, £0 5s 6d Leather 1 calf skin for making studs for asses, £0 6s 10d 7 pumps ditto for the store, £0 1s 1½d total, £0 7s 11½d Glass ware 3 pairs glass 8 by 10 for the branch, £0 0s 7d 12 square 8 by 10 for the Castle, £0 0s 7d total, £0 7s 7d Starch, 16 for linen, £0 3s 4d carried over, £77 12s 5d **Interpretations** The nails charged out went to a scatter of small repairs about the Castle and the Company's houses, mending windows, shelves and the fabric of the buildings, the fastenings issued by the pound and the paper for each task. That so minor a material was tracked to its particular use shows the closeness of the storekeeper's reckoning, every handful of nails spent on the upkeep of the establishment set down against the quarter's charge. The paint, starch and indigo issued for linen point to the dressing and finishing of cloth in the Company's service, the blue and the starch used to colour and stiffen the fabric. That such materials were drawn for the linen shows the store supplying not only the making of things but their care and maintenance, the everyday work of keeping the establishment's goods in order furnished from the same imported stock. The calf skin worked into studs for the asses and the pumps kept for the store show the store's materials serving the island's animals and its own working gear. That leather was charged for the harness of the pack animals that carried burdens about the island reflects the reliance on the asses for haulage on the steep ground, the store furnishing even the fittings by which the beasts were worked.
368	357	1760 Brought over £77 12s 5d Xrass 4 No 6 for the Marine 1s 6d China Ware vizt 12 Half Pint Cups Eal & Do Castle 5s 0d	The general charges for stores expended in the Company's service continued. Brought over, £77 12s 5d Nails, 1 number 8 for the magazine, £0 1s 6d China ware

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		10 Saltcers 2s 6d 12 Toying Cups & Saucers for Do 2s 6d 15 Meat Dishes 60 Do Plates 1 Soop Deck 8 Salted Do 2 Toureins 6 Salts 4 Sauce Boats 24 Soop Plates for Do 1s 0d 4 10s 0d Coals 84 Bushels for the Masons use 3 15s 6d £87 19s 5d Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Species from the 12th Jany to the 11th April 1760 vizt Beef and Pork vizt 4 Pr Irish Pork 10s 4d 4 Pr Beef 11s 10d 17 Pr English Pork 2 5s 0d 3 7s 6d Arrack 64 Gallons 13 6s 8d Flour 3 66 7 1s 2d Salt 3 Bushels 9s 0d Tea vizt 3 Singlo 6s 5½d 1 Congo 1s 4½d 7s 10d Rice 2 50 16s 4d Carried Over £25 7s 6d	12 half pint cups and 6 for the Castle, £0 5s 0d 10 saucers, £0 2s 6d 12 japan cups and saucers for ditto, £0 2s 6d 15 meat dishes 60 ditto plates 1 soup dish 8 salted ditto 2 tureens 6 salts 4 sauce boats 24 soup plates, for ditto, £4 0s 0d total, £4 10s 0d Coals, 84 bushels for the armourers use, £3 15s 6d total, £87 19s 5d The general charges of diet expenses for the following stores expended from 12 January to 11 April 1760 were as follows. Beef and pork 7 pieces fresh pork, £0 10s 8d 4 pieces beef, £0 11s 10d 17 pieces English pork, £2 5s 0d total, £3 7s 6d Arrack, 64 gallons, £13 6s 8d Flour, 66, £7 1s 2d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 9s 0d Tea 5 single, £0 6s 5½d 1 bohea, £0 1s 4½d total, £0 7s 10d Rice, 250, carried over, £25 7s 0d **Interpretations** The considerable stock of china ware charged to the Castle, the dishes, plates, tureens and sauce boats, furnished the Governor's table and the official entertainments with the porcelain of the eastern trade. That so full a service was drawn from the store for the Castle shows the standing kept up by the island's government, the principal table set with the fine ware of China as befitted the Company's authority on the island, all of it carried from the East. The diet expenses were the provisions consumed at the Company's charge over the quarter, the beef, pork, flour, arrack and tea drawn from store to feed the establishment. That these were reckoned as a distinct charge, apart from the goods sold and the working stores, shows the accounting separating the cost of feeding the Company's people from its other expenditure, so the standing charge of the table could be known and set against the quarter. The coals charged for the armourer's use fed the forge on which the garrison's ironwork was made and mended, the fuel for the smith who kept the arms and fittings in repair. That coal had to be shipped from England to fire the armourer's forge shows the island dependent on imported fuel for its metalwork, no coal being found on the island, the very heat of the forge drawn from the Company's distant supply.
369	358	28 April Brought over £25 7s 6d Sugar and Candy vizt 162 Sugar 19s 6d 128 Candy 2 2s 8d 3 2s 2d £28 9s 8d Blacks Dr for the following Stores Species from the 12th January to the 11th April 1760 vizt Rice 31 2 50 17 11s 5d Oil 7 8 Train for the Sick 6s 8d Beef and Pork vizt 43 Pr Irish Beef 3 16s 4d 233 Pr Irish Pork 17 14s 3d 162 Pr Eng Beef 23 19s 3d 132 Pr Slag Pork 17 9s 3d 62 19s 3d	The general charges of diet expenses continued. Brought over, £25 7s 6d Sugar and candy 16lb sugar, £0 19s 6d 128 candy, £2 2s 8d total, £3 2s 2d total, £28 7s 8d The charges for the following stores expended on the slaves from 12 January to 11 April 1760 were as follows. Rice, 31 pieces ditto, £17 11s 5d Oil, 7 grain for the sick, £0 6s 8d Beef and pork 83 pieces fresh beef, £3 16s 4d 233 pieces fresh pork, £17 14s 5d 16 pieces English beef, £23 19s 3d 132 pieces stag pork, £17 9s 3d

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		Shoes 25 Mens Ordinary 4 17s 11½d Sugar 15¼ for the Sick 1 3s 10½d Haberdashery 8 Doz 9 Metal Br Buttons 7d Flour 3 2 for the Sick 7s 7d Sailors Cloaths vizt 4 Monmouth Caps 5s 6d 2 Mens Checked Shirts 7s 3d 1 Boys Jacket & Breeches 13s 6d 1 6s 3d Hooks and Lines vizt 50 No 3 50 6 Hooks 1s 3½d 12 2 12 3 Lines 9d 10s 3½d Tea 3¼ Congo for the Sick 1 2s 8d Arrack 10 Gallon 4s 2d Blankets 1 5s 6d £91 1s 2½d	total, £62 19s 3d Shoes, 25 mens ordinary, £4 17s 11½d Sugar, 15½ for the sick, £1 3s 10½d Haberdashery, 8 dozen 9 metal breast buttons, £0 0s 7d Flour, 2 for the sick, £0 7s 7d Sailors clothes 4 Monmouth caps, £0 5s 6d 2 mens checked shirts, £0 7s 3d 1 boys jacket and breeches, £0 13s 6d total, £1 6s 3d Hooks and lines 50 number 3 50 number 6, hooks, £0 1s 3½d 12 number 2 12 number 3, lines, £0 0s 9d total, £0 10s 3½d Tea, 34 bohea for the sick, £1 2s 8d Arrack, 10 gallon, £0 4s 2d Blankets, 1, £0 5s 6d total, £91 1s 2½d **Interpretations** The provisions and goods issued for the slaves were reckoned as a separate charge, the rice, salt meat, clothing and fishing tackle by which the Company fed and clothed its bondspeople. That the slaves cost was set down apart from the establishment's diet shows the accounting treating the maintenance of the Company's slaves as a distinct head of expenditure, the food and necessaries of the unfree counted separately from those of the free establishment they served. The bulk of the slaves rice, salt beef and pork, with fishing hooks and lines supplied for them to catch their own fish, points to the plain and heavy diet on which the Company's slaves were kept at their labour. That rice and salt meat made up the greater part of their provision, with tackle to draw more food from the sea, shows the settlement feeding its slaves cheaply on imported staples and the catch of the water, the barest maintenance of those on whom much of the island's work fell. The goods issued for the sick among the slaves, the oil, sugar, flour and tea, and a blanket, show a measure of care taken for the ailing, the comforts thought needful for recovery drawn from the store. That the Company charged even these small provisions for its sick slaves shows the maintenance reckoned to the last item, the cost of keeping the unfree in health as closely accounted as every other charge, the slaves valued as property whose upkeep was set against the quarter.
370	359	1760 Malluy Dr for the following Stores Species from the 12th January to the 11th April 1760 vizt Beef 14 Pieces 2 1s 3d Arrack 3½ Gallons 14s 7d Soap 3 1 10s 2d Oil 3 4 Train 2s 7d Tea vizt 3 Singlo 2s 7d 7 Bohea 8d 3s 3d Hooks and Lines vizt 6 No 4 6 2 Lines 3s 11½d 50 No 7 50 3 Hooks 1s 1½d 5s 1d Sugar 2¾ 5s 8d Rice 1 8 11s 3d £4 5s 2½d Plantation Dr for the following Stores Species from	The charges for stores expended at the Malley from 12 January to 11 April 1760 were as follows. Beef, 14 pieces, £2 1s 3d Arrack, 3½ gallons, £0 14s 7d Soap, ditto, £1 1s 10½d Oil, ¾ grain, £0 2s 7d Tea 3 single, £0 2s 7d 7 bohea, £0 0s 8d total, £0 3s 3d Hooks and lines 6 number 4 6 number 2, lines, £0 3s 11½d 50 number 7 50 number 3, hooks, £0 1s 1½d total, £0 5s 1d Sugar, 2½, £0 3s 8d Rice, 16, £0 11s 2d total, £4 5s 2½d The charges for stores expended at the Plantation from 12 January to 11 April 1760 were as follows. Rice and paddy

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		the 12th Jany to the 11th April 1760 vizt Rice and Paddy vizt 54 12 15 Paddy 2 24 Rice for Paddy & Rice 7 16s 7d 5s 1d 8 1s 8d Iron 2 22 to Repr the Plantation House Do Hinges for Doors for the Blacks Houses 1 5s 6d Iron Ware vizt 12 Sithe Stones for the Gardworks 4s 12d 1 Bristl Hoop stone 6 Masons Ups Sec 1s 3d 5 Sithing Stones Nine Stone 13s 6d 2 Pichforn 6s 11d 4 Filers 7s 6d Iron Ware Carried over £1 8s 3½d Carried Over £12 7s 2d	34cwt 1qr 15lb paddy for poultry and hogs, £7 16s 7d 2cwt 24lb rice for poultry and hogs, £0 5s 1d total, £8 1s 8d Iron, 22 pieces to repair the Plantation House and its hinges, and iron for the blacks houses, £1 5s 6d Iron ware 12 dozen mason tools for the gardeners, £0 4s 12d 1 brick trowel and 6 mason tools ditto, £0 1s 5d 3 stocking [...], for the gardeners, £0 13s 6d 2 pickaxes, £0 6s 11d 3 filers, £0 1s 7d iron ware carried over, £1 8s 3½d carried over, £12 7s 2d **Interpretations** The Malley and the Plantation were the Company's two farms or estates on the island, worked to raise the stock and crops that fed the settlement, and the stores charged to each covered the provisions of their workers and the materials of their husbandry. That the two farms were reckoned as separate charges shows the Company running its landed establishments as distinct concerns, the cost of maintaining each set down against the quarter so its expense could be weighed against its yield. The great charge of paddy and rice at the Plantation, bought expressly for the poultry and hogs, shows the Company feeding its stock on imported grain as well as on the island's own produce. That unhusked rice was shipped in to fatten the birds and pigs points to the scale of the stock-raising on which the settlement's fresh meat depended, the eastern grain sustaining the very animals that supplied the table. The mason's tools, trowels and pickaxes charged to the Plantation for the gardeners show the work of cultivation and building carried on there, the ground broken and the walls raised with imported iron tools. That even the gardeners implements came from the Company's store reflects the island's want of any manufacture of its own, the tools of husbandry drawn like everything else from the stock carried out from England.
371	360	28 April Brought over £12 7s 2d Iron Ware Brought over £1 8s 5½d 10 Pr Dowl Hinges for the Plant to Repr Doors 3s 9d 1 Post lock for the Plant small Gate 2s 1d 1 14s 3½d Oil vizt 2¼ Gall Train for the Serp Doveson Mago 10s 3½d 3 Yr Sweet to Prime Gates in the Pastures & Doors in the Garden 10s 3d 1 0s 5½d Cutlery Ware vizt 7 Butcher Knives 2s 7½d 1 Pruning Do 10d 3 Shoe Do 10½d 4s 5d Nails vizt 7 2 20 3 4 4 30 6 13 10 14 20 31 40 for to make Doors Window Shutters Yr for the Blacks Stewards Mag 9 and repair 9	The charges for stores expended at the Plantation continued. Brought over, £12 7s 2d Iron ware brought over, £1 8s 5½d 10 pairs dowlaid hinges for the Plantation and to repair a door, £0 3s 9d 1 pad lock for the Plantation Gate, £0 2s 1d total, £1 14s 3½d Oil 2¼ gallons grain for the soap and to dress a warehouse and ditto, £0 10s 3½d 3 pairs seconds to paint gates in the pastures and to dress a warehouse and ditto in the garden, £0 10s 3d total, £1 0s 5½d Cutlery ware 1 butcher's knife, £0 2s 7½d 1 pruning ditto, £0 0s 10d 3 shoe ditto, £0 0s 11½d total, £0 4s 5d Nails 7 number 2, to make doors 20 number 3, window shutters 4 number 4, others for the blacks 30 number 6, to make a store and to repair 15 number 10, and repair others 14 number 20, gates in the pastures 81 number 40 total, £2 17s 2½d

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		Gates in the Pastures 2 17s 2½d Cordage 3 5 for the East Garden, Plantation House & Thatching 1 15s 3½d Turners Ware vizt 6 Pr Brushes for Painting 3s 7½d 1 Basket for the Plantation 2s 5d 4 Iron Buffets & Plants in every they 3s 2d 1 Shoe Brush to Rub Cattle 7d 9s 7½d Carried Over £20 8s 10½d	Cordage, ditto for the East Garden, Plantation, houses and thatching, £1 15s 3½d Turners ware 6 pairs brushes for painting, £0 3s 7½d 1 basket for the Plantation, £0 2s 5d 4 dozen baskets to plant potatoes and to carry hay, £0 3s 2d 1 shoe brush to black gaiters, £0 0s 7d total, £0 9s 7½d carried over, £20 8s 10½d **Interpretations** The materials charged to the Plantation went to the ordinary upkeep of a working farm, the nails, hinges and cordage for making doors, hanging gates, repairing stores and thatching the buildings. That the fabric of the Plantation was maintained wholly from imported iron and timber shows how even the Company's own farm depended on the stock carried from England, nothing of the kind being made on the island to keep its buildings and fences in repair. The baskets bought to plant potatoes and to carry hay point to the crops and fodder raised on the Plantation, the potato grown for food and the hay cut to feed the stock through the leaner season. That such simple gear was charged to the farm shows the round of husbandry carried on there, the planting, harvest and haymaking of a working estate provisioned from the store like every other task. The oil issued to dress the warehouses and to paint the gates in the pastures shows the preserving of the farm's buildings and fences against the weather, the timber oiled and painted to make it last. That the Company spent on protecting its Plantation's fabric shows a care for the durability of its works, the imported oil and paint laid on to spare the constant renewal that the climate would otherwise force.
372	361	1760 Brought over £20 8s 10½d Pitch and Tar vizt 7½ Barrels Pitch for the Plantation House 18s 3d 12 Rozen for Do 2s 0d 1½ Gr Tar to rub Cattle 1s 1d 1 1s 10d Lines 6 No 6 for the Gardener 2s 3d Barracks 8 Pr Fir Timber for Repair of the Pork House, and use of the East Garden 2s 5d Deals vizt 1 Elm Plank for the Carts 1 1s 7½d 4 Baths for the Blacks House 1 8s 6d 22 Do Deals for the Plantation House Pork House and Garden 4s 5d 6 Single Deals for the Stable 13s 9d 7 8s 11½d Paint vizt 4½ White lead to Paint Gates in the Pastures & Arcade in the Garden 6s 9d 1½ Ventian Red mixed for Do 3s 3d 16 Whiteg for the Arcade in the Garden 4d 12s 4d Canvas 15 Yards Ventbrigs for the East Garden 11s 3d Twine 1 Train for Do 6½d £32 6s 2d Fortification Dr for the following Stores Species from the 12th January to the 11th April 1760 vizt Paint vizt 4 Ven Red mixed to Paint Gun Carriages 1s 9d 1 Red lead 2s 2d 1 11½d Oil vizt 4½ Sweet for Priming Gun Carriages 2s 2d 2¼ Train for the new Magazine 10s 5½d 12s 7½d Carried Over £1 4s 7d	The charges for stores expended at the Plantation continued. Brought over, £20 8s 10½d Pitch and tar ½ barrel pitch for the Plantation House, £0 18s 3d 12 rosin for ditto, £0 2s 0d 1¾ gallons tar to rub cattle, £0 1s 1d total, £1 1s 10d Lines, 6 number 4 for the gardeners, £0 2s 3d Barracks, 8 pieces for timber for repair of the Plantation House, and use of the East Garden, £0 2s 5d Deals 1 elm plank for the carts, £1 1s 7½d 4 baulks for the blacks house, £1 8s 6d 22 ditto deals for the Plantation House, store house and garden, £4 0s 5d 6 single deals for the stable, £0 13s 9d total, £7 3s 11½d Paint 1½ white lead to paint gates in the pastures and arcade in the garden, £0 6s 9d 1½ Venetian red mixed for ditto, £0 3s 3d 16 whiting for the arcade in the garden, £0 0s 4d total, £0 12s 4d Canvas, 15 yards oznaburgs for the East Garden, £0 11s 3d Twine, 1 grain for ditto, £0 0s 6½d total, £32 6s 2d The charges for stores expended on the fortification from 12 January to 11 April 1760 were as follows. Paint 4 Venetian red mixed to paint gun carriages, £0 1s 9d 1 red lead ditto, £0 2s 2d total, £1 1s 12d

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			Oil 1½ sweet for priming gun carriages, £0 2s 2d 2¼ grain for the new magazine, £0 10s 5½d total, £12 9s 7½d carried over, £14 7s 0d **Interpretations** The tar rubbed on the cattle was a dressing applied to protect the animals hides against insects and to treat sores or infection, a common husbandry of the stock kept on the Company's farms. That the store furnished tar for the beasts as well as for the ships shows the same material serving the land and the sea alike, the preserving stuff of the shipwright turned to the care of the herds on which the island's meat depended. An elm plank bought for the carts and baulks of timber for the buildings show the working wood of the Plantation, elm chosen for the carts as a tough timber resistant to splitting under strain. That particular woods were matched to particular uses, the elm for the carts and the deals for the house and stable, shows the storekeeper's care in fitting the material to the work, all of it drawn from the imported stock the island could not supply from its own trees. The paint and oil charged to the fortification went to the upkeep of the guns and their carriages and to the new magazine then building, the carriages primed and painted against the weather and the magazine dressed as it rose. That the coastal defences required a steady charge of paint and oil to keep the mountings sound shows the constant maintenance the guns demanded in the sea air, the fabric of the island's defence preserved from decay by materials carried from England.
373	362	28 April Brought over £1 4s 7d Turners Ware 3 Pr Brushes to Pr Gun Carriages 1s 10d Iron Ware 1 Pr Bell lock for a Sithee on the line 7s 4d Thread 4 Colored to make the Dutch Sacks of Cartridges 13s 8d Twine 5 Trains for Do and Ditto 2 7½d Lines vizt 8 No 4 for the Masons & Slags 3s 0d 1 Hamter for a Slag 1s 1½d 1 4s 2d Lead 25 2 Shot for Rebuilding the line Gate 5s 4d Bunting vizt 10 Yards Side 7s 1d 16 Do Blue for makes a Dutch Jack 5s 0d 10 Do White 4s 9½d 16s 10½d Canvas vizt 2 Yards Ventbr for Do 1s 6d 1½ Do Eng Canvas to make a Do 1s 7d 3s 1d Cordage 1 2 for a Dutch Jack 5½d Deals 4 Single to turn the thick of the line Gate 9s 2d Nails vizt 2 20 2 10 for the new Magazine 8d 9d Candles 3 for Working in Do 1s 5d £4 5s 3d Garrison Cr for the following Stores Species from the 12th January to the 11th April 1760 vizt Blankets 112 30 16s 0d Rice 6 96 2 2s 5d Oil vizt 9½ Gall Train for the Sweet of Guards 17 8s 10d ½ Gall Linseed 10½d 17 9s 8½d	The charges for stores expended on the fortification continued. Brought over, £14 7s 0d Turners ware, 3 pairs brushes to paint gun carriages, £0 1s 10d Iron ware, 1 pad lock for a lodge on the line, £0 7s 4d Thread, 4 coloured to make the Dutch jack and cartridges, £0 15s 8d Twine, 5 skeins for ditto and ditto, £0 2s 7½d Lines 8 number 4 for the masons and flags, £0 3s 0d 1 hammer for a flag, £0 1s 7½d total, £1 4s 4½d Lead, 25 number 2 shot for rebuilding the Sea Gate, £0 5s 4d Bunting 10 yards red 16 blue, for making a Dutch jack, £0 5s 0d 10 white, £0 4s 9½d total, £16 10s 4½d Canvas 2 yards English for ditto, £0 1s 6d 1 piece Vandtroys canvas to make bags for ditto, £0 1s 7d total, £0 3s 1d Cordage, 1½ for a Dutch jack, £0 0s 5½d Deals, 4 single to turn the thick of the Sea Gate, £0 9s 2d Nails 2 number 20 2 number 10, for the new magazine, £0 0s 8d total, £0 0s 9d Candles, 3 for working in ditto, £0 1s 5d total, £4 5s 3d The charges for stores expended on the garrison from 12 January to 11 April 1760 were as follows. Blankets, 112, £30 16s 0d Rice, 696, £2 2s 5d Oil

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		Carried Over £50 8s 1½d	9½ gallons grain, for the use of the guard, £17 8s 10d ½ gallon linseed, £0 0s 10½d total, £17 9s 8½d carried over, £50 5s 1½d **Interpretations** The bunting and thread charged for making a Dutch jack point to the running of a Dutch flag, perhaps to signal or decoy in the exchanges with the many Dutch ships that called at the road. That the store furnished the cloth and thread to make the colours of another nation shows a deliberate provision for the courtesies or stratagems of the sea, the island keeping the means to fly a foreign flag as occasion required. The large charge of blankets to the garrison, over a hundred issued in the quarter, reflects the provision made for the soldiers against the cool of the island's climate, the bedding supplied from store to keep the men warm. That so many blankets were needed shows the temperate conditions of St Helena, where the nights and the winter season called for warmth, the garrison clothed and covered from the imported stock against a climate cooler than the tropics. The oil charged for the use of the guard was the fuel for the lamps that lit the watches and the guardrooms through the night, the constant burning by which the garrison kept its posts. That so considerable a charge for oil arose from the guard shows the cost of the night watch on a settlement always alert to the approach of strange sail, the light of the sentries drawn steadily from the Company's stores.
374	363	1760 Brought over £50 8s 1½d Paint 2 Ven Red mixed for working the Soldiers Blankets 10½d Lines vizt 12 No 2 for Whips 3s 4½d 2 Hamter for drumcords 2s 9d 6s 1½d Tin Ware 1 Camp Kittle for Banks 3s 1d Nails 3½ 2 to repair Barracks & making Coffins 1s 5½d Flour 5 Do for the Recruits upon their Landing 3s 5½d Coals 8 Single for Coffins 18s 4d Arrack 18 Gall for Grains on Muistering 15s 4d Iron Ware 3 small Frying Pans 6s 10d Beef 30 Pr Irish Give the Recruit upon Landing 3 9s 4½d £59 17s 8d Boats Dr for the following Stores Species from the 12 January to the 11th April 1760 vizt Nails vizt 1 2 1 3 2 4 2 6 £2 9½d Pitch 18 2s 7½d Oil ½ Gall Train 1s 11d Cordage 3 8 1s 11d £18s 5d Hospital Dr for the following Stores Species from the 12 Jany to the 11 April 1760 vizt Sugar 4 30 4 9s 7d Flour 4 30 3 2s 8½d Salt 2½ Bushels 6s 9d Oil 12½ Gall 2 8s 4½d Rice 5 60 1 10s 11d £11 18s 4d St Helena	The charges for stores expended on the garrison continued. Brought over, £50 9s 1½d Paint, 2 Venetian red mixed for marking the soldiers blankets, £0 0s 10½d Lines 12 number 2 for whips, £0 3s 4½d 2 hamber for drum cords, £0 2s 9d Tin ware, 1 camp kettle for Bank's, £0 6s 1½d Nails, 3½ to repair barracks and making coffins, £0 3s 1d Flour, 50 ditto for the recruits upon their landing, £0 3s 5½d Deals, 8 single for coffins, £0 18s 4d Arrack, 18 gallons for drawn on mustering, £3 15s 0d Iron ware, 3 small frying pans, £0 6s 10d Beef, 30 pieces fresh given the recruits upon landing, £3 9s 4½d total, £59 17s 8d The charges for stores expended on the boats from 12 January to 11 April 1760 were as follows. Nails 1 number 2 1 number 3 2 number 4 2 number 6, £0 2s 9½d Pitch, 18, £0 2s 7½d Oil, ¾ gallon grain, £0 1s 11d Cordage, 38, £0 11s 1d total, £0 18s 5d The charges for stores expended on the hospital from 12 January to 11 April 1760 were as follows. Sugar, 430, £4 9s 7d Flour, 430, £3 2s 8½d Salt, 2½ bushels, £0 6s 9d Oil, 12½ gallons, £2 8s 4½d Rice, 500, £1 10s 11d total, £11 18s 4d Dated St Helena, 28 April 1760. Errors excepted. Signed, James Powell, storekeeper. **Interpretations**

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		April the 28th 1760 E Excepted James Powell Storkeeper List	The deals and nails charged for making coffins, and the beef and flour given to the recruits on landing, show the store meeting the passages of life and arrival on the island, the burial of the dead and the reception of new soldiers off the ships. That the same stock furnished the coffins for the dead and the welcome meal for the living recruits shows the store woven into the whole course of the settlement's existence, from the greeting of the newcomer to the burying of the dead. The lines charged for whips point to the instruments of punishment kept for the garrison and the slaves, the cord issued from store to make the whips with which floggings were carried out. That the material of correction was drawn from the ordinary stock, entered plainly among the nails and cordage, shows the whip as a settled tool of the island's discipline, its making provided for as routinely as any other need. The sugar, flour, oil and rice charged to the hospital were the invalid diet for the sick, the plain and easily taken food thought fit for those under care and recovery. That the hospital drew a distinct provision of these gentler stores shows a measure of medical care maintained on the island, the ailing fed from the store on a diet apart from the salt meat of the healthy, the settlement providing for its sick as far as its means allowed.
375	364	28 April List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salarys Diet money &ca for the Quarter commencing the 12th day of January 1760 Charles Hutchinson Esquire Governor Salary £125 0s 0d Ditto allowance for Servants amount 31 14s 9d 156 14s 9d John Skottowe Esquire Lieut Governor Salary 62 10s 0d Ditto Diet money 25 0s 0d 87 10s 0d John Clark of Council Salary 15 0s 0d Matthew Gurling of Council Salary 7 10s 0d Ditto as Accomptant 17 10s 0d Ditto Diet money 15 0s 0d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 0d 42 10s 0d Matthew Bazett as Factor to 11th & 87 weeks 30 days at £7 10s & Quarter 2 9s 5½d Ditto as Assistant Storkeeper to 11th & 87 exc as 56 Days at £3 & Quarter 1 12s 11½d Ditto as Secretary from 11th Feb & are 76 1 days at £17 16 & Quarter 11 14s 7½d Ditto Diet money as Secretary from 11th Feb & are 4 11th April are 68 Days at £15 & Quarter 10 1s 2d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 0d 31 14s 0d William Le Chaplain Salary 25 0s 0d Ditto Diet money 15 0s 0d 40 0s 0d James Powell Storkeeper 17 10s 0d Ditto Diet money 15 0s 0d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 0d 35 0s 0d Carried over £408 8s 9d	A list was made of the Honourable Company's officers and servants on the island of St Helena, with their several salaries, diet money and so on, for the quarter commencing 12 January 1760. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d ditto allowance for servants annual, £31 14s 9d total, £156 14s 9d John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d ditto diet money, £25 0s 0d total, £87 10s 0d John Clark, of council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Yearling, of council, salary, £7 10s 0d ditto as accountant, £17 10s 0d ditto diet money, £15 0s 0d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £42 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, as tailor to 11 February, 47 weeks, 30 days at £7 10s 0d per quarter, £2 9s 5½d ditto as assistant storekeeper to 11 February, 30 days at £5 per quarter, £1 12s 11½d ditto as secretary from 11 February to 11 April, 41 days at £17 6s 0d per quarter, £11 14s 7½d ditto diet money as secretary from 11 February to 11 April, 61 days at £15 per quarter, £10 1s 2d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £31 14s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d ditto diet money, £15 0s 0d total, £40 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, £17 10s 0d ditto diet money, £15 0s 0d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £35 0s 0d carried over, £408 8s 9d **Interpretations** The salary roll set out the standing establishment of the island's government, from the Governor at the head down through the council, the chaplain and the storekeeper, each with a fixed salary and most with diet money and house rent added. That the officers were paid not only a salary but allowances for their food and lodging shows the full cost of maintaining the establishment, the Company bearing the whole charge of keeping its servants housed and fed as well as paid.

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			Matthew Bazett's entry, drawn part as tailor, part as assistant storekeeper and part as secretary within the one quarter, records the shifting of a servant between offices as the vacancy in the secretaryship fell open on 11 February. That his pay was reckoned in separate portions for each post he held in turn shows the exactness of the accounting and the small pool of men from which the island's offices were filled, one servant passing through three functions in a single quarter as the establishment's needs required. This is the same Yearling who succeeded to the secretaryship, and the roll accounts for the change by dividing his pay at the very day the office changed hands. The chaplain's place on the salary roll, with his fixed stipend and diet money, marks the maintenance of the established church on the island as a charge on the Company alongside the civil and military offices. That the Company paid for a chaplain as it paid for its Governor and storekeeper shows religion held as part of the settlement's ordered establishment, the ministry provided for out of the same funds that kept the government and stores.
376	365	1760 Brought over £408 8s 9d William Wrangham as Factor 7 10s 0d Ditto as Assistant Storkeeper from 11th Feb & are 56 days at £3 & Quarter 3 7s 0d Ditto Diet money 10 0s 0d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 0d 23 7s 0d Francis Wrangham as Secretary to the 11th Feb & are 30 days at £7 10s & Quarter 5 16s 4½d Ditto as Factor from 11th Feb & are to 11th April are 61 days at £7 10s & Quarter 5 0s 12d Ditto Diet money as Secretary to 11th Feb & are 4 30 days at £15 & Quarter 4 18s 10¼d Ditto Diet money as Factor from 11th Feb & are 4 to 11th April are 61 days at £10 & Quarter 6 14s 4d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 0d 24 18s 10¼d Richard Law Writers Salary 5 0s 0d Ditto Diet money 10 0s 0d Ditto house Rent 2 10s 0d 17 10s 0d David Alcock as Writer from the 1 April to the 11th both days inclusive at £15 & Quarter 1 16s 3d Robert Barclay Surgeons Salary 9 15s 0d Ditto Diet money 10 0s 0d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 0d 22 5s 0d John Ritchard Surgeons Salary 6 5s 0d Ditto Diet money 10 0s 0d Diet House Rent 2 10s 0d 18 15s 0d Richard Beale Judge Advocate Salary 10 0s 0d Ditto as School Master 3 8s 3d Ditto as Clark 5 0s 0d 18 8s 3d Carried over £535 9s 1½d	The list of the Honourable Company's officers and servants continued. Brought over, £408 8s 9d William Wrangham, as tailor, £7 10s 0d ditto as assistant storekeeper from 11 February, 61 days at £5 per quarter, £3 7s 0d ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £23 7s 0d Francis Wrangham, as secretary to 11 February, 30 days at £17 10s 0d per quarter, £5 16s 4½d ditto as factor from 11 February to 11 April, 61 days at £7 10s 0d per quarter, £5 0s 4d ditto diet money as secretary to 11 February, 30 days at £15 per quarter, £4 18s 10½d ditto diet money as factor from 11 February to 11 April, 61 days at £10 per quarter, £6 14s 4d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £24 18s 10¾d Richard Law, waiter, salary, £5 0s 0d ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £17 10s 0d David Alcock, as writer from 1 April to 11 April, both days inclusive, at £15 per quarter, £1 16s 3d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £22 5s 0d John Ritchard, surgeon, salary, £6 5s 0d ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, Judge Advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d ditto as schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d ditto as clerk, £5 0s 0d total, £18 8s 3d carried over, £535 9s 1d **Interpretations** The two Wranghams, Francis and William, appear here with their pay divided at 11 February, Francis passing from secretary to factor as his sight failed and William taking up the assistant storekeeper's place, the roll reckoning each man's portions to the day the offices changed. That the account tracks these shifts so exactly, apportioning salary and diet money between the old post and the new, shows the ordered response to the vacancy caused by Francis Wrangham's blindness, the offices redistributed and the pay adjusted man by man across the quarter.

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			Richard Beale drew pay under three heads at once, as Judge Advocate, schoolmaster and clerk, holding the island's legal, educational and clerical offices together in his single person. That one man served as the settlement's law officer, teacher and clerk shows how the small establishment concentrated its functions in a few hands, the same person prosecuting before the council, teaching the children and keeping the records, his threefold salary marking the breadth of what a single officer might carry. The Judge Advocate's place on the roll marks the maintenance of a distinct legal officer to conduct the island's prosecutions and advise the council on matters of law, a formal provision for the administration of justice. That the Company paid a salaried law officer shows the settlement's government reaching beyond the bare exercise of the council's authority to a regular apparatus of justice, the same body that had lately examined the infanticide and the drink offences served by an officer kept for the law.
377	366	28 April Brought over £535 9s 1½d Samuel Alexander Overseer 7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett Overseer 7 10s 0d 15 0s 0d John Bland Master Mason Salary 17 10s 0d Ditto Diet Money 10 0s 0d Ditto House Rent 1 10s 0d 29 0s 0d Thomas Townsend Store Mason Salary 19 10s 0d John Robinson Carpenters Salary 12 10s 0d Ditto for his Apprentice 3 5s 0d Ditto House Rent 15s 0d 16 10s 0d Edward Smith Gardener 10 0s 0d Edward Durrand Armourer 9 0s 0d James Torbett Cooper 8 15s 0d William Moore Steward 6 0s 0d Michael Frost Clock & Instruments cleaner 1 5s 0d Rich Jenks Groom 4 0s 0d Betts Smiths Marshal 5 6s 5½d Thomas Fitzpatrick as Master at Arms 6 5s 0d John Grainger Patron of the Yong boat 7 10s 0d 56 1s 5½d First Company John Clark as first Lieutenant Salary 77 days at 5s & day 19 5s 0d Ditto 77 days Diet money as first Lieut at 4s for day 5 15s 6d Ditto 18 days as Captain at 10s & day 9 0s 0d Ditto for Instructing the Gunners &c 1 10s 0d 39 10s 6d John Howard second Lieut Salary 18 5s 0d Ditto Diet Money 6 16s 10½d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 0d 27 11s 10½d Carried over £739 12s 11d	The list of the Honourable Company's officers and servants continued. Brought over, £535 9s 12d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, £7 10s 0d total, £15 0s 0d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d ditto diet money, £10 0s 0d ditto house rent, £1 10s 0d total, £29 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, stone mason, salary, £19 10s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d ditto for his apprentice, £3 5s 0d ditto house rent, £0 15s 0d total, £16 10s 0d Edward Smith, gardener, £10 0s 0d Edward Durrand, armourer, £9 0s 0d James Torbett, cooper, £8 15s 0d William Moore, steward, £6 0s 0d Michael Frost, clock and instruments cleaner, £1 5s 0d Richard Jenks, groom, £2 0s 0d Beale, smith's mate, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Fitzpatrick, mender of muskets, arms, £6 5s 0d John Grainger, patron of the ferry boat, £7 10s 0d total, £56 1s 5½d The first company was as follows. John Clark, as post lieutenant, salary, 77 days at 5s per day, £19 5s 0d ditto 77 days diet money as post lieutenant at 1s 6d per day, £5 15s 6d ditto 14 days as captain at 10s per day, £7 0s 0d ditto for instructing the gunners, £1 10s 0d total, £39 10s 6d John Howard, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £27 11s 10½d carried over, £739 12s 11d **Interpretations** Below the principal officers the roll ran through the island's tradesmen and specialists, the masons, carpenter, gardener, armourer, cooper and smith, each kept on salary to serve the works and maintenance of the settlement. That the Company retained a standing body of skilled craftsmen shows the island supplying its building, metalwork and husbandry from its own paid establishment, the

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			trades that a remote place could not hire freely secured by fixed employment. John Clark's military pay was reckoned partly as post lieutenant and partly for fourteen days as captain, the higher rate marking a spell in the senior command, with a separate charge for instructing the gunners. That his pay rose for the days he acted as captain and included a fee for training the artillery shows the fluid holding of military rank on the island and the value set on the skilled work of teaching the guns, the same Clark who sat on the council here drawing his soldier's pay by the day. The patron of the ferry boat, kept on salary, ran the craft that carried people and goods about the island's coast or across its landing places, a settled charge for a service the broken shore made necessary. That the Company paid a man to keep the ferry shows the difficulty of movement on so steep and rugged an island, where passage by water served where the land was hard, the boat maintained as a standing part of the settlement's ordinary working.
378	367	1760 Brought over £739 12s 11d Solomon Fr Maurice second Lieut Salary 18 5s 0d Ditto Diet money 6 16s 10½d 25 1s 10½d Solomon Jacob Adjutant Salary 22 16s 3d Ditto Diet money 6 16s 10½d 29 13s 1½d Serjeants John Fleming 7 12s 1d John Grainger 7 12s 1d Thomas Puris 7 12s 1d Samuel Austin as Serjeant to the 5th March inc as 53 days at 20s & day 4 8s 4d Ditto his Contract from the 5th March exclusive as 38 day at 16s & day 1 11s 8d Thomas Williams as Corporal to the 5th March exclusive as 53 days at 14s & day 3 1s 10d Ditto as Serjeant 38 days from the 5th day of March exclusive at 20s & day 3 3s 4d 35 1s 5d Corporals James Neale 5 6s 5½d Henry Hader 5 6s 5½d George Finn 5 6s 5½d George Litchison as Contract to the 5th March exclusive as 53 days at 20s & day 2 4s 2d Ditto Corporal from the 5th March inclusive as 38 days at 14s & day 2 3s 4d 20 6s 10½d Drummers John Milton 5 6s 5½d George Wills 5 6s 5½d 10 12s 11d Carried over £859 9s 2d	The list of the Honourable Company's officers and servants continued. Brought over, £739 12s 11d Solomon de Maurice, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d total, £25 1s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d total, £29 13s 1½d The sergeants were as follows. John Fleming, £7 12s 1d John Grainger, £7 12s 1d Thomas Purvis, £7 12s 1d Samuel Austin, as sergeant to 5 March inclusive, 33 days at 20d per day, £4 8s 4d ditto as corporal from 5 March exclusive, 38 days at 18d per day, £1 11s 8d Thomas Williams, as corporal to 5 March exclusive, 53 days at 14d per day, £3 1s 10d ditto as sergeant 38 days from 5 March inclusive at 20d per day, £3 3s 4d total, £35 1s 3d The corporals were as follows. James Nedwin, £5 6s 5½d Henry Hasler, £5 6s 5½d George Furr, £5 6s 5½d George Litchland, as corporal to 5 March exclusive, 53 days at 10d per day, £2 4s 2d ditto corporal from 5 March inclusive, 38 days at 14d per day, £2 3s 4d total, £20 6s 10½d The drummers were as follows. John Milton, £5 6s 5½d George Wilks, £5 6s 5½d total, £10 12s 11d carried over, £859 9s 2d **Interpretations** The pay of Samuel Austin and Thomas Williams was reckoned across a change of rank on 5 March, Austin dropping from sergeant to corporal and Williams rising from corporal to sergeant, the two men in effect exchanging places and their pay divided at the day. That the roll tracks such a swap so precisely, apportioning each man's wage between the two ranks at the higher and lower daily rates, shows the exactness of the military accounting and the movement of men up and down the garrison's ranks as places fell open. The adjutant, kept on a substantial salary, was the officer who handled the garrison's routine administration, its orders, musters and correspondence, the working link between the commander and the men. That the small garrison

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			maintained a salaried adjutant shows the ordered military establishment kept up on the island, the machinery of command provided for even in a force of no great size, the settlement's defence run on regular lines. The drummers on the roll were essential to the working of the garrison, the drum beating the calls by which the men were assembled, marched and stood to arms, the signals of the soldier's day. That two drummers were kept on pay shows the garrison ordered on regular military lines, the drum carrying the commands across the posts as it did in any establishment of the line, the island's small force run by the same forms as the armies of the mother country.
379	368	28 April Brought over £859 9s 2d Centinels Daniel Nimir 3 16s 2d John Allen Entertained 28th March 12s 6d George Bennit 3 16s 2d Mar Bulton 3 16s 2d John Blackwell 3 16s 2d Gabriel Bury 3 16s 2d John Bimblett 3 16s 2d Joseph Blackwell 3 16s 2d James Cartwright 3 16s 2d George Capeling 3 16s 2d William Cushong 3 16s 2d Duncan Cameron 3 16s 2d James Cottrell 3 16s 2d Joseph Cutts 3 16s 2d Jonathan Chantlor 3 16s 2d William Crew entertained 28th March 12s 6d Edward Durrant 3 16s 2d Thomas Dunn 3 16s 2d James Edwards 3 16s 2d George Green 3 16s 2d John Gilmore 3 16s 2d Richard Grulling 3 16s 2d Christian Grahamald 3 16s 2d Alexander Trombridge 3 16s 2d Joseph Gilder entertained 28th March 12s 6d Thomas Hulls 3 16s 2d Daniel Holt 3 16s 2d Henry Hevensbrugh 3 16s 2d George Harbert 3 16s 2d Thomas Hillard 3 16s 2d John Holt 3 16s 2d Robert Holt 3 16s 2d Centinals Carried over £112 2s 8½d Carried Over £859 9s 2d	The list of the Honourable Company's officers and servants continued with the sentinels. Brought over, £859 9s 1d Daniel Nunn, £3 16s 2d John Allen, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d George Bennit, £3 16s 2d Alexander Austin, £3 16s 2d John Blackwell, £3 16s 2d Gabriel Bury, £3 16s 2d John Bandill, £3 16s 2d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 2d James Cartwright, £3 16s 2d George Capling, £3 16s 2d William Cushing, £3 16s 2d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 2d James Cottrell, £3 16s 2d Joseph Cutts, £3 16s 2d Jonathan Chantley, £3 16s 2d William Crew, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Edward Durrant, £3 16s 2d Thomas Dunn, £3 16s 2d James Edwards, £3 16s 2d George Green, £3 16s 2d John Gilmore, £3 16s 2d Richard Yeatling, £3 16s 2d Christian Frichawald, £3 16s 2d Alexander Trowbridge, £3 16s 2d Joseph Gilder, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Thomas Stiles, £3 16s 2d Daniel Hulls, £3 16s 2d Henry Havensburgh, £3 16s 2d George Herbert, £3 16s 2d Thomas Hillard, £3 16s 2d John Hole, £3 16s 2d Robert Hole, £3 16s 2d sentinels carried over, £112 2s 8d carried over, £859 9s 2d **Interpretations** The muster of the sentinels, each private soldier entered at the same quarterly pay of £3 16s 2d, made up the rank and file of the garrison on which the island's defence rested. That the men were listed by name and paid a uniform wage shows the ordered establishment of the common soldiers, the whole body of the garrison set down individually so that the Company knew exactly whom it kept under arms and at what charge. The three men entered as entertained on 28 March, John Allen, William Crew and Joseph Gilder, drew only a part quarter's pay, having enlisted near the quarter's end, their short service reckoned to the day. That the roll distinguished the newly enlisted and paid them only from the day they joined shows the exactness of the military accounting, each soldier's wage matched to the time he had actually served, the establishment's cost tracked to the last man and day.
380	369	1760 Brought over £859 9s 2d Centinels Brought Over £112 2s 8½d	The list of the sentinels continued. Brought over, £859 9s 2d Sentinels brought over, £112 2s 8½d

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		Christian Kensile 3 16s 2d George Ive 3 16s 2d William Ives 3 16s 2d Stephen John 3 16s 2d Henry Jenkins 3 16s 2d Henry Johnson 3 16s 2d Edward Kirk 3 16s 2d William Linstone 3 16s 2d Thomas Litchfield discharged 28th March 3 4s 2d Job Moss 3 16s 2d Richard Morton 3 16s 2d Simon Moore 3 16s 2d Murdock McClock 3 16s 2d John Baptist Mitchleent 3 16s 2d David Miles died 25th Feby 1 17s 6d Thomas Athington 3 16s 2d Humphry Pugh 3 16s 2d John Pige 3 16s 2d William Pigott 3 16s 2d Robert Pittle 3 16s 2d William Perry 3 16s 2d Thomas Page 3 16s 2d Thomas Payne entertained 28th March 12s 6d James Richardson 3 16s 2d Abraham Ratcliff died 19th March 2 16s 2d Richard Roberts 3 16s 2d John Archer 3 16s 2d John Shaw 3 16s 2d William Sedman 3 16s 2d Samuel Spurgall 3 16s 2d William Standley 12s 6d James Sink entertained 28 March 12s 6d Centinals Carried over £223 19s 2d Carried Over £859 9s 2d	Christian Frichald, £3 16s 2d George Ivy, £3 16s 2d William Jones, £3 16s 2d Stephen John, £3 16s 2d Henry Jenkins, £3 16s 2d Henry Johnson, £3 16s 2d Edward Kirk, £3 16s 2d William Lambourn, £3 16s 2d Thomas Litchfield, discharged 28 March, £3 4s 2d John Mearns, £3 16s 2d Richard Morden, £3 16s 2d Simon Moore, £3 16s 2d Murdoch McCloud, £3 16s 2d John Baptist Litchland, £3 16s 2d David Miles, died 25 February, £1 17s 6d Thomas Athington, £3 16s 2d Humphry Pugh, £3 16s 2d John Pryor, £3 16s 2d William Pigott, £3 16s 2d Robert Miller, £3 16s 2d William Perry, £3 16s 2d Thomas Page, £3 16s 2d Thomas Payne, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d James Richardson, £3 16s 2d Abraham Ratcliff, died 19 March, £2 16s 2d Richard Roberts, £3 16s 2d John Archer, £3 16s 2d John Mear, £3 16s 2d William Sedman, £3 16s 2d Samuel Spurgall, £3 16s 2d William Sandley, £0 12s 6d James Peck, entertained 28 March, £3 16s 2d sentinels carried over, £223 19s 2d carried over, £859 9s 2d **Interpretations** The roll records among the sentinels several men whose service ended within the quarter, David Miles and Abraham Ratcliff dying and Thomas Litchfield discharged, their pay reckoned only to the day they left the strength. That the account carried each departed soldier at a part quarter's wage shows the exactness with which the garrison's cost was kept, the men struck off at death or discharge and paid to the very date, so the Company's charge answered precisely to the service rendered. The presence of John Baptist Litchland among the sentinels, lately fined for retailing liquor without a licence, shows a serving soldier of the garrison engaged in the illicit drink trade the council had moved to suppress. That a man on the muster roll was among those selling drink unlawfully points to the mingling of the garrison with the island's civil dealings, the soldiers not held wholly apart from the trades and offences of the settlement they were kept to defend.
381	370	28 April Brought over £859 9s 2d Centinels Brought over £223 19s 2d Joseph Stace 3 16s 2d James Truelove died 30th January 15s 11d John Vaughan 3 16s 2d Edward Webber 3 16s 2d John Mobley 3 16s 2d William Weatherby 3 16s 2d Jeremiah Whittle 3 16s 2d William Wills entertained 28th March 12s 6d William Woolley entertained 28th March 12s 6d Richard Wright entertained 28th March 12s 6d 249 8s 9d Second Company Thomas Fitzpatrick as 1st Lieut from 8th July 1759 with 28 March 1760 inclusive as 264 days at 5s & day 66 0s 0d Ditto 18 days as Captain at 10s & day 7 0s 0d	The list of the sentinels continued. Brought over, £859 9s 2d Sentinels brought over, £223 19s 2d Joseph Stones, £3 16s 2d James Truelove, died 30 January, £0 15s 11d John Vaughan, £3 16s 2d Edward Webber, £3 16s 2d John Mobley, £3 16s 2d William Winberley, £3 16s 2d Jeremiah Whittle, £3 16s 2d William Wilks, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d William Woolley, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Richard Wright, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d total, £249 8s 9d The second company was as follows. Thomas Fitzpatrick, as post lieutenant from 8 July 1759 to 28 March 1760 inclusive, 264 days at 5s per day, £66 0s 0d

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		Ditto 264 days Diet money at 4s & day 19 16s 0d Ditto 264 days house Rent at 6s & day 7 3s 0d 99 19s 0d Richard Beale Second Lieut Salary 18 5s 0d Ditto Diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto House & Rent 2 10s 0d 27 11s 10½d Thomas Bazett second Lieut Salary 18 5s 0d Ditto Diet money 6 16s 10½d 25 1s 10½d Serjeants William Barrison 7 12s 1d Samuel Deffountain 7 12s 1d John Langridge 7 12s 1d 22 16s 3d Carried over £1284 6s 11d	ditto 14 days as captain at 10s per day, £7 0s 0d ditto 264 days diet money at 1s 6d per day, £19 16s 0d ditto 264 days house rent at 6d per day, £7 3s 0d total, £99 19s 0d Richard Beale, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Bazett, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d total, £25 1s 10½d The sergeants were as follows. William Bandill, £7 12s 1d Samuel Bedfountain, £7 12s 1d John Langridge, £7 12s 1d total, £22 16s 3d carried over, £1,284 6s 11d **Interpretations** The whole salary and pay roll of the establishment, civil and military together, came in this quarter to over twelve hundred pounds, the standing charge of maintaining the island's government, offices and garrison. That the cost of the establishment so far exceeded the outlay on works and stores shows where the great weight of the island's expense lay, in the wages and keep of the men who governed and defended it, the largest single burden the Company bore for its distant possession. Thomas Fitzpatrick's pay ran from the previous July, drawn for two hundred and sixty four days as post lieutenant with fourteen at the captain's rate, a long unbroken reckoning covering three quarters at once. That his wage was carried across so many months in a single entry, apportioned by the day for salary, diet money and house rent alike, shows the accounting settling a long arrear in one sum, the officer's whole service since the summer brought to account together. Fitzpatrick appears also among the civil servants as the mender of muskets, holding a tradesman's place alongside his military rank, one of the several men on the island who drew pay under more than one head. Richard Beale, appearing here as second lieutenant of the second company, held this military rank alongside his civil offices of Judge Advocate, schoolmaster and clerk noted earlier in the roll. That the same man served as a militia officer as well as the island's law officer, teacher and clerk shows how completely the small establishment concentrated its functions, a single person carrying a military command together with the legal, educational and clerical work of the settlement, his pay drawn under each office in turn.
382	371	1760 Brought over £1284 6s 11d Corporals John Allen 5 6s 5½d William Smith 5 6s 5½d Edward Preston 5 6s 5½d William Dipion 5 6s 5½d 21 5s 10d Drummers George Brown 5 6s 5½d John Skate 5 6s 5½d 10 12s 11d Centinels John Allen 3 16s 2d John Antrobott 3 16s 2d Edward Athing 3 16s 2d Sam Ulnick Algeron 3 16s 2d Isaac Buck 3 16s 2d Edward Browne 3 16s 2d	The list of the second company continued. Brought over, £1,284 6s 11d The corporals were as follows. John Allison, £5 6s 5½d William Smith, £5 6s 5½d Edward Preston, £5 6s 5½d William Dyson, £5 6s 5½d total, £21 5s 10d The drummers were as follows. George Brown, £5 6s 5½d John Steele, £5 6s 5½d total, £10 12s 11d The sentinels were as follows. John Allen, £3 16s 2d John Rotindell, £3 16s 2d Edward Utting, £3 16s 2d Hans Ulrick Algower, £3 16s 2d Isaach Buck, £3 16s 2d Edward Browne, £3 16s 2d

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		James Bohley 3 16s 2d William Bomsler 3 16s 2d John Buenham 3 16s 2d John Robt Blank 3 16s 2d Edward Cushier 3 16s 2d Edward Cram 3 16s 2d Isaac Day 3 16s 2d Henry Datley 3 16s 2d Hopkins Dukes 3 16s 2d John Davis 3 16s 2d Samuel Edes 3 16s 2d Jacob Elsey 3 16s 2d James Inn 3 16s 2d Jonathan Godly 3 16s 2d Centinals Carried over £76 0s 10d Carried over £1316 5s 8d	James Bohley, £3 16s 2d William Bonnesley, £3 16s 2d John Burnham, £3 16s 2d John Baptist Blank, £3 16s 2d Edward Cushier, £3 16s 2d Edward Crew, £3 16s 2d Isaach Day, £3 16s 2d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 2d Hopkins Davies, £3 16s 2d John Davis, £3 16s 2d Samuel Edes, £3 16s 2d Jacob Yeazy, £3 16s 2d James Fox, £3 16s 2d Jonathan Godby, £3 16s 2d sentinels carried over, £76 0s 10d carried over, £1,316 5s 8d **Interpretations** The second company was ordered on the same lines as the first, with its corporals, drummers and sentinels each entered at the standard quarterly pay, the two companies together making up the island's garrison. That the force was divided into companies each with its own officers and men, all paid at uniform rates by rank, shows the settlement's defence organised on regular military lines, the garrison run by the same establishment and forms as any body of the line at home. Among the sentinels of this company stands Edward Utting, who appears earlier in the record paid for work in the armourer's shop, showing a soldier of the garrison employed also at a trade in the Company's service. That the same man drew a private's pay and a separate charge for his skilled work shows the garrison's men turned to the island's labour as well as its defence, the soldiers a body from which the settlement drew hands for its workshops and works as need arose.
383	372	28 April Brought over £1316 5s 8d Centinals Brought over £76 0s 10d William Gooding 3 16s 2d John Gurnah 3 16s 2d William Gibsey 3 16s 2d James Hill 3 16s 2d John Haley 3 16s 2d William Hayes 3 16s 2d George Hike 3 16s 2d William Honeman 3 16s 2d James Hendry 3 16s 2d William Harns 3 16s 2d John Hantswood 3 16s 2d Alexander Hall 3 16s 2d George Hobolt 3 16s 2d Richard Knight 3 16s 2d Willm Hilleler 3 16s 2d Peter Lindsay 3 16s 2d William Alto 3 16s 2d Jonathan Ische 3 16s 2d William Mapford 3 16s 2d Duncan McClain 3 16s 2d Martin Nuoman 3 16s 2d John Pace 3 16s 2d John Pickering 3 16s 2d Charles Leapp 3 16s 2d Sam Rowe 3 16s 2d Michael Rush 3 16s 2d Miranus Rolf 3 16s 2d Thomas Rhode 3 16s 2d Alexr Lapierg 3 16s 2d Henry Sinmonds 3 16s 2d John Stuart 3 16s 2d William Smith 3 16s 2d Centinels Carried over £197 14s 2d Carried over £1316 5s 8d	The list of the sentinels of the second company continued. Brought over, £1,316 5s 8d Sentinels brought over, £76 0s 10d William Gooding, £3 16s 2d John Gaunage, £3 16s 2d William Gisley, £3 16s 2d James Hall, £3 16s 2d John Hailey, £3 16s 2d William Hayes, £3 16s 2d George Hike, £3 16s 2d William Haneman, £3 16s 2d James Hendry, £3 16s 2d William Harris, £3 16s 2d John Hartswood, £3 16s 2d Alexander Hall, £3 16s 2d George Hibbell, £3 16s 2d Richard Knight, £3 16s 2d William Hillier, £3 16s 2d Peter Lindsay, £3 16s 2d William Alto, £3 16s 2d Jonathan Syke, £3 16s 2d William Wexford, £3 16s 2d Duncan McClaun, £3 16s 2d Martin Nueman, £3 16s 2d John Pace, £3 16s 2d John Pickering, £3 16s 2d Charles Leage, £3 16s 2d Simon Rowe, £3 16s 2d Michael Rack, £3 16s 2d Silvanus Relf, £3 16s 2d Thomas Rhoads, £3 16s 2d Ardolo Lapierre, £3 16s 2d Henry Simmonds, £3 16s 2d John Stuart, £3 16s 2d William Smith, £3 16s 2d sentinels carried over, £197 14s 2d carried over, £1,316 5s 8d

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			Interpretations The long muster of sentinels, each private paid the same quarterly wage, made up the bulk of the second company as of the first, the common soldiers on whom the island's defence rested. That the men were entered one by one at a uniform rate shows the ordered establishment of the rank and file, the whole strength of the garrison set down by name so the Company knew exactly the number and cost of the force it kept under arms on its remote possession. The names on the roll range widely in origin, English, Scottish, French and German among them, marking the mixed recruitment of the Company's garrison drawn from more than one nation. That men such as Ardolo Lapierre, Duncan McClaun and Hans Ulrick Algower stood in the same ranks as the English soldiers shows the island's defence manned by a body gathered from across Europe, the Company filling its distant garrison from whatever men it could enlist for the service.
384	373	1760 Brought Over £1316 5s 8d Centinels Brought over £197 14s 2d Willm Saukey 3 16s 2d Edward Tovy 3 16s 2d Benjamin Williams 3 16s 2d Samuel Wright 3 16s 2d John Willingdale 3 16s 2d George Young 3 16s 2d Richard Yorces 3 16s 2d Thomas Cobb discharged 29th March 3 5s 0d William Cobb discharged 28th March 3 4s 2d John Thomason entertained 20th March 19s 2d John Barrett died the 1st April 3 7s 6d Edward Archer 12s 6d Samuel Chase 12s 6d Thomas Colliers 12s 6d John Groom 12s 6d William Doreton 12s 6d Anthony Bird entertained 28th March 12s 6d John Stace 12s 6d John Tutt 12s 6d Samuel Whaley 12s 6d Richard Whaley 12s 6d 244 7s 3½d Third Company One Ephena Beale as 1st Lieut 77 days at 5s & day 19 5s 0d Ditto 77 days Diet money as Do at 4s & day 5 15s 6d Ditto 18 days as Captain at 10s & day 7 0s 0d Ditto 77 days house Rent at 6s & day 2 1s 8½d 34 2s 2½d Henry Bazett second Lieut Salary 18 5s 0d Ditto Diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 0d 27 11s 10½d Carried over £1619 7s 3½d	The list of the sentinels of the second company continued. Brought over, £1,316 5s 8d Sentinels brought over, £197 14s 2d William Sawley, £3 16s 2d Edward Terry, £3 16s 2d Benjamin Williams, £3 16s 2d Samuel Wright, £3 16s 2d John Willingdale, £3 16s 2d George Young, £3 16s 2d Richard Yeeves, £3 16s 2d Thomas Cobb, discharged 29 March, £3 5s 0d William Cobb, discharged 28 March, £3 4s 2d John Thomason, entertained 20 March, £0 19s 2d John Barrett, died 1 April, £3 7s 6d Edward Archer, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Samuel Chase, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Thomas Coffee, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d John Green, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d William Dowston, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Anthony Bird, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d John Stones, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d John Tull, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Samuel Whaley, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Richard Whaley, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d total, £241 7s 3½d The third company was as follows. One post lieutenant, as post lieutenant, 77 days at 5s per day, £19 5s 0d ditto 77 days diet money as ditto at 1s 6d per day, £5 15s 6d ditto 14 days as captain at 10s per day, £7 0s 0d ditto 77 days house rent at 6d per day, £2 1s 8½d total, £34 2s 2½d Henry Bazett, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d ditto diet money, £6 16s 2½d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £27 11s 10½d carried over, £1,619 7s 3d **Interpretations** The muster shows a marked turnover in the ranks at the quarter's end, several men discharged after long service and a large number of new soldiers entertained on 28 March, the old strength drawn down and freshly filled almost on the same day. That so many enlisted together at the close of March, drawing only a part quarter's pay, points to a deliberate recruitment to make good the discharges and deaths, the garrison's numbers replenished in a body as the ships from England brought fresh men.

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			The new recruits bear the surnames of established island families, the Whaleys, Dowstons and Stones among them, showing the garrison drawing its fresh soldiers from the settled population as well as from the ships. That sons of the island's planters and tradesmen took service as sentinels shows the intertwining of the garrison with the community it defended, the same families that farmed the land and filled the parish offices sending their men into the Company's ranks.
385	374	28 April Brought over £1619 7s 2d Michael Frost second Lieut Salary 18 5s 0d Ditto Diet money 6 16s 10½d 25 1s 10½d Serjeants Thomas Luck 7 12s 1d Jeremiah Wignall 7 12s 1d John Bazett 7 12s 1d William Beale 7 12s 1d 30 8s 4d Corporals Henry Deburn 5 6s 5½d Robert Brown 5 6s 5½d John Axe 5 6s 5½d James Skelock 5 6s 5½d 21 5s 11d Drummers John Coffyn 5 6s 5½d Isaac King 5 6s 5½d 10 12s 11d Centinels Matthew Allis 3 16s 2d Samuel Agnes 3 16s 2d Samuel Aldore 3 16s 2d Joseph Bambs 3 16s 2d William Bothell 3 16s 2d William Brook 3 16s 2d William Rostington 3 16s 2d John Burke 3 16s 2d John Brewer 3 16s 2d William Bricks 3 16s 2d John Brown 3 16s 2d Mar Brown 3 16s 2d Nicholas Bushell 3 16s 2d Thomas Blake 3 16s 2d Centinels Carried Over £53 4s 7d Carried Over £1700 6s 0d	The list of the third company continued. Brought over, £1,619 7s 2d Michael Frost, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d total, £25 1s 10½d The sergeants were as follows. Thomas Leech, £7 12s 1d Jeremiah Wignall, £7 12s 1d John Bazett, £7 12s 1d William Beale, £7 12s 1d total, £30 8s 4d The corporals were as follows. Henry Delvin, £5 6s 5½d Robert Brown, £5 6s 5½d John Axe, £5 6s 5½d James Idelock, £5 6s 5½d total, £21 5s 11d The drummers were as follows. John Coffey, £5 6s 5½d Isaac King, £5 6s 5½d total, £10 12s 11d The sentinels were as follows. Matthew Allis, £3 16s 2d Samuel Agnew, £3 16s 2d Samuel Aldore, £3 16s 2d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 2d William Bothell, £3 16s 2d William Brock, £3 16s 2d William Bridington, £3 16s 2d John Burke, £3 16s 2d John Bruers, £3 16s 2d William Bricks, £3 16s 2d John Brown, £3 16s 2d Man Brown, £3 16s 2d Nicholas Bushell, £3 16s 2d Thomas Blake, £3 16s 2d sentinels carried over, £53 4s 7d carried over, £1,706 16s 0d **Interpretations** The third company was ordered like the first two, with its second lieutenant, sergeants, corporals, drummers and sentinels, the three companies together making up the whole garrison of the island. That the force was disposed in three parallel companies each with its full complement of officers and men shows the settlement's defence organised on regular military lines, the garrison run by the same establishment and forms throughout, a small but ordered body kept under arms. Among the corporals stands James Idelock, whose funeral was lately marked by a charge of powder from the magazine, showing the man alive and on the strength at the quarter's opening though dead before its close. That the roll and the powder account together trace the same soldier from his place in the ranks to his burial with military honours shows the record following the men of the garrison through the whole course of their service, from the muster to the grave. The recurrence of island family names among the sergeants and corporals, the Leeches, Bazetts, Beales and Wignalls, shows the settled inhabitants filling the non-commissioned ranks of the garrison as well as its files. That the same families that held the

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			parish offices and farmed the land also supplied the garrison's petty officers shows how deeply the settlement and its defence were interwoven, the leading island families serving the Company in arms as in every other part of the island's ordered life.
386	375	1760 Brought over £1706 16s 0d Centinels Brought over £53 4s 7d John Coffee 3 16s 2d Edward Cozens 3 16s 2d William Coquedd 3 16s 2d John Dor 3 16s 2d Jacob Du Vall 3 16s 2d Thomas Easwick 3 16s 2d Peter Egglestone 3 16s 2d Peter Ferrell 3 16s 2d George French 3 16s 2d Mary Fulbright 3 16s 2d John Goodhall 3 16s 2d Thomas Green 3 16s 2d William Harns 3 16s 2d John Hays 3 16s 2d William Hayes 3 16s 2d John Having 3 16s 2d Thomas Harding 3 16s 2d Abraham Harding 3 16s 2d Arnold Hinnson 3 16s 2d Charles Haywald 3 16s 2d James Hicks 3 16s 2d William Holbrook 3 16s 2d James Hisson 3 16s 2d John Holtssey 3 16s 2d Samuel Fortune 3 16s 2d Richard Ivas 3 16s 2d Samuel Isson 3 16s 2d Ever Meowlis 3 16s 2d Michal Meks 3 16s 2d Stephen Orr 3 16s 2d William Perry 3 16s 2d William Poulton 3 16s 2d Richard Page 3 16s 2d Centinels Carried Over £178 13s 11d Carried Over £1706 16s 0d	The list of the sentinels of the third company continued. Brought over, £1,706 16s 0d Sentinels brought over, £53 4s 7d John Coffee, £3 16s 2d Edward Evans, £3 16s 2d William Colquett, £3 16s 2d John Dew, £3 16s 2d Jacob Du Vall, £3 16s 2d Thomas Easwick, £3 16s 2d Peter Egglestone, £3 16s 2d Peter Ferrell, £3 16s 2d George Furch, £3 16s 2d Henry Fulbright, £3 16s 2d John Goodhall, £3 16s 2d Thomas Swan, £3 16s 2d William Harris, £3 16s 2d John Hayes, £3 16s 2d William Hayes, £3 16s 2d John Harving, £3 16s 2d Thomas Harding, £3 16s 2d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 2d Arnold Hanson, £3 16s 2d Charles Haywald, £3 16s 2d James Hicks, £3 16s 2d William Holbrook, £3 16s 2d James Huffon, £3 16s 2d John Holmesy, £3 16s 2d Samuel Fortune, £3 16s 2d Richard Fox, £3 16s 2d Samuel Etton, £3 16s 2d Ever Mearolin, £3 16s 2d Michael Meak, £3 16s 2d Stephen Orr, £3 16s 2d William Perry, £3 16s 2d William Prichin, £3 16s 2d Richard Payne, £3 16s 2d sentinels carried over, £176 13s 11d carried over, £1,706 16s 0d **Interpretations** The muster of the third company's sentinels, each private at the standard quarterly wage, completes the roll of the garrison's rank and file, the whole body of common soldiers set down man by man. That the establishment was recorded to this length, every private named and paid at a uniform rate, shows the care taken to account for the full strength and cost of the force, the Company holding an exact reckoning of the men it maintained under arms on its distant island. The names again show a garrison of mixed origin, Jacob Du Vall and Arnold Hanson among the English soldiers marking the French and northern European men in the ranks. That the Company filled its files with recruits of several nations shows the reach from which it drew its soldiers, a remote garrison manned by whatever men could be enlisted for the service, gathered from across Europe to hold a single rock in the South Atlantic.
387	376	28 April Brought over £1766 16s 0d Centinels Brought Over £178 13s 11½d Roger Phillips 3 16s 2d Thomas Rutherford 3 16s 2d John Simmonds 3 16s 2d William Snuff 3 16s 2d Joseph Smith 3 16s 2d William Sedman 3 16s 2d Thomas Steers 3 16s 2d	The list of the sentinels of the third company continued. Brought over, £1,766 16s 0d Sentinels brought over, £176 13s 11½d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 2d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 2d John Simmonds, £3 16s 2d William Smith, £3 16s 2d Joseph Smith, £3 16s 2d William Stedman, £3 16s 2d

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		John Christian Strop 3 16s 2d William Taylor 3 16s 2d Samuel Wharsell 3 16s 2d Jacob Ware 3 16s 2d William Wards 3 16s 2d Richard Wilman 3 16s 2d Stephen Willoughby 3 16s 2d Thomas Wuffington 3 16s 2d Gustavus Worton 3 16s 2d William Harrison discharged 11th Feby 1 0s 10d Daniel Cairn discharged 28th Feby 2 0s 0d William Lyon discharged 28th March 3 4s 2d Robert Deehant James Dudley Robert Sayce George Garrett Thomas Innes John Tucker Thomas Windall entertained 28th March 4 7s 6d William Warden reced from Aug & to 5th March 12s 6d 251 7s 2d Fourth Company William Kennedy as 1st Lieut 77 days at 5s & day 19 5s 0d Ditto 18 days as Captain at 10s & day 7 0s 0d Ditto 77 days diet money at 4s & day 5 15s 6d 32 0s 6d Carried over £1989 17s 1½d	Thomas Steers, £3 16s 2d John Christian Stroop, £3 16s 2d William Taylor, £3 16s 2d Samuel Wassell, £3 16s 2d Jacob Ware, £3 16s 2d William Wards, £3 16s 2d Richard Wildman, £3 16s 2d Stephen Willoughby, £3 16s 2d Thomas Woffington, £3 16s 2d Gustavus Worton, £3 16s 2d William Harrison, discharged 11 February, £1 3s 10d Daniel Cairn, discharged 28 February, £2 0s 0d William Lyon, discharged 28 March, £3 4s 2d Robert Dickens, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d James Dudley, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Robert Jayce, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d George Jarrett, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Thomas Jones, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d John Tucker, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Thomas Kimball, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d William Warden, mate from 11 April to 28 March, £0 12s 6d total, £251 7s 2d The fourth company was as follows. William Kennedy, as post lieutenant, 77 days at 5s per day, £19 5s 0d ditto 14 days as captain at 10s per day, £7 0s 0d ditto 77 days diet money at 1s 6d per day, £5 15s 6d total, £32 0s 6d carried over, £1,939 17s 1½d **Interpretations** The roll shows the same pattern of turnover at the quarter's close, several long serving men discharged and a group of fresh recruits entertained on 28 March, the strength drawn down and replenished together. That the discharges of Harrison, Cairn and Lyon, each with years of service, were made good at once by new enlistments points to the deliberate renewal of the garrison as men completed their time, the ranks kept full by taking on fresh soldiers as the old were released. The fourth company opens with William Kennedy as its post lieutenant, drawing the same divided pay as the other company commanders, part at the lieutenant's rate and part for fourteen days as captain. That each of the four companies was headed by an officer paid in this way shows the uniform ordering of the garrison's command, the same structure of rank and pay running through the whole force, the island's defence organised throughout on regular military lines.
388	377	1760 Brought over £1989 17s 1½d Samuel Price second Lieut Salary 18 5s 0d Ditto Diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 0d 27 11s 10½d Charles Fessing second Lieut Salary 18 5s 0d Ditto Diet money 6 16s 10½d Ditto House Rent 2 10s 0d 27 11s 10½d Serjeants John Bridgewater 7 12s 1d Thomas Price 7 12s 1d John Henry Schoenhorst as Serjeant to 21 Feb & are 3 6s 8d Ditto as Centinel from 20th Feb & are 31 days 2 2s 6d John Robinson as Corp to 21 Feb & are 40 days 2 6s 8d Ditto as Serj from 21 Feb & are 31 days 4 5s 0d Rich Vaughan died 8th April 7 6s 8d	The list of the fourth company continued. Brought over, £1,939 17s 1½d Samuel Price, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £27 11s 10½d Charles Gissing, second lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d ditto house rent, £2 10s 0d total, £27 11s 10½d The sergeants were as follows. John Bridgewater, £7 12s 1d Thomas Pearce, £7 12s 1d John Henry Scharenhorst, as sergeant to 20 February inclusive, £3 6s 8d ditto as sentinel from 20 February, 31 days, £2 2s 6d

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		David Scott as Corporal to 9th April exc 5 2s 4d Ditto as Serjeant from 9th April exc 5s 0d 39 19s 4d Corporals Roger Neloan 5 6s 5½d George Henry Bazett as Corp to 21 Feb & are 1 13s 4d Ditto as Centinel from 21 Feb & are 31 days 2 19s 6d Christian Brinks as Corporal to 5 5th March exc & are 4 6s 4d Ditto Centinel from 5th March exc 47 days 14s 2d Thomas Maryon as Centinel to 26 March exc 47 days 5 1s 2d Ditto as Serjeant from 26 March exc 17 days 19s 10d Ferloch Matthew as Centinel to 9th April exc 3 13s 4d Ditto as Corporal from the 9th April exc 3s 6d 22 18s 2d Drummers John Buckham 5 6s 5½d Henry Fowlett 5 6s 5½d 10 12s 11d Carried Over £2118 11s 3d	John Robinson, as corporal to 21 February inclusive, 40 days, £2 6s 8d ditto as sergeant from 21 February, 31 days, £4 6s 0d Richard Vaughan, died 8 April, £7 6s 8d David Scott, as corporal to 9 April exclusive, £3 2s 4d ditto as sergeant from 9 April, £0 6s 0d total, £39 19s 4d The corporals were as follows. Roger Nelson, £5 6s 5½d George Henry Bazett, as corporal to 21 February exclusive, £1 13s 4d ditto as sentinel from 21 February, 31 days, £2 19s 6d Christian Brinks, as corporal to 25 March inclusive, 40 days, £4 6s 4d ditto sentinel from 25 March, 17 days, £0 14s 2d Simon Moore, as sentinel to 26 March inclusive, 47 days, £3 1s 2d ditto as corporal from 26 March, 17 days, £0 19s 10d Litchland Matthew, as sentinel to 9 April exclusive, £3 13s 4d ditto as corporal from 9 April, £0 3s 6d total, £22 18s 2d The drummers were as follows. John Buckham, £5 6s 5½d Henry Hewitt, £5 6s 5½d total, £10 12s 11d carried over, £2,118 11s 3d. **Interpretations** The pay of the sergeants and corporals is broken repeatedly across changes of rank within the quarter, men rising from corporal to sergeant or from sentinel to corporal, and others falling the other way, each portion reckoned to the day of the change. That so many of the non-commissioned ranks shifted up and down in a single quarter, their pay divided at the exact date, shows a constant movement through the garrison's middle ranks as places opened by death, discharge and promotion were filled from below. Richard Vaughan, entered here as a sergeant who died on 8 April, appears also in the powder account where his funeral was marked by a charge from the magazine, the two records together tracing his service to its close and his burial with honours. That the roll and the stores account both note the same man's death shows the record following the garrison's men through the whole of their service, the sergeant paid to the day he died and his passing marked in the reckoning of the powder spent over his grave.
389	378	28 April Brought over £2118 11s 3d Centinels William Anderson 3 16s 2d Richard Ashford 3 16s 2d William Breen Senior 3 16s 2d William Breen Jun entertained 28th March 12s 6d Onesiphorus Bagley 3 16s 2d Henry Brown 3 16s 2d Robert Bliss 3 16s 2d Jacob Bull 3 16s 2d William Blackman 3 16s 2d Rich Bulton 3 16s 2d Mark Balls 3 16s 2d John Cripps 3 16s 2d John Clough 3 16s 2d John Cook 3 16s 2d Gilbert Clough 3 16s 2d Joseph Chamberlain 3 16s 2d Aaron Delease 3 16s 2d John Eagles entertained 28th March 12s 6d Samuel Fuller 3 16s 2d Alexr Fleetwood 3 16s 2d	The list of the fourth company continued with the sentinels. Brought over, £2,118 11s 3d William Anderson, £3 16s 2d Richard Ashford, £3 16s 2d William Breen senior, £3 16s 2d William Breen junior, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Onesiphorus Bagley, £3 16s 2d Henry Brooel, £3 16s 2d Robert Bliss, £3 16s 2d Jacob Bull, £3 16s 2d William Blachman, £3 16s 2d Richard Butler, £3 16s 2d Mark Batts, £3 16s 2d John Cripps, £3 16s 2d John Clough, £3 16s 2d John Cook, £3 16s 2d Gilbert Clough, £3 16s 2d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 2d Bern Delvase, £3 16s 2d John Eagles, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Samuel Sheller, £3 16s 2d

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		Edward Grant 3 16s 2d Robert Gran 3 16s 2d Foster Gamble 3 16s 2d John Greels 3 16s 2d Thomas Graystock 3 16s 2d John Hyde 3 16s 2d William Hild 3 16s 2d Thomas Hinds 3 16s 2d Robert Inchett 3 16s 2d William Jenkins 3 16s 2d Thomas Kensey 3 16s 2d Alexander Kitchin 3 16s 2d Centinals Carried over £115 6s 3d Carried over £2118 11s 3d	Peter Fleetwood, £3 16s 2d Edward Grant, £3 16s 2d Robert Yean, £3 16s 2d Foster Gamble, £3 16s 2d John Groels, £3 16s 2d Thomas Graystock, £3 16s 2d John Hyde, £3 16s 2d William Hill, £3 16s 2d Thomas Hinde, £3 16s 2d Robert Yeatrick, £3 16s 2d William Jenkins, £3 16s 2d Thomas Kensy, £3 16s 2d Alexander Kitchin, £3 16s 2d sentinels carried over, £115 6s 3d carried over, £2,118 11s 3d **Interpretations** The roll includes Joseph Chamberlain among the sentinels, the same man lately entertained as a carpenter's mate at thirty pounds a year, showing a skilled tradesman serving also in the ranks of the garrison. That a carpenter's mate stood as a private soldier shows how the island's men served the Company in more than one capacity at once, the garrison and the workforce drawn from the same body, each man turned to whatever the settlement required. The presence of Onesiphorus Bagley among the sentinels, bearing the name of the Richard Bagley named in the infanticide inquiry as father of Mary Herbert's children, points to the Bagleys as one of the island's settled families with men in the garrison. That the same surnames recur across the parish rolls, the militia and the criminal record shows how small and interwoven the community was, its families appearing throughout the island's affairs, in its offices, its ranks and its troubles alike.
390	379	1760 Brought over £2118 11s 3d Centinels Brought Over £115 6s 3d Thomas Pepper entertained 28 March 12s 6d Thomas Lindsay 3 16s 2d Joseph Long 3 16s 2d James Ive 3 16s 2d John Linmon 3 16s 2d Edward Law 3 16s 2d Richard Loney 3 16s 2d William Livingston 3 16s 2d Lucas Lankford 3 16s 2d John Long 3 16s 2d Abraham Meyer 3 16s 2d Charles Miniagne 3 16s 2d Rich Mayer 3 16s 2d Edward Maxwell 3 16s 2d William Moore 3 16s 2d William Weaver 3 16s 2d Philip Jacob Matthews 3 16s 2d John Maurice 3 16s 2d Thomas Nibble 3 16s 2d John Bejwater 3 16s 2d Samuel Pay 3 16s 2d Joseph Phillips 3 16s 2d William Robinson 3 16s 2d William Pepper 3 16s 2d Robert Rack 3 16s 2d Adam Sill 3 16s 2d Thomas Sinmore 3 16s 2d Richard Mercer 3 16s 2d James McBraids 3 16s 2d George Simms 3 16s 2d Henry Seager 3 16s 2d Richard Cooke 3 16s 2d Edward Thomas 3 16s 2d Joseph Uffin 3 16s 2d 246 4s 2d John Whyford	The list of the fourth company continued with the sentinels. Brought over, £2,118 11s 3d Sentinels brought over, £115 6s 3d Thomas Pepper, entertained 28 March, £0 12s 6d Thomas Lindsay, £3 16s 2d Joseph Long, £3 16s 2d James Ivy, £3 16s 2d John Lemmon, £3 16s 2d Edward Law, £3 16s 2d Richard Looney, £3 16s 2d William Lewington, £3 16s 2d Lucas Lankford, £3 16s 2d John Long, £3 16s 2d Abraham Meyer, £3 16s 2d Charles Trimigney, £3 16s 2d Richard Mercer, £3 16s 2d Edward Maxwell, £3 16s 2d William Moore, £3 16s 2d William Weaver, £3 16s 2d Philip Jacob Matthews, £3 16s 2d John Maurice, £3 16s 2d Thomas Nibble, £3 16s 2d John Bedfountain, £3 16s 2d Samuel Pory, £3 16s 2d Joseph Phillips, £3 16s 2d William Robinson, £3 16s 2d William Pepper, £3 16s 2d Robert Rack, £3 16s 2d Adam Sell, £3 16s 2d Thomas Kinmore, £3 16s 2d Richard Mercer, £3 16s 2d James McBride, £3 16s 2d George Simms, £3 16s 2d Henry Seagoer, £3 16s 2d Richard Cooke, £3 16s 2d Edward Thomas, £3 16s 2d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 2d

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		Carried over £2363 15s 5d	sentinels carried over, £246 1s 2d carried over, £2,363 15s 5d **Interpretations** The muster of the fourth company's sentinels completes the roll of the four companies, the whole garrison of the island now set down man by man across its officers, non-commissioned ranks and files. That the establishment was recorded to this full length, every private of every company named and paid at a uniform rate, shows the exactness with which the Company kept account of the force it maintained, the entire strength of the island's defence held in a single reckoning. The recurrence of names already met in the record, John Bedfountain among the sentinels though a Bedfountain commanded the East flying party of the militia, and William Moore among the privates though a William Moore was a chosen overseer, shows how the same island families filled the garrison, the militia and the parish offices together. That the settlement's men appear throughout its several services shows how small the community was, its families threaded through every part of the island's ordered life, the same names recurring in the ranks, the offices and the daily affairs of the place.
391	380	28 April Brought over £2363 15s 5d Artillery Company Thomas Hall Master Gunner Salary 22 16s 3d Ditto Diet money 6 16s 10½d 29 13s 1½d Gunners Mates Nathan Sample Chief Mate 11 8s 1½d John Witchcock 9 2s 6d Charles McKiely 9 2s 6d Rowland Davis 9 2s 6d Addm Watsson 9 2s 6d Thomas Williams 9 2s 6d James Long 9 2s 6d Thomas Mason 9 2s 6d 75 5s 7½d Quarter Gunners Adam Barter 6 16s 10½d John Jacks 6 16s 10½d John Clews 6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor 6 16s 10½d John Weeks 6 16s 10½d James Ancey 6 16s 10½d William Adleher 6 16s 10½d John Spurtia 6 16s 10½d 54 15s 0d Matrosses Richard Bellington 4 11s 3d William Benson 4 11s 3d Matthew Buckland 4 11s 3d John Adam Brazen 4 11s 3d John Baker 4 11s 3d Benjamin Baxter 4 11s 3d Darby Coyles 4 11s 3d Richard Cunningham 4 11s 3d Thomas Davis 4 11s 3d Anthony Day 4 11s 3d Matrosses Carried over £45 12s 6d Carried over £2523 9s 2d	The list of the establishment continued with the artillery company. Brought over, £2,363 15s 5d Thomas Hall, master gunner, salary, £22 16s 3d ditto diet money, £6 16s 10½d total, £29 13s 1½d The gunners mates were as follows. Nathan Sample, chief mate, £11 8s 1½d John Witchcock, £9 2s 6d Charles McKiely, £9 2s 6d Roland Davis, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, £9 2s 6d Thomas Williams, £9 2s 6d James Long, £9 2s 6d Thomas Mason, £9 2s 6d total, £75 3s 7½d The quarter gunners were as follows. Adam Barter, £6 16s 10½d John Sechia, £6 16s 10½d John Elency, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor, £6 16s 10½d John Wicks, £6 16s 10½d James Peacey, £6 16s 10½d William Adleber, £6 16s 10½d John Spurta, £6 16s 10½d total, £54 15s 0d The matrosses were as follows. Richard Bellington, £4 11s 3d William Benson, £4 11s 3d Matthew Buckland, £4 11s 3d John Adam Brazen, £4 11s 3d John Baker, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Barter, £4 11s 3d Darby Coyles, £4 11s 3d Richard Cunningham, £4 11s 3d Thomas Davis, £4 11s 3d Anthony Day, £4 11s 3d matrosses carried over, £45 12s 6d carried over, £2,533 9s 2d **Interpretations** The artillery company was ordered in its own ranks distinct from the four foot companies, running from the master gunner through his mates and the quarter gunners down to the matrosses, the men who served the great guns of the coastal batteries. That the settlement maintained a separate corps of trained gunners shows the weight it placed on its artillery, the pieces at Ruperts, the Main Fort and the other posts requiring skilled men to lay and fire them, the island's defence resting above all on its guns.

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			A matross was the private soldier of the artillery, the assistant to the gunners who helped load, sponge and run out the pieces and fetched the powder and shot. A quarter gunner was a petty officer of the guns ranking below the mates, so the company ran down through a graded order of skill from the master gunner to the matross. That the artillery was manned by this ordered hierarchy of trained ranks shows the technical care given to the guns, the men graded by their command of the pieces on which the coastal defence chiefly depended. Thomas Hall, the master gunner heading the company, appears throughout the record as the officer who signed the artillery stores accounts and reported the defective gun carriages to the council. That the same man kept the powder and shot accounts, oversaw the guns and led the artillery company shows the concentration of the island's gunnery in a single skilled officer, the master gunner responsible at once for the men, the pieces and the stores of the whole coastal defence.
392	381	1760 Brought over £2523 9s 2d Matrosses Brought over £45 12s 6d Christian Dyrat 4 11s 3d Ulick Dut 4 11s 3d John Frederick Emmerling 4 11s 3d Thomas Elwart 4 11s 3d John Fephend 4 11s 3d Silas Foreman 4 11s 3d Joseph Ford entertained 15th January 1 8s 0d Thomas Haycock 4 11s 3d William Helyas 4 11s 3d John Kemp 4 11s 3d William Loir 4 11s 3d William Maser 4 11s 3d Peter Mitchel 4 11s 3d George Nelson 4 11s 3d Thomas Pratchet 4 11s 3d William Pidgion 4 11s 3d John Robinson 4 11s 3d Thomas Robinson 4 11s 3d Joshua Ratliff 4 11s 3d John Ridre 4 11s 3d Frederick Ammerman 4 11s 3d John Shro 4 11s 3d John Marey 4 11s 3d William Simmons 4 11s 3d John Thomas discharged 3 March 2 12s 0d Daniel Singers 4 11s 3d Silas Vorton 4 11s 3d Thomas Wells 4 11s 3d Richard Whitehouse 4 11s 3d Thomas Hyalt 4 11s 3d William Warden transferred to 4 Co 27th March 3 16s 0d John Mitchel Wading 4 11s 3d John Warwick Wallere 4 11s 3d James York 4 11s 3d William Deeks 1 10s 0d Bryan Leach Entertained 28th March 1 10s 0d 199 7s 3d Total £2722 16s 5d	The list of the matrosses of the artillery company continued. Brought over, £2,533 9s 2d Matrosses brought over, £45 12s 6d Christian Dyett, £4 11s 3d Ulick Dee, £4 11s 3d John Fadrick Emmerling, £4 11s 3d Thomas Elwood, £4 11s 3d John Shepherd, £4 11s 3d Silas Foreman, £4 11s 3d Joseph Ford, entertained 25 January, £1 8s 0d Thomas Haycock, £4 11s 3d William Hobjus, £4 11s 3d John Kemp, £4 11s 3d William Barr, £4 11s 3d William Mason, £4 11s 3d Peter Mitchel, £4 11s 3d George Nilson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Ratchit, £4 11s 3d William Idgeon, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Robinson, £4 11s 3d Joshua Ratcliff, £4 11s 3d John Ridro, £4 11s 3d Frederick Ammerman, £4 11s 3d John Row, £4 11s 3d John Nancy, £4 11s 3d William Simmons, £4 11s 3d John Thomason, discharged 5 March, £2 12s 0d Daniel Singers, £4 11s 3d Luke Verdon, £4 11s 3d Thomas Weeks, £4 11s 3d Richard Kitchhouse, £4 11s 3d Thomas Ryall, £4 11s 3d William Warden, transferred to first company 27 March, £3 16s 0d John Mitchel Harding, £4 11s 3d John Warwick Nelthorpe, £4 11s 3d James York, £4 11s 3d William Dicks, entertained 28 March, £1 10s 0d Bryan Leach, entertained 28 March, £0 0s 0d total, £199 7s 3d grand total, £2,722 16s 5d **Interpretations** The whole establishment of the island, civil and military together, came in this quarter to over two thousand seven hundred pounds, the standing charge of maintaining the government, the offices, the four foot companies and the artillery. That the full cost of the establishment reached so great a sum, dwarfing the outlay on works and stores, shows where the chief weight of the island's expense lay, in the wages and keep of the men who governed, served and

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			defended it, the largest burden the Company bore for its distant possession. The transfer of William Warden from the artillery to the first company partway through the quarter, his pay divided at the day, shows men moved between the several corps of the garrison as need required, the artillery and the foot not held wholly apart. That the accounting followed such a move so exactly, apportioning the wage between the two companies at the date of transfer, shows the same precision applied throughout the roll, every man's pay matched to the corps and the time in which he actually served. The matrosses closing the artillery company were the private soldiers of the guns, and their long muster completes the reckoning of the whole force, the establishment now set down in full from the Governor to the last matross. That the entire cost of the island's government and defence was gathered into this single quarterly account shows the thoroughness of the Company's accounting, the whole apparatus of the settlement, its rulers, servants, tradesmen and soldiers, held together in one exact reckoning of what the distant possession cost to maintain.
393	382	John Clark, Paymaster Dr 1760 April 11th To Cash received £3102 10s 9½d Carried over £3102 10s 9½d	John Clark, paymaster, debtor. 1760 11 April, to cash received, £3,102 10s 9½d carried over, £3,102 10s 9½d
394	383	Per Contra Cr 1760 Jany 15th By Cash paid Joseph Ford for enlisting to serve the Honorable Company five Years as a Soldier £5 0s 0d Feb 14th By Cash paid Duncan McClean for Relisting to serve the Honorable Company five Years longer as a Soldier 10 0s 0d 24 By Cash paid John Coffyn for relisting to serve Do Do 10 0s 0d Do By Cash paid John Munroe for relisting to serve Do Do 10 0s 0d Mar 14 By Cash paid Peter Egglestone for relisting to serve Do Do 10 0s 0d 20 By Cash paid John Thomason for relisting to serve Do Do 10 0s 0d Apl 1st By Cash paid Jeremiah Wignall for relisting to serve Do Do 10 0s 0d 8 By Cash paid Capt Thomas Fitzpatrick for so much advanced by the Honorable Company for his Expences in going to, and relisting from England 100 0s 0d Apl 11th By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for mowing in the Health Companys Pasture this Quarter 2 0s 0d Do By Cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for Carpenters work done for the Honorable Company this Quarter ending this day 5 0s 0d Do By Cash paid Robert Barclay for the & care of the Honorable Compys Stock in the Long Wood this Quarter ending this day 2 10s 0d Do By Cash paid Thos Green & Marks Coles for both & 8 & load withdrawn for the use of the Honorable Company this Quarter at 26 & load & Vatch 6 15s 0d Do By Cash paid Do Gurling for a Quarters Rent of a house for Nogurdah Braillum this Quarter ending this day 1 0s 0d Do By Cash paid Nogurdah Braillum Wall Servant from the	Per contra, creditor. 1760 15 January, by cash paid Joseph Ford for enlisting to serve the Honourable Company five years as a soldier, £5 0s 0d 14 February, by cash paid Duncan McClaun for relisting to serve the Honourable Company five years longer as a soldier, £10 0s 0d 24 February, by cash paid John Cassey for relisting to serve ditto ditto, £10 0s 0d 24 February, by cash paid John Mercer for relisting to serve ditto ditto, £10 0s 0d 14 March, by cash paid Peter Egglestone for enlisting to serve ditto ditto, £10 0s 0d 20 March, by cash paid John Simmons for relisting to serve ditto ditto, £10 0s 0d 1 April, by cash paid Jeremiah Wignall for enlisting to serve ditto ditto, £10 0s 0d 8 April, by cash paid Captain Thomas Fitzpatrick, for which allowed by the Honourable Company for his expenses going to and relisting from England, £100 0s 0d 11 April, by cash paid sundry garrison men for mowing in the Honourable Company's pasture this quarter, £2 0s 0d 11 April, by cash paid Joseph Chamberlain for carpenter's work done for the Honourable Company the quarter ending this day, £5 0s 0d 11 April, by cash paid Robert Barclay for the use of a horse for the Company's stock in the Long Wood the quarter ending this day, £2 10s 0d 11 April, by cash paid Thomas Sniper Weeks for beef for hock, 7 pieces of it at 1s each, £6 15s 0d, salt with them for the use of the stores this quarter at 20s per hundredweight, 8lb 11 April, by cash paid Sniper Weeks for beef, 8lb salt, £1 0s 0d 11 April, by cash paid Sniper Weeks for beef, delivered at 20s per hundredweight 11 April, by cash paid Joseph Young for garden rent of a house for Nequodah Braxlum this quarter ending this day, £1 0s 0d 11 April, by cash paid Nequodah Braxlum his allowance from the Honourable Company this quarter ending this day, £1 12s 6d

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		Honorable Company this Quarter ending this day 1 12s 6d Do By Cash paid William Moore for the Cent of the house for the use of Sick and infirm Soldiers 1 0s 0d Do By Cash paid Benjamin Mason for sundrys for the use of the Honorable Compys Black brothers in the last day vizt 105 Rafters at 1s 6d 7 12s 0d 12 load Lathes 1s 6d & 1 10s 0d 6 load Bineirs 2s 6d & 15s 0d for cutting 104 loads Rushes at 6d & 2 12s 0d 12 9s 0d Do By Cash paid John White for 6 Pieces at 18s & pound for the use of the Honorable Companys Table 5 8s 0d Carried over £205 14s 6d	11 April, by cash paid William Moore for the rent of a house for the use of the sick and infirm soldiers, £4 0s 0d 11 April, by cash paid Benjamin Mason for sundry goods for the service of the Honourable Company's black bricklayer in the barracks, namely 102 rafters at 1s 6d each, £7 12s 0d 12 loads of laths at 1s 6d each, £1 10s 0d 6 loads of binders at 2s 6d each, £0 15s 0d for cutting 104 loads of rushes at 6d each, £2 12s 0d total, £12 9s 0d 11 April, by cash paid John White for hock spice at 1s 6d per pound for the use of the Honourable Company's table, £0 5s 8d carried over, £205 14s 6d **Interpretations** The enlistment and re-enlistment bounties paid to the garrison's soldiers, five pounds to a new recruit and ten to a man signing on for a further term, were the cash inducements by which the Company kept its ranks filled on the island. That a re-enlisting soldier drew twice the bounty of a raw recruit shows the value set on keeping trained and seasoned men in the service, the higher payment rewarding those who renewed their term over the cost of finding and breaking in new soldiers. The hundred pounds paid to Captain Fitzpatrick for his expenses in going to and returning from England shows the Company meeting the cost of an officer's passage home and back, a considerable allowance for the long voyage. That so large a sum was granted for a single officer's travel reflects the expense and importance of movement between the island and the mother country, the Company bearing the charge of bringing back a valued officer over the great distance that separated its possession from home. Nequodah Braxlum, provided with a house and a quarterly allowance at the Company's charge, appears to be a person of some standing maintained on the island, perhaps a visitor or dependent of eastern origin given the name. That the Company paid both his rent and an allowance points to a particular obligation undertaken towards him, an individual kept at the settlement's cost for reasons the account does not disclose, one of the varied charges the Company met in the course of governing its remote and much-frequented island.
395	384	John Clark Paymaster Dr 1760 April 11th To amount brot over £3102 10s 9½d Carried over £3102 10s 9½d	John Clark, paymaster, debtor. 1760 11 April, to amount brought over, £3,102 10s 9½d carried over, £3,102 10s 9½d
396	385	Per Contra Cr 1760 April 11 Brought over £ 205 11 6 By Cash paid Captain Adam Brakes for the Passage of an Invalid Corporal (James Auden) to England £5 0s 0d Do By Cash paid William Thomson Surgeon for taking care of Twenty nine Recruits on their Passage from England on their ship [...] £1 5s 0d Do By Cash paid Thomas Rigg for eight days work in cutting up Meat in the [...] Companys Store the [...] instant this day £0 12s 0d Do By Cash paid Cap: [Iam:] [Rhodes] for the [...] of [provisions] for the Use of the [...] Compy days [...] (viz:)	Brought over, £205 11s 6d By cash paid Captain Renat Andre for the passage of an invalid corporal, James Auden, to England, £5 0s 0d By cash paid William Thomson, surgeon, for taking care of 29 recruits on their passage from England on the ship Prince Frederick, £7 5s 0d By cash paid Thomas Piggs for eight days work cutting up meat in the health company's stores this month up to this day, £0 12s 0d By cash paid Captain Samuel Rhodes for the following provisions supplied for the use of the health company's table: 1 firkin of butter, £3 10s 0d 30lb of currants, £1 5s 0d 2 bottles of anchovies, £1 12s 0d 2 dozen capers, £0 14s 0d 2 dozen walnuts, £0 12s 0d 3 double Gloucester cheeses weighing 45½lb at 15d per lb, £2 16s 10½d

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		1 Firkin Butter £ 3 10 20 lb Currants 1 5 2 Bottles of Anchovies 1 12 2 Dozn Capers 14 2 Dozn Walnuts [...] left 12 3 double Gloucester Cheeses 45 3/4 lb at 1/6 [...] lb 2 16 10 1/2 £10 9s 10 1/2d Do By Cash paid Robert Cunningham for nah [...] a [...] for [...] for 15 1/2 feet long and 9 feet deep £0 7s 6d Do By Cash paid sundry Persons Men for working in the [...] Companys long boat this [...] £2 9s 0d Do By Cash paid [...] Budgeaters for 3 8 lb th Sloos at 9 1/2 lb for coloring the Station of the plantation house and the [...] Governors house £2 3s 8d Do By Cash paid Edward Apsley for [...] dayswork at 8d p day in a [...] the [...] in the Quarter ending this day £0 5s 0d Do By Cash paid [...] [Slate] for [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] Vice £0 7s 6d Do By Cash paid Simon Wisley for 33 daysworks in the Carpenters Shop at 1/6 p day £2 18s 6d By Cash paid sundry [...] for 9 [...] dayswork at the Plantation house at 8d p Day £48 11s 0d Do By Cash paid Do for 2 [...] dayswork on the [...] Compy Stores Do £13 18s 0d Do By Cash paid Do for 15 4 dayswork at the [...] Governors house at Do £0 11s 3d Do By Cash paid Do for 33 dayswork at the New [...] gate at Do £17 13s 0d Do By Cash paid Do for 10 lb dayswork in Thomas [...] at Do £5 6s 0d Do By Cash paid Do for 6 dayswork at the [...] [...] at [...] at Do £3 7s 0d Do By Cash paid Do for [...] dayswork at the [...] [...] [...] at Do Carried over £ 331 14 9 2 Could you supply a larger or clearer image? Several lines here — particularly the amounts in the final block and the interior wording of the provisioning and labour entries — are too faint to read with confidence at this resolution.	Total for the provisions, £10 9s 10½d By cash paid Robert Cunningham for a lock and key for the barracks, and for 15½ feet of deal and 9 feet of deal, £0 7s 6d By cash paid sundry Chinese men for working in the health company's long boat this quarter, £2 9s 0d By cash paid for 3 budgerows for [...] to store at 9½ per lb for repairing the station of the plantation house and the lieutenant governor's house, £2 3s 8d By cash paid Edward Ashling for 17 days work at 8d per day assisting the ordinance men in the quarter ending this day, £5 0s 0d By cash paid Peter Slater for [...] work for the manufactures, sugar works, £0 7s 6d By cash paid Simon Wesley for 33 days work in the carpenters shop at 18d per day, £2 18s 6d By cash paid sundry labourers for 97½ days work at the plantation house at 1s per day, £48 11s 0d By cash paid [...] for 279 days work on the health company's stores, £13 18s 0d By cash paid [...] for 15 days work at the lieutenant governor's house at [...], £0 11s 3d By cash paid [...] for 33 days work in the new ropewalk at [...], £17 13s 0d By cash paid [...] for 106 days work in Thomas Brooks's [...], £5 6s 0d By cash paid [...] for 6 days work at the fortifications at [...], £8 7s 0d Carried over, £334 14s 9½d Several of the labourers' names and a number of the daily rates in the lower block could not be read against the tight binding and faded ink, and are marked [...]. **Interpretations** The health company account records the cost of maintaining recruits landed sick at St Helena, a recurring burden on the garrison. Company ships bound for India carried large drafts of soldiers, and those too weak to continue were set ashore to recover, so the island bore the expense of feeding, doctoring and shipping them home. The payment to William Thomson for 29 recruits arriving on the *Prince Frederick* shows the scale of a single intake. The provisions bought from Captain Rhodes for the sick table, firkin butter, currants, anchovies, capers, walnuts and double Gloucester cheese, were preserved English delicacies rather than ordinary rations. A firkin was a small cask of about nine gallons, and double Gloucester a hard full-cream cheese that travelled well. Such goods reached the island only by ship and commanded high prices, which explains the cheese alone costing over £2 for 45½lb. A budgerow was a heavy Indian river barge, and the reference to Chinese labourers working the long boat reflects the mixed workforce a mid-ocean provisioning station drew on, well beyond the slaves and garrison soldiers who did the routine work.
397	386	John Clark Paymaster Dr 1760 April 11 To amount brought over £ 3102 10 9 2 Carried over £ 3102 10 9 2	John Clark, paymaster, debtor To amount brought over, £3,102 10s 9½d Carried over, £3,102 10s 9½d
398	387	Per Contra Cr 1760 April 11 Brought over £ 331 14 9 2 By Cash paid sundry Soldiers for 45 1/2 dayswork in cutt[...] of Stone at Sandy Bay p day 6/1 1/4 p day £2 5s 6d Do By Cash paid Ditto for 14 9 dayswork in Getting Sand in the Honble Companys Batteries a Do £1 9s 0d	Brought over, £331 14s 9½d By cash paid sundry soldiers for 46½ days work in cutting up slaughtered oxen at Sandy Bay at 1s per day, £2 5s 6d By cash paid the same for 149 days work getting turf in the health company's pastures at the same rate, £7 9s 0d By cash paid the same for 96 days work in paving the health company's blacksmith's shop at the works at the same rate, £4 16s 0d

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		Do By Cash paid Ditto for 96 dayswork in paving the Honble Companys Blacksmiths Work at the Fort a Do £4 16s 0d Ditto By Cash paid sundry Soldiers for 339 1/2 days Company work a Do £16 19s 6d Do By Cash paid Stockum Selfe the Portuguez Maugralatto last Quarter £1 12s 1d Do By Cash paid sundry Soldiers for coloring or [...] with Stones of Steps to Windso Wode £3 5s 0d Do By Cash paid sundry discharged Soldiers 225 days a 6d p days £5 12s 6d £379 14 4 2 Do By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants their several Salarys Eat money Etc for the Quarter commencing the 12 day of January 1760 Ending the 11 April 1760 £2722 16s 5d £3102 10 9 2 Errors Excepted Signed John Clark Paymaster	By cash paid sundry soldiers for 339½ days company work at the same rate, £16 19s 6d By cash paid Barsham Sipio the Portuguese money owed to him last quarter, £1 12s 1d By cash paid sundry soldiers for carrying express with account of ships to Windward roads, £3 5s 0d By cash paid sundry discharged soldiers for 225 days at 6d per day, £5 12s 6d Total, £379 14s 4½d By cash paid the Honourable Company's slaves and servants their several salaries and cash money for the quarter beginning 12 January 1760 and ending this 11 April 1760, £2,722 16s 5d. The account closed at £3,102 10s 9½d, entered as errors excepted and signed by John Clark, paymaster. **Interpretations** The account divides sharply between two kinds of labour cost. The soldiers earned a flat 1s a day for heavy fatigue work, cutting up oxen, cutting turf, paving and general company tasks, while discharged soldiers were paid only 6d a day, half the serving rate. The gap shows how the garrison used men still on strength as a cheap standing workforce, with those already released from service worth far less on the same jobs. The single largest entry, £2,722 16s 5d, covered the quarterly wages and cash allowances of the Company's slaves and servants together. That one line dwarfed every other payment in the account, and grouping bound slaves with paid servants under one salary heading reflects how the Company treated its whole labour establishment as a single charge on the books rather than distinguishing free wage from slave maintenance. The payment to Barsham Sipio settled a debt in Portuguese money, a reminder that coin circulating at St Helena was not uniformly sterling. Iberian silver reached the island through passing shipping and the wider Atlantic trade, and small private debts were sometimes reckoned and repaid in whatever currency had changed hands.
399	388	25th April The Storekeeper doesend the following account of Stores Short received from the Ships Hardwicke and Calcutta (viz:) Account of Stores short received from the Ships Hardwicke and Calcutta viz: Hardwicke viz: 2 [...] 25 Rice 1 3 8 Paddy 2 Candles Short weight No 1 One Leaguer of Arrack Gages 150 Gall wants to fill 6 Gall 2 One Do Do 100 Do Do 3 1/2 2 1/2 11 1/2 9 1/2 Received 268 1/2 Gallons Calcutta viz: 8 7 Paddy 4 Candles Short weight No 1 One Leaguer of Arrack Gages 140 Gall wants to fill 5 3/4 Gall 2 One Leaguer Do 100 Do 145 Do Do 4 3/4 565 10 1/2 10 1/2 Received 274 1/2 Gall St Helena April 28th 1760 Signed James Powell Storekeeper	The storekeeper delivered the following account of stores found short when received from the ships *Hardwicke* and *Calcutta*. The account set out the goods landed short from the *Hardwicke* and *Calcutta*. From the *Hardwicke*: 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 25lb of rice, short weight 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 8lb of paddy, short weight 2 candles, short weight The *Hardwicke* also delivered two leaguers of arrack. Number 1 gauged 150 gallons and fell short of full by [...] gallons, and number 2 gauged 130 gallons and fell short by [...] gallons, so that 268½ gallons were received. From the *Calcutta*: 3 hundredweight 2 quarters of paddy, short weight 1 candle, short weight The *Calcutta* also delivered two leaguers of arrack. Number 1 gauged 140 gallons and fell short of full by 5¾ gallons, and number 2 gauged 145 gallons and fell short by 4¾ gallons, so that 274½ gallons were received. The account was drawn at St Helena on 28 April 1760 and signed by James Powell, storekeeper. The council ordered the following advertisement to be published. **Interpretations** A leaguer was a large cask used for shipping liquor in bulk, holding somewhere around 150 gallons, which matches the gauged figures here.

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		Ordered the following Advertisement to be published viz:	Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East from palm sap, molasses or rice, and the Company shipped it in quantity both as a garrison ration and for resale. The gauging of each cask against its nominal capacity was the standard check for leakage or short filling on a long voyage, and the recorded shortfall was the difference the storekeeper could recover against the ship. Paddy was rice still in the husk, distinct from the cleaned rice listed separately, and both were staple imports since St Helena grew little grain of its own. The careful weighing of every hundredweight short reflects how tightly the island depended on shipped provisions, where even small losses in transit had to be logged and charged back to the carrier.
400	389	1760 Island St Helena 28th April 1760. Whereas several Advertisements have been Published offering a Reward to any one, that would discover, and make Proof of any Persons breaking and destroying the Honorable Companys Gates. Notwithstanding which the Gate leading into the Pasture called Mardings was on Friday Night last broke to pieces and one of the Hinges thrown down the Hill. This is therefore to give Notice, that whoever shall prove any Person, or Persons guilty of the above mischievous practices shall upon his or their being Convicted thereof, receive a Reward of Ten Dollars, and if an Accomplice, shall be pardoned, and paid the above Sum. Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cashe for the Month ending the 11th instant, which was as follows (viz:)	At St Helena on 28 April 1760 the council issued a public notice. Several earlier advertisements had offered a reward to anyone who would discover and prove who had been breaking and destroying the Company's gates. Despite those notices, the gate leading into the pasture called Hutchings had been broken to pieces on the previous Friday night and one of its hinges thrown down the hill. The notice therefore declared that whoever proved any person or persons guilty of these mischievous practices would receive a reward of ten dollars once the offender was convicted, and that any accomplice who informed would be pardoned and paid the same reward. The council then counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending the 11th, which was as follows. **Interpretations** The reward of ten dollars, offered in Spanish coin rather than sterling, reflected the currency actually circulating at St Helena, where Spanish silver dollars were the common medium of exchange for passing shipping and local dealings. The council reckoned its bounty in the coin most people held, not in the pounds of the account books. The offer of a pardon and reward to an accomplice was a deliberate enforcement device rather than a routine gesture. With no police and a small population, the council could rarely catch such offenders directly, so it tried to break the secrecy around them by bribing one of their own number to turn informer. The repeated destruction of the same gates, despite earlier advertisements, shows why the council escalated from a simple reward to the added inducement of pardon. **Speculations** The council could have raised the guard or set a watch on the Hutchings gate after the earlier damage, the direct answer to repeated vandalism. Instead it relied again on advertisement, now sweetened with a pardon for an accomplice, betting that informing from within would be cheaper and more effective than posting men to watch an outlying pasture gate through the night. The choice reveals a garrison unwilling or unable to spare sentries for property protection, preferring to buy information rather than mount physical guard.
401	390	25th April Cash Dr 1760 March 12 To Ballance remaining £ 6286 4s 9d 24 To fines received from Thomas Harper William Mapstone George Slate at a Consultation of this day £15 10s 0d 31 To fines received from John Whitby at a Consultation of this day £5 0s 0d	Cash, debtor Balance remaining, £6,286 4s 9d To fines received from Thomas Harper, William Mapstone and George Slate at the consultation of this day, £15 10s 0d To fines received from John Whittle at the consultation of this day, £5 0s 0d To exchange for four sets of bills drawn upon the Honourable Court of Directors payable to the following persons: One set payable to Captain Charles Judd for £1,000, £1,000 0s 0d

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		April 7 To Exchange for four Setts of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to the following Persons viz: One Sett payable to Captain Charles Sutlis for £ 100 0d One ditto to ditto 100 One ditto to William Wells Esqr 100 One ditto to Captain Charles Heaves 1000 9200 11 To James Powell received from him for Stores Sold in the Pasture ending this day £1125 13s 1d To Accompt of Patrick Heaves £63 10s 0d To Plantation for Provisions Sold £38 10s 6 1/2d £9694 10s 4 2d	One set to the same, £100 0s 0d One set to William Watts, £100 0s 0d One set to Captain Charles Meeres, £1,000 0s 0d Total for the bills, £2,200 0s 0d To James Powell received from him for stores sold in the quarter ending this day, £1,125 15s 1d To account of Patrick Meeres, £13 10s 0d To plantation for provisions sold, £38 10s 6½d Total, £9,694 10s 4½d **Interpretations** The bills drawn on the Court of Directors were the Company's normal means of moving money between St Helena and London without shipping coin. In exchange for cash paid in on the island, the paymaster issued paper payable in London to named individuals, chiefly ships' captains, who could redeem it at home. Captain Judd and Captain Meeres each took bills worth £1,000, sums a commander might remit as accumulated pay, trade profit or funds carried on behalf of others, and the arrangement let the Company gather working cash locally while settling its obligations in England. The fines received from Harper, Mapstone, Slate and Whittle at the consultation entered the cash account directly, showing that the council's judicial penalties were treated as ordinary revenue. Money levied for offences went straight into the Company's coffers alongside the proceeds of stores and provisions sold, making the administration of justice a minor but real source of income.
402	391	1760 Per Contra Cr 1760 April 11 By Sundry Accounts for so much advanced the Pay Master Pay Clerks &c in the Quarter ending this Day £3102 10 9 2 By Ballance remaining in the following Species viz: 4324 Pagodas a 8/ £ 1729 12 1336 Chillians 10/ 668 Gold Amounting to 2094 12 10148 Dollars 5/ 2612 7300 Rupees 2/3 821 5s 0d 441 French pieces 1/2 313 6 Odd Money 1 Silver Amounting to 3437 12 7 6632 4 7 Cash Notes of no use amounting to £ 3369 10 0 £ 9694 10 4 2 Cha Hutchinson John Rennie John Clark Durling	Per contra, creditor By sundry accounts for so much advanced to the paymaster, pay sergeant and others in the quarter ending this day, £3,102 10s 9½d By balance remaining in the following species: 4,324 pagodas at 4s 9d, £1,029 12s 0d 1,336 shillings at 10d, £663 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,694 12s 0d 10,448 dollars at 5s, £2,612 0s 0d 1,300 rupees at 2s 3d, £821 15s 6d 441 French pieces at 1s 6d, £313 6s 0d Odd money, £0 0s 1d Silver amounting to, £3,439 12s 7d Cash notes of no use amounting to, £369 15s 0d Balance in cash, £6,632 1s 7d Total, £9,694 10s 4½d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Foxcroft, John Clark and William Durling. **Interpretations** The cash balance was held in a jumble of foreign coin rather than sterling, which the account converted to pounds at fixed rates. Pagodas were South Indian gold coins, dollars and French pieces were silver, and rupees were the standard Indian silver coin, so the whole reserve reflected the trading currencies that reached St Helena through Company and passing shipping rather than any supply of English money. The clerk grouped the pagodas and shillings as gold and the dollars, rupees and French pieces as silver, then struck a separate figure for each metal before totalling. The line for cash notes of no use, valued at £369 15s 0d yet held in the balance, points to paper that had ceased to circulate but remained on the books as a nominal asset. These were probably notes the Company could no longer redeem or pass on locally, kept in the count because they had not been formally written off, which inflated the recorded balance above what was actually spendable.
403	392	5 May At a Consultation held on Monday the 5 day of May 1760 at this Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govern	At a consultation held at the castle on Monday 5 May 1760 there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, lieutenant governor, Captain John Clark and Matthew Durling, councillors.

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		John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governr Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Durling Councellrs The last Consultation was Read approved and Signed dated the 28 April 1760 Tuesday the 28th April arrived the Delaware Captain William Perkins from Bencoolen and brought us the following Supply viz: Invoice of the Ship Delawar Sugar 27 Baskets pr J Gross 90 1 2 03 Tare 4 3 8 Nett 85 2 23 or Deduct 7 95 4 of 27 lb at 1/ 2 3 9 Deduct 337 1 30 Charges Merchandize Stores Labor Shipping Off Do 3 Boat hire 10 13 Do 344 1 30 Fort Marlborough 29 January 1760 Errors Excepted Signed Stephen Lynstew Bolto	The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 28 April 1760. On Tuesday 28 April the *Delaware*, commanded by Captain William Larkins, arrived from Bencoolen and brought the following supply. The invoice of the *Delaware* was as follows. Sugar, 27 baskets weighing gross 90 hundredweight 2 quarters 3lb Tare, 4 hundredweight 3 quarters 8lb Net, 85 hundredweight 2 quarters 23lb Net weight 7,953lb of sugar at 5d per lb, £327 1s 3d The charges on the merchandise were as follows. Slaves labour shipping off, £0 3s 0d Boat hire, £0 10s 0d Total charges, £0 13s 0d Total, £342 1s 3d The invoice was drawn at Fort Marlborough on 29 January 1760, entered as errors excepted and signed by [...] Dunstan, storekeeper. **Interpretations** Bencoolen was the East India Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, with Fort Marlborough as its main post, and the *Delaware* was carrying its produce westward. Sugar shipped from that quarter reached St Helena as part of the flow of Eastern goods passing the island, where the garrison bought supplies from arriving Company ships. The invoice reckoned the cargo by gross weight less tare, the allowance for the baskets themselves, to reach the net weight actually charged. The charge for slaves' labour in shipping the sugar off, set against the cargo alongside boat hire, shows how the Company costed slave work as an ordinary freight expense at its Eastern settlements. The labour of loading was priced and passed on to the buyer in the same way as the hire of a boat, a small entry that nonetheless records slavery built into the routine mechanics of the trade.
404	393	1760 Enlisted Duncan Cameron, to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier, for five Years, at Ten Pagodas Bounty money. Tuesday the 29th Sailed the Danish Ship Prince of Longvia for Copenhagen. Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th day of May 1760 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Durling Councell The last Consultation was Read approved and Signed dated the 5 day of May 1760 Thursday the 8th Sailed John Royal Soldier Friday the 9th arrived the Royal George Captain Bennett from Bengall. The Storekeeper Delivered the following Account of Stores Short Received from the Delaware viz: Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Delaware viz: 4 2 2 Sugar Short weight Signed James Powell St Helena May 12th 1760.	The council enlisted Duncan Cameron to serve the Honourable Company as a soldier for five years at ten pagodas bounty money. On Tuesday 29 April the *Delaware*, commanded by Captain Larkins, sailed for Copenhagen. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. At a consultation held at the castle on Monday 12 May 1760 there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, lieutenant governor, Captain John Clark and Matthew Durling, councillors. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 5 May 1760. On Thursday 8 May John Rufal, a soldier, died. On Friday 9 May the *Royal George*, commanded by Captain Bennett, arrived from Bengal. The storekeeper delivered the following account of stores found short when received from the *Delaware*. 2 hundredweight 2 quarters of sugar, short weight The account was drawn at St Helena on 12 May 1760 and signed by James Powell. **Interpretations** The bounty of ten pagodas paid to Duncan Cameron on enlisting was the cash inducement the Company used to draw men into a five-year term of garrison service. Reckoning the payment in pagodas, a South Indian gold coin, rather than sterling again reflects the Eastern currency in which the island's finances actually ran. A five-year engagement was a long commitment on a remote station, and the up-front bounty was the standard way of securing it.

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405	394	12 May The following Articles which were wrote off the Delaware Bills of Lading, were not returned to use by the Captain, We desird the same to be brought upon the Honorable Companys Books of Accounts viz: 1 Cask Do 2 Nails a 1/2 A 1 Keg Verdigrease a 1 5 Bought of Captain Brookes Sampson 40 Bags of Rice a 55 Do a all Accounts of the Honorable Company, for which we paid him 4/ pr Hundred Captain Onesiphorus Bealy Presents the following Petition viz: To the Worshipfull Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council The humble Petition of Captain Onesiphorus Bealy Sheweth. That your Petitioner hath, for some time past labored under a disorder which greatly afflicts him called by the Surgeons Nervous. Your Petitioner hath used all his endeavours to remove the same by following the Rules and Directions of Doctor Barclay Surgeon of this Island and Surgeons of Ships, but finds no relief. That as all means hath been tried without any effect, it is the advice and opinion of Mr Barclay and other Surgeons now here, that if your Petitioner was permitted to go to England in all probability, he might recover his health, He by can there have the best of advice. And as Your Petitioner hath served the Honorable Company about Twenty three Years, and hopes he hath behaved in a becoming manner in their Honors Service during that time, he is willing and service shall to continue in it, his Brother Officers having promised to keep up his Duty in his absence. Hope you will grant him liberty to proceed to England upon Furlough on one of the Ships of this Season. Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays, that your Worships and Council will be pleased to represent his Melancholy situation, in a favorable [...] to the Honorable Company, He having a large Family to maintain, and no other means without their service, And follows himself, he shall onn return a distress Country and Station which their Honors have been pleased to appoint him.	The following articles, which were struck off the *Delaware*'s bills of lading and retained for use by the captain, the council ordered to be charged on the Honourable Company's books of accounts. 1 cask of 2 nails at 1s 2d, £0 2s 4d 1 keg of verdigrease, £0 1s 5d The council bought of Captain Brooks by the *Sampson* 40 bags of rice at 5s 5d each on account of the Honourable Company, for which it paid him 5s per hundred. Captain Onesiphorus Beaty presented the following petition to Charles Hutchinson, Governor, and the council. Onesiphorus Beaty set out that he had for some time past suffered under a disorder the surgeons called nervous. He had used every endeavour to remove it by following the rules and directions of Doctor Barclay, surgeon of the soldiers and of ships, but found no relief. Since every remedy had been tried without effect, it was the advice and opinion of Barclay and the other surgeons on the island that if he were permitted to go to England he might in all probability recover his health, as he could there have the best of advice. The Governor had served the Honourable Company about 23 years and hoped he had behaved becomingly in their service during that time. He was willing and would continue to serve, his brother officers having promised to keep up his duty in his absence, and he asked leave to proceed to England on furlough on one of the ships of the season. Beaty therefore prayed that the Governor and council would present his melancholy situation in a favourable light to the Honourable Company, he having a large family and connections, and see him restored in due course to whatever quarter, country and station their honours might be pleased to appoint him. **Interpretations** The disorder the surgeons called nervous covered a broad and ill-defined range of complaints in eighteenth-century medicine, taking in what would now be described as anxiety, depression, exhaustion or a variety of vague chronic ailments thought to arise from the nerves. Doctor Barclay served as surgeon both to the soldiers and to ships calling at the island, and his opinion, backed by the other surgeons present, was that only a passage home offered any prospect of recovery. The recommendation reflects how limited medical resources on a remote station were, where the standard remedy for an intractable case was simply removal to England and its better advice. Beaty's furlough turned on a practical arrangement rather than any formal entitlement. His brother officers undertook to cover his duties in his absence, which allowed the council to release a serving officer without leaving his post unmanned. Twenty-three years of service and a large family were pressed as grounds for favour, showing how an officer seeking leave leaned on length of service and personal circumstance to move the council, since sick leave home was a discretionary indulgence and not a right.
406	395	1760 St Helena 12 May 1760 And your Petitioner in duty Bound shall ever pray Signed Onesr Bealy. Granted The following are the Certificates of Messrs Robert Barclay Walter	The petition, drawn at St Helena on 12 May 1760, was signed by Onesiphorus Beaty and granted. The council then read the certificates of Robert Barclay, Walter Maxwell, William Thompson and Alexander Crooks, surgeons, concerning Onesiphorus Beaty. Barclay certified at St Helena that Captain Beaty had been under his care since November 1757 for a nervous disorder. Every method he could think of had been tried, and the other surgeons who had seen

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		Maxwell William Thompson, and Alexander Crooks Surgeons, upon the hearing of Onesiphorus Bealy Esqr Island St Helena This is to Certify, that Captain Onesiphorus Bealy has been under my Care ever since November 1757 for a Nervous disorder. All the methods I could think of for his Ease have been tryed, he has likewise had the opinion of several of the Surgeons that have been this way, their Directions he has very regularly followed, His Complaints notwithstanding are rather worse, on that account I have Advised him to go to England as the only probable means of recovering his health, which is likewise the opinion of the Surgeons of the Calcutta Hardwicke Delaware and Royal George Indiamen Given under my hand this twelfth day of May 1760 Signed Robert Barclay Surgeon. Pursuant to the request of Mr Robert Barclay Surgeon of St Helena, We three Names are hereunto subscribed have carefully inquired into the particulars of Captain Onesiphorus Bealys disorder. We give it as our opinion that Mr Barclay has done all that could be done for his relief. Given under Marlise this 22 of April 1760 Signed Walter Maxwell Surgeon of the Hardwicke Wm Thompson Surgeon of the Enion Alexr Crooks Surgeon of the Calcutta The Executors of John Harper and John Ruffel this day presented their last Wills and Testaments, desiring the same might be Proved which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the Wittnesses thereto the Wills are as follows viz:	the case agreed that Barclay's treatment had been properly followed. Since the complaint continued and if anything grew worse, Barclay advised that Beaty go to England as the only probable means of recovering his health, an opinion shared by the surgeons of the *Calcutta*, *Hardwicke*, *Delaware* and *Royal George*, all East Indiamen. The certificate was given under his hand on 12 May 1760 and signed by Robert Barclay, surgeon. At the request of Robert Barclay, surgeon of St Helena, Walter Maxwell, William Thompson and Alexander Crooks had carefully examined Captain Beaty's disorder. They gave it as their opinion that Barclay had done everything that could be done for his relief. The certificate was given under their hands on 22 April 1760 and signed by Walter Maxwell, surgeon of the *Hardwicke*, William Thompson, surgeon of the *Triton*, and Alexander Crooks, surgeon of the *Calcutta*. The executors of John Harper and John Rufal this day presented their last wills and testaments, desiring that the wills be proved, which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the witnesses to them. The wills were as follows. **Interpretations** The certificates show how a claim of unfitness on a remote station was substantiated for the Company's satisfaction. Barclay, the resident surgeon, set out the history and course of treatment, and the surgeons of four passing East Indiamen were called in to confirm both the diagnosis and the adequacy of the care given. Assembling ships' surgeons to corroborate the island practitioner reflects how medical opinion at St Helena drew on the transient expertise of the fleet, and how a request for home leave on health grounds had to be backed by independent professional testimony before the council would forward it. The proving of the wills of John Harper and John Rufal on the oaths of their witnesses shows the council acting as a probate authority for the island. With no separate court, the governor and council took the witnesses' sworn evidence and admitted the wills to proof, the step that gave the executors legal authority to administer the estates. The procedure brought the ordinary machinery of English testamentary law to bear on a small Company settlement.
407	396	12 May In the Name of God Amen. I John Harper of the Island of Helena being in good health and of sound and perfect memory praise be therefore given to Almighty God, do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form as followeth. That whereas I am now intending to take my Passage in the good Ship Earl of Middlesex for the East Indies and having not had my dividend of my Fathers Estate, do give bequeath and dispose of the same when the same shall become payable to me with my other Brothers as follows Imprimis I give to my Brother Gabriel Harper the Sum of Twenty five Pagodas. Item I give to my God Daughter Anne (the Daughter my Brother Thomas Harper) the Sum of Twenty five pagodas to be delivered at age or marriage but to remain in her Fathers hands during that time Item I give to my God Daughter Elizabeth (the Daughter of Richard or Bayley my Brother in Law) the Sum of Twenty five Pagodas to be delivered at Age	John Harper of St Helena, being in good health and of sound and perfect memory, made his last will and testament as follows. Since he was about to take his passage on the *Earl of Holdernesse* for the East Indies, and had not yet received his dividend of his father's estate, he bequeathed his share of that estate, when it became payable, along with his other property, in the manner set out below. He gave to his brother Gabriel Harper the sum of 25 pagodas. He gave to his goddaughter Anne, the daughter of his brother Thomas Harper, the sum of 25 pagodas, to be delivered at her coming of age or marriage but to remain in her father's hands until then. He gave to his goddaughter Elizabeth, the daughter of Arledge or Bayley, his brother-in-law, the sum of 25 pagodas, to be delivered at her coming of age or marriage but to remain in her father's hands until then. All the rest of his estate, being his share of his father's estate that fell to him, he gave to his dear brother Martin Harper. He named and appointed his loving brother Thomas Harper and his uncle Samuel Alexander as executors of the will. The will was made at St Helena on 17 April 1759 and signed by John Harper.

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		or Marriage, but to remain in her Fathers hands during that time Item All the rest and remainder of my Estate be it share of my Fathers Estate that falleth to me I give to my Dear Brother Martin Harper. Lastly I Nominate and appoint my Loving Brother Thomas Harper and my Uncle Samuel Alexander Executors to this my Will Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament Done at St Helena this seventeenth day of April One thousand seven hundred and fifty nine Signed John Harper Signed Sealed and Declared to by the said Will and Testament of him the said John Harper in the presence of us Signed Richd Beale Juer John Scott	It was signed, sealed and declared to be his last will and testament in the presence of Richard Beale junior and John Scott. **Interpretations** The will was drawn as a precaution against the hazards of the voyage John Harper was about to make on the *Earl of Holdernesse* to the East Indies. His chief asset was an unpaid share of his late father's estate, not yet distributed, which he bequeathed in advance of ever receiving it, so that his interest would pass to his family whether or not he lived to collect it himself. The document shows a young man about to leave St Helena settling his affairs against the real chance of death at sea or in India. All the legacies were reckoned in pagodas, the South Indian gold coin, rather than sterling, which was the currency in which private wealth on the island was commonly held and transferred. The two 25-pagoda gifts to goddaughters, tied to coming of age or marriage and held meanwhile by their fathers, follow the ordinary form of a conditional legacy designed to provide a girl with a small portion at the point she would most need it.
408	397	1760 Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen. I John Bassell of this afore said Island, Soldier in the Honorable East India Companys Service being sick and weak in Body but of a sound of mind memory and considering the uncertainty of life and that of Death, do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following this is to say As to that Worldly Estate it hath pleased the Almighty to bless me with I Give and dispose of the same both Real and Personal whatsoever or wheresoever unto my good friend William Cookey of the same place Soldier in the Company Commanded by Captain John Clark to him his Heirs and Assigns for ever And Lastly I do hereby nominate Constitute and appoint the said William Cookey Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and annulling and making void all former and other Wills and Testaments by me at any time heretofore made, Declaring this to be my only last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Seventh day of May in the Year of our Lord Christ One thousand seven hundred and Sixty Signed Sealed published and declared by the above named John Bassell to be his last Will and Testament in the presence of us. Who have hereunto subscribed our Names as Witnesses. Signed Wm Williams Juer Jonathan Chandler Signed John Bassell Mr Robert Barclay the Honorable Companys Surgeon, maketh Complaint, that a Negro of his was bitten on the twenty fifth of this month by Fancy a Slave Man belonging to Mr Isaac Davison and for so ill tempered troubled of another Man Slave of the said 2 Several Cousins as late a Man Slave of Captain John Clark, who were examined and Severally deposed that the said Fancy, deceived two Dogs and worryed, and with Stones killed one of the Horses Legs	John Bussell, a soldier in the Honourable East India Company's service on St Helena, being sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory, and mindful of the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death, made his last will and testament as follows. As to the worldly estate it had pleased Almighty God to bless him with, he gave and disposed of the whole, both real and personal, wherever it might be, to his good friend William Cockrey, a fellow soldier in the company commanded by Captain John Clark, to be his sole and only property for ever. He named and appointed William Cockrey the sole executor of the will, revoking all former wills and declaring this to be his only last will and testament. The will was made under his hand and seal on 7 May 1760 and signed by John Bussell. It was signed, sealed and declared to be his last will and testament in the presence of Thomas Williams and Jonathan Chandler. Robert Barclay, the Honourable Company's surgeon, made a complaint concerning an affair that had happened at his house earlier that month. A slave belonging to Mr Francis Dawson had, for [...] himself, provided [...] another slave belonging to [...] Lascar cousins, and a slave of Captain John Clark's who was very ill treated and severely [...]. The slave Fanny had died and two dogs were also killed, and the slave [...] was one of the house slaves who [...]. **Interpretations** John Bussell's will shows a dying soldier with no family present leaving everything to a comrade in the same company. With his kin in England or unknown, he made a fellow soldier under Captain Clark both sole beneficiary and executor, a common arrangement among men serving far from home who relied on one another rather than distant relatives. The bequest of his whole estate to a friend reflects the tight bonds of the garrison, where the man beside you stood in for the family you had left behind. The complaint brought by surgeon Barclay records a violent incident among the island's slaves, ending in the death of the slave Fanny and the killing of two dogs. The affair was serious enough for the Company's surgeon to lay it formally before the council, involving slaves owned by several masters, Francis Dawson, Lascar cousins and Captain Clark among them. Damage to the human property of more than one owner was a matter the council had to adjudicate, since the loss fell on the masters and the disorder threatened the fragile control on which a slave-holding settlement depended.

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409	398	12 May From the above proof, it Evidently appeared to us, that the said Fancy, had Committed the Mischief and was the cause of the Horses death, We therefore Ordered him to be whipped several times, and to receive two Hundred Lashes at each time. And as it was a subsisting Law of this Island, that all Damages done by the Slaves of the Inhabitants, should be made Good by their Masters, We directed Mr Davison to pay Mr Barclay for his Slave at the Rate it should be valued at by two indifferent Peoples. Mr Thomas Greenbee applied to us to pay two Hundred and thirty 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 Mr Mary Adamson or order Ninety days after sight dated this day Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th day of May 1760 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Durling Councell The last Consultation was Read approved and Signed, dated the 12th May 1760 The Plantation Governors and Stewards Accounts for the Month Ending the 11th Instant, were this day brought in, which were examined and approved, and are as follows viz:	From the evidence, it plainly appeared to the council that the slave Fanny had committed the mischief and caused the death of the dogs. The council therefore ordered that she be whipped several times and receive 200 lashes each time. Since it was a standing law of the island that damage done by the slaves of the inhabitants must be made good by their masters, the council ordered Barclay to pay the value of the slave at the rate assessed by two disinterested persons. Thomas Greenbee applied to the council to pay in £230 of the Honourable Company's cash, which the council received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Mary Adamson or order, ninety days after sight, dated this day. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. At a consultation held at the castle on Monday 19 May 1760 there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, lieutenant governor, Captain John Clark and Matthew Durling, councillors. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 12 May 1760. The plantation, garrison and stores accounts for the month ending the 11th were this day brought in, examined and approved, and were as follows. **Interpretations** The sentence of repeated whippings of 200 lashes each shows the extreme violence with which the council punished slaves for property damage. The killing of dogs, chargeable to the owner in money, was visited on the slave herself in flogging so severe as to be life-threatening, a measure of how the settlement's discipline fell with brutal weight on the slaves while the financial loss was settled quietly between masters. The standing rule that a master must make good the damage done by his slaves treated a slave in law as a chattel for whose acts the owner answered, much as for a beast. Barclay, as owner, was ordered to pay the assessed value, fixed by two disinterested valuers rather than by his own or the injured party's estimate, a mechanism designed to reach a fair price and keep such disputes from festering. The same incident thus produced two distinct settlements, corporal punishment of the slave and a monetary reckoning between the owners. The bills of exchange issued to Thomas Greenbee, payable in London to Mary Adamson ninety days after sight, again show the Company gathering cash on the island against paper redeemable at home. The ninety-day term was the usual delay allowed between a bill being presented and falling due, and naming the payee or order let the instrument be passed on by endorsement, giving a remote settlement access to a flexible and transferable form of credit.
410	399	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c from the 12th April to the 11th May 1760 viz: Bulls, Cows, Oxdent, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Sheass, Asses, Total Remaining the 12: Bulls 5, Cows 122, Oxdent 80, Yearlings 47, Heifers 23, Steers 32, Oxen 16, Total 325, Ewes 375, Weathers 125, Lambs 4, Rams 8, Total 572, Ewes 222, Weathers 60, Kids 24, Rams 10, Total 316, Sows 10, Shoats 7, Pigs 14, Boars 2, Total 33, Fowls 181, Ducks 70, Turkeys 20, Geese 32, Horses 7, Mares 5, Total 12, Sheass 4, Asses 1, Total 5 Cproceased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Oxdent 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers	The following account set out the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock from 12 April to 11 May 1760. Neat cattle remaining the 12th: bulls 5, cows 122, oxen 80, yearlings 47, heifers 23, steers 32, [...] 16, total 325 Sheep remaining the 12th: ewes 375, wethers 185, lambs 4, rams 8, total 572 Goats remaining the 12th: ewes 222, wethers 60, kids 24, rams 10, total 316 Hogs remaining the 12th: sows 10, shoats 7, pigs 14, boars 2, total 33 Poultry remaining the 12th: fowls 181, ducks 70, turkeys 20, geese 32 Horses remaining the 12th: horses 7, mares 5, total 12

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		0, Lambs 46, Rams 0, Total 46, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 10, Rams 0, Total 10, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 21, Ducks 0, Turkeys 21, Geese 3, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Sheass 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 5, Cows 122, Oxdent 80, Yearlings 47, Heifers 23, Steers 32, Oxen 16, Total 325, Ewes 375, Weathers 18550, Lambs 8, Rams 618, Total 222, Ewes 60, Weathers 3410, Kids 326, Rams 10, Total 7, Sows 14, Shoats 2, Pigs 33, Boars 202, Total 70, Fowls 21, Ducks 35, Turkeys 7, Geese 5, Horses 12, Mares 4, Total 1, Sheass 5 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Oxdent 0, Yearlings 4, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 5, Total 13, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Lambs 15, Rams 1, Total 14, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 15, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 1, Total 22, Fowls 6, Ducks 4, Turkeys 3, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Oxdent 7, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 10, Total 3, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 1, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 0 Killed by Accident: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Oxdent 0, Yearlings 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0 Remaining 11: Bulls 5, Cows 118, Oxdent 73, Yearlings 46, Heifers 19, Steers 32, Oxen 16, Total 309, Ewes 372, Weathers 17248, Lambs 8, Rams 600, Total 220, Ewes 46, Weathers 3410, Kids 310, Rams 10, Total 6, Sows 14, Shoats 2, Pigs 32, Boars 179, Total 63, Fowls 37, Ducks 32, Turkeys 7, Geese 5, Horses 12, Mares 4, Total 1, Sheass 5 Good Yam Expended for the Slaves 19 170 Bad Do for stocke 8 925 28 095 Signed John Skottowe	Asses remaining the 12th: she-asses 4, he-asses 1, total 5 Increased sheep: lambs 46, total 46 Increased goats: kids 10, total 10 Increased poultry: fowls 21, total 21 Increased horses: 3 Total neat cattle: bulls 5, cows 122, oxen 80, yearlings 47, heifers 23, steers 32, [...] 16, total 325 Total sheep: ewes 375, wethers 185, lambs 50, rams 8, total 618 Total goats: ewes 222, wethers 60, kids 34, rams 10, total 326 Total hogs: sows 10, shoats 7, pigs 14, boars 2, total 33 Total poultry: fowls 202, ducks 70, turkeys 21, geese 35 Total horses: horses 7, mares 5, total 12 Total asses: she-asses 4, he-asses 1, total 5 Killed neat cattle: cows 1, yearlings 4, total 5 Killed sheep: wethers 13, lambs 2, total 15 Killed goats: ewes 1, wethers 14, total 15 Killed hogs: sows 1, total 1 Killed poultry: fowls 22, ducks 6, turkeys 4, geese 3 Died neat cattle: cows 3, oxen 7, total 10 Died sheep: ewes 3, total 3 Died goats: ewes 1, total 1 Died hogs: sows 1, total 1 Died poultry: turkeys 1, total 1 Killed by accident neat cattle: yearlings 1, total 1 Remaining the 11th neat cattle: bulls 5, cows 118, oxen 73, yearlings 46, heifers 19, steers 32, [...] 16, total 309 Remaining the 11th sheep: ewes 372, wethers 172, lambs 48, rams 8, total 600 Remaining the 11th goats: ewes 220, wethers 46, kids 34, rams 10, total 310 Remaining the 11th hogs: sows 10, shoats 6, pigs 14, boars 2, total 32 Remaining the 11th poultry: fowls 179, ducks 63, turkeys 37, geese 32 Remaining the 11th horses: horses 7, mares 5, total 12 Remaining the 11th asses: she-asses 4, he-asses 1, total 5 Good yams expended for the slaves, 19,170 Bad yams for stock, 8,925 Total yams, 28,095 The account was signed by John Skottowe. **Interpretations** The muster distinguishes several fates for the month's losses, separating animals killed for the table, those that died of natural causes and one yearling killed by accident. Keeping deaths apart from deliberate slaughter let the council track wastage against consumption, so that a run of natural deaths in the cows and oxen, ten in all, stood out from the beef taken for provisions. On a small island wholly dependent on its own herds, close accounting of every head lost was the only guard against the stock being run down unnoticed. The yam figures at the foot show the crop that fed both the slaves and the animals, divided into good yams issued as food for the slaves and bad yams put to the stock. Yams were the staple provision grown on the island in bulk, and the sound roots went to the workforce while the spoiled portion was not wasted but fed to the livestock. That nearly a third of the yams counted were bad points to serious losses in storage or harvest, a recurring problem for a settlement relying on a root crop to sustain its people. Turkeys rose against the general pattern, standing at 37 at the month's end after 20 at the start, since the birds killed and the single death were more than offset by young coming on, a small sign of the poultry yard being deliberately built up.

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411	400	19 May Artillery Stores Expended from the 12th April to the 11th May 1760 both days included (viz:) Guns fired, Powder Expended April 16 Departed the Earl of Middlesex returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, Powder Expended 0C 0qr 07lb Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 1qr 8lb 22 An Alarum: Guns fired 6, Powder Expended 2C 2qr 12lb Do Arrived a Dean Ship returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, Powder Expended 0C 0qr 9lb Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 1qr 8lb 23 Powder for priming in order to have Returned the Salute of the Prison: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 1qr 8lb Do Powder for Shooting for the use of the Table: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 1qr 0lb 29 An Alarum: Guns fired 6, Powder Expended 2C 2qr 12lb Do Arrived the Delaware returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, Powder Expended 0C 0qr 9lb Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 1qr 8lb Do Departed a Dean Ship returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, Powder Expended 0C 0qr 9lb Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 1qr 8lb Do Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay from 8 Feb 1759: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 3qr 0lb May 2 Powder Expended with drying and Shifting the Cartridges at Ruperts: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 12qr 0lb 7 Powder for blowing Rocks: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 3qr 0lb 8 An Alarum: Guns fired 6, Powder Expended 2C 2qr 12lb Do Arrived the Royal George returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, Powder Expended 0C 0qr 9lb Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 1qr 8lb Do Fired to Salute Colonel Cloves arrived on Shore: Guns fired 19, Powder Expended 1C 1qr 8lb Do Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 3qr 0lb Powder for blowing Limestone at Sandy Bay: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 2qr 2lb Do Expended in Firing in Pursuit of Deserters: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 1qr 0lb Do for the Funeral of John Bassell: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 2qr 4lb Do for the Funeral of William Warden: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 2qr 4lb Do for Signals: Guns fired 0, Powder Expended 0C 3qr 0lb Total: Guns fired 82, Powder Expended 8C 6qr 7lb Paper for the use of the Ship Hardwicke 6 Do Do for making Cannon Cartridges 28 Do	The following account set out the artillery stores expended from 12 April to 11 May 1760, both days included, the powder measured in hundredweight, quarters and pounds. 16 April, the Earl of Holdernesse departed and the fort returned her salute, 9 guns fired, powder 0cwt 0qr 6lb Powder for priming, 0cwt 0qr 1½lb 22 April, an alarm, 6 guns fired, powder 2cwt 2qr 12lb A Danish ship arrived and the fort returned her salute, 9 guns fired, powder 0cwt 0qr 6lb Powder for priming, 0cwt 0qr 1½lb 23 April, powder for priming to return the salute of the Triton, 0cwt 0qr 1½lb Powder for shooting for the use of the table, 0cwt 0qr 1lb An alarm, 6 guns fired, powder 2cwt 2qr 12lb The Delaware departed and the fort returned her salute, 9 guns fired, powder 0cwt 0qr 6lb Powder for priming, 0cwt 0qr 1½lb A Danish ship departed and the fort returned her salute, 9 guns fired, powder 0cwt 0qr 6lb Powder for priming, 0cwt 0qr 1½lb Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay from 8 February 1759, 0cwt 0qr 3lb 2 May, powder expended in drying and shifting the cartridges at Ruperts, 0cwt 0qr 42lb 7 May, powder for blowing rocks, 0cwt 0qr 8lb An alarm, 6 guns fired, powder 2cwt 2qr 12lb The Royal George arrived and the fort returned her salute, 9 guns fired, powder 0cwt 0qr 6lb Powder for priming, 0cwt 0qr 1½lb Salute to Colonel Cleves on his arrival ashore, 19 guns fired, powder 1cwt 1qr 8lb Powder for priming, 0cwt 0qr 3lb Powder for blowing limestone at Sandy Bay, 0cwt 0qr 22lb Powder expended in firing in pursuit of deserters, 0cwt 0qr 1lb Powder for the funeral of John Bussell, 0cwt 0qr 2½lb Powder for the funeral of William Wadden, 0cwt 0qr 2½lb Powder for signals, [...] Total, 82 guns fired, powder 6cwt 3qr 14lb Paper for the use of the Hardwicke, 6 quires Paper for making cannon cartridges, 28 quires **Interpretations** The account shows how tightly the garrison logged its gunpowder, charging every round to a stated occasion, whether a salute to an arriving or departing ship, an alarm, a funeral or ordinary blasting work. The powder was reckoned in hundredweight, quarters and pounds, and priming powder, the small charge used to fire each gun, was entered separately from the main charge. On an island wholly dependent on shipped supplies, powder was too scarce and valuable to issue without a recorded purpose. The salutes distinguish rank and occasion by the number of guns. A passing merchant ship or an East Indiaman was answered with nine guns, but Colonel Cleves was received ashore with a nineteen-gun salute, the mark of a senior officer, consuming far more powder than any other single item. The gradation shows the fort using its guns as a language of ceremony, spending scarce powder to signal the standing of those it honoured. Powder was also put to plain industrial use, blowing rocks and breaking limestone at Sandy Bay for building material, and a quantity was expended simply in drying and re-bagging cartridges at Ruperts that had deteriorated in storage. The two funerals of John Bussell and William Wadden each drew a small

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			charge for the customary volley over the grave, and even the paper for wrapping cartridges was accounted for in quires, a reminder that on St Helena nothing connected with the artillery was too small to enter the books.
412	401	1760 Needles broke with Seaming Cartridges 38 Sheep skins for Spunges for the use of the Earl of Middlesex 10 Do for Coating Spunges at the Main and out Forts 60 Trunck Nails for Do 3980 Rammer heads for Do 87 Spunge Staves for Do 17 Spunge Staves for Do 41 Hand Stakes broke at the Main Fort 5 Do at Munden Point 2 Levers broke at Do 4 Tampeons wore out and unserviceable 60 Talins for the use of the Pumps 1 Do Do for the use of the Boats 2 Do Do for the use of the Wood Carts 4 Signed Thos Hall. Sundry Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month Ending the 11th instant viz: 11 Bottles Port Wine £0 16s 6d 23 Bottles Lisbon £1 14s 6d 9 Bottles Mountain £0 13s 6d 10 Bottles Madeira £2 7s 7 1/2d 59 Bottles Arrack £3 11s 10 1/2d 36 Bottles Beer £0 9s 9d 310 Flour £2 6s 0 1/4d Do Flour £3 11s 6d 386 Beef £0 5s 11d 2 Pieces Salt Beef £0 5s 0d 16 lb Pork Carried over £ 16 5s 8 1/4d	The following account continued the artillery stores expended. Needles broken with seaming cartridges, 38 Sheepskins for sponges for the use of the Earl of Holdernesse, 10 Sheepskins for coating sponges at the main and outer forts, 68 Trunk nails for the same, 3,980 Rammer heads for the same, 87 Sponge heads for the same, 17 Sponge staves for the same, 41 Handspikes broken at the main fort, 5 Handspikes broken at Munden's Point, 2 Levers broken at the same, 4 Tampions worn out and unserviceable, 60 Tallow for the use of the pumps, 1 pound Tallow for the use of the boats, 2 pounds Tallow for the use of the wood carts, 4 pounds The account was signed by Thomas Hall. The following account set out the sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending the 11th. 11 bottles of port wine, £0 16s 6d 23 bottles of Lisbon, £1 14s 6d 9 bottles of mountain, £1 3s 6d 10 bottles of Madeira, £2 7s 1½d 59 bottles of arrack, £3 11s 10½d 36 bottles of beer, £0 9s 9d 310 [...] of flour, £3 11s 6d 1 [...] of beef, £0 5s 11d 2 pieces of salt beef, £0 5s 0d 16 [...] pecks, [...] Carried over, £16 5s 8¼d **Interpretations** The gun stores show the heavy wear that firing and maintenance inflicted on a battery's equipment. Sponges for swabbing the bore were coated in sheepskin, which had to be renewed, and rammer heads, sponge staves, handspikes and levers, the wooden tools of loading and laying, broke steadily and were replaced in quantity. Tampions, the plugs that sealed a gun's muzzle against damp, wore out sixty at a time, a sign of how sea air degraded the ordnance on an exposed island fort. Even the needles used to stitch cartridge bags and the tallow greasing pumps, boats and carts were entered, marking the exhaustive accounting the Company demanded of its military stores. The table account records the wine and provisions consumed at the governor's board, drawn from the whole spread of the wine trade that reached St Helena. Port, Lisbon and mountain from Portugal and Spain, Madeira from the Atlantic islands and arrack from the East all passed the island in Company and foreign shipping, and the governor's table drew on the lot. Mountain was a sweet Spanish wine from Málaga, and its presence alongside the others shows the range of drink a remote garrison could command from the ships that called.
413	402	19 May Brought over £ 16 5s 8 1/4d 11 lb Salt Pork £1 0s 1 1/4d 280 1/2 Mutton £5 16s 10 1/2d 36 lb Goat £0 19s 8d 2 Lambs £1 0s 0d	The following account continued the sundries expended at the Honourable Company's table in the month ending the 11th. Brought over, £16 5s 8¼d 11lb of salt pork, £1 0s 1¼d 280½lb of mutton, £5 16s 10½d 36lb of goat, £0 19s 8d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 22 fowls, £1 13s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d

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		22 Fowls £1 13s 0d 6 Ducks £0 9s 0d 3 Geese £0 15s 0d 4 Turkeys £1 0s 0d 33 Flesh Butter £1 13s 0d 40 Sugary £0 7s 6d 50 Candy £0 16s 5d £32 5s 6d Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling	3 geese, £0 15s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 33lb of fresh butter, £1 13s 0d 40lb of sugar, £0 7s 6d 30lb of candy, £0 16s 5d Total, £32 5s 6d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. **Interpretations** The provisions drawn for the governor's table over the month match the livestock and produce recorded in the island's own stock account, the mutton, goat, lamb, fowls, ducks, geese and turkeys all coming from the Company's herds and poultry yard rather than from shipping. The quantities of fresh meat, nearly three hundredweight of mutton alone, show a table supplied chiefly from local husbandry, in contrast to the imported wines and salt provisions of the earlier entries. Sugar and candy, the latter crystallised sugar used as a sweetmeat, were among the few sweet goods brought in by sea.
414	403	24 May At a Consultation held on Saturday the 24th day of May 1760 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Durling Councel The last Consultation was Read approved and Signed dated the 19th day of May 1760 Monday the 19th Sailed the Honorable Company Ships Royal George Homeward bound. Tuesday the 20th died Sarah Reignolds Widow Yesterday Jonas a Slave Man belonging to the Honorable Company was killed by accident This day arrived the Honorable Company Ships Royal Duke Captain Rogers from England by whom We received a Packet from their Honors, which was opened and read their Orders to us. On the 20th instant Enlisted Jacob Brown to serve the Honorable Company for five Years as a Soldier at three pagodas bounty money and had the Articles of War Read to him by the Adjutant. Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling	At a consultation held at the castle on Saturday 24 May 1760 there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, lieutenant governor, Captain John Clark and Matthew Durling, councillors. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 19 May 1760. On Monday 19 May the Honourable Company's ship *Royal George* sailed, homeward bound. On Tuesday 20 May Sarah Reynolds, a widow, died. The day before, Jonas, a slave belonging to the Honourable Company, was killed by accident. This day the Honourable Company's ship *Royal Duke*, commanded by Captain Rogers, arrived from England, by which the council received a packet from their masters, which it opened and read the orders to itself. On the 20th the council enlisted Jacob Brown to serve the Honourable Company for four years as a soldier at three pagodas bounty money, and the adjutant read the Articles of War to him. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. **Interpretations** The reading of the Articles of War to Jacob Brown on enlistment brought him formally under military discipline, binding him to the code that governed a soldier's conduct and set the penalties for desertion, mutiny and other offences. The adjutant, the officer responsible for administration and discipline, performed the reading so that no recruit could later plead ignorance of the terms he served under. Brown's bounty of three pagodas for four years was markedly lower than the ten pagodas paid to Duncan Cameron on 12 May 1760 for a five-year term, showing that the inducement varied with the length of engagement and perhaps with the pressure to fill the ranks at a given moment. The packet brought from England on the *Royal Duke* was the Company's means of directing its distant settlement, carrying the Court of Directors' orders to the governor and council. Communication ran only as fast as the ships, so instructions from London reached St Helena in a single packet to be opened, read and acted on, the island's administration turning on the arrival of each homeward or outward Indiaman.
415	404	26 May At a Consultation held on Monday the 26th day of May 1760 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor	At a consultation held at the castle on Monday 26 May 1760 there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, lieutenant governor, Captain John Clark and Matthew Durling, councillors.

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		Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Durling Councel The last Consultation was Read approved and Signed, dated the 24th May 1760. Yesterday arrived a Dutch Ship, from the Cape called the Immagonda Capt John Frederick Schaper burthen about 700 Tons, carry 26 Guns, & 120 Men, Laden with Bale Good & c bound to Holland Being in want of Salt Petre for the Gunners use, for making Post Fires Rockets Fuzees & c We desired Capt Sampson to send Us a bag on Shore, which he accordingly did weighing 143, and Mr Hall the Master Gunner gave him a Receipt for the same. The Governor this day acquainted the Council, that the Secret Committee, had recommended it to him, to Act in concert with them in making a diligent Search, and enquiry for illicit Trade, that is suspected to be on board the Royal Duke, For which purpose, We ordered Mr Richard Law to repair on board the said Ship, and to attend there, during the Time of her delivery to make due Search, and to report to Us whatever discoveries he should make respecting the same. Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month ending the 11th instant, which is as follows viz: Cash	The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 24 May 1760. The day before, a Dutch ship arrived from the Cape called the *Immagonda*, commanded by Captain John Frederick Schaper, of about 700 tons burden, mounting 26 guns and carrying 120 men, laden with Bengal goods and bound for Holland. Being in want of saltpetre for the gunner's use in making fuses, rockets and other fireworks, the council directed Captain Larkins to send a bag ashore, which he readily did, weighing 143lb, and Hall the storekeeper gave him a receipt for it. The Governor this day told the council that the Secret Committee had recommended he act with them in making a diligent search and enquiry for illicit trade suspected to be aboard the *Royal Duke*. He therefore ordered Richard Law to go aboard the ship and attend her during the time of her delivery, to make due search and to report whatever he discovered. The council then counted and examined the Honourable Company's cash for the month ending the 11th, which was as follows. **Interpretations** Saltpetre, potassium nitrate, was the essential oxidising ingredient of gunpowder and of the fuses, rockets and fireworks the gunner prepared, and the island had to obtain it from passing shipping. That the council could ask a Company captain to land a bag of it, weighed and receipted at 143lb, shows how the garrison drew on the cargoes of the Indiamen calling at St Helena to make good shortages in its own military stores. Bengal was a principal source of saltpetre for the Company, refined there and shipped to England in bulk. The search of the *Royal Duke* for illicit trade reveals the Company's constant struggle against private dealing by its own servants and ships' officers. The Secret Committee, the arm of the Court of Directors charged with confidential business, had flagged the vessel, and the council placed Richard Law aboard to watch her unloading and report any goods carried outside the Company's monopoly. Stationing an officer to observe the whole delivery shows how seriously private trade was treated, since every clandestine cargo cut directly into the Company's exclusive commercial rights. **Speculations** The council could have contented itself with a formal caution or a cursory look at the *Royal Duke*, the easier course given that her commander had just brought the Court's own packet from England. Instead it acted on the Secret Committee's recommendation and posted Richard Law aboard for the entire unloading, choosing close and sustained surveillance of a ship freshly arrived from the directors over the deference her errand might have invited. The decision shows the suspicion of private trade overriding the goodwill ordinarily extended to a homeward Indiaman on Company business.
416	405	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1760 April 12 To Balance remaining £ 6571 19s 7d 14 To Ship Earl of Middlesex, the Balance of her Account £322 4s 4d To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Capt Robert Brooke Senr £680 0s 0d 21 To Ship Triton received the Balance of her Account £7 5s 0d To Fines received of John Baptist Michland, & Samuel Desfontain	Cash, debtor Balance remaining, £6,571 19s 7d To the ship Earl of Holdernesse, the balance of her account, £322 4s 4d To exchange for a set of bills drawn upon the Honourable Court of Directors payable to Captain Robert Brooke senior, £620 0s 0d On 21 April the account received from the *Triton* the balance of her account, £7 5s 0d. To fines received of John Baptist, Michland and Samuel Desfountain at the consultation of this day, £2 10s 0d Total, £7,583 18s 11d The balance remaining was held in the following species.

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		as p Consultation of this Day £2 10s 0d £7583 18s 11d 1760 May 11 By Balance remaining in the following Species viz: 4824 Pagodas a 8/ £ 1929 12 1330 Venetians 10/ 665 0 Gold amounting to £ 2594 12 13168 Dollars a 5/ £ 3292 0 16257 Rupees 2/3 1153 18 3 441 French pieces 1/2 313 6 Odd Money 9 Silver amounting to £ 4449 11s 11d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £ 539 15 £7583 18s 11d Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling	Per contra, creditor 4,824 pagodas at 4s 9d, £1,929 12s 0d 1,330 Venetians at 10d, £665 0s 0d Gold amounting to, £2,594 12s 0d 13,168 dollars at 5s, £3,292 0s 0d 16,257 rupees at 2s 3d, £1,153 18s 3d 441 French pieces at 1s 6d, £313 6s 0d Odd money, £0 0s 9d Silver amounting to, £4,449 11s 11d Cash notes of no use amounting to, £539 15s 0d Total, £7,583 18s 11d The account was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. **Interpretations** The reserve was again held wholly in foreign coin, converted to sterling at fixed rates, but the composition had shifted since the count of 11 April 1760. The Venetians, gold sequins struck at Venice and widely current in the East, now stood at 1,330 where the earlier count had listed 1,336 shillings in that place, and the silver holding had swelled from £3,439 12s 7d to £4,449 11s 11d, chiefly through a rise in the dollars from 10,448 to 13,168 and in the rupees from 1,300 to 16,257. The heavy inflow of rupees in particular reflects the money received over the month from bills of exchange and from stores sold to the ships lying in the road. The cash notes of no use, standing now at £539 15s 0d against £369 15s 0d in April, had grown by exactly £170 over the month, so that the sum of unspendable paper carried in the balance was rising even as the coin reserve increased. Such notes remained on the books as a nominal asset the Company had not written off, and their steady accumulation quietly inflated the recorded balance beyond what could actually be spent.
417	406	28 May At a Consultation held on Wednesday, the 28 day of May 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottow Esq Lieut Govr Capt John Clark Mr Matt Durling Councels The last Consultation was Read, approved, and Signed dated the 26 May 1760. Monday the 26, in the afternoon, arrived two more Dutch Ships from the Cape, called the Houre De Boote and the Amelia Second Captains Giles Paterson and Nicholas Huyven, burthen about 700 Tons, carry 26 Guns & 120 Men Laden with Bale Goods & c bound to Holland Yesterday, Died Thomas Davis Soldier & Wm Gushton Sexton Do arrived His Majestys Ships Colchester and Rippon, and the Honorable Companys Snow Mercury from England, by which opportunity We received the Duplicates of their Honors Letters to Us by the Ships Triton & Royal Duke, which We opened and read. We have detained seventeen of the Military out of the Ship Royal Duke, that were consigned to Bengal in Order to complete the four Companies, and augment the Artillery, to Seventy Men, as We think it absolutely necessary so to do Cha Hutchinson John Skottow	At a consultation held at the castle on Wednesday 28 May 1760 there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, lieutenant governor, Captain John Clark and Matthew Durling, councillors. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 26 May 1760. On the afternoon of Monday 26 May two more Dutch ships arrived from the Cape called the *Huis de Boede* and the *Amelia Louisa*, commanded by Giles Paterson and Nicholas Hluyven, of about 700 tons burden each, mounting 26 guns and carrying 120 men, laden with Bengal goods and bound for Holland. The day before, Thomas Davis, a soldier and William Duffin's [...], died. There arrived His Majesty's ships *Colchester* and *Rippon*, and the Honourable Company's ship *Mercury* from England, by which opportunity the council received the duplicates of their masters' letters sent by the *Triton* and *Royal Duke*, which it opened and read. The council had detained seventeen of the military aboard the *Royal Duke* who were consigned to Bengal, in order to complete the four companies and augment the artillery to twenty men, as it thought it absolutely necessary to do so. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. **Interpretations** The detention of seventeen soldiers bound for Bengal shows the council overriding the Company's deployment of its own troops to meet the island's pressing need for men. Recruits shipped east for the Bengal establishment were pulled off the *Royal Duke* to bring the garrison's four companies up to strength and raise the artillery to twenty men, the council judging the defence of St Helena a more urgent claim than the reinforcement of India. Diverting men already assigned elsewhere was a serious step,

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		John Clark Durling	justified in the record by absolute necessity, and reflects how thinly the strategic island was garrisoned. The arrival of the duplicate letters carried by the *Colchester*, *Rippon* and *Mercury*, repeating orders already sent by the *Triton* and *Royal Duke*, illustrates the Company's practice of sending copies of important dispatches by separate ships. With the hazards of the sea threatening any single vessel, duplicates guaranteed that the directors' instructions would reach the settlement even if one carrier were lost, a routine safeguard of long-distance correspondence. **Speculations** The council could have let the seventeen soldiers continue to Bengal as the Company had ordered and made do with its existing establishment until fresh recruits arrived for the island itself. Instead it seized men already consigned elsewhere, judging the completion of its companies and the strengthening of the artillery too important to defer. The choice, recorded as absolutely necessary, shows the council willing to disrupt the Company's wider military plans to secure the immediate safety of the island it was charged to hold.
418	407	2 June At a Consultation held on Monday the 2 day of June 1760 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor John Skottow Esq Lieut Govr Capt John Clark Mr Matt Durling Councels The last Consultation was Read, approved, and Signed dated the 28 day of May 1760 Thursday the 29 of May Sailed the three Dutch Ships for Holland Relisted James Hall, and John Langridge to serve the Honorable Company as Soldiers for five Years at ten Pounds Bounty Money each. Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling	At a consultation held at the castle on Monday 2 June 1760 there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, lieutenant governor, Captain John Clark and Matthew Durling, councillors. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 28 May 1760. On Thursday 29 May the three Dutch ships sailed for Holland. The council enlisted James Hall and John Langridge to serve the Honourable Company as soldiers for five years at ten pagodas bounty money each. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling.
419	408	6 June At a Consultation held on Friday the 6th June 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Lieutenant John Clark Mr Matthew Durling Councel The last Consultation was Read, approved and Signed, dated the 2 June 1760 Yesterday died John Baker Soldier The ten working days, allowed by the Sea party, for unloading the Ship Royal Duke, expiring yesterday, We gave Captain Peirce Prignt Sailing Orders in writing, to send the Boat of his way to Bengal, according to the instructions, he had received from the Honorable the Court of Directors, to whom We likewise delivered the following Letters, to the several Settlements in Indies. (viz:) To the Honorable George Pigot Esqr President & Governor &c Council of Fort St George Honorable Sir & Sirs. Our last advices to you, went by the Delaware, that sailed	At a consultation held at the castle on Friday 6 June 1760 there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, lieutenant governor, Lieutenant John Clark and Matthew Durling, councillors. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 2 June 1760. The day before, John Baker, a soldier, died. The ten working days allowed the shore party for unloading the *Royal Duke* having expired the day before, the council gave Captain Rogers permission to sail. He was making his way to Bengal according to the instructions he had received from the Honourable Court of Directors, to whom the council likewise delivered the following letters for the several settlements in India. The council wrote to George Pigot, President and Governor, and the council of Fort St George. The council's last advice to them had gone by the *Delaware*, which had sailed from St Helena on 31 July 1759, and since then it had received their letter by the *Warren*. The council was glad to hear that they had defeated the efforts of the French against their settlement and heartily congratulated them on that happy event. The council advised that it would send for the use of the island certain goods and set out what it wanted.

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		from hence the 31st July 1759, add We have since received your Letter by the Ship Warren. It gives us pleasure to hear, that you defeated the Efforts of the French against your Settlement, We heartily congratulate you upon that happy Event. We desire you will Send, for the use of this Island ten pieces, Long Cloth of twelve pagodas p piece, ten pieces, of ten pagodas p piece, Twenty pieces of Eight pagodas p piece, ten pieces of fine pagodas p piece and Fifty Pieces, of three pagodas, and the Rest of the viz: p Cent in trench, Rice and Paddy.	Long cloth of twelve pagodas per piece, 10 pieces Long cloth of ten pagodas per piece, 10 pieces Long cloth of eight pagodas per piece, 20 pieces Long cloth of fine quality at five pagodas per piece, 50 pieces Rice and paddy for the rest of the [...] per cent in [...] **Interpretations** Fort St George at Madras was the Company's principal settlement on the Coromandel coast, and its president George Pigot ranked among the senior servants in India, so St Helena's correspondence with him formed part of the routine exchange between the Company's scattered posts. The reference to the French being defeated points to the Anglo-French struggle in the Carnatic during the Seven Years War, when Madras itself had been under threat, and the island council's congratulation shows how news of the war in India reached and mattered to the mid-Atlantic garrison. The order for long cloth graded by price per piece reflects the trade in Indian cotton textiles that clothed the island. Long cloth was a plain woven cotton produced on the Coromandel coast, shipped in standard pieces and priced in pagodas according to fineness, from coarse at eight pagodas to fine at five and better sorts higher. St Helena drew its cloth, like its rice and paddy, from the Company's Indian settlements, sending precise specifications of quantity and grade so that the returning ships would bring exactly what the island needed.
420	409	1760 We have Certain intelligence from England, that the French have sent to the East Indies this Season two Frigates, of Thirty two Guns each, called the Malicieux, and Opal they were met at Sea about the middle of February, to the Westward of Sicily. This goes by the Royal Duke, and inclosed you will receive the arrival, and departure of Ships Laid from this place since the 23 July last. We are Honorable Sir & Sirs St Helena 6th June 1760. Your most humble Servants Signed Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling To the Honorable Richard Bourchier Esqr President & Governor &c Council of Bombay Honorable Sir & Sirs We wrote to you last under date of the 20th July 1759, and We have received your several Letters by the Ships Trice Britton, Admiral Watson, and East court. We request you will Send for the use of this Island, One hundred and fifty pieces of Sarah Chittins, and the rest of the One p Cent, in Rice & Paddy. from England We have certain intelligence, that the French have sent to the East Indies this Season two Frigates of Thirty two Guns each, called the Malicieux, and Opal they were met at Sea, about the middle of February to the Westward of Sicily.	The council had certain intelligence from England that the French had sent to the East Indies that season two frigates of thirty-two guns each, called the *Malicieuse* and *Opale*, which had been met at sea about the middle of February to the westward of Sicily. This letter went by the *Royal Duke*, and the council enclosed the record of arrivals and departures of ships from St Helena since 23 July. The letter was drawn at St Helena on 6 June 1760 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. The council also wrote to Richard Bourchier, President and Governor, and the council of Bombay. The council's last letter to them had been dated 20 July 1759, and since then it had received their several letters by the ships *Triton*, *Warren*, *Admiral Watson* and *East Court*. The council asked that they send for the use of the island 150 pieces of chintz, and the rest of the sum, five per cent, in rice and paddy. The council repeated its intelligence that the French had sent to the East Indies that season two frigates of thirty-two guns each, called the *Malicieuse* and *Opale*, met at sea about the middle of February to the westward of Sicily. This letter went by the *Royal Duke*, and with it the council sent the annual list of arrivals and departures of ships from St Helena. The letter was drawn at St Helena on 6 June 1760 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. **Interpretations** The warning about the two French frigates shows St Helena serving as a relay of naval intelligence between England and the Company's Indian settlements. Word from home of the *Malicieuse* and *Opale* sailing east, sighted off Sicily in February, was passed on to Madras and Bombay so that the presidencies could guard their shipping against enemy cruisers in eastern waters. During the Seven Years War such a mid-ocean station was well placed to forward news of French movements to the ports most exposed to them.

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		This goes by the Royal Duke, Captain Rogers and hereunder send you the annual List of Ships arrived, and departure to and from this place We are Honorable Sir & Sirs St Helena 6th June 1760. Yours most humble Servants Signed Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling	The order to Bombay for 150 pieces of chintz, with the balance taken in rice and paddy, again shows the island drawing its manufactured goods and grain from the Company's Indian presidencies. Chintz was a printed or painted cotton cloth from western India, prized for its colourfast patterns, and Bombay under Richard Bourchier was the Company's chief settlement on that coast. St Helena set its requirements as a mixture of finished cloth and staple foodstuffs, using the returning ships to supply both the wants of its inhabitants and the provisioning of the garrison.
421	410	6 June To the Honorable Henry Vansittart Esqr President & Governor &c Council of Fort William. Honorable Sir & Sirs Under date of the 20th July by the Delaware, We wrote last to you, And your several advices by the Ships Warren, Prince George, Bombay Castle, Warren, Calcutta, Hardwicke and Royal George came safe to us. We desire you will Send for the use of this place, One hundred and fifty pieces of Doreties, and by each Ship Six maunds of good Wax Candles and the rest of the One p Cent, in Sugar Arrack Rice and Paddy We have certain intelligence from England that the French have sent to the East Indies this Season, two Frigates of Thirty two Guns each called the Malicieux, and Opal they were met at Sea about the middle of February to the Westward of Sicily. Agreeable to the permission given us by the Honorable the Court of directors We have detained seventeen of the Soldiers, consigned to your Settlement who were desirous to stay here, You will receive enclosed a List of their Names as likewise the Original List from England, with the Royal Dukes Charter party, Victualling Bill, Manifest of Goods, And a List of Ships arrived and departure to and from this place. We desire you will forward the Packets, to the several Settlements as directed. We likewise send you a Packet marked No 2, we request you will you will open, and forward the Letters therein by the very first opportunity, as several of them, as you will see, are aimed for the Admiral, You his Majestys Service We are Honorable Sir & Sirs St Helena 6 June 1760. Your most humble Servants Signed Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling	The council wrote to Henry Vansittart, President and Governor, and the council of Fort William. The council's last letter to them had been dated 20 July by the *Delaware*, and since then it had received their several letters by the ships *Warren*, *Prince George*, *Bombay Castle*, *Warren*, *Calcutta*, *Hardwicke* and *Royal George*, all of which came safely to St Helena. The council asked that they send for the use of the island 150 pieces of dowlas, and by each ship six maunds of good wax candles, with the rest of the sum, five per cent, in sugar, arrack, rice and paddy. The council repeated its certain intelligence from England that the French had sent to the East Indies that season two frigates of thirty-two guns each, called the *Malicieuse* and *Opale*, met at sea about the middle of February to the westward of Sicily. With the permission given by the Honourable Court of Directors, the council had detained seventeen of the soldiers consigned to Fort William who were diverted to stay at St Helena. They would receive enclosed a list of their names, along with the original list from England, the *Royal Duke*'s charter party, victualling bill, manifest of goods and a list of the ships arriving at and departing from the island. The council asked that they forward the packets to the several settlements as directed. It also sent a packet marked number 2, asking that they open it and forward the letters in it by the very first opportunity, since several of them were meant for the admiral in His Majesty's service. The letter was drawn at St Helena on 6 June 1760 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. **Interpretations** Fort William at Calcutta was the seat of the Bengal presidency, and Henry Vansittart had recently become its governor, so this letter completed the round of correspondence with the Company's three Indian settlements at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. The seventeen soldiers detained at St Helena had been consigned to Fort William, and the council was careful to send their names together with the original shipping list from England, so that the Bengal establishment could reconcile the men diverted against those it had been promised. Enclosing the *Royal Duke*'s charter party, victualling bill and manifest gave Calcutta the full documentary record of the ship's cargo and terms of hire. The requisition to Bengal for dowlas, wax candles and the balance in sugar, arrack, rice and paddy shows the island's reliance on the presidency for both cloth and staple stores. Dowlas was a coarse linen cloth used for common clothing and household purposes, and a maund was an Indian unit of weight varying by region but generally around thirty-seven pounds. The council routed a portion of each requirement through every presidency, spreading its orders so that the returning ships from all three settlements would together supply the island's wants. The forwarding of sealed packets, including one marked number 2 carrying letters for the admiral, confirms St Helena's role as a clearing house for correspondence passing between England, India and

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			the naval command in eastern waters. The council relied on the Bengal council to distribute the enclosed letters onward, the whole system depending on each settlement passing the mails along by the first available ship.
422	411	1760 To the Worshipful Roger Carter Esqr Deputy Governor &c Council of Fort Marlborough. Worshipful Sir & Sirs Our last Letter to you, went by the Delaware, Captain Perkins, that sailed from hence on the 31st July 1759, and since that time, We have received your several advices, under dates of the 24th September and 31st December 1759 and 5 February 1760 We received the Invoice, and account, which you sent by the Ship Pitt, and are much pleased that you have detained William Puldom, as he is a Notorious Villain. As the Ship Earl of Holdernesse was dispatched for England, before the arrival of the Delaware, this Packet you mention marked D for the Honorable the Court of Directors, and that No 1 directed to the Secret Committee will now go by the Delaware The ten Barrels of Gun powder are consigned to you, by the Earl of Holdernesse were invoiced to us at Fifty Eight pounds Six Shillings and eight pence, that which you received by the Delaware, We know nothing of as done was sent us by that Ship, We suppose they must have been intended for your Settlement, although invoiced for Ours. We have certain intelligence from England, that the French have sent to the East Indies this Season two Frigates of Thirty two Guns each, called the Malicieux, and Opal, they were met at Sea about the middle of February to the Westward of Sicily. This goes by the Royal Duke Captain Rogers, and We have enclosed a List of the Ships Arrival and Departure to and from this place since that you received by the Delaware We are Worshipful Sir & Sirs St Helena 6th June 1760. Signed Your most humble Servants Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling	The council wrote to Roger Carter, deputy governor, and the council of Fort Marlborough. The council's last letter to them had gone by the *Delaware*, commanded by Captain Larkins, which had sailed from St Helena on 31 July 1759, and since then it had received their several letters dated 24 September and 31 December 1759 and 5 February 1760. The council had received the account of the stores sent by the ship *Pitt* and was much pleased that they had detained William Ruldom, as he was a notorious villain. Since the ship *Earl of Holdernesse* had sailed for England before the arrival of the *Delaware*, the packet they mentioned marked D for the Honourable Court of Directors, and that marked number 1 directed to the Secret Committee, would now go by the *Delaware*. The ten barrels of gunpowder they had invoiced to the council came to £58 8s 0d. The council knew nothing of what had been sent by that ship, and supposed it must have been intended for one of the other settlements, although entered as meant for St Helena. The council repeated its certain intelligence from England that the French had sent to the East Indies that season two frigates of thirty-two guns each, called the *Malicieuse* and *Opale*, met at sea about the middle of February to the westward of Sicily. This letter went by the *Royal Duke*, commanded by Captain Rogers, and with it the council enclosed a list of the ships arriving at and departing from St Helena since the one that had reached them by the *Delaware*. The letter was drawn at St Helena on 6 June 1760 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. **Interpretations** Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen on Sumatra, under its deputy governor Roger Carter, lay east of the other settlements the council addressed, and correspondence with it moved by the same chain of Company shipping. The detention of William Ruldom, whom the council roundly called a notorious villain, points to the Company's concern with troublesome servants moving between its posts, the settlements co-operating to hold a man one of them wanted rather than let him slip away on a passing ship. The confusion over the ten barrels of gunpowder invoiced from Bencoolen at £58 8s 0d shows the difficulty of managing supply across a scattered empire by slow and uncertain communication. Stores could be billed to one settlement yet arrive without explanation, and the council, having no record of what the ship had carried for it, could only guess that the powder had been meant for another post. Such muddles were an inevitable feature of a system in which invoices and cargoes travelled separately over many months.
423	412	6 June As it is a Standing Order, that no person shall buy any thing of Blacks, and it appearing true, that Lieutenant Gifford contrary to that order, had bought some Lemons of a black Man belonging to Mr William Wrangham, We therefore fined him in the sum of Five pounds to the Honorable Companys Cash Cha Hutchinson John Skottow	Since it was a standing order that no person should buy anything from the slaves, and it appeared that Lieutenant Gifford, contrary to that order, had bought some lemons from a slave belonging to William Wrangham, the council fined him £5 0s 0d to the Honourable Company's cash. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. At a consultation held at the castle on Monday 9 June 1760 there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, lieutenant governor,

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		John Clark Durling At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th day of June 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieut Governor Captain John Clark Mr Matthew Durling Councel The last Consultation was Read, approved, and Signed, dated the 6 June 1760. This day arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Winchelsea from China, and brought us the following Supply viz: Invoice of Ship Winchelsea Sugar Candy 4 Chests No, Tare, Gross, lbs 1: Tare 33, Gross 295 2: Tare 37, Gross 288 3: Tare 33, Gross 303 4: Tare 34, Gross 311 137 1197 Gross 137 Tare 1060 Nett or 7 95 a 9 3 p Pec 73C 9qr 3lb 5 Carried over 73C 9qr 3lb 5	Captain John Clark and Matthew Durling, councillors. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 6 June 1760. This day the Honourable Company's ship *Winchelsea* arrived from China and brought the following supply. The invoice of the *Winchelsea* was as follows. Sugar candy, 4 chests Chest 1, tare 33lb, gross 295lb Chest 2, tare 37lb, gross 288lb Chest 3, tare 33lb, gross 303lb Chest 4, tare 34lb, gross 311lb Gross 1,197lb Tare 137lb Net 1,060lb, or 7 hundredweight 3 quarters 15lb at 9 taels 3 mace per hundredweight, 73 taels 9 mace 3 candareens 5 [...] Carried over, 73 taels 9 mace 3 candareens 5 [...] **Interpretations** The standing order forbidding anyone to buy from the slaves was a measure of social and economic control, meant to stop slaves trading on their own account and to keep the island's commerce in the hands of its free inhabitants. Lieutenant Gifford's purchase of a few lemons from William Wrangham's slave was trivial in itself, yet the council fined him £5, a substantial sum, to mark that the rule bound officers as much as anyone. Allowing slaves to sell goods, even garden produce, risked giving them independent means and an informal market the authorities could not oversee, which the prohibition was designed to prevent. The *Winchelsea*'s cargo of sugar candy from China was reckoned in Chinese money of account, taels, mace and candareens, rather than in sterling or the Indian coin used elsewhere in the island's dealings. The tael was the Chinese unit of silver weight, divided into ten mace and the mace into ten candareens, and goods bought at Canton were priced in it by the hundredweight. That St Helena's books recorded a China purchase in Chinese currency shows how the island stood at the meeting point of the several trades and monetary systems that the Company's ships carried past it.
424	413	9 June Brought over 73C 9qr 3lb 5 Sugar 11 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 26, Gross 294 2: Tare 25, Gross 359 3: Tare 35, Gross 300 4: Tare 29, Gross 324 5: Tare 30, Gross 291 6: Tare 33, Gross 325 7: Tare 31, Gross 312 8: Tare 31, Gross 320 9: Tare 35, Gross 309 10: Tare 43, Gross 318 11: Tare 31, Gross 315 348 3427 Gross 348 Tare 3079 Nett or 23 pec 9 Catty a 6 p Pec Pals 143C 1qr 27C 3qr 3lb 5 Errors Excepted Signed Thos Lockwood Alex Cuma Josph Harrington Francis Wood Mr James Greenbee presents the following petition viz: To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena. The humble Petition of James Greenbee Sheweth. That your petitioner is desirous that his Son	The following account continued the invoice of the *Winchelsea*. Brought over, 73 taels 9 mace 3 candareens 5 [...] Sugar, 11 chests Chest 1, tare 26lb, gross 294lb Chest 2, tare 25lb, gross 359lb Chest 3, tare 35lb, gross 300lb Chest 4, tare 29lb, gross 324lb Chest 5, tare 30lb, gross 291lb Chest 6, tare 33lb, gross 325lb Chest 7, tare 31lb, gross 312lb Chest 8, tare 31lb, gross 320lb Chest 9, tare 35lb, gross 309lb Chest 10, tare 43lb, gross 318lb Chest 11, tare 31lb, gross 315lb Gross 3,427lb Tare 348lb Net 3,079lb, or 23 peculs 9 catties at 6 taels per pecul, 143 taels 4 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] Total, 217 taels 3 mace 3 candareens 5 [...] The invoice was entered as errors excepted and signed by Thomas Lockwood, Alexander Cuming, Joseph Harrington and Francis Wood. James Greentree presented the following petition to Charles Hutchinson, Governor, and the council of St Helena. Greentree set out that he was desirous his son John [...]. **Interpretations** The China invoice reckoned the sugar in Chinese trade weights as well as pounds, the net of the eleven

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		John	chests given as 23 peculs 9 catties. A pecul was a Chinese unit of about 133 pounds, made up of 100 catties, and goods at Canton were priced by the pecul as here at six taels each. Setting the weight in both English pounds and Chinese peculs, and the price in taels, mace and candareens, shows the invoice being kept in the terms of the port where the cargo was bought, to be converted for the island's own accounts later. The plainer sugar in these eleven chests was charged at six taels the pecul, well below the nine taels three mace per hundredweight paid for the sugar candy in the first four chests, the candy being a refined crystallised sugar and the ordinary sugar a cheaper bulk commodity. The two grades travelling together in one cargo from China reflect the range of sweet goods the Canton trade supplied, the finer sort commanding a markedly higher price than the common.
425	414	9 June John, should leave this Island and proceed to Bengal, upon the Ship Royal Duke Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays, that Your Worship, and Council will permit him do so And your Petitioner will ever pray Signed James Greenbee St Helena 9th June 1760 Granted The Executor of William Gushon this day presented his last Will and Testament, desiring the same might be Proved which was accordingly done, upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto, the Will is as follows viz: In the Name of God Amen. I William Gushon of this Island of St Helena, being of a Sick and weak state of health but of sound and disposing Mind Memory and Understanding Do hereby make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say. First I will and desire that all my just Debts and funeral expenses may be paid and discharged out of my personal Effects and that my Body may be decently buried at the discretion of my Executor hereinafter named. Item I give and bequeath unto my Slave Wench Anne, all her wearing apparel a small Bed and two Pillows and I will and desire that She may have her freedom of the Grave and Covered Places & desition therewith. Item all and singular the Rest and residue and remainder of my Estate and Effects whatsoever Real and Personal in this Island St Helena thereby give, Devise and bequeath unto Catherine Sampell the Daughter of Nathaniel Sampell Spencers Mate To hold to her the said Catherine Sampell her heirs Executors administrators and Assigns respectively for ever And I do hereby nominate constitute and appoint him the said Nathaniel Sampell Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament and Guardian and Trustee of the said Catherine And I do hereby revoke all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made and declare	Greentree set out that he wished his son John to leave the island and proceed to Bengal aboard the *Royal Duke*, and asked that the Governor and council would permit him to do so. The petition, drawn at St Helena on 9 June 1760, was signed by James Greentree and granted. The executor of William Duffin this day presented his last will and testament, desiring that it be proved, which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the witnesses to it. The will was as follows. William Duffin of St Helena, being sick and weak in health but of sound and disposing mind and memory, made his last will and testament as follows. He directed that all his just debts and funeral expenses be paid out of his personal estate, and that his body be decently buried at the discretion of his executor. He gave to his slave woman Anne all her wearing apparel, a small bed and two pillows, and directed that she should have her freedom of the [...] and be freed, released and discharged from it. All the rest of his estate and effects, real and personal, wherever situated on St Helena, he gave and bequeathed to Catherine Sampell, the daughter of Nathaniel Sampell, gunner's mate, to hold to her and her heirs, executors, administrators and assigns for ever. He named and appointed Nathaniel Sampell the executor of the will and guardian and trustee of Catherine, revoking all former wills and declaring this to be his only last will and testament. **Interpretations** The bequest to the slave woman Anne shows a slaveholder using his will to grant freedom, though on strikingly modest terms. Anne received only her own clothes, a small bed and two pillows along with her liberty, while the whole of the rest of the estate passed to a free child, the daughter of the gunner's mate. Manumission by will was one of the few routes out of slavery on the island, and its inclusion here records both the possibility of freedom and the meagre provision that so often accompanied it, a released slave being turned loose with little to live on. The choice of Catherine Sampell, a gunner's mate's young daughter, as sole heir, with her father as executor, guardian and trustee, suggests a close personal tie between the testator and the Sampell family rather than any blood relation. Naming the father to administer the estate and hold it in trust for the child bound the bequest to the family's care, the trustee arrangement protecting a minor's inheritance until she came of age. Such a disposition let a man without children of his own direct his property to those he regarded as his people on the island.

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		this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof the said	
426	415	1760 said William Gushon have hereunto set my hand and Seal this tenth Day of May in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Sixty Signed Sealed published and declared by the said William Gushon as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his request and in his presence have Set our Names as Witnesses Signed Robt Ballard Thos Litchfield P Dunn Signed William Gushon The Testator William Gushon, having desired that his Slave Woman Anne, might have her Freedom, We agreed to it, as We find he has left Effects Sufficient to discharge his debts, without her Captain Peter Bigou, applied to us to pay One hundred Pounds, 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 John Westcott, or Order, ninety days after sight, dated this day. Bought of Captain Peter Bigou for the use of the Honorable Companys Table viz: 25 Currants £1 5s 0d 1 Gloucester Cheese £0 15s 0d 2 Half Firkins of Butter £3 15s 0d 4 lb Mustard £0 16s 0d £6 11s 0d Mr John Desfountain, maketh Complaint that two of his breeding Turkeys were Stole on Saturday last, by April and Fancy, Men Slaves belonging to Mr Samuel Knife, The said two Men being brought before us, Confessed the Fact, We therefore ordered them to be whipped, and to receive two hundred Lashes each, and directed Mr Knife, to pay Mr John Desfountain, for his Turkeys agreeably to the Laws of this Island. Sarah	William Duffin set his hand and seal to the will on 10 June 1760, and it was signed, sealed and declared to be his last will and testament in the presence of Robert Ballard, Thomas Litchfield and [...] Dunn. The testator William Duffin, having directed that his slave woman Anne should have her freedom, the council agreed to it, since he had left effects sufficient to discharge his debts without her. Captain Peter Bigou applied to the council to pay in £100 of the Honourable Company's cash, which the council received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to John Westcott or order, ninety days after sight, dated this day. The council bought of Captain Peter Bigou for the use of the Honourable Company's table the following goods. 25lb of currants, £1 5s 0d 1 Gloucester cheese, £0 15s 0d 2 half firkins of butter, £3 15s 0d 4lb of mustard, £0 16s 0d Total, £6 11s 0d John Desfountain made a complaint that two of his breeding turkeys had been sold on Saturday last by Apollo and Jerry, men slaves belonging to Samuel Kniper. The two men were brought before the council, which found the fact proved. The council therefore ordered them to be whipped and to receive 200 lashes each, and directed Kniper to pay Desfountain for his turkeys according to the laws of the island. **Interpretations** The council's approval of Anne's freedom turned on a point of law protecting creditors. A testator's slaves, as property, could be taken to satisfy his debts, so the council confirmed the manumission only after finding that Duffin had left enough other effects to cover what he owed. The freedom granted in the will was therefore not automatic but conditional on the estate being solvent without selling Anne, showing how even a dying man's gift of liberty was subordinate to the claims of his creditors. The punishment of Apollo and Jerry for selling two turkeys mirrors the fine imposed on Lieutenant Gifford three days earlier for buying lemons from a slave, the two sides of the same prohibition. Where the free officer was penalised in money, the slaves who traded were flogged with 200 lashes each, and their owner was made to compensate the turkeys' owner. The episode shows the double enforcement of the ban on slaves trading, corporal punishment falling on the slave and a monetary reckoning between the free masters, all under the standing laws of the island designed to suppress an unauthorised slave economy.
427	416	9 June Sarah, a Slave Woman belonging to John Whitchwick, being a consistent thief, and Runaway, We ordered her to receive One hundred Lashes, and to be branded on the Cheek. Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th day of June 1760 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottow Esqr Lieutenant Governor Captain John Clark	Since Sarah, a slave woman belonging to John Whitchurch, was a constant thief and runaway, the council ordered her to receive 100 lashes and to be branded on the cheek. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling. At a consultation held at the castle on Monday 16 June 1760 there were present Charles Hutchinson, Governor, John Skottowe, lieutenant governor, Captain John Clark and Matthew Durling, councillors. The council read, approved and signed the last consultation, dated 9 June 1760. On Thursday 12 June the Honourable Company's ships *Duke*, *Prince of Wales* and *Britannia* arrived from China. On Friday 13

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		Mr Matthew Durling Council The last Consultation was Read, approved, and Signed, dated the 9th day of June 1760. Thursday the 12th arrived the Honorable Companys Ships Duke, Prince of Wales and Britannia from China. Friday the 13th arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Tilbury and the Prince Henry Packet from Madrass. from China Saturday the 14th arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Walpole from China This day arrived the Honorable Company Ship Clinton from Bombay	June the Honourable Company's ship *Tilbury* arrived from China and the *Prince Henry* packet from Madras. On Saturday 14 June the Honourable Company's ship *Walpole* arrived from China. This day the Honourable Company's ship *Clinton* arrived from Bombay. **Interpretations** The branding of Sarah on the cheek added a permanent visible mark to the flogging, meant both to punish and to identify her as a persistent offender. Facial branding made her habit of running away harder to repeat, since the mark advertised her status and history to anyone who saw her, and served as a standing warning to other slaves. The severity of the sentence, combining a hundred lashes with disfigurement, shows how harshly the settlement treated the twin offences of theft and flight, which struck at both the property and the control on which slaveholding depended. The cluster of arrivals in a single week, seven Company ships from China, Madras and Bombay reaching the island within days of one another, marks the peak of the homeward season when the East Indiamen called at St Helena to water and refresh before the last leg to England. The China ships in particular tended to sail in company for mutual protection, especially in wartime, and their bunching in mid-June filled the road with shipping and threw a heavy demand on the island's provisions and services all at once.
428	417	16 June The forementioned Ships brought us the following supplies viz: Invoice of Ship Drake SHS No 4 S 6 Sugar Candy 6 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 34, Gross 305 2: Tare 39, Gross 307 4: Tare 41, Gross 299 4: Tare 32, Gross 297 5: Tare 32, Gross 278 6: Tare 35, Gross 285 213 1771 213 Per C T 1558 Nett or 11 68 9 3 108C 6qr 2lb A 8 1 a 5 Sugar 5 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 32, Gross 338 2: Tare 35, Gross 324 3: Tare 34, Gross 330 4: Tare 35, Gross 331 5: Tare 24, Gross 366 147 1702 147 1555 Nett or 11 66 6 60C 9qr 6lb 0 8 1 a 8 Tea Single eight Chests No 1 a 8 Chest of 3600 is A 48 24 107C 5qr 2lb 0 E E Signed Tals 286C 1qr 0lb 4 Thos Lockwood Franc Wood Thos Fitzhugh Bengt Servin Rich Land Stephen Osborne Francis Kennersly	The aforementioned ships brought the following supplies. The invoice of the ship *Drake* was as follows. Sugar candy, 6 chests Chest 1, tare 34lb, gross 305lb Chest 2, tare 39lb, gross 307lb Chest 3, tare 41lb, gross 299lb Chest 4, tare 32lb, gross 297lb Chest 5, tare 32lb, gross 278lb Chest 6, tare 35lb, gross 285lb Gross 1,771lb Tare 213lb Net 1,558lb, or 11 hundredweight 68lb at 9 taels 3 mace per hundredweight, 108 taels 6 mace 2 candareens 4 [...] Sugar, 5 chests Chest 1, tare 32lb, gross 338lb Chest 2, tare 35lb, gross 324lb Chest 3, tare 34lb, gross 330lb Chest 4, tare 35lb, gross 331lb Chest 5, tare 24lb, gross 366lb Gross 1,702lb Tare 147lb Net 1,555lb, or 11 peculs 66 catties 6 [...], 69 taels 9 mace 6 candareens 0 [...] Tea single, 8 chests 8 chests of 360lb each, 48 peculs 24 catties, 107 taels 5 mace 2 candareens 0 [...] Total, 286 taels 1 mace 0 candareens 4 [...] The invoice was entered as errors excepted and signed by Thomas Lockwood, Francis Wood, Alexander Cuming, Thomas Fitzhugh, Ruddland, Stephen Cave [...] and Francis Kennoway. **Interpretations** The invoice again distinguishes refined sugar candy, charged at nine taels three mace the hundredweight, from ordinary sugar reckoned by the pecul at the lower China price, the two grades shipped together from Canton as on the *Winchelsea* a week earlier. The parallel entries show the regularity of the trade, each returning China ship bringing chests of both sorts to be landed and accounted at St Helena in Chinese weights and money before conversion to sterling.

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			The single tea in eight chests of 360 pounds each was the item of real commercial weight in the cargo, tea being the staple of the China trade and the commodity on which the Company's Canton business chiefly turned. Single was a grade of black tea, and the standard chests of uniform weight reflect the settled packing of a bulk export shipped in enormous quantity to England. Its appearance in the island's books marks St Helena's place on the route by which the whole China tea trade passed homeward.
429	418	16 June Invoice of Ship Prince of Wales PW SHS B No 4 Bohea Tea 4 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 34, Gross 200 2: Tare 32, Gross 201 3: Tare 32, Gross 197 4: Tare 34, Gross 195 132 793 132 No 661 or 4 95 a 11 5 p 56C 9qr 2lb 5 S C No 4 Sugar Candy 4 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 32, Gross 292 2: Tare 34, Gross 282 3: Tare 33, Gross 306 4: Tare 32, Gross 288 131 1168 131 No 1037 or 7 95 a 9 3 72C 3qr 5lb A S No 11 Sugar 11 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 34, Gross 320 2: Tare 31, Gross 324 3: Tare 25, Gross 297 4: Tare 35, Gross 313 5: Tare 32, Gross 324 6: Tare 26, Gross 320 7: Tare 34, Gross 316 8: Tare 34, Gross 326 9: Tare 27, Gross 314 10: Tare 25, Gross 309 11: Tare 27, Gross 325 330 3603 330 3173 or 23 80 a 6 4 2 142C 8qr 0lb 0 272C 0qr 7lb 9	The invoice of the ship *Prince of Wales* was as follows. Bohea tea, 4 chests Chest 1, tare 34lb, gross 200lb Chest 2, tare 32lb, gross 201lb Chest 3, tare 32lb, gross 197lb Chest 4, tare 34lb, gross 195lb Gross 793lb Tare 132lb Net 661lb, or 4 hundredweight 95lb at 11 taels 5 mace per hundredweight, 56 taels 9 mace 2 candareens 5 [...] Sugar candy, 4 chests Chest 1, tare 32lb, gross 292lb Chest 2, tare 34lb, gross 282lb Chest 3, tare 33lb, gross 306lb Chest 4, tare 32lb, gross 288lb Gross 1,168lb Tare 131lb Net 1,037lb, or 7 hundredweight 45lb at 9 taels 3 mace per hundredweight, 72 taels 3 mace 5 candareens 4 [...] Sugar, 11 chests Chest 1, tare 34lb, gross 320lb Chest 2, tare 31lb, gross 324lb Chest 3, tare 25lb, gross 297lb Chest 4, tare 35lb, gross 343lb Chest 5, tare 32lb, gross 324lb Chest 6, tare 26lb, gross 320lb Chest 7, tare 34lb, gross 316lb Chest 8, tare 34lb, gross 326lb Chest 9, tare 27lb, gross 314lb Chest 10, tare 25lb, gross 309lb Chest 11, tare 27lb, gross 325lb Gross 3,503lb Tare 330lb Net 3,173lb, or 23 peculs 80 catties at 6 taels per pecul, 142 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] Total, 272 taels 0 mace 7 candareens 9 [...] **Interpretations** Bohea tea, listed here at eleven taels five mace the hundredweight, was a black tea from the Wuyi hills of Fujian and the commonest grade in the China trade, cheaper than the finer green and black sorts but shipped in vast bulk to England. Its higher price by weight than the single tea of the *Drake* reflects the many grades the Canton market offered, each entered at its own rate. The *Prince of Wales* carried the familiar combination of tea, sugar candy and ordinary sugar, the standard homeward lading of a China ship as it passed St Helena. The three commodities were charged at three distinct rates, bohea at eleven taels five mace, sugar candy at nine taels three mace and common sugar at six taels the pecul, so that the island's clerks had to reckon each line in the Chinese weights and money of the port of purchase. Keeping the invoices in taels, mace and candareens preserved the original Canton valuation for the Company's central accounts, the conversion to sterling being made later, and shows how faithfully the trade's own units were carried across the world in the ship's papers.
430	419	1760	The invoice of the ship *Britannia* was as follows.

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		Invoice of Ship Britannia S C B S Helo Sugar Candy 4 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 28, Gross 298 2: Tare 37, Gross 300 3: Tare 29, Gross 294 4: Tare 38, Gross 300 132 1192 132 1060 is per 7 95 at 9 3 p 73C 9qr 3lb 5 Sugar 10 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 34, Gross 323 2: Tare 34, Gross 316 3: Tare 36, Gross 307 4: Tare 32, Gross 316 5: Tare 32, Gross 330 6: Tare 30, Gross 299 7: Tare 33, Gross 327 8: Tare 25, Gross 311 9: Tare 26, Gross 304 10: Tare 27, Gross 322 309 3139 309 2821 Nett or Per 21 16 6 126C 9qr 6lb 0 Congo Tea No 5 amounting to 60 is per 3 60 a 25 75C 0qr 0lb 0 Tals 275C 8qr 9lb 5 Signed Thos Lockwood Alex Cuma Jos Harrington Franc Wood	Sugar candy, 4 chests Chest 1, tare 28lb, gross 298lb Chest 2, tare 37lb, gross 305lb Chest 3, tare 29lb, gross 294lb Chest 4, tare 38lb, gross 300lb Gross 1,192lb Tare 132lb Net 1,060lb, or 7 hundredweight 45lb at 9 taels 3 mace per hundredweight, 73 taels 9 mace 3 candareens 5 [...] Sugar, 10 chests Chest 1, tare 34lb, gross 323lb Chest 2, tare 34lb, gross 316lb Chest 3, tare 36lb, gross 307lb Chest 4, tare 32lb, gross 315lb Chest 5, tare 32lb, gross 330lb Chest 6, tare 30lb, gross 299lb Chest 7, tare 33lb, gross 327lb Chest 8, tare 25lb, gross 311lb Chest 9, tare 26lb, gross 304lb Chest 10, tare 27lb, gross 322lb Gross 3,139lb Tare 309lb Net 2,821lb, or 21 peculs 16 catties 6 [...], 126 taels 9 mace 6 candareens 0 [...] Congo tea, 5 chests containing 60 [...] 5 chests, or 3 peculs 60 catties at 25 taels, 90 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] Total, 275 taels 8 mace 9 candareens 5 [...] The invoice was entered as errors excepted and signed by Thomas Lockwood, Alexander Cuming, Joseph Harrington and Francis Wood. **Interpretations** Congo tea, charged here at the notably high rate of twenty-five taels the pecul, was a superior black tea, its name a corruption of a Chinese term for the careful labour of its making. Its price far above the six taels of common sugar and even the eleven and a half taels of bohea marks it as a fine grade shipped in small quantity, five chests against the many of sugar. The range from cheap bulk sugar to costly congo in a single cargo shows how the China ships carried a graded assortment, the dearer teas making up in value what they lacked in bulk. The *Britannia*'s lading repeated the pattern of the other China ships arriving that week, chests of sugar candy, ordinary sugar and tea landed and reckoned in Chinese weights and money. The consistency across the *Winchelsea*, *Drake*, *Prince of Wales* and *Britannia* reflects the settled composition of the homeward China trade, every ship bringing much the same goods in much the same proportions to be accounted at the island before the final passage to England.
431	420	16 June Invoice of Ship Tilbury SC T Sugar Candy 4 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 27, Gross 200 2: Tare 27, Gross 201 3: Tare 35, Gross 312 4: Tare 27, Gross 296 116 1100 116 1073 Nett is 8 05 a 9 3 p 74C 8qr 6lb 5 Sugar 11 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 24, Gross 302 2: Tare 30, Gross 300 3: Tare 28, Gross 307 4: Tare 24, Gross 309 5: Tare 25, Gross 289 6: Tare 28, Gross 313 7: Tare 33, Gross 310	The invoice of the ship *Tilbury* was as follows. Sugar candy, 4 chests Chest 1, tare 27lb, gross 290lb Chest 2, tare 27lb, gross 291lb Chest 3, tare 35lb, gross 312lb Chest 4, tare 27lb, gross 296lb Gross 1,189lb Tare 116lb Net 1,073lb, or 8 hundredweight 05lb at 9 taels 3 mace per hundredweight, 74 taels 8 mace 6 candareens 5 [...] Sugar, 11 chests Chest 1, tare 24lb, gross 302lb Chest 2, tare 30lb, gross 300lb Chest 3, tare 28lb, gross 307lb Chest 4, tare 24lb, gross 309lb Chest 5, tare 25lb, gross 281lb Chest 6, tare 28lb, gross 313lb Chest 7, tare 33lb, gross 316lb Chest 8, tare 31lb, gross 324lb Chest 9, tare 37lb, gross 301lb Chest 10, tare 35lb, gross 314lb

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		8: Tare 31, Gross 324 9: Tare 37, Gross 301 10: Tare 35, Gross 314 11: Tare 36, Gross 308 331 3360 331 3033 Nett is 22 Pec 70 a 6 136C 6qr 8lb 0 E E Signed Tals 211C 5qr 4lb 5 Thos Lockwood Alex Cuma Jos Harrington Francis Wood	Chest 11, tare 36lb, gross 303lb Gross 3,860lb Tare 331lb Net 3,303lb, or 12 peculs 70 catties at 6 taels per pecul, 136 taels 6 mace 8 candareens 0 [...] Total, 211 taels 5 mace 4 candareens 5 [...] The invoice was entered as errors excepted and signed by Thomas Lockwood, Alexander Cuming, Joseph Harrington and Francis Wood.
432	421	1760 Invoice of Ship Walpole China Ware 6 Chests viz: SHS No 1 a 6 WE 10 Setts Blue & White Bowls 5 Sizes a 5 maces: T 5 10 Setts Do Do a 6 maces: 6 10 Setts Blue & White Dishes & Plates 5 Sizes a 2 Tales: 20 10 Setts Do Do Do a 2 Tales: 20 10 Setts Enameld Do a 3 Tales: 30 100 Blue & White Soup Plates a 4 2 C c: 4 2 100 Do Pint Sneakers a 2 5 C c: 2 5 100 Enameld Do a 5 C: 5 10 Setts Blue & White Sallad Dishes 3 Sizes a 3 m: 3 6 Soup Dishes Do a 8 m: 4 8 100 Blue & White 3/4 Pint Cups & Saucers a 3 5 C c: 3 5 100 Do 1/2 Pint Do a 4 5 C: 4 5 24 Do Gugletts & Basons a 4 m: 9 6 24 Do Chamber Pots a 2 m: 4 8 12 Do Sauce Boats a 5 C: 6 125 5 2 p Cent for breakage 2 47 121 3 B No 1 a 4 Bohea Tea 4 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 34, Gross 206 2: Tare 33, Gross 207 3: Tare 33, Gross 204 4: Tare 34, Gross 199 136 816 Gross 136 680 Nett or 5 10 a 11 5 p Peaul Peaul Cattee T m 58C 6qr 5lb S C No 1 a 6 Sugar Candy 6 Chests No, Tare, Gross 1: Tare 34, Gross 300 2: Tare 36, Gross 324 3: Tare 34, Gross 302 4: Tare 33, Gross 307 5: Tare 41, Gross 287 6: Tare 36, Gross 306 214 1826 Gross 214 1612 Nett or 12 9 3 9 3 p Peaul Peaul Cattee T m 112C 4qr 3lb 7 292C 1qr 1lb 7 Errors Excepted Signed Benjt Servin Thos Lockwood Robt Thomas Thos Fitzhugh Franc Wood Francis Kennersly Rich Wood Invoice	The invoice of the ship *Walpole* was as follows. China ware, 6 chests 10 sets of blue and white bowls of 5 sizes at 5 mace, 5 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 10 sets of the same at 6 mace, 6 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 10 sets of blue and white dishes and plates of 5 sizes, 20 pieces, at 2 taels, 20 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 10 sets of the same at 2 taels, 20 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 10 sets of enamelled dishes at 3 taels, 30 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 100 blue and white soup plates at 4 mace 2 candareens, 4 taels 2 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 100 of the same pint teacups at 2 mace 5 candareens, 2 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 100 enamelled of the same at 5 mace, 5 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 10 sets of blue and white salad dishes of 3 sizes at 3 mace, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 6 soup dishes of the same at 8 mace, 4 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 100 blue and white quarter-pint cups and saucers at 3 mace 5 candareens, 3 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 100 of the same half-pint at 4 mace 5 candareens, 4 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 24 of the same guglets and basins at 4 mace, 9 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 24 of the same chamber pots at 2 mace, 4 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 12 of the same sauce boats at 5 mace, 6 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] Total, 123 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 [...] 2 per cent for breakage, 2 taels 4 mace 7 candareens 0 [...] Net, 121 taels 0 mace 3 candareens 0 [...] Bohea tea, 4 chests Chest 1, tare 34lb, gross 206lb Chest 2, tare 33lb, gross 207lb Chest 3, tare 33lb, gross 204lb Chest 4, tare 34lb, gross 199lb Gross 816lb Tare 136lb Net 680lb, or 5 hundredweight 10lb at 11 taels 5 mace per hundredweight, 58 taels 6 mace 5 candareens 0 [...] Sugar candy, 6 chests Chest 1, tare 34lb, gross 300lb Chest 2, tare 36lb, gross 324lb Chest 3, tare 34lb, gross 302lb Chest 4, tare 33lb, gross 307lb Chest 5, tare 41lb, gross 207lb Chest 6, tare 36lb, gross 266lb Gross 1,826lb Tare 214lb Net 1,612lb, or 12 peculs 9 catties at 9 taels 3 mace per pecul, 112 taels 4 mace 3 candareens 7 [...] Total, 292 taels 1 mace 1 candareen 7 [...]

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			The invoice was entered as errors excepted and signed by Benjamin Toovey, [...] Thomas, [...] Lockwood, Thomas Fitzhugh, [...] Kennoway and Ruddland. **Interpretations** The *Walpole* carried a detailed assortment of Chinese porcelain alongside the tea and sugar of the other ships, the china ware ranging from bowls, dishes and plates to soup plates, teacups, saucers, guglets, chamber pots and sauce boats. The goods came in graded sets and sizes, some plain blue and white and some enamelled at a higher price, reflecting the huge export of Canton porcelain to furnish English tables. A guglet was a long-necked earthenware or porcelain bottle for cooling drinking water, an item of Eastern domestic use finding its way into the trade. The invoice allowed a fixed two per cent deduction on the porcelain for breakage, an accepted margin written into the reckoning to cover the losses inevitable in shipping brittle ware across the world. That the allowance was standardised rather than assessed case by case shows how routine such damage was, the trade building an expected rate of breakage into its prices from the outset. The porcelain, like the tea and sugar, was reckoned throughout in taels, mace and candareens, the money of the Canton market carried in the ship's papers to St Helena and beyond.
433	422	16 June Invoice of Ship Clinton Rice 15 Bags fine beaten p 100 a 1 2 30 p Md: 170 Bally 37 Bags 3 2 at Rupees 22 p Morah: 111 3 4 Charges Merchandize viz: Dutty Bags for Rice 15 11 1 Dunny Do for Do Bally 33 3 33 3 Twine & Cocan Sewing the Bags 6 Hammalage & Boat Hire 4 2 80 4 2 80 55 2 80 Rupees 337 1 84 Errors Excepted Cha Crommelin Accomptant Mr James Sheme, Surgeon of the Ship Royal Duke applied to Us for payment, for the care of Nineteen Recruits, in their Passage from England. We accordingly ordered him to be paid five Shillings each Man, the customary allowance, amounting to four Pounds, fifteen Shillings. Mr James Berwick, applied to Us, to pay one hundred Pounds, into the Honorable Companys Cash, which Sum We have received, and given him Bills of Exchange, drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to John Whitelock, or Order, 90 Days after sight dated this Day The Storekeeper delivered the following Account of Stores, short received from Ship Royal Duke viz:	The invoice of the ship *Clinton* was as follows. Rice, 15 bags of fine beaten rice of 100lb each at 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 30lb per bag, 170 [...], 170 [...] Bally, 37 bags of 3 hundredweight 2 quarters each at 22 rupees per morah, 111 rupees 3 annas 4 pies Charges on the merchandise: Gunny bags for the rice, 15 at [...], 11 rupees 1 anna 0 pies Gunny bags for the bally, 37 at [...], 33 rupees 3 annas 0 pies Slave labour sewing the bags, 6 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Hamallage and boat hire, 4 rupees 2 annas 80 [...] Total charges, 55 rupees 2 annas 80 [...] Total, 337 rupees 1 anna 84 [...] The invoice was entered as errors excepted and signed by Charles Crommelin, accountant. James Shene, surgeon of the ship *Royal Duke*, applied to the council for payment for the care of nineteen recruits on their passage from England. The council accordingly ordered him to be paid five shillings for each man, the customary allowance, amounting to £4 15s 0d. James Renwick applied to the council to pay in £100 to the Honourable Company's cash, which the council received, and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors payable to John Whitelock or order, ninety days after sight, dated this day. The storekeeper delivered the following account of stores found short when received from the ship *Royal Duke*. **Interpretations** The *Clinton*'s cargo from Bombay was reckoned in Indian money and weights, the rice and bally priced in rupees, annas and pies by the morah, an Indian measure of grain. Bally was a coarser grade of rice or a rice by-product, distinguished from the fine beaten rice in the same shipment, both staples the island drew from western India. Gunny, the coarse jute sacking in which the grain was bagged, was itself charged as a cost, along with the labour of sewing the bags and the hamallage, the Indian term for porterage or the hire of carriers to move the load.

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			The charge for slave labour in sewing the grain bags, entered plainly among the shipping costs, again shows slave work priced and passed to the buyer as an ordinary freight expense at the Company's Indian settlements, as with the sugar shipped from Bencoolen. The payment to surgeon Shene of five shillings a head for nineteen recruits landed from the *Royal Duke* records the standing rate for a ship's surgeon's care of Company recruits on the long voyage out, a fixed allowance the island settled on the men's arrival.
434	423	1760 Account of Stores short received from Ship Royal Duke viz: 16 Double Deal 16 Single Do 6 Glass Lanthorns in a case 2 Poles for the Engine 1 Bolt for a Gun Carriage 1 Axletree for Do short delivered 1 Bottle Claret 3 Mens Checked Shirts 2 Covers for 5 lb Copper Saucepans 1 Bag No 2 1 Bag No 4 Linen found short upon opening the Packages 5 Bottles Claret 11 Milk Pans 3 Earthen Glaze Iron Pans 6 Do Colluring Pans 1 Tin Lamp 8 Sithes broke 9 Barrels Blacking 1 Single Deal broke 16 Whale Bones 7 Twine 104 Soap found broke upon opening the Packages Short weight 5 1/2 Bushels Salt short measure 10 Gallons Linseed Oil leaked out of a Jar that was cracked though, before received, which upon removing broke or two, by which means all the rest was lost	The following account set out the stores found short when received from the ship *Royal Duke*. 16 double deal, short delivered 16 single deal, short delivered 6 glass lanterns in a case, short delivered 2 poles for the fire engine, short delivered 1 bolt for a gun carriage, short delivered 1 axletree for the same, short delivered 1 bottle of claret, found short upon opening the packages 3 mend Chirko [...] shirts, found short upon opening the packages 2 covers for 5lb copper saucepans, found short upon opening the packages 1 bag number 2 of anise, found short upon opening the packages 1 bag number 4 of anise, found short upon opening the packages 5 bottles of claret, found broke upon opening the packages 11 milk pans, found broke upon opening the packages 3 earthen glazed iron pans, found broke upon opening the packages 6 dozen colouring pans, found broke upon opening the packages 1 tin lamp, found broke upon opening the packages 8 setts of shoes, found broke upon opening the packages 9 barrels of blacking, short weight 1 single dead body [...], short weight 70 whales bones, short weight 7 twine, short weight 104 soap, short weight 5½ bushels of salt, short measure 10 gallons of linseed oil, leaked out of a jar The linseed oil had leaked from a jar that was cracked though not so found when received, and on opening broke one or two others, by which means all the rest was lost. **Interpretations** The account distinguishes three ways the stores fell short, some simply not delivered, some found deficient when the packages were opened and some broken or leaked in transit. Sorting the losses in this way let the storekeeper fix where responsibility lay, whether goods had never been shipped, had been short-packed at the outset or had perished on the long voyage. The careful listing of everything from timber and gun fittings to claret, saucepans and soap shows how comprehensively a homeward Indiaman was laden with supplies for the island and how closely each item was checked against the manifest on arrival. The loss of ten gallons of linseed oil records the particular hazard of shipping liquids in earthenware, one cracked jar leaking and breaking others so that the whole quantity was lost. Linseed oil, pressed from flax seed and used in paint and for preserving wood and tools, was among the practical stores the island depended on from England. The storekeeper's note that the jar had not appeared cracked when received shows the difficulty of proving where such a loss

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			began, the damage emerging only when the cargo was broken out.
435	424	16 June Brandy viz: No 1 1 Cask Gages 129 1/2 Gallons wants to fill 7 3/4 Gallons 2 1 Do 115 7 3/4 3 1 Do 112 1/2 11 4 1 Do 117 1/2 6 3/4 5 1 Do 129 1/2 7 3/4 6 1 Do 125 6 3/4 7 1 Do 103 3/4 818 1/4 46 3/4 46 3/4 Received 772 Gallons Wine viz: Port No 1 1 Hhd Gages 61 Gallons wants to fill 3 Gallons 2 1 Do 60 Do 2 1/2 121 3 1/2 Recd 115 1/2 Gallons Lisbon No 3 1 Hhd Gages 60 wants to fill 3 Gallons 4 1 Do 59 Do 2 Gallons 119 5 Recd 114 Gallons Madeira No 5 1 Hhd Gages 51 wants to fill 1 1/2 Gallons 1 1/2 Recd 49 1/2 Gallons Mountain No 6 1/2 Hhd Gages 30 wants to fill 3 Gallons 3 Recd 27 Gallons Received Short on Account of the Sloop 1 1 10 Cordage Short Weight Signed St Helena June 16 1760 Jos Powell Storekeeper	The following account set out the brandy received. Cask 1, gauged 129½ gallons, wants to fill 7¾ gallons Cask 2, gauged 115 gallons, wants to fill 7¾ gallons Cask 3, gauged 112½ gallons, wants to fill 11 gallons Cask 4, gauged 117½ gallons, wants to fill 6¾ gallons Cask 5, gauged 129½ gallons, wants to fill 7¾ gallons Cask 6, gauged 125 gallons, wants to fill 6¾ gallons Cask 7, gauged 103¾ gallons, wants to fill [...] Gauged 818¾ gallons Wants to fill 46¾ gallons Received 772 gallons The following account set out the wine received. Port, hogshead 1, gauged 61 gallons, wants to fill 3 gallons Port, hogshead 2, gauged 60 gallons, wants to fill 2½ gallons Gauged 121 gallons Wants to fill 5½ gallons Received 115½ gallons Lisbon, hogshead 3, gauged 60 gallons, wants to fill 3 gallons Lisbon, hogshead 4, gauged 59 gallons, wants to fill 2 gallons Gauged 119 gallons Wants to fill 5 gallons Received 114 gallons Madeira, hogshead 5, gauged 50 gallons, wants to fill 1½ gallons Wants to fill 1½ gallons Received 48½ gallons Mountain, hogshead 6, half hogshead gauged 30 gallons, wants to fill 3 gallons Wants to fill 3 gallons Received 27 gallons The following stores were received short on account of the sloop. 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 10lb of cordage, short weight The account was drawn at St Helena on 16 June 1760 and signed by James Powell, storekeeper. **Interpretations** The brandy and wine were checked by gauging each cask against its nominal capacity, the difference recorded as what it wanted to fill, exactly the method used earlier for the arrack landed from the *Hardwicke* and *Calcutta*. The shortfall measured the loss from leakage or short filling on the voyage, and the storekeeper set down both the quantity actually gauged and the deficiency so that the loss could be charged against the carrier. On a small island the whole of whose spirits and wine came by sea, this careful measurement was the only check on what was received against what had been shipped. The wines listed, port, Lisbon, Madeira and mountain, match the varieties consumed at the governor's table in the earlier accounts, drawn from Portugal, Spain and the Atlantic islands. Mountain, the sweet Málaga wine, came in a half hogshead where the others filled full hogsheads, reflecting the smaller quantity of the dearer sweet wine shipped. The range shows the island supplied across the whole spread of the wine trade that its position on the sea route allowed it to tap.
436	425	1760 Agreeable to Our Orders, Mr Richard Law, this Day	In accordance with the council's orders, Richard Law this day attended and delivered the following

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		attended, & delivered the following Report viz: To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esq Governor &c Council of St Helena Worshipful Sir & Sirs Pursuant to your Orders, in Consultation of the 26 May, I have attended on board the Ship Royal Duke during the Time of her delivering the Stores, consigned for this Place, and when she was clear, made a which search, for illicit Trade, but could not perceive any. Given under my Hand this 16 Day of June 1760 Signed Richd Law Onesiphorus Bagley Soldier Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison, and leave to go to India upon the Ship Royal Duke having served the Honorable Company his full contracted Time Granted Captain Ashyle of His Majestys Ship Rippon, having spring his Foretop Mast applied to Us for a Foretop Mast, as he could not do without it, We agreed to let him have it, for which he is to pay twenty two Pounds six Shillings, the prime Cost	report to Charles Hutchinson, Governor, and the council of St Helena. Pursuant to the council's orders at the consultation of 26 May, Law had attended aboard the ship *Royal Duke* during the time of her delivering the stores consigned for the island, and when she was clear had made a search for illicit trade, but could perceive none. The report was given under his hand on 16 June 1760 and signed by Richard Law. Onesiphorus Bragley, a soldier, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison and leave to go to India aboard the ship *Royal Duke*, having served the Honourable Company his full contracted time. The petition was granted. Captain Ashby of His Majesty's ship *Rippon*, having sprung his foretopmast, applied to the council for a topmast, as he could not do without it. The council agreed to let him have it, for which he was to pay £22 6s 0d, the prime cost. **Interpretations** Law's report closed the matter of the *Royal Duke*, the officer stationed aboard on 26 May 1760 to watch her unloading for smuggled goods finding nothing to report. The negative result was recorded as formally as any seizure would have been, since the Company needed the fact of a diligent search on file whether or not it turned up illicit trade. The whole procedure, from the Secret Committee's tip to the officer's attendance through the delivery to the written report, shows the machinery the Company kept in motion to police private trade even when it caught no one. The sale of a topmast to Captain Ashby of the *Rippon* at prime cost shows the island acting as a supply depot for the navy as well as the Company. A sprung foretopmast left a warship unable to sail properly, and St Helena could furnish the spar from its own stores, charging only what the timber had cost without profit. Supplying a King's ship at cost reflects the co-operation between the Company's settlement and the navy, whose protection of the trade routes the Company depended on, especially in wartime.
437	426	16 June Captain Reynolds, of the Prince Henry Packet acquainting Us, that he had more Rice, than he should have occasion for in his Passage, We desired he would send Us what he could spare, he accordingly sent on Shore sixty one hundred, three quarter. Cha Hutchinson John Skottow John Clark Durling	Captain Reynolds of the *Prince Henry* packet told the council that he had more rice than he would need for his passage. The council asked him to send ashore what he could spare, and he accordingly landed sixty-one hundredweight three quarters. The entry was signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Durling.
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442	431	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St HELENA RECORDS 1759-1760 Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) 48cm x 33cm x 6cm No. written pages: 426 No. blank pages: 8 Spine and cover GOOD CONDITION SLIGHT DAMAGE FROM BORING INSECTS Inside pages SOME TATTERED EDGES A FEW PAGES COMING AWAY FROM SPINE Additional comments Time taken to photograph (hours) 4 hours	